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UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

**SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS
INFLUENCING YOUNG WOMEN'S
VULNERABILITY TO TRAFFICKING
AMONG RESIDENTS OF BENIN CITY,
NIGERIA**

JANUARY, 2009

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AMONG RESIDENTS OF BENIN CITY, NIGERIA**

BY

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B.SC. (HONS) UNN, M.SC. (LAGOS)**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D.) IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS.**

JANUARY, 2009.

DEDICATION

To

J.C. (Jesus Christ)

The Blessed Virgin Mary

Uche, Lotanna, Ekene, Tobe and Odera

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ABSTRACT

The existence of Nigerian trafficking syndicates in places such as Botswana, Malawi, Italy, and Spain is evidence that the phenomenon of trafficking in young women is not only transnational but has become a global scourge and in Nigeria, it has become a major social problem. Unfortunately, there exists little awareness of the ramifications and dynamism of this phenomenon in Nigeria due to the dearth of empirical data.

This study set out to ascertain the socioeconomic and cultural factors influencing young women's vulnerability to trafficking in Nigeria, using Benin City as a case study. Considering the fact that trafficking in young women cross cuts various issues such as sex, money, migration and labour, the study set out to ascertain the impact of family size, the effect of education and the consequences of peer influence on the trafficking of young women. It also sought to determine the impact of unemployment, the effects of mother's education and the implications of trafficking on the reproductive health of those trafficked but deported. In addition to providing insight into the commodification of young women as well as generate data for advocacy and empowerment initiatives.

The study employed an eclectic methodological approach comprising four key methods of investigation- cross sectional survey method, individual in-depth interviews (IDIs), key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus group discussions (FGDs) to interrogate the phenomenon. The theoretical thrust of the study was eclectic. Five theories were reviewed, spanning sociology, gender, migration and criminology. Family theory, world systems theory, gender theory, wealth-flow theory, the push-pull theory, the theory of differential association, and the theory of Anomie were fully explored to explain the phenomenon.

In the survey, a total of 1160 respondents were sampled in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. The 1160 respondents were sub-divided into three groups. The first group consists of 915 young women (aged 15-25 years) who fall into the vulnerable group. They were randomly sampled from the three local government areas in Benin City, Nigeria while the second group consists of 235 trafficked but deported young women (whether rehabilitated or undergoing rehabilitation) purposively selected from two rehabilitation centers in Benin City, Nigeria. The third group comprising 10 key-informants (Officials of NGOS, Parents/relations, and Government officials and a community leader) was interviewed using the key In-depth interviews; eight of the deported traffickees were interviewed. Four Focus-Group Discussions were held with parents of vulnerable as well as trafficked but deported respondents.

Univariate and bivariate levels of analysis were used to analyze the data. Content analysis was employed to analyze the qualitative data. The findings showed that the fundamental factor in trafficking in young women in Benin City, Nigeria, is large family size, which works in concert with a multiplicity of other factors like educational inequality, mothers' educational attainment, inferior status/commodification of young women and underemployment to exacerbate the phenomenon of trafficking in young women. The findings equally revealed that those trafficked but deported were vulnerable to some STIs and HIV/AIDS. The study concluded that within the Benin social milieu that young women have become commodities to be traded by their families. It recommends compulsory education for the girl child up to the university level and the financial empowerment for women. Finally, to stem the tide of trafficking in women will involve a synergy of the National agency against traffic in persons and related matters (NAPTIP), the security agencies, the academia and destination countries.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY STATEMENT:

This chapter provides a background to the study. It discusses the key concept which is trafficking. It equally explains the link between family disorganization, large family size and gender inequities with willingness to be trafficked. In addition, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, research hypotheses, operational definition of the various terms used in the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, as well as the structure of the thesis are contained in this chapter.

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Human trafficking has been a persistent feature of human society. It is manifested in different forms in different societies. It is a phenomenon that predates the transatlantic slave trade. However, a fundamental problem in tackling the issue of “trafficking” in young women is the lack of a precise and unambiguous definition. The confusion stems from the lack of clarity about which practices should or should not be included under this term, which gained mention towards the end of the last century. Theoretically, the absence of a clear and internationally accepted definition is not surprising because the phenomenon is complex in nature. Despite this complexity, there is a dearth of scholarly work on the phenomenon of trafficking. “Trafficking” in young women crosscuts various sensitive issues such as sex, money and migration. It is akin to slavery due to the nature of its operations and organization.

Human trafficking re-emerged as an issue during the mid-1980s on the back of concern over changing migration flows, HIV/AIDS, child prostitution and child sex tourism and the revitalization of the feminist movements. It rose to prominence in the 1990s with early advocacy efforts culminating in the opening of the PALERMO PROTOCOL with signature in December 2000. The PALERMO PROTOCOL is the first international instrument to extend the concept of trafficking beyond prostitution. This culminated in a number of round table conferences geared towards seeking solutions to combat the menace. Prior to the PALERMO PROTOCOL, the United Nations in 1994 adopted a resolution on “trafficking in women/girls”.

The resolution condemns the act:

The illicit and clandestine movement of persons across national and international borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for the profit of recruiters, traffickers and crime syndicates, as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking such as forced domestic labour, false marriage, clandestine employment and false adoption (United Nations 1994, resolution 49/166).

Various arms of the United Nations – UNICEF, Special Rapporteur on violence against women, IOM, have all adopted a definition of trafficking that sees it as a human rights problem that involves forced labour, servitude and slavery and not a problem limited to prostitution.

“Trafficking” in young women is also seen through the prism of migration, which is the movement of persons across local and international borders. Trafficking across international borders is illicit. The question arises as to whether there exists a link

between trafficking and illegal migration? There seems to be such a link. “International migration” is crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period (Boyle *et al.*, 1998). “Illegal migration” refers to such a movement without proper documentation. Migration across borders without documentation may not be forced or exploitative. Of significance is the fact that persons can be trafficked with their consent. A distinction could be made in terms of the purpose for crossing the borders and if such movements occurred with the aid of another person. Under this distinction trafficking in young women would be defined in terms of forcing or luring young women into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situation with the aim of Profiting recruiters, traffickers or crime syndicates. This study will adopt the above definition.

At present, the West African sub-region is battling with the problem of trafficking in young women and children. However, of interest to us is the problem of trafficking in young women which has become a menace to countries in the sub-region. The flow of the trade in young women is as varied as the dynamism of the traffickers making it one of the most lucrative clandestine criminal businesses in history.

In Nigeria, the issue of trafficking in young women came to the fore as a result of media publicity over the mass deportation of young Nigerian women trafficked to Italy for prostitution and other forms of exploitative labour. In Nigeria, the concept of trafficking in young women is often equated with prostitution.

The result is that policies put in place by various governments tend to criminalize prostitution rather than seek solution to the problem of trafficking. This led the

Edo State Government to legislate against human trafficking and to criminalize prostitution (UNESCO, 2004). Since this law became effective, there is no evidence to show that the problem of trafficking in young women is reducing rather we are daily inundated with cases of persons deported from various countries in Europe. Benin City has been identified as the headquarters of trafficking in young women (UNCRI, 2004, Okonofua, *et al*, 2004, Onyeonoru, 2004).

In Benin City, young women are lured out of the country with promises of good jobs and better well-being. For instance in April 2004, 25 trafficked young women were deported from the transit camps in the Republic of Benin, 23 of them were *Bini* from Edo State, Nigeria (UNESCO, 2004). Towards the end of 2003, no fewer than 13,000 Nigerian young women were trapped in transit camps along the West African trafficking routes en route to Europe. Their ages were put at between 14 and 28 years (Onyeonoru, 2004).

These young women are mainly trafficked to Italy, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands (Omorodion, 1999, Otoide, 2000, Okonofua, 2002). Evidence from literature show that 60 percent of those prostituting in Italy came from Nigeria (Ralston, Murphy and Mouldon, 1998; Orhants, 2002). Of significance is the fact that data on those deported showed that majority of the young women was from Edo and Delta States (Okonofua, *et al*, 2004,).

Scholars such as Okojie *et al* (2003) have argued that the desire to escape poverty is a major reason why people avail themselves of trafficking situations. However, poverty in this context can be defined as relative deprivation. The potential

trafficee may not be the poorest in absolute terms but feels poor because people in her environment have improved status and well-being as a result of proceeds from trafficking. Onyeonoru (2004) argued that in addition to social deprivation and high youth unemployment, family disorganization, wider value distortion in the Nigerian society and gender based inequities located in the cultural practice of primogeniture in Benin City, Edo State – Nigeria are responsible for the exacerbation of trafficking in young women.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

“Globalization describes the revolutionary and accelerating process by which all the countries of the world are becoming increasingly interdependent and interconnected (Adejube, 2002: 42). Globalization is also the process by which the capitalist world system spreads across the globe. Globalization is technology and information driven thereby shrinking time and space. One of the consequences of globalization is the trafficking in young women. Even though trafficking in young women dates back to the 1900s but globalization has heightened the phenomenon.

Trafficking in young women has become a global scourge; it involves the movement of traffickees from one country to another for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Those trafficked are mainly from the developing countries to the developed countries of Europe and America. For instance in 1999, three batches of deportees arrived Nigeria from Italy and were paraded on the Network news of the Nigerian Television Authority. Majority of the deportees were below 25 years and were mainly from Benin City in Edo-State, Nigeria. The Federal Government handed them to the Oba of Benin (Omo N’Oba Erediuwa) as a

strategy for dealing with the problem (Onyeonoru, 2004). Human trafficking is a social problem that is multi-faceted. At the individual level it commodifies those trafficked reducing them to chattels of their families. It equally exposes them to physical and psychological abuse thereby denying them the opportunity to actualize themselves. At the community level it erodes social values which hold the community together resulting in 'anomie' or normlessness. This could engender other social problems such as the outbreak of STIs including HIV/AIDS. Such situation could result in a pandemic which will affect development and even impact on the health sector. At the level of the state, the nation is exposed to odium and ridicule in the comity of nations thereby hampering international relations.

Human trafficking continues to thrive due to lack of legislature in many countries. In Nigeria, some agencies like the Nigerian Police, the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), and the State Security Service (SSS) and of recent the National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffick in Persons (NAPTIP) have become involved in seeking solution to the problem. These initiatives culminated in the promulgation of the trafficking in persons (prohibition) Law enforcement and Administrative Act 2003, by the National Assembly and the setting up of NAPTIP. Despite the above initiatives a total picture of the dimensions and dynamics of the phenomenon is still hazy and the number of those trafficked continues to increase. Empirical data on the involvement of criminal syndicates and trafficking flow is scant. As a result the understanding of the phenomenon is rudimentary making it impossible to eradicate the problem.

For Onyeonuru (2004) the interaction between Bini women and some Italian construction workers in the 1970s resulted into marriage. Many of these women traveled back to Italy with their partners. This first generation of Bini women provided the social capital for subsequent migrants into Italy. According to Aghatise (2002) in (Okojie *et al*, 2003) the first women who were trafficked at the beginning were married or separated women on the lookout for a way to cater for their families. For a fact this first generation of Bini women became the madams who embarked on recruiting their younger female siblings into Italy.

. Worthy of note, is that a good number of those trafficked were aware from the onset that they would engage in prostitution abroad and some even paid huge sums of money to a third party to assist them with travel documents. The fundamental question is: “what would motivate young women to accept to be trafficked? The answer can be found in the feminization of poverty, which has resulted in increased female migration (Okojie, *et al*, 2003). They argued that the evolving neo-liberal economic system packaged by multilateral institutions for the country-engendered poverty through its policy of rationalization, downsizing and “correct” gasoline pricing. This is evidenced in the 2006 HDI ranking which placed Nigeria at the 159th position with GDP per capita of 1154 US dollars (UNDP, 2006).

Poverty in this context is more obvious among women because of their low level education (Okojie, *et al*, 2003). Even though women contribute immensely to the domestic economy, their work is grossly undervalued and poorly rewarded. In addition, they lack access to credit facilities because they lack collateral and as such are mostly in the periphery of the economy. They averred that women’s lack

of formal training denies them opportunities for better paying jobs and consequently they become prime targets for traffickers. Even though, the decision to travel abroad may be a rational one even with parental support and consent but the fact remains that those trafficked never have a total picture of the level of exploitation involved. The key element in the relationship is exploitation based on deceit. Trafficked young women are subjected to oath taking to protect the identity of their exploiters. It is the clandestine nature of this phenomenon that has resulted in paucity of accurate data and, consequently, the inability of the various governments to put in place strategies to eradicate the problem of trafficking.

The research problem is a puzzle this study set out to solve. The relationship between family socioeconomic background and the vulnerability to trafficking as measured by **willingness to be trafficked** remains a puzzle. In specific terms we ask, are young women from large families more vulnerable to trafficking? What role does formal education play in predisposing young women to trafficking? How does the mother's educational attainment predispose young women to trafficking? And finally to ascertain the effect of trafficking on the reproductive health of those trafficked but deported? These issues will crystallize in subsequent sections.

1.3 FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE

In the light of the above, the fundamental objective of this study is to ascertain the socioeconomic factors that predispose young women into trafficking situations.

1.3.1 Specific objectives:

This research focused on the following objectives:

- i. Assess the impact of family size on the trafficking of young women.
- ii. Ascertain the effect of education on the trafficking of young women.
- iii. Determine the consequences of peer influence on the trafficking of young women.
- iv. Assess the impact of unemployment on the trafficking of young women.
- v. Discover the effects of mother's education on the trafficking of young women.
- vi. Ascertain the implications of trafficking of young women on the reproductive health of those trafficked but deported.
- vii. Provide insight into the commodification of young women.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What is the impact of family size on trafficking of young women?
- ii. What is the impact of education on the trafficking of young women?
- iii. What is the relationship between peer influence and the trafficking of young women?
- iv. What is the effect of unemployment on trafficking of young women?
- v. What is the effect of mother's education on the trafficking of young women?
- vi. What is the effect of trafficking on the reproductive health of traffickees?
- vii. What is the gender dimension of trafficking?

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses are derived from the objectives of the study.

1. Young women from large families are more likely to be trafficked than young women from smaller families.

2. The higher the educational level of young women the lower the willingness to be trafficked.
3. Young women with friends abroad are more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad.
4. Unemployed young women have a greater tendency of being trafficked than employed young women.
5. Young women whose mothers have low level education are more susceptible to trafficking than young women whose mothers have high level of education.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Since the signing of the Palermo Protocol in 2000, human trafficking has been a source of major concern in many international fora. The belief is that a thorough understanding of the factors that motivate young women into trafficking situation will aid the understanding of the phenomenon. This study is important in Nigeria due to the increasing number of young women that are trafficked despite the exploitative nature of the phenomenon. Again the research will draw attention to the fact that in Nigeria, a total picture of the dimensions and dynamics of the phenomenon is still scant. There is dearth of empirical data on the involvement of criminal syndicates and the flow of trafficking. As a result the understanding of the phenomenon is rudimentary making it impossible to combat the problem. Evidence from this study will fill the knowledge gap in that respect. The study will also shed light on the relationship between trafficking and sexually transmitted infections in the light of evidence that many deported traffickees have been exposed to sexually transmitted infections. Finally, it will bring to the fore

the issue of re-trafficking which tends to hamper rehabilitation and advocacy initiatives put in place by NGOs given that many of the supposedly rehabilitated trafficees are re-trafficked.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Trafficking of young women is a global scourge involving loose networks of family members and criminal syndicates. It involves the economic and sexual exploitation of young women. This sexual and economic exploitation is fueled by globalization and the emphasis on capital accumulation. This is achieved through the commodification of young women for the profit of traffickers, madams and syndicates.

In Nigeria, a total picture of the dimensions and dynamics of the phenomenon is non-existent. There exists dearth of empirical data on the involvement of criminal syndicates and the dynamics and flow of the phenomenon. As a result, the understanding of the phenomenon is rudimentary making it impossible to eradicate the problem. It becomes imperative that a thorough analysis of the problem be carried out to ascertain the depth and the dynamics in the context of Nigeria. The result of such analysis will make for a robust understanding of the phenomenon thus paving way for concrete initiatives to curb the menace. Such a mindset engendered this research.

1.8 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Some of the terms central to this study are defined in this section.

- 1.8.1 Trafficking:** Trafficking in this study is defined as the forcing or luring of young women into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situation with the aim of profiting recruiters, traffickers or crime syndicates.
- 1.8.2 The Family:** The family is a domestic group of people related to one another by bonds of blood, sexual mating or legal ties. The adult members assume responsibility to care for the children. It is a social unit that has survived and adapted through time. The traditional family in Benin City is typically polygynous.
- 1.8.3 Patriarchy:** is an organised system of social relations through which women are kept in subordinate position by men. It is a universal phenomenon, though there exist variations in the degree of power that men exercise as compared to women.
- 1.8.4 Polygyny:** This is the marriage of one man to two or more women concurrently. This is very common among the Bini. It is one of the vestiges of traditional Edo society where the mode of production was subsistence agriculture
- 1.8.5 Migration:** This is the permanent movement of persons across permanent symbolic or political boundaries. By its very nature migration involves three elements – the migrant, the place of origin and the place of destination.
- 1.8.6 Vulnerability:** Collins (2003) defined it as exposure, easily influenced or liable to certain situations. For this study it applies to young women that could be lured into trafficking situations.
- 1.8.7 Sex Tourism:** is defined as international travel oriented on prostitution. It is highly developed in the countries of the Far East (Human Rights Watch, 1995)

and in Kenya in East Africa where male tourists from abroad travel for the opportunity to engage in inexpensive sexual liaisons with exotic young African women (Butegwa, 1996)

1.8.8 Trafficker: A person who organizes and procures young women to be transported to another milieu for purpose of sexual exploitation. He or She could act alone or work for a syndicate for their mutual economic benefits.

1.8.9 Traffickee: A person who was trafficked outside the borders of her country for the purpose of sexual exploitation with or without consent. For this study it includes all those trafficked but deported back to Nigeria.

1.8.10 Age: The number of years that a person has lived or a thing has existed.

1.8.11 Peer: For this study, it means a group of people of the same age or social status that get on well.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis comprises five chapters, chapter one, which is the introduction outlines the study background, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. This chapter also includes the research hypotheses and the justification for the study.

In chapter two, the review of extant literature and the theoretical position on the subject matter are discussed. It equally discusses the conceptual framework. Chapter three contains the research design. This includes the details of the methodology employed in data collection, the study location, the sampling technique, the method, the instrument for data collection and data analysis.

The fourth chapter discusses the findings. It presents the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents such as age, educational qualification, religious affiliation and their marital status. It also explains the family type of the respondents and the number of persons in such families. In addition, the tested research hypotheses are stated and the findings discussed. Finally, chapter five outlines the major findings and gives a summary of the study, the conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF EXTANT LITERATURE

SUMMARY STATEMENT:

This chapter reviews extant literature relevant to the study. It looks at the various reasons adduced by scholars for trafficking. It examines the roles of the following factors- the environment, social and cultural factors, economic factors and demographic factors in exacerbating the phenomenon of trafficking in young women.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Every year, thousands of young women are trafficked worldwide into conditions amounting to slavery. Trafficking in young women is derivative of a more general term of trafficking in human beings. Literally, it implies an illicit trade in women, a contemporary form of slavery (white slavery), inherently coexisting with deception, exploitation and coercion (Salt and Hogarth, 2000, Skeldon, 2000). Reports from literature showed that global profits from forced labourers exploited by private enterprises reach 44.3 billion American dollars annually, of which 31.6 billion dollars come from trafficked victims. The largest profits – more than 15 billion American dollars are made from people trafficked and forced to work in industrialized countries (Belser, 2005). These figures buttress the view that trafficking thrives because it is lucrative. The ILO found that almost 2.5million people who suffer exploitation by private agents and enterprises are in forced labour as a result of human trafficking. Of these 2.5million people, 1.1 million are in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) (Belser, 2005). The traffickees are mainly foreigners. Some of them were sold by their parents or kidnapped by

traffickers with false promises of good jobs as waitresses, maids or cleaners. The victims realised upon arrival that they have debts ranging between 3000 American dollars to 60,000 American dollars to offset (Belser, 2005). Extant literature relevant to this study is reviewed under the following sub-headings:

- 1) Environmental factors
- 2) Cultural factors
- 3) Economic factors
- 4) Social factors
- 5) Demographic factors

All these factors impact on the phenomenon of trafficking in young women.

2.2 ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Fregier (1840) in Jones (1998) posited in his study of city slums in Paris that defects in morality could be attributed to environmental conditions. Among criminologists of both the Chicago School and interactionist perspective, crime was viewed as an intentioned and sometimes creative response to prevailing social conditions. In Nigeria, the following factors have impacted tremendously on the phenomenon of trafficking of young women.

2.2.1 Political Climate/the role of the state: To fully understand trafficking in young women within the Nigerian context, one has to situate the analysis within the

existing political ideology. This section looks at the role of the state vis-à-vis the citizenry within the context of the political economy approach. It argues that the state has failed to provide windows of opportunity to the youth to actualize themselves thereby impelling trafficking. The works of Ninalowo (2004) and Ake were used to buttress the arguments.

Ninalowo (2004:ix) posited that “the state since antiquity had been charged with the task of either mitigating or negating instances of crisis of legitimation thereby bringing about a semblance of order in society”. However, since the state was borne out of the immanent contradictions of social class structures and relations it will be jaundiced in favour of the dominant class interests instead of the interests of the oppressed majority. Ake (1981) had canvassed similar arguments that those belonging to the economically privileged class tend to have access to better education, are more cultured and of higher social status. The import of this is that economic inequality reproduces itself in a series of other inequalities. The economically privileged want the existing social order preserved. Ake (1981) was of the view that the morality and values of a society tend to support the preservation of the existing division of labour and distribution of wealth in that society. “The integration of African economies into the world capitalist system by western colonialism and imperialism is the event which has had the most influence in shaping the economic and development of contemporary Africa” (Ake, 1981:14). He asserted that the capitalist mode of production is characterized by two major elements. First, the means of production are unevenly distributed. Second, he likened the capitalist society to a market. He argued that the capitalist mode of production polarizes society into a small group who own the means of production and the majority with no means of production. Those devoid of the means of production have only their labour power to sell. They hire their labour in exchange for wages. This is a relation of inequality, subordination and domination.

The Nigerian State is a rentier state, despite the abundance of mineral resources and arable land, the state has consistently refused to develop by being entirely dependent on crude oil refined outside the country. The existing refineries in the country have been neglected through utter neglect and corruption in order to make way for a cartel of oil sheiks to import petroleum products and amass huge profits to the detriment of the oppressed majority. This situation has further impoverished the citizenry to the extent that they have to contend with high transportation costs in addition to unemployment/underemployment.

The military regime of 1985 headed by General Ibrahim Babangida introduced an economic blue print that was hinged on privatization and devaluation of the national currency (Naira). The fundamental objective was to engender competencies in manufacturing and thus open up the economy for exports. However, this objective was truncated because of the country's dependence on oil. This situation resulted in migration since it became profitable to go abroad for work and bring in "hard currencies" which could be changed into a fortune (Olateru-Olagbegi, 1997, Otoide, 2000).

Edo State is particularly unlucky in the sense that the last civilian regime embarked on massive looting of the state's resources resulting in utter neglect of all government institutions. The government did not deem it fit to use the 13.6% it receives as an oil producing state to improve the living conditions of Edo people. It neither upgraded its decaying infrastructure nor build industries for its army of the unemployed. This situation engendered despondency and hopelessness on part of its citizenry. This situation has resulted in a myriad of social problems such as human trafficking, prostitution and armed robbery. Equally of importance, is the

fact that in Africa few women occupy positions of power and authority whereas a large percentage remains unskilled and uneducated. Any wonder that Benin City, the capital of Edo State has been identified as the hub for human trafficking in Nigeria.

2.2.2 Globalization: This is an integration of economies throughout the World. It is a process by which markets in various parts of the world become inter-dependent as a result of the dynamics in trade and financial inflows. Globalization is driven by a technological revolution that has shrunk time and distance (Savitch, 2002; Dicken, 1998). The years from the 1980s saw a new wave of globalization, one that focused on rich countries. Europe, North America and Japan paid attention to the restoration of trade relations through a series of multilateral trade liberalizations under the auspices of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (World bank, 2005). During this new wave of globalization, developing countries remained exporters of primary products and were virtually excluded from capital inflows. As a result the developed economies recorded more growth and became richer whereas growth in the developing economies was slower. This widened the gap between the rich and poor countries. The recent wave of globalization being witnessed in this decade was spurred by technological advance in transport and communication technologies. During this decade some countries like Brazil, China, Hungary, India and Mexico were able to double their trade ratio. While these new globalizers are catching up with the developed economies, the rest of the developing world with about 2 billion people is becoming marginalized. Their aggregate growth rate was negative in the 1990s

(World Bank, 2005). For instance, Africa's share of the global trade fell from 6% in the 1980s to just 2% in 2005 (The Economist, 2006).

Paradoxically, growing integration is heightening inequalities both within and between countries. Oluode (2003) averred that globalization promotes domination and disempowerment in Africa. According to him the driving force behind globalization is the maximization of profit. "For Africa, it can be summarized that the central elements of globalization include the structural adjustment programmes which were meant to make the African economy more business-like by removing wastages and cutting down on social standing. It endorses the withdrawal of states from economic activities- compliance with the requirements of the World Trade Organization" (Oluode, 2003: 72). The result all over Africa has been currency devaluation, reduction in public expenditure, withdrawal of subsidies and the shrinking of the work force. The overall effect has been the disempowerment of the African people.

Globalization has a catalytic impact on trafficking due to the fast flow of information. Fast development of information technology has facilitated the globalization of markets, know-how and consumption patterns (Omran, 1999). This has engendered a new international division of labour whose distinct and complementary traits include *inter alia*: an intensified import of foreign workers from developing economies to countries with high and flexible wages and an intensified export to countries with low wages (Sassen- Koob, 1983). These trends bear gender underpinnings. Evidence from literature, show that such labour importing developed economies prefer female migrants to male migrants. They are cheaper and easily controllable. This new international division of labour is

associated with the exploitation of female workers (Hancock, 1983, Sassen-Koob, 1984, Lim, 1995).

Given the inequality in trade and well-being between the industrialized countries and countries in sub-Saharan Africa, what is the situation of Sub-Saharan African women in a globalized world? Africa plays a minimal role in globalization both in terms of trade and free flow of information as evidenced by the World Bank report. Global economic integration happens through trade, migration, and capital flows. Africa's relation with the world in terms of economics has been that of marginalization. The reason being that countries in this region export only their primary products. This has made them vulnerable to trade shocks. In addition, most of the countries in Africa suffer from poor infrastructure such as epileptic power supply, inefficient transport system and very inefficient railway system.

Culturally, rather than contribute to the global market, Africa is a gross consumer of other people's culture. Globalization within the African context has meant economic, social, cultural and political disruptions brought about by the policies of structural adjustment. The overall result has been a widening income gap, a deterioration in the quality of the remaining public services, decay in basic infrastructures, increased poverty and vulnerability for millions especially women in both urban and rural areas (Aina, 1996; Dembele, 1998). This position is because gender equity remains peripheral to the core objectives of the main multilateral trade institution (the world Trade Organization) and those of multilateral financial institutions (The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) (Abdul-Ganiyu and Kassey, 1999).

Equally of significance is that the expansion in global culture raises the expectations of better well-being elsewhere. And for Nigeria, globalization has

aggravated poverty, in female-headed households. In 1996, the poverty index in male-headed households was 66.5 percent, for 1992, 1985 and 1980 the figures were 43.1 percent, 47.3 percent and 29.2 percent respectively. This shows a 23 percent increase between 1992 and 1996 whereas for women the incidence of poverty was 58.5 percent in 1996 (double the 27 percent in 1980). The figure for 1992 was 39.9 percent and for 1985 it was 38.6 percent, this shows a continuous upward trend in poverty over the 16-year period (Federal Office of statistics, 1999). These households tend to be poorer and have more dependants than male-headed households. These disruptions and lack of support network lead to increased financial responsibility, thus adding to the vulnerability of young women to trafficking.

2.3 CULTURAL FACTORS

Sociologically, culture focuses on observable events, artifacts and behaviour, which exist in human societies. Culturally much is expected from women in Benin City Nigeria; they are saddled with farming, child bearing/rearing and other economic activities and at the same time culturally disinherited. Trafficking of young women within the geographical locality where it is rampant could be attributable to the following cultural factors.

2.3.1 Patriarchy: Connel (1987), defined patriarchy as an organized field of human practice and social relations through which women are kept in subordinate positions. It is a set of social relations with a material base that enables men to

dominate women (Cain *et al.*, 1979; Oyekanmi, 2004; Walby, 1990). De Beauvoir (1949) argued that woman was dethroned by the advent of private property and her lot through the centuries has been bound up by private property. For her, patriarchy made it possible for man to wrest from woman all her rights to possess and bequeath property. Through marriage, woman is not only torn from the group into which she was born but her children are taken from her. They belong to her husband's clan. Since she owns nothing, she does not enjoy the dignity of being a person. She is a part of the patrimony of a man. First, of her father, and then of her husband (De Beauvoir, 1949).

Oyekanmi (2004) posited that Nigerian women are an underdeveloped resource, constrained by factors in and outside their shores. Their fate is determined by culture and societal values. The society perceives women as reproducers of society and providers of care and comfort. Their vulnerability to trafficking is as a result of their inferior position within the social structure (UNESCO, 2004, Human Rights Watch, 1995). Poudel, (1994, Aladeselu, 1999) concurred that the low social values given to women contribute to trafficking. In some situations, these deep-rooted practices of gender discrimination which engender a cultural climate that perceive trafficking as morally acceptable, when in tandem with poverty-stricken living conditions tend to exacerbate trafficking. Similarly, attitudes that see women and girls as inferior commodify them; contribute to practices of recruiting them either by force, abduction or deception (UNICEF, 2003). In cases where family members push young women into trafficking, this is not considered harmful, as they are considered chattels of their families (Asian Development Bank, 2002).

The rule of descent is patrilineal. The first son inherits both land and title from his father upon death. The system of land tenure is such that kin groups do not lay claim to tracts of land. Each adult male is dependent upon the village community in general rather than upon his own kin group. Within the Benin social milieu, women occupy inferior position in the social structure. They are not entitled to any form of inheritance from their family of orientation due to the principle of primogeniture. They are equally precluded from such rights in their husband's families. However, those with male children do benefit indirectly through their sons.

2.3.2 Family pressure: The Bini are patrilineal and residence is virilocal. The father (erha) is the head of the family. He is respected and he rules over his wife/wives. He commands respect from every member of his family in return for their protection (UNICRI, 2004). At death, the eldest son becomes the head of the family. Inheritance is through the principle of primogeniture. Female children are not valued and cannot inherit their father's property. In addition wives cannot inherit their husbands' property. This shows the inferior position of Bini women within the Benin social structure. In traditional Benin society marriage was highly cherished and polygyny is favoured because the people were mainly farmers. A man's family provides the labour on his farm. However, with modernity the family ceased to be an economic unit. Members of the family were free to sell their labour outside the family. This situation weakened the family as an economic unit thus engendering poverty. To ameliorate the situation the family resorts to using children as instruments to generate wealth. In this case the female members are motivated to offer their labour to traffickers through trafficking.

According to Pharaoh (2006), a study of Nigerian women trafficked to Italy showed that while some highly organized criminal groupings are involved; many trafficking groups are loose networks of primarily opportunistic family members. The study showed that over half of those spoken to were recruited by close friends and family members. Parents were fingered as inducing or forcing their children into trafficking situation because they believed it would provide them with a better future.

2.3.3 Socialization/Peer Influence: Tarde (1912) cited in Reid (2000) posited that criminality is not innate, but rather acquired through learning and peer influence. He argued that “all important acts of social life are carried out under the domination of example.” His postulation is that criminality is acquired through imitation. The inferior imitates the superior; peasants imitate royalty, while those in rural villages imitate city people. Massey (1999) sums it thus “The spread of migratory behaviour within sending communities sets off ancillary structural changes, shifting income distribution, land and modifying local cultures in ways that promote additional international movements”. The study by Okojie, *et al*, (2003), posited that young women who had not been trafficked faced considerable pressure from family and friends to be involved in trafficking. One of the reasons adduced for this pressure was the display of wealth by already trafficked persons. Such women have built houses and have acquired luxury cars. In some cases, they establish transport businesses for their parents and male siblings. Many families pride themselves in having their female members abroad irrespective of what they are doing there to make money.

2.4 ECONOMIC FACTORS

Some scholars have argued that the major cause of migration between and within national borders in recent years is rooted in economic disparity between and within states (Adepoju 1998, Afolayan, 1998). These disparities in income and social well-being have resulted in a new wave of migration both licit and illicit. This situation was engendered by the implementation of SAP embraced by many African countries experiencing problems with their macro-economic policies. The adjustment policies have engendered unemployment and poverty, which in turn exacerbate trafficking. Trafficking in turn yields tremendous profits, thus impelling more young women to avail themselves of such situations.

2.4.1 Devaluation/Depreciation of the Naira: Many countries in Sub-Saharan-Africa began experiencing macroeconomic crisis in the 1970s with the exception of Nigeria which is an oil exporting country. For Olukoshi (1994), “the global context for the economic problems that confronted many countries in the sub-region was the recession that hit the world economy especially the industrialized countries of Europe and North America which was refracted into the economies of dependent capitalist formations in this region”. Nigeria, temporarily escaped this crisis due to its huge earnings from oil exports. However, this temporary respite gave way to deep economic crisis in the 1980s as a result of mismanagement and planlessness by the ruling elite. This deepening economic crisis led to the sack of the fourth republic by the military in December, 1983. The military regime perceived the economic crisis as a problem of indiscipline and went on to introduce a number of measures in its bid to inculcate discipline in the citizenry. This wrong perception engendered disenchantment in the populace

leading to a palace coup that ushered in another military regime with President Ibrahim Babangida at the helm in 1985.

The government of Ibrahim Babangida co-opted a number of intellectuals into the government. This crop of intellectuals identified the reasons for the economic crisis and advised that the country should take a loan from the IMF to enable it to restructure the economy and correct its balance of payment problems. The Babangida government launched a national debate that focused on the question of borrowing from the IMF. The loan was rejected by the citizenry but a “homegrown” adjustment programme was launched (Olufemi-Kusa, 1994). The programme was designed in collaboration with the World Bank and the IMF. The implementation of the SAP engendered a myriad of social problems such as unemployment, decay in infrastructure, inflation and a general decline in the quality of life.

Corroborating this position (Adepoju, 1998, Afolayan, 1998) argued that the major cause of migration between and within national borders in recent years is rooted in economic disparity between and within states. According to them the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), embraced by many African countries in their bid to correct domestic policy inadequacies has increased income inequality between the countries of the North and South because of one of the conditionality which is currency devaluation. This situation is vividly illustrated in The Human Development Report (2006). While Nigeria is ranked 159th with a GDP per capita of one thousand, one hundred and fifty four dollars, Norway which is ranked 1st has a GDP per capita of thirty eight thousand four hundred and fifty four dollars. For a fact, since the inception of SAP the national currency (Naira)

has depreciated by 1000 per cent (Babawale, 2006). These income inequalities have differential effects on social groups as the burden of adjustment falls largely on the poor and the marginalized (women and children). .

For instance, trafficking of young Nigerian women into Italy became a problem in the 1980s as a result of the effect of adjustment policies (Aghatise, 2002) in (Okojie, *et al*, 2003). They started leaving the country in droves due to promises of fantastic jobs in Italy.

In Nigeria, the adjustment policies resulted in job cuts for those in paid employment, the removal, of subsidies on petroleum products, the privatization of most public corporations and a general price increase in social services. This produced loss of income and an increase in the existing pool of the unemployed. In this kind of situation the burden of survival falls on women. However, their inability to access credit and land to cushion the effect of unemployment, as a result of patriarchy, led many to emigrate to earn foreign currency (Adepoju, 1997; Lopes, 1999). For (Adepoju, 2006) remittances from those that emigrated provide lifelines to poor family members. Such remittances pay for healthcare, education of siblings and the setting up of small enterprises.

Within a decade of the implementation of SAP, Nigeria has become a low-income country. In essence structural adjustment policies with the attendant depreciation of the Naira exacerbated the phenomenon of trafficking in young women.

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2.4.2 Poverty: has been defined as the deficiency of material items necessary for a minimum level of existence (Jones, 1998). Pharaoh (2006) argued that the

reworking of gender relations has increased the feminisation of poverty in many developing countries. She posited that the rising levels of poverty and unemployment in many poor countries brought about by stringent economic policies and globalization, when combined with inflation forced many women to enter the productive sector. For instance the world survey on the role of women in development in 1994 reported that tradition is the reason why women bear the pain of poverty due to their inability to access health, education and production resources like capital, technology and land. As a result of this condition, poverty remains stubbornly feminized (United Nations Department of Public information, 2000). It concludes that poor families, unable to provide for their children sell or hire out their daughters for commercial sexual exploitation. Sanghera *et al* (1997) elaborates how the feminisation of poverty and migration increases vulnerability to traffickers. Driven by the need for gainful employment, with few jobs in their home environments, they become easy prey to unscrupulous traffickers offering choice jobs and opportunity for education. Pharaoh (2006) in her South African study concluded that endemic poverty, weak education systems, unemployment and the general lack of opportunities in the region exacerbate trafficking in young women. Crites (1976), cited in Sheley (1995) established that female offenders are typically of low socioeconomic status, poorly educated, under or unemployed. They often have dependants that rely on them for economic support.

2.4.3 Unemployment: Unemployment is used to gauge the economic condition within a society as it increases during economic depression and declines during economic boom. Unemployment means being out of work. The main difficulty facing city dwellers remains the matter of unemployment/underemployment.

When jobs are scarce women are more likely than men to remain in the informal sector with its low returns because they lack necessary skills and education. A study carried out in Benin City by WHARC (Women's Health and Action Research Centre, 2002) reported that 60 percent of the respondents said that family members were ready to assist them obtain papers to travel to Italy to work as CSW (commercial sex workers). They reported that unemployment was the reason for their being trafficked. Aghatise (2002) opined that the first group of trafficked women were mainly married and separated women who were looking for a way to take care of their families. Subsequently, traffickees were young women who went in search of better paying jobs to help their families. In another study carried out by GPI (Girls Power Initiative, 2002), it was reported that young women were more susceptible to trafficking because parents relied on them to lift them out of poverty because of their readiness to sacrifice for their families. The conclusions of Cross *et al* (2006) on "Views on Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa" are in tandem with the findings of (GPI, 2002). It discovered that families pressure their migrant members to make remittances and that female migrants were more likely send home more remittances than male migrants and that they are more likely to send money when the family experiences income shock say during illness The study concluded that unemployment and poverty were the push factors while the demand for foreign sex workers was a major pull factor. "The study on international migration of women" by Morrison *et al* (2008) arrived at a similar conclusion. They averred that female migrants remit for investment purposes but that their investments were more targeted to support origin households with education and business opportunities rather than personal educational and business investments to facilitate a future return.

2.4.4 Profitability: Trafficking in young women holds relatively few risks but generates enormous fortune for its perpetrators. Its clandestine nature and huge profit make it lucrative to well-established criminal syndicates. Virtually all the studies reviewed quote the United Nations figure, which estimates trafficking to approximate 5-7 billion American dollars annually. Richard (1999) asserted that profits from trafficking form the greater percentage of revenue for crime syndicates. In Poland, it is estimated that each woman sold to a brothel fetches the trafficker 700 American dollars. In Germany, a foreign woman in a brothel earns 350 dollars a day and is allowed to keep about 100 dollars (Wall Street Journal, 1996). This huge profit and the fact that penalties are light due to the uncooperative attitude of those trafficked make it attractive to criminal syndicates. In addition, traffickees are subjected to Psychological and Physical violence to ensure that they continue to protect the identity of the syndicate (Pharaoh, 2006).

2.5 SOCIAL FACTORS

Factors such as lack of access to education and promotion of tourism equally contribute towards the exacerbation of trafficking.

2.5.1 Education: The major function of education is the transmission of norms and values. The International Bank for Reconstruction (World Bank, 1995) asserted that globally, 77 million girls of primary school age (6-11 years) were not in school compared with 55 million boys of the same age group. The report noted also the high dropout rates among girls especially in low-income countries. Cultural factors, early marriage, pregnancy and household responsibilities were responsible for the high dropout. Despite Nigeria's endorsement of the Jometien

Conference on Education for All (EFA) in the year 2000, the trend in education shows considerable fluctuation in enrolment between 1991 and 2000. Enrolment rose between 1990 and 1994, from 68 to 86 percent. But declined to 81 percent in 1995 and 70 percent in 1996. By the year 2000, Nigeria, could not realise the Jometien EFA goals. Of significance is that literacy rates among 15-24 year olds have deteriorated since 1991, falling from 71.2 percent to 64.1 percent in 1999. Recent surveys show that overall literacy rates have declined from 58 percent in 1990 to 49 percent in 2001 while literacy rates among women/girls have declined from 44 percent to 41 percent over the same period (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2004:vi). The report concludes that access to education is affected by cultural beliefs and the economic condition of the family. Among the Bini sons are preferred to daughters. This influences access to education as parents would rather send their sons to tertiary institutions while daughters are withdrawn in times of adversity and married off (UNICRI, 2004:45). This apparent handicap translates to vulnerability to traffickers.

2.5.2 Sex Tourism: The sex and entertainment industry is the hidden economic sector where business meets criminality. In many developed countries it has become the engine of growth of the economy. For instance, it has become the integral part of the tourist industry in many developed economies. Infact, the expanding use of internet and the large number of telephone operators worldwide have enlarged the marketing and visibility of erotic services (IOM, 2001). A leading factor in the developed economies is the growing demand for hospitality services from male workers subjected to increased mobility under the conditions of modern and

globalizing economy (phizacklea, 1999). In line with this postulate, sex affective services have become part of corporate management services.

Butegwa (1996) also noted that there exists a correlation between the influx of wealthy foreigners seeking pleasure with young women from developing countries and the movement of young women into the sex industry to meet the demand for sex workers. Nagle (2007) averred that the highest concentration of trafficked persons is found in South-East Asia and South Asia where an estimated 225,000 persons are trafficked annually. Their major destination is Bangkok the sex city of Asia. Pinto (2002) equally noted that young women from Asia, Latin America and Africa are taken to Europe because there exist a ready clientele having been tagged “exotic”. Sex tourism involves travel agencies, tour operators, hotels, and others in the tourism industry. In Nigeria, victims are becoming younger in order to meet the dictates of the global sex industry. Research findings showed that clients prefer younger women because of the belief that they are better sex partners and HIV free (UNESCO, 2004). This assertion was corroborated by (Hughes, Sporicic, Mendelson and Chrgwin, 1999, loconto, 2002).

2.6 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The following demographic factors contribute to the high incidence of trafficking in young women.

2.6.1 Urbanization: This refers to a process whereby a population becomes concentrated in a specific area because of immigration patterns (Tischiler, 1999). This dense concentration of people is characterized by heterogeneity.

Urbanization in Nigeria is as a result of rural-urban migration. Two questions arise: why do people migrate to the cities? And how does urbanization influence trafficking in young women? The answer to the first question lays essentially in two factors- the pull of opportunity and the push of abject poverty. The urban culture of consumerism, materialism, commodification of individuals and commercialization of sex tend to promote trafficking. Most young women trafficked are taken to the sex industry in large cities. In Nigeria, the concentration of economic activities and infrastructural development in the cities force people to migrate to the urban centers in search of work, but only the few skilled ones are absorbed in the formal sector. Agbonifo (1987) in his work “Unemployment and Urban Poverty” argued that unemployment is an urban phenomenon in Nigeria. A major characteristic of this unemployment is that most are school leavers.

2.6.2 Immigration policies: Some scholars have argued that strict immigration policies tend to exacerbate trafficking by increasing the number of migrants who avail themselves of the services provided by criminal syndicates. As receiving countries apply restrictive policies to stem the rising tide of immigrants, they create lucrative niches for criminal syndicates to create migration-supporting institutions for purposes of profit. The business of illicit migration is not only internationally organized but deeply rooted in the underworld. For Ruggiero (1997) the involvement of criminal organizations in contemporary labour movements stems from two main factors: a high economic potentials for those movements and a scarcity of channels through which the flow of workers could materialize, puts at stake the human rights of many migrants especially women.

Evidence from literature has also shown that some immigration officials and border forces collaborate with traffickers. Many trafficked young women allege that immigration officials assist in their entry into destination countries. They may also support trafficking by selling visas (Global Survival Network, 1997, Raymond, D’Cunha, Dzuhayatin, Hynes, Rodriguez, and Santos, 2002).

2.6.3 Family size: Findings from some previous literature have shown that most traffickees come from either polygynous homes or monogamous homes with large family size or from single-parent families (Okojie, *et al*, 2003, Onyeonoru, 2004, Okonofua, *et al*, 2004).

2.7 GAPS IN KNOWLEDGE

From the review of literature, it is evident that there exists a paucity of empirical data necessary to understand the magnitude of the phenomenon. The few empirical studies on trafficking in young women in Benin City focused only on the vulnerable group (young women) without considering the experiences of those who had been trafficked but deported. This could be because some of those studies were qualitative studies and centered on the attitude of young women to trafficking. Some of these studies aimed at providing a bird’s eye-view of the problem. Most of the findings are based on interviews with the Police, officials of NAPTIP, NGOs and a small sample of vulnerable young women. None of the studies considered the imperative of having a control group of those who fall into the vulnerable group but were never trafficked or those trafficked but deported back to the country. These inadequacies hinder making generalizations from the results of such studies. The complexity of the phenomenon makes it imperative

that both quantitative and qualitative methods be employed to generate data. In addition it is essential that the sample be drawn from a homogenous group of young women whether trafficked or yet to be trafficked.

2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Trafficking in human beings of which trafficking in young women is a subset is a very complex phenomenon. The complexity is such that it crosscuts various issues such as migration, sex, economics, labour, law and criminology. A sociological analysis of trafficking in young women in Nigeria must be situated within the context of the continuing changes in the society brought about by two fundamental factors: first, the dynamics in the physical environment; and second, the separation of the means of production from the family's immediate environment. In addition to the changes brought about by macro-economic policies packaged by IMF/WORLD BANK for developing countries experiencing balance of payment problems. The complexity of the phenomenon makes it impossible to draw definite conclusions about the causes. This is because every country suggests different factors or a combination of factors unique to its situation. Within the Nigerian context, the dynamics brought about by the gospel of privatization and liberalization engendered a situation that favoured the trade in young women. In view of these dynamics this section will adopt a multi-theoretical approach to sharpen the analysis.

2.8.1 Sociological theories: This section discusses three sociological theories namely the theoretical perspectives on the family, the world-system theory and radical feminism

- (i) **Theoretical Perspectives on the Family:** The family is the cornerstone of the society. It forms the basic unit of social organization. The family in contemporary Africa has undergone and is constantly undergoing changes.

Goode (1963), identified four functions of the family namely procreation, early socialization, co- residential unit proffering protection and religion. He contended that only the approved unions between two people of the opposite sex who perform these functions qualify as family. When the family fails to perform these functions, it has degenerated. However, family patterns are gradually changing from extended to nuclear or conjugal pattern (Ekiran, 2003). This changing family structure is due to industrialization and urbanization.

Weber, on his part viewed changes in the family structure, as a function of the changes in the larger society, stemming from the industrial revolution. He argued that the household has undergone an extensive internal transformation in two basic areas. First, the function of the family has been reduced to consumption rather than production. Second, the development of the law of inheritance has meant a separation between the property of the man and the woman instead of the hitherto communal law of inheritance. This transformation was engendered by the development of trade and industry. He thus advocated for reciprocity of influence between the family and other institutions in society (Ekiran, 2003). In essence, the development of trade and industry has resulted in excess individualism where family members are free to seek their fortune within the larger society. This situation, has led to parents asking and expecting their children not only to fend for themselves but also to turn around the fortune of the family.

Anchoring his analysis of the contemporary family in Nigeria on the theory of family change, Babatunde (1988:71-2), argued that the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970, engendered some factors with far reaching effects on the family. These factors include:

- The sudden availability, of vast resources from petroleum.
- The continuation, of the imbalance in planning which concentrated industries and amenities in urban areas.
- The neglect, of farming as potential foreign exchange earner.
- The formulation and implementation, of the universal free primary education (UPE). The changes produced by these factors introduced strains and stresses in marital unions. This emerging society with minimal social cohesion to cushion the strains and stresses brought about disorganization within the family.

Similarly, the massive rural-urban migration resulting from the above factors led to the presence of many unskilled young people in the cities. They are mainly found in the informal sector with its attendant low wages and no career prospects. This category of young people enters into union with people in their group. Their low income coupled with the high standard of living in the cities confine them to the slums where there exist little or no amenities. They are characterized by large family size, eight being the average family size (Babatunde, 1988). Their children are ill educated and are unable to compete in the city. Babatunde also argued the existence of a second category of young people in the city. They are well educated with remunerative employment. They are urbane and they marry their peers from other parts of the country. Their career is top priority and each partner

may take unilateral decisions that often may affect the family adversely. The existence of these two categories of young people has impacted negatively on the family. In the first group due to the constraints of poverty and its resultant instability on the family, children are left to grow on their own. In the second group, as a result of career enhancement, and the quest for material well being, parents fail to devote adequate time to the socialization of the children. This laxity in parental control has resulted in the erosion of values that hitherto acted as controls against deviation. The result is the desire by young people to travel to Europe to prostitute and make money.

(ii) The World Systems Theory

A world-system is a historical social system of interdependent parts with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems (Wallerstein, 1974). The present world-system is the capitalist world economy. It consists of a single division of labour within one world market. Labour is divided among functionally defined and geographically distinct parts arranged in a hierarchy of occupational tasks (Wallerstein, 1974). The core states dominate the periphery. They concentrate on higher skills and capital intensive production. They are militarily and technologically strong. The periphery states are characterized by low skills, labour intensive production and supply of raw materials. They are militarily and technologically weak and are exploited by the core states. The core states appropriate 80 % of the world's wealth and has better well being (World Bank, 2005).

At present, the world-system is characterized by the ideology of liberalism packaged as liberal democracy and market economy. To belong, the peripheral states are encouraged to democratize and liberalize their economies despite their weak structure. According to (Paul & Thompson, 2004), the world-system raises nationally based interactions to new power level. Domestic policies whether public or private now have to take account of international determinants in their areas of operations.

This new web of interaction is what is touted as globalisation. But Africa's weak position in global interaction has put it at a disadvantage in making positive impact (Ogburn & Nimkoff, 1958) cited in (Olurode, 2003:68). This situation has further impoverished Africa and weakened its dependency. As systemic interdependence grows the national level becomes transformed by the international. The first major consequence of this interdependence is that national governance becomes problematic because their population would be at the mercy of uncontrollable global market forces. This dependency has gender undertones as men and women are affected unequally. Women are found mainly in the informal sector of the economy where they engage in subsistence farming and petty trading. This sector requires minimal capital. However, with greater integration into the global economy they become vulnerable to the vagaries of global interaction. Since the objective of such integration is to engender efficiency and competitiveness, women become the first casualty. They lose their small plots of land to private capital. Their produce is unable to compete in the world market due to trade liberalization. They cannot access capital or land to engage in commercial farming or commodities trading to enable them partake in

globalisation due to their inferior position in the social structure. The result has been unemployment/underemployment which further impoverishes the women and by implication the peripheral states. This sharp contrast in the quality of life between the core states and the peripheral states is an incentive for voluntary migration as well as a motivation for unsuspecting young women to be lured to the core states as traffickees

(iii) Radical Feminism

Gender theories are characterized by the following- (1) men and women are unequally situated in society. (2) Women get less of material resources, social status, power and opportunity for self actualization. (3) This inequality is structural and not biological and (4) every person desires freedom and self actualization and as such women could do with more egalitarian structures and situations.

Radical feminism is based on two fundamental postulations. First, women are of absolute positive value, a belief asserted against the universal devaluing of women. Second, women are everywhere oppressed – violently oppressed by the system of patriarchy (Atkinson, 1974, Bunch, 1987, Chesler, 1994). Radical feminists postulate that of all the systems of domination and subordination, that the most fundamental structure of oppression is gender, the system of patriarchy. Not only is patriarchy historically the first structure of domination and submission but continues as the most enduring and pervasive system of inequality (Lerner, 1986). Through patriarchy men learn how to hold other human beings in contempt see them as subhuman and control them. Central to this analysis is the image of

patriarchy as violence against women. Violence in this instance may not be physical but hidden in practices of exploitation and control. In standards of fashion and beauty, in tyrannical ideals of motherhood, monogamy, chastity, unpaid household drudgery and unpaid wage work (Mackinnon, 1979, Wolf, 1991, Thompson, 1994). Physically patriarchy foists violence on women through rape, incest, enforced prostitution, and sexual molestation of children, abuse of widows and in the context of Benin the cultural practice of primogeniture. Patriarchy succeeds because men can muster the most basic power resource, physical force to establish control. Once patriarchy is in place, economic, ideological, legal and emotional resources are marshalled to sustain it. The Benin culture accords women inferior status and it is through this process that women are commodified and controlled with the sole purpose of enriching the family.

2.8.2 Migration Theories

This section presents Caldwell's wealth flow theory and the push-pull theory.

(i) Wealth Flow Theory:

Caldwell starts from the premise that people are rational beings and that reproductive behaviour is economically rational within bounds of biology and psychology. He averred that there exist two types of society- (i) the stable high fertility where there is no economic gain to be accrued by having fewer children. (ii) The lower fertility society where economic factors imply the undesirability of having many children. In the first society, children over their lifetime provide their parents with more economic resources than they receive. When this economic flow changes direction to the regime that favours the children instead of

the parents, parents lose the incentive to have children and fertility falls to a low level. In societies where wealth flows from parents to children, the flow is downward whereas in societies where wealth flows from children to parents the flow is upward. The imperative is that pronatalism is favoured in agrarian societies where polygyny is practiced. Children provide cheap labour on their parents' farms and are instruments for acquisition of wealth by their parents.

The Benin social milieu favours polygyny and it is widely practiced. Children are regarded as assets by their parents. In Benin City, even though male children are valued more than female children but the female child is also desired. She is expected to bring wealth and good fortune to the family. In traditional Benin society the female child is expected to marry and give birth too many children. Since children are regarded as assets, a childless woman has no social standing (Usuanlele, 1998). However, modernization has brought some changes to Benin cultural values. Even though the male child is still cherished but the female child is equally desired. She is looked upon to wipe off poverty from her family by traveling to Italy to prostitute and amass wealth. Parents prefer to send daughters abroad because they could be relied upon to assist the family and girls were more willing to sacrifice themselves for their families (UNICRI, 2004). The proceeds from such ventures are invested in family businesses such as transportation or milling of grains and even real estate. This theory is useful in explaining the phenomenon of trafficking in young women in Benin City given that trafficking continues to thrive in Benin City especially in polygynous families with many daughters. It equally explains situations where young women from monogamous

families and even female-headed households are encouraged by their parents to travel to Italy to prostitute and change the family fortune.

(ii) The Push-Pull Theory

International migration defined as the movement of people from one country to another to take up residence is a recent phenomenon. The push – pull theory describes migration flow. The theory summarized the reasons for migration. The basic postulation is that people move because they are moved out of their former location while others move because they have been pulled to some other place. For Ravenstein (1889) cited in Weeks (2002), pull factors were more important than push factors. According to him “Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, inclement weather, uncongenial social surroundings produced and are still producing currents of migration but non of these currents compares in volume to the desire of men to better themselves in material respects”. Thus for him, the desire to get ahead more than the desire to escape an unpleasant situation impels migration. The potential migrant weighs the push and pull factors and relocates if the benefits outweigh the costs (Kosinski and Prothero, 1975, Stone, 1975, Massey, 1990). The decision to move occurs over a long period of time proceeding from the desire to the planning and the actual movement. The decision, to move favours young adults over older persons. For Weeks (2002), the decision about who will migrate, when and to where is often part of the household strategy to improve its quality of life. This decision is not made in a vacuum but influenced by the sociocultural environment in which the household lives.

For Adepaju (2000) rapid population growth and labour force combined with stagnant economic growth rates fueled the new wave of migration in Sub-Saharan

Africa. The job situation in many developing countries is complicated by a shift away from agriculture to industry and service jobs. According to him, since the 1980s the GDP of SSA countries had stagnated while population continues to increase. This has resulted in the 1980s being called a “lost decade” for SSA countries because so much was unaccomplished (Adepoju, 2000:383). Migration in whatever form responds to the same factors the pull of opportunity and the push of abject poverty (Adepoju, 2000:383). He averred that African countries reduced the size of the public sector, which is the largest employer of labour through retirements, right sizing and rationalization. He blames worsening social conditions and employment situations for migratory movements in Sub-Saharan Africa. Adepoju (1995b) sees migration as a family survival strategy. He opines that migration in Africa remains a family matter with even non- migrant members of the family involved in and affected by the migration process. Usually, a family will try to sponsor one or more of its members to partake in migration. The expectation is that the migrant will maintain touch with those left behind through remittances. The family also expects reward in the education of its members. For many families such remittances offer a life- line for survival. Adepoju cites the phenomenon of trafficking in young persons to Europe as a strategy for survival. According to him, young persons embark on daredevil ventures to gain entry into Europe. As a result of this desperation, unscrupulous agents exploit these youths with promises of passages from West Africa to Italy, Spain and France (Adepoju, 1995b).

In Nigeria, as a result of the economic reforms both the public and private sectors embarked on massive rationalization of their work force. This resulted in

thousands of people being thrown into the unemployment market. In addition, the vacillating effects of SAP and the depreciation of the national currency prompted a variety of migratory movements both licit and illicit. This wave of migration is very visible in Benin City because of the existence of some Bini women married to European construction workers in Italy, Spain and France. These women provided the social capital for subsequent generation of young Bini women who migrated to Europe. For a fact, this first generation of Bini women who had become successful materially embarked on recruiting their young female relations and family friends to join them in those destination countries. They were the first generation of traffickers/madams. Their material success impelled many young women to become traffickees. In addition many families not only encouraged but provided material support to their daughters to migrate to Italy, Spain and France with the hope that they too would become successful materially.

2.8.3 Theories of Deviant Behaviour

The theory of Differential Association as postulated by Sutherland and the postulations of Durkheim and Merton on Anomie are discussed in this section.

(i) The Differential Association Theory:

The French scholar Gabriel Tarde (1912) averred that the patterns of delinquency and crime were learned through imitation and association with others. Sutherland (1937) modified Tarde's contributions by arguing that criminal behaviour is learned through association with those that violate societal norms. For him, "the cultural learning process involves not only the actual techniques of crime but also

the motives, drive, attitudes and rationalizations favourable to the commission of anti social acts” (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978). He argues the impossibility of a person participating in criminal behaviour by inheritance, since all patterns of human behaviour are meaningful in a cultural environment. All human behaviour is learned from the cultural environment. According to him, both criminal and law abiding behaviour are learned behaviour. Such behaviours are learned through interaction with others. He argues that a criminal identity and career results from a series of experiences. The learning process comes from social conditions and contacts outside the individual. In his postulations, Sutherland, made the following assertions:-

- The processes that result in systematic criminal behaviour are basically the same in form as those that result in lawful behaviour.
- Systematic criminal behaviour is learned in intimate association with those that commit crimes.
- Differential association is the specific causal process in the development of systematic criminal behaviour.
- The likelihood of a person participating in systematic criminal is determined by the frequency and consistency of his contacts with criminal patterns.
- Cultural conflict is the underlying cause of differential association and therefore of systematic criminal behaviour.
- Social disorganization is the fundamental cause of systematic criminal behaviour.

The underlying argument of Sutherland’s postulation is the presence of cultural

conflict and social disorganization. He considered cultural conflict as the most visible system of social disorganization that characterized modern society (Morrison, 1995:151). It is imperative to mention that Sutherland saw differential association as a process rather than a static phenomenon.

Some scholars have criticized differential association theory for its positivist emphasis. Other arguments against it include

- Its inability to explain why delinquents and criminals take advice from criminal and delinquent peers rather than from non-criminal family members and classmates (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).
- It fails to recognize that many recidivistic offenders are loners (Hirschi, 1969).
- Those researchers often overlook the possibility that delinquent associations may be a result, rather than cause, of an early delinquent life orientation.

However, despite the above criticisms the theory of differential association aptly explains the trafficking of young women in Benin City, Nigeria. It works directly through imitation and modeling. Young women not trafficked aspire to be like those their peers that achieved success through trafficking. They aspire to wear fancy clothes, drive good cars and build mansions in government reservation areas. And if possible own chains of businesses in Benin City.

(ii) The Anomie Theory

The term anomie was first used by Durkheim to explain the transition from early mechanical to industrial societies. His postulation was borne out of the social

upheaval that characterized Europe at that time. His concern was how to achieve social order. His paradigm was based on how to achieve social order within two kinds of solidarities namely mechanical and organic solidarities. He posited that in mechanical solidarity which is akin to traditional society that there exists collective consciousness. The collective consciousness is principally instrumental to making social order possible. The main components of this collective consciousness include commonality of values, belief system and cultural norms. These allow for cohesion in society due to the solidarity of similarities. The existence of collective consciousness inhibits the possibilities of members engaging in illicit activities or deviant acts such as trafficking in persons or partaking in trafficking situation. In contrast organic solidarity which is akin to industrial society is devoid of commonality of values. Rather there exist dissimilarities in beliefs, values and normative structures. In addition, there exist dissimilarities along occupational and professional lines within the exigencies of division of labour. The fact that members in such societies are associated through structural interdependence ought to result in cohesion. However, the existence of structural inequalities vis-à-vis the dominant norm in society makes social order impossible. The dominant societal norm suggests conformity of a cultural expectation of material success. The approved societal method of achieving this material success is by getting a good job. This presupposes a certain level of educational attainment or acquisition of relevant skills. However, the existence of structural inequalities makes it impossible for every member of society to attain material success using the culturally approved means. Those members of the society precluded from attaining material success using legitimate means that are not morally inhibited, may innovate by indulging in deviant acts to attain success.

The result is normlessness what Durkheim referred to as anomie. Durkheim saw anomie as a condition resulting from social change in society. Expanding on Durkheim's postulation on anomie Merton argued that appetites were culturally induced. For him, anomie results from the strain of cultural demands and applies to only the socially disadvantaged members of society. Merton defined culture as "that organized set of normative values that govern the behaviour of members of society and social structure as organized set of social relationships in which members of a society are variously implicated" (Merton, 1968). His postulation is that anomie occurs when there is an acute disjuncture between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of a society to act in accord with them (Merton, 1968:216). According to Merton, (a) every one is encouraged to strive to be successful, (b) however, due to social conditions and economic realities not every one or group possesses the required means to succeed hence anomie and crime. He posited that the dominant theme of American culture was emphasis on material success but this puts a lot of strain on individuals differentially located in the social structure. The American dream is all about material success and the possibility of social ascent for all members but the social structure allows this image to be a reality for just a few. Individuals and groups experience strain differentially depending on their location in the social structure and these pressures engender various outcomes. The key term used was anomie: "Anomie is ... conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjuncture between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capabilities of members of a group to act in accord with them. In this conception, cultural values may help to produce behaviour which is at odds with the mandates of the value themselves.

On this view the social structure strains the cultural values, making action to accord with them readily possible for those occupying certain statuses within the society and difficult or impossible for others. The social structure acts either as a barrier, or as an open door for the acting out of cultural mandates. When the cultural and social structure are mal-integrated, the first calling for behaviour and attitudes which the second precludes, there is a strain toward the breakdown of the norms, towards “normlessness” (Merton, 1968). Merton designed a typology of adaptation open to such members of society. These five modes of adaptation are namely conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. This is shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Modes of Adaptation

Mode of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutional Means
1. Conformity	+	+
2. Innovation	+	-
3. Ritualism	-	+
4. Retreatism	-	-
5. Rebellion	+/-	+/-

Source: Merton, 1968

Those members of society with access to the legitimate means of attaining success goals conform to society’s norms and values and are law abiding. Those denied access to the legitimate means of attaining success goals, feel alienated and innovate by seeking unorthodox means to achieve success. The last four are regarded as deviant adaptations. Most of the actions labeled as crime emanate from the innovation response. Using the American society as an analogy, Merton argued that the American Culture placed undue emphasis on material success but the social structure does not provide legitimate means to all members of the society to achieve this. As a result individuals feel strain and resort to illegitimate

means, which is crime. Those who cannot achieve the cultural goals but have been sufficiently socialized into following legitimate methods cling to this in a ritualistic way and sublimate their desires, adopt the response of ritualism. Merton called this a lower middle class adaptation and was the result of a coincidence of strict socialization and opportunities. This is the perspective of the frightened employee, the zealously conformist bureaucrat in the teller's cage of the private banking enterprise. Retreatism is the rejection of both goals and means – withdrawal from the social race. The retreatist lives in the society but is not of the society. He has internalized the legitimacy of means to such an extent that he finds it impossible to innovate but being unable to use legitimate means he avoids a moral conflict by repudiating both the goals and means. In this group are to be found psychotics, aurochs, pariahs, outcasts, vagrants, vagabonds, tramps, drunks, and drug addicts. Rebellion is a positive attempt to replace both the goals and means with another believed to be morally superior. To be found in this category are rebels, revolutionaries, non – conformist, heretics, or renegades. Evidence on school and crime suggest that dropping out of school leads to increased rather than decreased levels of anti social behaviour (see Shavit and Rathner, 1988, Thornbery, Moore and Christenson, 1985).

In the Nigerian context material success is highly valued but many people are unable to attain material success because of their position within the social structure. Those who belong to a lower socio-economic class with little or no education and lack skills find it impossible to attain material success through legitimate means. In this context, deviance takes the form of alternative and

illegitimate means of attaining material success. In Nigeria, this structural imbalance within society engenders criminogenic behaviour.

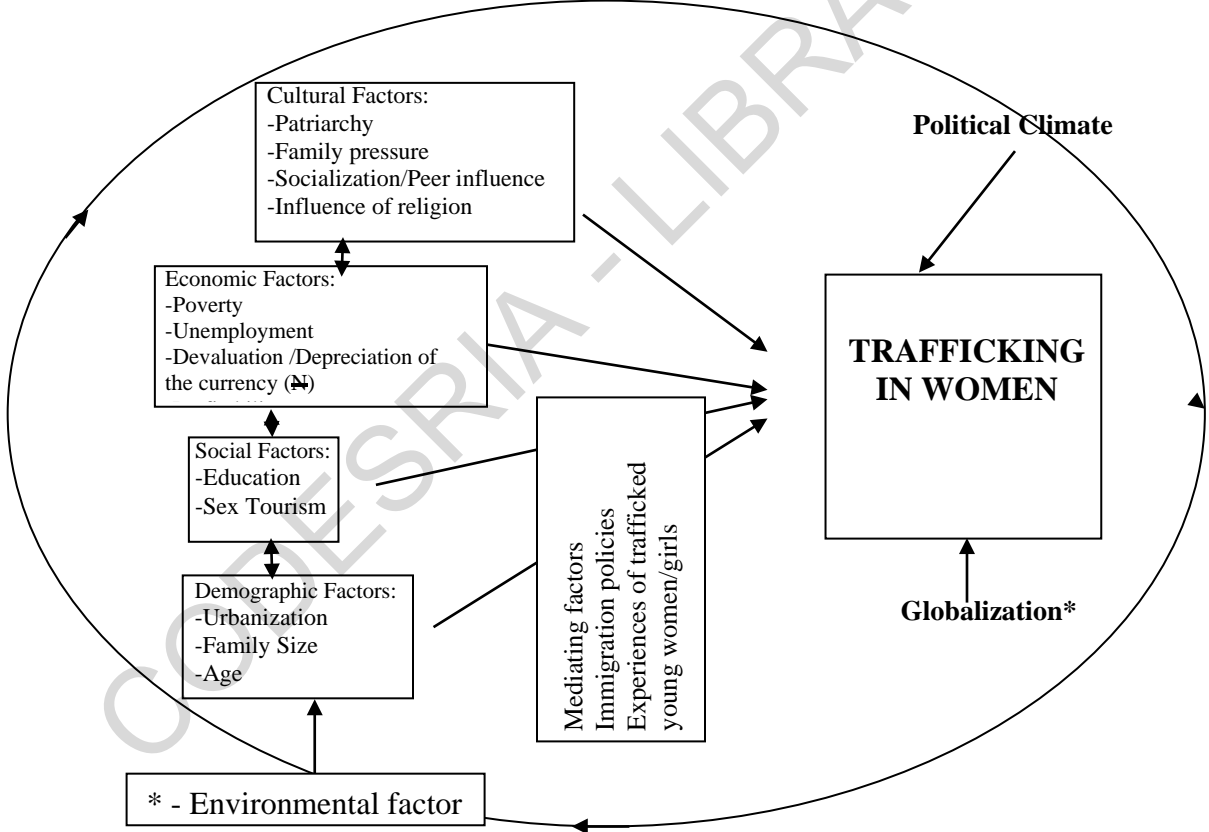
In essence the quest for success exerts pressures towards crime by encouraging an anomic situation, an environment in which people adopt “anything goes mentality” to achieve success goals. Despite the success of strain theory in sociology, some scholars criticized Merton’s application of it. One of the criticisms is the objection to the assumption that there is a consensus in society that everyone is pursuing an ultimate goal of material wealth (Jones, 2001). The argument is that this view overlooks the reality of pluralism; both ethnic and otherwise that precludes such a sweeping generalisation. For instance Lemert (1964) doubted if any contemporary society subscribes to such a single set of values. However, Erlanger, (1980) argued that most Americans aspire to middle class status. This research will adopt an eclectic of all the theories discussed in this section to explain the factors that motivate young women into trafficking situations. This is due to the complexity of the phenomenon and the fact that it cross cuts numerous issues such as migration, sex, money and crime.

2.9 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

From the review of literature and theories, a conceptual framework that will explain the various factors that motivate young women into trafficking was generated.

Figure 1: Illustrates how factors like the political climate, globalization and the existing economic policy can affect the rate of trafficking in women. The schema has five boxes. Each of the boxes represents factors that have a direct correlation with the phenomenon of trafficking in young women.

Fig. 1: Conceptualization of the Issues that motivate young women into trafficking situations.



From the above figure the following variables have been identified as responsible for trafficking in young women:

2.9.1: Cultural Factors: these include patriarchy, family pressure, socialization/peer influence, and the influence of religion., The inferior status accorded women within the Nigerian society in conjunction with a dysfunctional home

environment- breakdown in family values, family pressures, the emphasis of some religious sects on material success to the detriment of salvation put pressure on some young women to succeed thereby making them vulnerable to trafficking. One could also argue that in Nigeria, gendering reinforces the differences between the sexes. Mothers contribute to this differentiation by raising girls to be dependent and subservient while boys are raised to be “macho”, enterprising and independent. In essence culture creates the “woman” by imbuing her with the feeling of inferiority and inadequacy. Such a mindset engenders a paradigm of victimization where the female child is looked upon to sacrifice her freedom and future in order to redeem her family from a precarious situation. She is the sacrificial lamb who suffers self-immolation to bring salvation to her family. Simone De Beauvoir (1949) sums it thus “woman is not born, she is made. She is a product of custom, not nature”

2.9.2: Economic Factors: poverty, unemployment, depreciation of the national currency and profitability all accentuate the trafficking in young women. These factors heighten the trafficking of young women through this process: environments lacking economic opportunities with pressures to work and earn living expose young women to poverty, which in turn exposes them to trafficking situations. In Nigeria, the failure of the state to create windows of opportunity for the youth through job creation has resulted in a situation where the youths seek alternative means of attaining success goals. Since the state has failed to guarantee a future for the youth by investing sufficiently in job creation the youths seek avenues of making a future irrespective of the means. In order to

ameliorate this situation, the state must consciously engender a policy of social inclusion that will guarantee a secure future for the youths.

2.9.3: Social Factors: these include education and sex tourism. The low levels of literacy, awareness and misinformation are some of the factors that may lead to vulnerability. In addition the promotion of sex tourism tends to heighten demand by pleasure seeking male tourists who see young African women as exotic.

2.10: Demographic factors: they include urbanization, family size and age. The quickening pace of urbanization and the increased migration from the rural to the urban areas as a result of unequal development may contribute to trafficking. A culture of consumerism, materialism and the commodification of women and commercialization of sex distort family values. Large families, families facing uncertainties may also contribute to the problem of trafficking. Young women in their prime face greater vulnerability due to the dictates of the global sex industry.

The environmental factors influencing these situations are globalization, economic policies like privatization, liberalization, withdrawal of subsidies and the type of government in existence. Applying an eclectic approach, we postulate that the interplay of the military incursion into politics in 1966 and the oil boom of the 1970s created a structural defect in the political economy of Nigeria. The failure of succeeding governments to develop a sustainable economic framework resulted in the oil boom becoming a nightmare by the 1980s. This culminated in a number of austerity measures by succeeding regimes. By 1986, the economic structure had become so weak that the government wanted to take a loan from the IMF to enable it to restructure the economy. Nigerians reacted negatively against

this policy thrust. The government was advised to look inwards for an economic framework that will take care of the structural defects. Even though the government failed to take the loan, it implemented the IMF blue print of structural adjustment. First, the national currency (Naira), which hitherto was at par with the American dollar, was devalued unofficially through the introduction of the two tier foreign exchange auction by the Central Bank of Nigeria (The Dutch System). Through this means the Naira lost its parity with the American dollar. Then, followed the removal of subsidies on social services, including petroleum products. The IMF blue print favoured privatization of state corporations with its concomitant rationalization of staff resulting in unemployment. The interplay of these two variables (devaluation of the Naira and unemployment) gave birth to a new wave of labour migration. Both skilled and unskilled Nigerians began heading to Europe and America in search of better well-being. Amongst the later group are young women unable to achieve success within this harsh economic milieu. It became imperative for women whose access to resources and power are limited as result of their being on the periphery of the economy to be lured by traffickers. In this situation of anomie, where the state fails to fulfill its obligations to the citizenry vis- à- vis the social contract, those unable to achieve success because of their position within the social structure seek innovative ways of seeking success goals. Deviance in this situation takes the form of trafficking.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

SUMMARY STATEMENT

This chapter gives a description of the study location which is Benin City as well as a detailed account of how data were generated to answer the research questions. To achieve this, the chapter restates the central objective of the study. It equally provides information on the location of the study, the nature of the generated data, adopted sampling techniques and the selection process. In addition, the chapter discusses the data collection instruments, the measurement procedure and some ethical considerations that guided the research exercise.

The reason for this investigative process is to test for statistically significant relationships between **Willingness to be Trafficked** which is the dependent variable and a number of independent variables such as family size, peer influence, unemployment, respondents' educational attainment and the educational attainment of the respondents' mothers. The aim is to show whether there is causality as a result of co-variation or concomitant variation between the identified independent variables and the dependent variable which is **Willingness to be trafficked**

3.1 THE STUDY LOCATION- BENIN CITY

3.1.1 The Ethnography of Benin Kingdom

The old Benin kingdom is regarded as being coterminous with present-day Benin City which is the capital of Edo State. The Edos of this area represent the core of the old Benin Empire and have owed allegiance to the Oba of Benin for over four

hundred and fifty years (450). The area is bounded by other ethnic groups classified as Edos such as the Urhobos, Isokos, Itsekiris and the Igbo speaking peoples on the eastern borders of the kingdom. Benin City is called Edo by its inhabitants and in certain contexts individuals will refer to themselves as Oviedo (child of Edo) or ovioba (Oba's subject). There is a marked uniformity in culture, social organization and language over the whole kingdom (Bradbury, 1957).

3.1.2 Historical Origin and Influence

Edo mythology has it that Benin Kingdom was founded by the youngest of the children of Osanobua (the high god). Together with his senior brothers who included the first kings of Ife and "the first king of the Europeans" he was sent to live in the world (ogbo). The rulers of the first dynasty were known as Ogiso (ruler of the sky). The rule of the Ogiso ended by a revolt and for a long period of time the Edo people had no royal rulers. After a while, the chiefs sent an emissary to the Oni of Ife asking him to provide one of his sons to rule over them. He sent Oranmiyan who after staying with the people concluded that only a native could rule over them. He then impregnated the daughter of the Onogie of Eyo village (A village close to Benin) who bore him a son. This son eventually became the Oba of Benin and was known as Eweka I. Successive Benin Obas including the present Oba of Benin trace their descent to Eweka I.

The Benin kingdom reached its zenith between the 15th and 16th centuries. A Portuguese named D'Aveiro who visited Benin in 1485 to establish a trading post went back to Portugal with one of the Oba's chiefs as ambassador. Thereafter, a trading post was established at ugwuto (Bradbury, 1957). By the 16th century, the

Portuguese had established catholic missions in Benin. Churches were built and in August 1516, the Oba ordered his son and two of his greatest noblemen to become Christians. This early contact with Europe explains the migratory pattern of modern Bini people.

3.1.3 Present-Day Benin City

Benin City is the capital of Edo State. Edo State was carved out of the defunct Bendel State, which was created from the mid-western region in Nigeria. Bendel State was split into Edo and Delta states. Edo State has 18 Local Government areas with a population of 3218332 million people (2006 Census). Benin City, which consists of three local government areas namely Oredo, Egor, and Ikpoba-Okha, is regarded as the base of the ancient Benin kingdom. Benin City as alluded to earlier has had a long pre-colonial contact with Mediterranean Europe especially Portugal, Southern Italy and Spain. This historical contact explains the migratory pattern of modern Bini. Benin City, has a preponderance of Edo speaking people (Bini, Esan, and Afemai), there is also a large concentration of other ethnic groups such as the Igbo, the Yoruba and Hausa due its present status as a state capital. Benin City had a population of 1085676 persons (2006, census). Of this number women account for 543122 which is over 50 per cent of the population. According to (Okonofua, *et al*, 2004) young people (10-25 years old) account for 40 percent of the population. The city is poorly industrialized and lacks income-generating opportunities. The inhabitants are mainly farmers and civil servants due to its status as a state capital. Even though the state has the highest rates of school enrolment in the country, it also has the highest rates of school drop-outs and youth unemployment in the country (Okonofua, *et al*, 2004).

3.1.4 The Bini Family System

In Benin villages, households vary in size from a single (usually impotent) man to a joint family of some twenty (20) persons. The following types of family are in existence

- (1) The nuclear or compound family consisting of a man and his wife/wives and their children who may occupy their own houses or be housed in the family house.
- (2) The joint family consisting of an elderly man with his wives and unmarried children, together with one or more married sons with their wives and children and in some cases younger married brothers. Most married men prefer to move out of the family house after the death of their father. Of recent, married younger brothers may decide to stay under the authority of their elder brother who inherits the family wealth.
- (3) The extended family occupying several neighbouring houses made up of a man with his married brothers and sons with their wives and children. To any of this grouping may be added divorced and widowed mothers, sisters and daughters of the male and other categories of kin (Bradbury, 1957).

The Bini are patrilineal and residence is virilocal. The father is the head of the family (erha) and he exercises control over his household (UNICRI, 2004). The father as the head of the family is honoured and revered. He has the authority to apply physical sanctions against those under him though he would not beat his adult sons or brothers. The rights and obligations consequent upon membership of family groups are conceived of in terms of a master/servant relationship (Bradbury, 1957). In relation to the family head all his dependants are servants.

Both children and wives are regarded as servants of their father. A man is the sole owner of his wife/wives and he exercises absolute power and authority over his home stead (Usonianlele, 1998).

3.1.5 The Benin Economy

The Bini are predominantly farmers. The soil is rich in nutrients and favours the cultivation of many crops. In order to farm satisfactorily a man requires the assistance of one or more women since they plant and care for subsidiary crops (Bradbury, 1957). In addition, the people are dexterous in the art of carvings and bronze works. Women depend on the generosity of the male members of their family to engage in farming. A wife could be given a plot of land by the husband to plant subsidiary crops. A widow or divorcee may enter into an arrangement with her brother for this purpose. Yam (the king of crops) is the basis of its subsistence economy. Men plant and own yams with other income generating crops such as kolanuts, rubber and cocoa which was introduced by the colonial masters while the women are allowed to plant subsidiary crops such as corn, cocoyams and vegetables.

However, the discovery of crude oil and gas in commercial quantity in Edo State catapulted the state into the category of oil producing states with Benin City as the state capital. These two factors accentuated the transformation of Benin City from a predominantly agricultural town to a civil service town. Unfortunately, its status as an oil producing state did not translate into the industrial transformation of the state. Its cosmopolitan nature has engendered an influx of migrants both from other states and the rural areas of Edo State. Agriculture and crafts which hitherto

were the main economic activities were neglected in pursuit of non-existent white collar jobs. UNICRI (2004) in its study of Edo State concludes that Edo State is referred to as a civil service state due to the near absence of manufacturing industries. This absence of well-paying jobs and the undue emphasis on material success accounts for the high incidence of young people leaving the state for foreign countries in search of better well-being.

3.1.6 Property Rights/Inheritance

Male children are valued more than female children because it is a patrilineal society. And property rights and inheritance is by the principle of primogeniture. Male children are considered more important than female children because they ensure continuity of the lineage (Usuanlele, 1998). Women are discriminated against in property sharing since they will marry out. According to, (UNICRI, 2004:44) “the rule of primogeniture is entrenched in Bini traditional culture, both with regards to crown and inherited property”. At death, a man’s property both movable and immovable including titles passes to his eldest son. Wives and women cannot inherit their husbands’ or fathers’ property. The Bini tradition regards a woman as a stranger in her father’s house because she would marry out (Ebohon, 1996).

3.1.7 Marriage/Divorce among the Bini

The Bini tradition favours Polygyny and a man is at liberty to marry as many wives as possible (Eghareva, 1949). Polygyny was favoured because in traditional Bini society the family constituted an economic unit. Marriage is usually between two consenting families and between two consenting adults. For marriage to be valid bride price is paid and once a traditional marriage is contracted it cannot be

dissolved. Igbafe (1979) averred that once a marriage was contracted under native law and custom, it had recognized stamp of permanence. Eghareva (1949) opined that marriage to a white man was repugnant to Bini culture. Once married, a woman is the property of her husband.

Prior to colonialism, divorce was not permitted or allowed. A woman was allowed to separate from the husband only on grounds of impotence or infectious disease (Eghareva, 1949). Even, the issue of impotence was usually concealed with the connivance of the man's family members who could beget children on his behalf (Igbafe, 1979). Adultery was not tolerated and was considered abominable. Any act of adultery was punished with trial by ordeal, payment of fine and purification of the land (Eghareva, 1949, Usuanlele, 1999). The above insights highlight the inferior status accorded women in the Bini social milieu. This inferior status motivates women into seeking avenues of financial empowerment.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The nature of the phenomenon under study called for an eclectic methodological approach. The study combined four key methods of investigation: **cross-sectional survey method**, **Individual In-depth interviews (IDIs)**, **Key informant interviews (KIIs)**, and **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**. The methods, as employed in this study, are discussed one after the other, with emphasis on why each was chosen and their specific uses in the overall design.

The survey research is imperative in the generation of primary data from large populations. The data gathered from those interviewed are reduced to numbers and used to explain the phenomenon under consideration. For Ahonsi & Soyombo

(1996) such surveys are appropriate for studying aspects of human behaviour such as background characteristics, attitudes, opinions, intended actions or behaviours. Therefore, this method was considered most appropriate for inquiring into willingness to be trafficked in the study population. A cross-sectional survey of young women within the age bracket of 15 to 25 years was conducted to measure willingness to be trafficked and gather data on background characteristics of the subjects. This made it possible to conduct statistical tests for relationships between the variables of interest stated earlier. In summary, the method gave the researcher the opportunity of running statistical tests for which other methods gave little or no room.

The Individual In-depth interview (IDI) is a method of generating data in which subjects with peculiar experiences are interviewed in a manner that bring facts that cannot be captured in survey interviews to the fore. It enables the researcher to probe deeper with a view to understanding complex phenomenon. The data generated are often rich in quality and capture the issues under consideration in terms of the respondents' expressions and local nuances (Ahonsi, 1996, Bordens & Abbott, 2002). The study adopted IDIs in order to generate information on the experiences of those who had been trafficked and repatriated. The IDIs also gave insight into the nature of relationships that exist between the madams and the traffickees. The researcher took narratives from subjects in in-depth interviews. Data derived from the IDIs were qualitative in form, affording the researcher the opportunity of making up for some of the inadequacies of the survey.

The study employed Key informant interviews (KIIs). The KII as a method of inquiry allows a researcher benefit from privileged information to which only

persons occupying strategic positions are privy. Against the background of the clandestine nature of the phenomenon under study, the researcher identified immigration/police officers; chief executives of NGOs involved in rehabilitating trafficked but deported young women; community leaders; religious leaders; and government officials at the National Agency against the Prohibition and Trafficking of Persons and other allied offences (NAPTIP) as key informants. From the key informants, the researcher gathered information on some of the motivating factors in trafficking as perceived by them. The informants also supplied information on cultural values underpinning trafficking within Benin City. Key informants also gave insight into policy initiatives that could help stem the rising tide of trafficking in young women.

Lastly, the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) are used to generate information about beliefs, values, and understanding in a population on issues fundamental to a particular study (Ahonsi & Soyombo, 1996). They are most ideal when the essence is to seek the underlying processes behind prevailing generalizations on a particular issue (Ahonsi & Soyombo, 1996, Johnson, 1992). The study employed FGDs in order to know the values and beliefs held by parents since they are often found collaborating with trafficking syndicates. It was considered necessary to explore the meanings attached to the practice under study by parents as well as existing behavioral guidelines held by them. The discussions gave room for interactions which revealed the values held by parents as well as their disposition towards trafficking. The FGDs also revealed the reasons for the opinions held by parents of young women with who were found to be willing to be trafficked.

3.3 STUDY POPULATION

Statistically, a population refers to the aggregates of individuals or units from which a sample is drawn and to which the results of a statistical analysis are to apply. For this study the population comprises all young women aged 15-25 years old residing in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. The reason for limiting vulnerability to 15-25 years was informed by evidence from literature which shows that the global sex industry prefers young women in their prime (UNICRI, 2004, Wijers & Lapchew, 1999).

The limitations of finance and time necessitated that a subset of this population be taken. This informed the selection of a sample size of 1235 young women made up of the following- 1000 never trafficked young women randomly selected and 235 trafficked but deported young women who were purposively selected.

3.4 PILOT STUDY

Prior to the commencement of the field work, a pilot study was conducted in Warri in Delta State. Warri is an urban area popularly called an oil city for housing a great number of workers that work in the oil companies. Warri was chosen for its attraction to young people especially young women that take advantage of its preponderance of Europeans and many night clubs. In addition, it is also cosmopolitan with people from different parts of the country.

A structured questionnaire was designed to capture the objectives of the study. The designed instrument was given to two experts in human trafficking for validation. The aim was to ensure that the instrument fully captured the objectives

of the study. Thereafter, the instrument was administered to one hundred (100) young women aged 15-25 years who were never trafficked. The objective of the pilot was to further validate the instrument and ensure that the questions captured all the variables under consideration and the objectives of the study.

3.5 FIELD WORK

The field work for this study was carried out in Benin City, Edo State Nigeria, between June and August 2006. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The quantitative data were generated using the survey method while the qualitative data were generated through the use of In-depth interviews, key informant interviews and Focus Group Discussions. The survey team comprised the researcher and eighteen (18) research assistants recruited from the Department of Sociology, university of Benin, Edo State, Nigeria. The research assistants were trained for two days to familiarize them with the instruments.

3.6 SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The target sample size was a thousand (1000) never trafficked young women (15-25 years) selected from three LGAs which make up Benin City. The non-proportional sampling technique was adopted in assigning 333 slots to two of the LGAs and 334 to the last. For the survey, the multi-stage random sampling technique was used to select the sample. This method involves moving from one stage to the other with the principle of randomness adopted at each stage of sampling. The essence of the random sampling is to give every young woman the chance of being included in the study. The first stage involved the identification of the National Population Commission (NPC) enumeration areas (EAs) used for

the 2006 national census in the three local government areas in Benin City namely Egor, Oredo and Ikpoba-Okha. In each of the three LGAs, three Enumeration Areas were chosen for the purpose of the survey.

All the streets in each selected EA were covered. The second stage involved the random selection of households using the systematic sampling technique. In each selected household, a list of eligible young women was obtained through an interaction with the household head. From the list of eligible young women, one was randomly selected using the ballot system. Since the researcher aimed at obtaining a total of 111 respondents from each EA (having selected three EAs from each LGA) in order to achieve the desired sample size of 333 from each LGA a household sampling interval was obtained through the division of the total number of households in an EA by 111. Where the number of households in a selected EA was less than 111, the required sampling exercise was extended to a neighbouring EA.

All 235 actually trafficked but deported young women from various parts of Europe were sampled purposively. These respondents were undergoing rehabilitation at a government established rehabilitation center and a privately run rehabilitation center in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria.

A total of 10 key informants were interviewed. All key informants were purposively sampled. A breakdown of the key informants is given thus: officials of NGOs (2); community leaders (3); religious leaders (2); Immigration/ Police (2); and a government official associated with rehabilitation of trafficked young women and combating the phenomenon (1). The chief executive officers of the

rehabilitation centers mentioned earlier were interviewed. For the category of community leaders, the following were interviewed: a traditional chief (a member of the council of chiefs), the leader of market women in the city and a princess who was identified as a local community leader. Two religious leaders, a priest of *Ayelela (a Bini goddess)* shrine and a Catholic priest each represent the two major religious faiths to which the people of Benin adhere. A comptroller of immigration in Edo state and the Deputy Commissioner of Police were selected as key law enforcement officers. The interviewed key government official was the zonal director of NAPTIP in charge of Edo state.

From the interviewed deported but repatriated young women, 10 were purposively selected. The basis for selection was the duration of their stay in their countries of destination. Although ten in-depth interviews were conducted, only eight were found usable due to the fact that two of the interviews were inconclusive.

Four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted in the following order- (a) Fathers group: this comprised two groups of fathers of trafficked but deported young women. Participants in this FGD were purposively selected. They were identified with the aid of their trafficked but deported children. The second FGD was conducted with fathers of never trafficked young women. They were also identified with the aid of their female children. In each of the two FGDs for fathers, there were 12 participants/discussants.

(b) Mothers group: Two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were also conducted, one for mothers of trafficked young women and the other for mothers of never

trafficked young women. The participants, as in the case of fathers, were selected purposively with the aid of their daughters. In each of the FGDs, there were 12 participants. In all, four FGDs were conducted, involving a total of forty-eight people.

3.7 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Four different instruments were used to gather both the quantitative and qualitative data. The first structured questionnaire contained a total of 122 questions grouped into six sections to determine respondents' sociodemographic characteristics, their travel experience or intention to travel, their financial contributions to the family economy and their exposure to sexually transmitted infections (STIs). A total of 1235 of the instruments were distributed amongst 18 research assistants who administered them on the respondents as follows- one thousand (1000) instruments were administered to the 1000 vulnerable but never trafficked young women. Another two hundred and thirty-five (235) instruments were administered to the 235 trafficked but deported young women that were purposively selected from the two rehabilitation centers in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. Of the 1000 instruments administered, nine hundred and fifteen (915) were duly filled and considered usable making a success rate of 91.5 %. For the ever trafficked but deported respondents all the 235 instruments that were administered were duly filled and considered usable giving a success rate of 100%. For the Key-informant Interviews and in-depth interviews, two different interview guides designed by the researcher were used to generate the qualitative data. The interview guides contained both semi-open and open-ended questions based on the variables under consideration. The essence being to enable the

respondents to speak freely on the issues under consideration. All data collection instruments were designed to adequately address all the issues in the objectives of the study.

For the FGDs, a focus group discussion guide was designed. The instrument was designed to give room for probing thoroughly into the nature of the phenomenon under study while at the same time giving room for free flow discussion of the sub themes among participants.

3.8 ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the area of human trafficking with special emphasis on the trafficking of young women and to ascertain the socioeconomic factors influencing young women's vulnerability to trafficking in Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. Having generated both quantitative and qualitative data various methods were used to describe and analyze the data.

3.8.1: Quantitative Analytical Method:

Parametric and non-parametric statistical tools were employed to analyze the quantitative data that were generated. This was achieved using the Statistical Package for Social Statistics (SPSS version 11.0). Univariate and Bivariate levels of analysis were used. The Univariate analysis was the percentages and the measures of central tendencies while the bivariate analysis involved the use of the Chi-square and the One-way- Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) and the Spearman's rho.

3.8.2 Qualitative Analytical Method:

The qualitative data generated were analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis is used to analyze written or spoken records of specific categories or events (Bordens & Abbott, 2002). The aim is to identify general semantic concepts and stylistic characteristics. To achieve this, the recorded in-depth interviews were transcribed and the various responses summarized. Important quotations were reported verbatim and used to buttress the survey findings.

3.9 QUALITY CONTROL:

The research assistants were closely monitored and supervised to ensure reliability and quality of data. Apart from the rigorous training they were subjected to, one-hour post field meeting was scheduled each day to review the day's activities and to further strategize. This enabled the researcher to be aware of field problems and solutions were proffered to make subsequent days' tasks easier. Most of the respondents spoke freely and were willing to provide information to enrich the study.

3.10 Fieldwork Problems

The fieldwork was successfully carried out except for some minor incidents. The clandestine nature of the phenomenon made it imperative that the majority of the research assistants be drawn from the indigenous population. The purpose was to enable the respondents speak freely. Despite this precaution some mothers who believed the research assistants were Government agents sent to discourage their daughters from traveling molested some of them. The researcher had to allay the

fears of such mothers by explaining to them that the information required was for the purpose of academic research.

In addition, some of those who were actually trafficked but deported were unwilling to divulge the nature of the job they engaged in abroad and to answer some questions. They felt too embarrassed to narrate their experiences. Such respondents were excused from participating in the study.

3.11 ETHICAL ISSUES

3.11.1 Informed consent

The researcher discussed the purpose of the study with each respondent to be interviewed. Respondents were informed that the information required were for academic purposes. Prior to the commencement of each interview, informed consent was obtained from the respondent. The respondent was also informed of the nature and duration of the interview. In addition, respondents were informed that they were free to discontinue the interview if they found the questions embarrassing or uncomfortable. And finally, they were assured of absolute confidentiality.

3.11.2 Respect for subjects' right to privacy and dignity

Respondents were interviewed individually to ensure that their right to privacy and dignity was not infringed upon. And to allow them to speak without hindrance.

3.11.3 Confidentiality

Respondents were assured of absolute confidentiality. To ensure confidentiality, only summary statistics of the data gathered were reported. Also, names of respondents were not used in the reports.

3.11.4 Social responsibility

The researcher intends to go back to the study location to put in place initiatives to re-orientate young women and their parents in order to change their mind set towards human trafficking. In addition the researcher intends to put in place if funds are available initiatives that will empower women in the study location.

3.11.5 Sources of Financial Assistance

The funding for this study was provided by the Ford Foundation and Council for Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). I shall remain eternally grateful to them.

3.11.6 Collaboration

Even though the study was done solely by the researcher, it benefited immensely from the expertise of the supervisors – Professors Omololu Soyombo and ‘Lai Olurode. The study also benefited from the technical expertise of experts in different areas of specialization within and outside the department of sociology, University of Lagos.

3.11.7 Value Neutrality

In order to avoid issues of bias and prejudice the generated data was subjected to rigorous statistical test to ensure that the opinions of the researcher did not come into play.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

SUMMARY STATEMENT

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It describes the sociodemographic characteristics of the vulnerable respondents, age, religious affiliation, educational qualification, family size and family type. It also describes the sociodemographic characteristics of those respondents that were trafficked but deported. It equally discusses some major findings of the study such as respondents' contribution to the family economy as well as their exposure to sexually transmitted infections. Finally, the chapter examines the hypotheses of the study to determine if they were supported by the findings. Each hypothesis is supported with relevant statistical data generated from the study. The statistical data is further complemented with relevant information gathered from both In-depth interviews and the Focus Group Discussions.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A total of one thousand two hundred and thirty-five respondents were interviewed. One thousand of the respondents were never trafficked but considered vulnerable to trafficking whereas the remaining two hundred and thirty-five were trafficked but deported. Each of the one thousand respondents interviewed was randomly selected whereas the interviewed two hundred and thirty-five trafficked but deported respondents were purposively selected. However, of the one thousand administered instruments, 915 instruments were considered usable for statistical analysis. The highest number of willingness to trafficking was from Ikpoba-Okha local government area with 72.0 per cent indicating willingness to be trafficked.

4.2 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF NEVER TRAFFICKED RESPONDENTS

In this section, the background characteristics of the never trafficked respondents are presented. The frequencies and percentages are discussed as presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Socio-demographic characteristics of never trafficked respondents

Age of Respondents	Frequency (N = 915)	Percent (%)
Age distribution (in years)		
15 – 19 years	269	29.4
20 – 24 years	460	50.3
25 years +	186	20.3
Marital status		
Single	816	89.2
Married	99	10.8
Religious Affiliation		
Christianity	883	96.5
Islam	16	1.7
Afr. Trad. Religion	10	1.1
Others	6	0.7
+Educational qualifications		
No formal education	14	1.5
Primary education	70	7.7
Secondary education	634	69.3
Post secondary education	178	19.5
Other qualifications	19	2.1
Family Size		
Less than 5	145	15.8
5 – 9	523	57.2
10 and above	247	27.0
Family type		
Monogamy	331	36.2
Polygyny	584	63.8

In terms of age, of the 915 respondents interviewed, 269 respondents representing (29.4%) were aged 15-19 years while 460 of the respondents representing (50.3%) were aged 20-24 years. The remaining 186 respondents representing (20.3%) were aged 25 years and above. In terms of marital status, 816

representing (89.2%) of the respondents were single whereas only 99 respondents representing (10.8%) were married. The high percentage of willingness among the respondents as shall be shown presently corroborates the findings in extant literature that many young people are desirous of seeking better well-being in countries they perceive as having better economic prospects than their countries of origin. The findings of (UNICRI, 2004, Adepoju, 2006, Nagle, 2007) confirm this assertion.

Majority of the respondents 883 representing (96.5%) professed Christianity, 16 of the respondents representing (1.7%) were Moslems while African traditional religion had 10 respondents (1.1%) and the remaining 6 respondents (0.7%) professed other religions. The high percentage of willingness among the adherents of Christianity is not unconnected with the new variant of Christianity whose pastors lay undue emphasis on material success instead of salvation. This new doctrine is derived from Max Weber's (1958) work on "The Protestants' Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism". In terms of educational qualification, 634 of the respondents representing (69.3%) had secondary education, 178 respondents (19.5%) had post secondary education whereas 70 respondents (7.7%) had primary education, 14 respondents (1.5%) had no formal education and 19 (2.1%) had other qualifications.

The fact that Benin City is a civil service town with a near absence of industries makes it impossible for those with a secondary school education to secure well paying jobs. The information in Table 2 also shows that 145 of the respondents representing (15.8%) were from families of less than 5 persons while 523 of the respondents (57.2%) were from families of 5-9 persons and 247 respondents

(27.0%) came from families of 10 persons and above. The respondents were from both monogamous and polygynous backgrounds. A total of 331 respondents representing (36.2%) came from monogamous families whereas 584 of the respondents representing (63.8%) were from polygynous families. This finding corroborates the positions of (Usuanlele, 1998, Eghareva, 1949) that the Bini are predominantly polygynous. And this is not unconnected with the fact that they are mainly farmers. Polygyny therefore becomes the favoured form of marriage because it will guarantee adequate supply of labour for the farms. This is one of the vestiges of traditional Bini Kingdom.

4.3 WILLINGNESS TO BE TRAFFICKED BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

This section presents the background characteristics of the respondents' by willingness to trafficking. The group of respondents considered vulnerable is comprised of respondents who said that they would be willing to be trafficked if approached by any trafficker offering to process all necessary travel documents. The implication is that these are willing and potential traffickees whose trafficking is yet to occur only because the opportunity is yet to present itself.

The data in Table 3 shows the respondents' willingness by Local Government Areas. The information shows that respondents from Ikpoba-Okha LGA (72.0%) showed more willingness to be trafficked while 66.9 % of the respondents from Oredo LGA indicated their willingness whereas 66.3 % of those respondents from Egor LGA showed willingness to be trafficked. Despite the fact that willingness cuts across the three LGAs but the high percentage from Ikpoba- Okha could be due to the fact the University of Benin is situated in that LGA and a number of

secondary schools and even the Skills Acquisition Centre in Aduwawa run by the Edo State Government is also located in Ikpoba-Okha. The implication is that Ikpoba-Okha will account for many young people.

Table 3: Willingness to be Trafficked by LGA

LGA	Willingness		Total
	Willing	Not willing	
Ikpoba-Okha	180 (72.0)	70 (28.0)	250 (100)
Oredo	238 (66.9)	118 (33.1)	356 (100)
Egor	205 (66.3)	104 (33.7)	309 (100)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

The information in Table 4 below shows that of those aged 15-19 years, 68.8 % indicated their willingness to be trafficked while of those aged 20-24 years 69.1 % were ready to follow a trafficker. For the age category 25 years and above the percentage of willingness was 64.5 %. On the whole 68.1 per cent of the respondents were willing to be trafficked if provided with valid traveling documents. This is shown in figure 2

Figure 2: Willingness to be trafficked

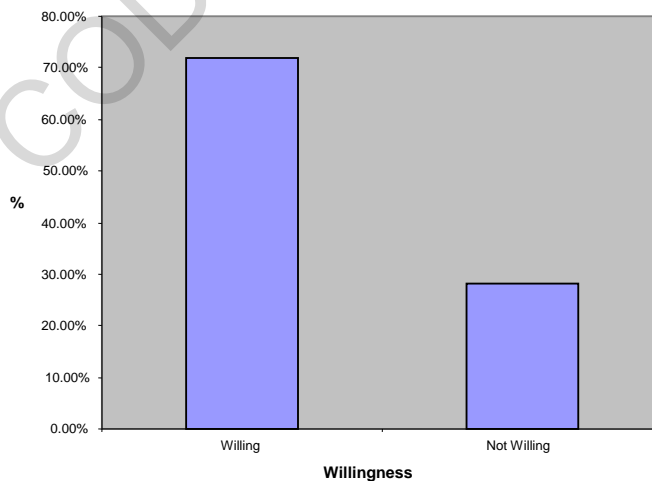


Table 4: Willingness to be Trafficked by Age

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Age	15 – 19 years	185 (68.8)	84 (31.2)	269 (100)
	20 – 24 years	318 (69.1)	142 (30.9)	460 (100)
	25 years +	120 (64.5)	66 (35.5)	186 (100)
	Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

Table 5 shows that of those single 69.5 % indicated their willingness to be trafficked whereas 56.6 % of the married respondents said they would willingly follow any trafficker that provides them with valid documents. This corroborates the findings in extant literature that majority of those trafficked were single young women even though a good number of the married respondents were not averse to being trafficked. The willingness on the part of the married respondents is due to the fact most of the women are in the periphery of the economy where they eke out a living due to their non possession of relevant skills to guarantee good jobs.

Table 5: Willingness to be Trafficked by Marital status

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Marital Status	Single	567 (69.5)	249 (30.5)	816 (100)
	Married	56 (56.6)	43 (43.4)	99 (100)
	Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

Table 6 presents the distribution of the respondents' willingness by religious affiliation. The table shows that of those professing to be Christians 68.0 % were willing to be trafficked whereas 68.8 % of those professing the Islamic religion were willing to be trafficked. Of those practicing African traditional religion, 90.0 % showed willingness to be trafficked and 50.0 % of those that practiced other religions not represented here said they would willingly follow any trafficker that provides them with genuine documents. It is important to note that willingness to

be trafficked cuts across religious divide. This is not unconnected with the quest for materialism sweeping across the country. Many young people are desirous of achieving success which is a legitimate aspiration. However, the high percentage of willingness shown by the adherents of the African Traditional Religion could be explained by the fact being closest to tradition, those respondents' bear the brunt of all forms of discrimination against women embedded in Bini customs. For instance, a woman is not entitled to land or economic trees. Even in situations where such land is needed for the purpose of farming, she must depend on the generosity of her husband if married or on those of her father or male siblings if single. In such situations, the tendency is to innovate and seek other avenues of financial empowerment albeit illicit. This conforms to Merton (1968) theory of anomie. His postulation is that where there exists a disjuncture between cultural norms and goals that it produces behaviour that is at odds with the values themselves. In this instance the willingness to be trafficked.

Table 6: Willingness to be Trafficked by Religion

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Religion	Christianity	600 (68.0)	283 (32.0)	883 (100)
	Islam	11 (68.8)	5 (31.3)	16 (100)
	Afr. Trad. Religion	9 (90.0)	1 (10.0)	10 (100)
	Others	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	6 (100)
	Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

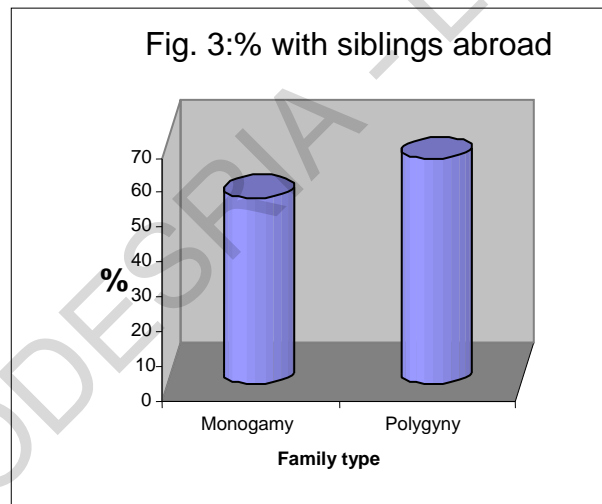
Table 7: Willingness to be Trafficked by Family type

	Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Monogamy	223 (67.4)	108 (32.6)	331 (100)
Polygyny	400 (68.5)	184 (31.5)	584 (100)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

The Bini are polygynous, as alluded to earlier it is one of the vestiges of traditional Bini society. As shown in Table 7, of those from polygynous families

68.5 % were willing to be trafficked while of those from monogamous families 67.4 % indicated willingness to be trafficked. The implication is that more respondents from families where there are more wives and by implication more children were more willing to be trafficked.

Figure 3 below shows that of those from monogamous families 68 % of the respondents with siblings living and working abroad showed willingness to be trafficked. While of those from polygynous families 70% of them with siblings living and working abroad indicated their willingness to be trafficked. The implication is that those with more siblings abroad may be more willing to be trafficked.



4.4 WILLINGNESS TO BE TRAFFICKED BY SOCIOECONOMIC

VARIABLES

Section 4.4 presents the respondents willingness using variables such as the fathers' educational qualification, the mothers' educational qualification, the

fathers' monthly income, and whether the parents own landed property in Benin City or not. In addition, the issue of parental influence was examined. This was done by examining the level of willingness vis-à-vis whether the respondents' had living parents.

Table 8: Willingness to be Trafficked by Father's Educational Qualification

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Father's edu. qualification	No formal edu.	43 (68.3)	20 (31.7)	63 (100)
	Primary	101 (69.7)	44 (30.3)	145 (100)
	Secondary	256 (70.7)	106 (29.3)	362 (100)
	Post Sec.	132 (63.2)	77 (36.8)	209 (100)
	Others	21 (65.6)	11 (34.4)	32 (100)
	No response	70 (73.7)	25 (26.3)	95 (100)

Table 8 is a distribution of the respondents' fathers' educational qualification by their willingness to be trafficked. The information shows that 70.7 per cent of the respondents whose fathers have a secondary level education were willing to be trafficked. For those respondents with fathers having a post secondary education, 63.2 per cent indicated their willingness to be trafficked while 69.7 per cent of the respondents with fathers having a primary school education showed willingness to be trafficked. For those whose fathers have no formal education, 68.3 per cent said they would willingly follow a trafficker whereas for those respondents whose fathers fell into the group categorized as others 65.6 per showed willingness to be trafficked. The information shows that even though willingness cuts across all the categories but willingness to be trafficked is greater amongst respondents whose fathers have a secondary level education. The fact that willingness was highest among respondents whose fathers have a secondary education could be explained by the fact that even though such fathers could be considered semi elites by the virtue of their education but are not financially empowered to provide for their

dependants considering that such education can only fetch them lower cadre jobs in the ministry thus make their daughters vulnerable to trafficking.

Table 9: Willingness to be Trafficked by Mothers' Educational Qualification

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Mother's edu. Qualification	No formal edu.	90 (69.8)	39 (30.2)	129 (100)
	Primary	187 (71.9)	73 (28.1)	260 (100)
	Secondary	208 (66.0)	107 (34.0)	315 (100)
	Post Sec.	87 (62.1)	53 (37.9)	140 (100)
	Others	9 (56.3)	7 (43.8)	16 (100)
	No response	42 (76.4)	13 (23.6)	55 (100)

In Table 9 respondents whose mothers have a primary school education have the highest percentage of willingness with 71.9 % while the respondents whose mothers have a secondary level education have 66.0 % level of willingness. For those respondents with mothers having a post secondary education the percentage of willingness was 62.1% whereas 69.8 % of the respondents with mothers not having any formal education indicated their willingness to be trafficked. In addition, 56.3 per cent of the respondents with mothers whose qualification was categorized as others showed willingness to be trafficked. It is significant that the highest level of willingness was amongst respondents with mothers having lower educational qualification. This is not unconnected with the fact that such mothers are either eking out a living in the periphery of the economy or contend with low paying jobs in the formal sector. Significantly, the category of respondents with parents having post secondary education in both Tables 8 and 9 showed high levels of willingness to be trafficked. The data revealed that such parents are primary school teachers and those with low post secondary qualifications. The implication is that low level education could be a predisposing factor.

Table 10: Willingness to be Trafficked by Fathers' Monthly income

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Father's monthly income	< 21,000	280 (68.5)	129 (31.5)	409 (100)
	21,000-30,000	76 (63.9)	43 (36.1)	119 (100)
	31,000-50,000	44 (66.7)	22 (33.3)	66 (100)
(₦)	50,000+	25 (64.1)	14 (35.9)	39 (100)
	Nil	198 (70.2)	84 (29.8)	282 (100)

The information in Table 10 shows that 68.5 % of the respondents with fathers having a monthly income of below ₦21, 000 said they would willingly follow any trafficker that would provide with valid traveling documents. For those respondents whose fathers have a monthly income of ₦21, 000- ₦30, 000, 63.9 % were willing to be trafficked while 66.7 % of the respondents with fathers having a monthly income of ₦31, 000- ₦50, 000 showed willingness to be trafficked. For respondents with fathers having a monthly income of ₦50, 000 and above, 64.1 % showed willingness to be trafficked. It is pertinent to mention that willingness is more with respondents whose fathers have the least monthly income. Such respondents view trafficking as a survival strategy. This corroborates the postulation of Adepoju (1995) that migration in whatever form in Sub-Saharan-Africa is a family survival strategy. That families sponsor one or more of their members to migrate with the hope that remittances from such members will provide better well-being for other members.

Table 11: Willingness to be Trafficked by Ownership of Landed Property

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Do parents own Property? (House or Land)	Yes	191 (65.0)	191 (66.8)	546 (100)
	No	243 (71.9)	95 (33.2)	338 (100)
	No response	25 (80.6)	6 (19.4)	31 (100)

In Table 11 majority of the respondents whose parents did not own any landed property in Benin City indicated their willingness to be trafficked with 71.9 % of

them saying they were ready to follow any trafficker. For those whose parents own landed property in Benin City, 65.0 % indicated their willingness to be trafficked. This finding is not unconnected with the fact that the Bini women cannot inherit both movable and immovable property. Inheritance is through the principle of primogeniture (UNICRI, 2004, Usuanlele, 1998). In such a situation young women are desperate to do anything to achieve better well-being.

Table 12: Whether Biological Father is Alive

	Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Yes	478 (67.9)	226 (32.1)	704 (100)
No	145 (68.7)	66 (31.3)	211 (100)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

Table 12 shows that 67.9 % of the respondents with living fathers indicated their willingness to be trafficked whereas 68.9 % of the respondents whose fathers were late said they were willing to be trafficked. It is imperative to note that in patriarchal societies where the father is the head of the family such decisions are taken by the fathers. The Benin society is patriarchal and the decision as to who gets trafficked is usually taken by the father in consultation with his wife/wives. In situations where the father is late whoever acts as the family head decides such issues.

Table 13 below is the distribution of respondents' willingness by whether their mothers were alive or not. For those with living mothers, 67.6 % showed willingness to be trafficked while 72.0 % of those whose mothers were late were willing to be trafficked. The high percentage of willingness by both those with mothers and those without mothers buttresses the assertion of one of the female community leaders that mothers are favorably disposed towards the phenomenon.

According to her:

I have been in the forefront of the fight to eradicate trafficking for over two decades. But rather than abate it is on the increase because mothers see it as a status symbol to have their daughters in any part of Europe especially Italy.

She informed the researcher that those with daughters in Europe look down on those without any one in Europe. To this extent there exists an all female club with daughters in Europe. Beyond the issue of trafficking being viewed in a positive light by the mothers, those respondents whose mothers are late have the additional responsibility of playing the role of the mother to their younger siblings. The general consensus from the Focus Group Discussions is that society expects them to ensure that their younger ones make success of their lives especially where there are male siblings. They must ensure that they acquire good education to get good jobs. In essence it is the pressure from their families that makes them vulnerable to trafficking.

Table 13: Whether Biological mother is Alive

	Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Yes	556 (67.6)	266 (32.4)	822 (100)
No	67 (72.0)	26 (28.0)	93 (100)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)

4.5 WILLINGNESS TO BE TRAFFICKED BY SEXUAL NETWORKING

This section discusses the respondents' willingness to trafficking by their sexual experiences. The essence is to determine whether there exist any relationship between sexual experience and the willingness to be trafficked.

In Table 14 below 68.1 % of those respondents having regular sexual partners were willing to be trafficked. For those respondents with occasional sexual partners 71.6 % indicated their willingness to be trafficked whereas for those

having multiple sexual partners 71.0 % showed willingness to be trafficked. Those respondents not having any sexual partners, 64.5 % were willing to be trafficked. The information in Table 14 buttresses the assertion of one of the community leaders that majority of those trafficked have had varied sexual experiences prior to been trafficked.

According to him:

Most of these young women are sexually experienced. Many of them have been working in either clubs or the red light districts here in Benin before traveling. You will be surprised that many of them consider going to Italy or Spain as a great achievement.

Table 14: Willingness to be Trafficked by Sexual Partners

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Sex Partner	Regular	323 (68.1)	151 (31.9)	474 (100)
	Occasional	139 (71.6)	55 (28.4)	194 (100)
	Multiple	22 (71.0)	9 (29.0)	31 (100)
	No sex partner	120 (64.5)	66 (35.5)	186 (100)
	NR	19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	30 (100)

Table 15 shows that willingness was higher amongst the respondents that were sexually active with 69.5 % indicating willingness to be trafficked whereas for those respondents not sexually active 62.6 % indicated their willingness to be trafficked. This corroborates data from the qualitative interviews which shows that both those trafficked as well as those desirous of being trafficked were sexually active. Therefore trafficking for them is moving up the social ladder.

Table 15: Willingness to be Trafficked by Sexual Activity

		Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Sexual activity	Not sexually active	119 (62.6)	71 (37.4)	190 (100)
	Sexually active	504 (69.5)	221 (30.5)	725 (100)

This corroborates the views of one of the key informants that most traffickees were sexually active prior to been trafficked. According to her:

Most of these young women you call students are very active sexually. They keep multiple partners therefore going to Italy is like stepping up the ladder for them. Many of them were aware that they were going into prostitution.

4.6 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF EVER TRAFFICKED RESPONDENTS

This section presents the background characteristics of the 235 respondents that were trafficked but deported. The respondents were purposively selected from the Aduwawa skills acquisition center run by Idia Renaissance and the Committee for the Support of the Dignity of Women (COSUDOW) run by catholic nuns. In addition to the quantitative data generated, eight of the respondents with evidence of long sojourn abroad were identified and further interviewed to enrich the data.

Table 16: Age distribution of Respondents

Age Distribution in years	Ever Trafficked
15-19	23 (9.8)
20-24	79 (33.6)
25+	133 (56.6)
Total	235 (100)
Mean	21.93 years
Median	22 years

Table 16 above is the age distribution of those trafficked but deported. The figures show that majority of the respondents that is 56.6 % were aged 25 years and above. Those aged 20-24 years were 33.6 % whereas 9.8 % of the respondents were aged 15-19 years. Their median age was 22 years. The large percentage of those found in the age category 25 years and above is not unconnected with the

fact that most of the deported respondents had spent many years in their countries of destination before they were deported. For a fact, some of them had become madams but suffered deportation as a result of having some differences with the syndicate that offer them protection. This is buttressed by the narrative of CB who spent 10 years in Italy before she was deported:

I was about 15 years old when I traveled to Italy with my auntie. I served her for four years and got my freedom. I started my own business and even recruited three girls that work for me. But I had problems with the syndicate. They were always demanding protection money. At a time I decided to call their bluff and they set me up with the police.

In terms of religious affiliation, 93.6 % of the respondents professed Christianity while 4.7 % were Moslems. Those categorized as practicing African traditional religion were 1.3 % while 0.4 % did not belong to any of the categorized religion. The data buttress the findings from the quantitative data that more Christians are willing to be trafficked in the study location.

Table 17: Marital status of Ever Trafficked Respondents

Single	194 (82.6)
Married	41 (17.4)
Total	235 (100)

As shown in Table 17, 82.6 % of those ever trafficked were single while only 17.4% of the respondents were married. This finding is consistent with both empirical and theoretical evidence that global sex industry prefers young and agile women. The findings of (Butegwa, 1996, Nagle, 2007) lend credence to this assertion.

Table 18: Educational Qualification of the Ever Trafficked

Education	Frequency (%)
None	5 (2.1)
Primary	32 (13.6)
Secondary	160 (68.1)
Post secondary	32 (13.6)
Others	6 (2.6)
Total	235 (100)

The data distribution in Table 18 shows that the highest percentage of those ever trafficked 68.1 % had a secondary level education. For post secondary education, 13.6 % of the respondents had post- secondary education; another 13.6 % had just primary education. While 2. % had no education at all and 2.6 % fell into the group categorized as others. This information is consistent with the works of (UNICRI, 2004, Okojie *et al*, 2003). They discovered that majority of those that were willing to be trafficked had secondary school education. This high percentage of willingness is due to the fact that a secondary school education is incapable of fetching a well paying job.

Table 19: Family size of Ever Trafficked (%)

Family Size (in persons)	Frequency (%)
Less than 5	42 (17.9)
5-9	89 (37.9)
10 and above	104 (44.2)
Total	235 (100)
Mean	9.01
Median	9

The data on family size shown in Table 19 indicates that only 17.9 % of the respondents came from families of less than five persons. For the other categories, 37.9 % of the respondents came from families of 5-9 persons, while 44.2 % came from families of 10 children and above. The median family size is 9 persons. The distribution shows that over 80% of those trafficked but deported were from

families with large family size. Thus, establishing a relationship between family size and trafficking. The implication is that those from large families are likely to face the challenges of poor life chances such as access to a good education, better living conditions and such other opportunities that guarantee better well-being.

Table 20: Respondents Employment status prior to Trafficking

Were you Employed?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	39	16.6
No	196	83.4
Total	235	100

The information in Table 20 shows that 83.4 % of the respondents had no jobs prior to been trafficked; only 16.6 % said they were employed before they were trafficked. And even for those employed, they were mainly in the informal sector of the economy with its attendant low wages and lack of job security. Most of the respondents said that they were working as either stylists or sales girls before they traveled to Europe. Many scholars view the inability of many of these young women to secure jobs in the formal sector as a form of unemployment. The finding of (UNICRI, 2004) in Benin City buttresses the above section. They argued that many young people could not secure jobs on the completion of their secondary education. Rather, they eked out a living through trading, fashion designing and hair dressing.

4.7 RESPONDENTS' TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCES.

Section 4.7 discusses the respondents' trafficking experiences. This includes their distribution by countries of destination, how their travels were financed, their mode of travel, the nature of the job they did prior to and during their sojourn in the countries of destination and their contribution to the family economy.

Table 21: Respondents Distribution by Destination Countries

Destination Countries	Frequency	Percentage
Italy	135	57.4
Spain	78	33.2
Others	22	9.4
Total	235	100

The information in Table 21 shows that the favoured destination country is Italy with 57.4 % of the ever trafficked having traveled to Italy. Spain is equally favoured with 33.2 % of the respondents having been to Spain. The remaining 9.4 % of the respondents were trafficked to the other countries in Europe. The attraction for Italy is not unconnected with the existence of social capital especially in some cities like Turin and Verona. According to (UNICRI, 2004), Turin and Verona are two cities with a large community of Nigerians and a strong presence of Nigerian prostitution.

Table 22: Respondents Distribution by Financier

Trafficking Financier	Frequency	Percentage
Trafficker	89	37.9
Friends	23	9.8
Parents	109	46.4
Self/Husband	14	6.0
Total	235	100

It is interesting to note that over 50 per cent of the traffickees were sponsored by family members such as parents (46.4%) and self/husband (6.0%) as shown in Table 22. Traffickers sponsored 37.9 % of the respondents while 9.8 % said they were sponsored by friends. This information corroborates the findings of Pharaoh (2006) that despite the existence of criminal syndicates that most traffickers were loose networks of family members. The finding of (UNICRI, 2004) on Benin City is imperative. The conclusion is that virtually every Benin family has a family member involved in trafficking either as a traffickee, sponsor, madam or

trafficker. That many families pride themselves in having at least a daughter in Italy, Spain or Netherlands, pointing to houses, cars, boreholes and other material things acquired through the remittances of their daughters. The data gives a graphic picture of the role played by the family in trafficking buttressing the assertion in extant literature that migration in whatever guise is never an individual's decision.

4.8 RESPONDENTS' TRAFFICKING MODES

This section discusses the various means used by the respondents to travel to the destination countries. Some respondents said they took a direct flight to their country of destination whereas others traveled by road and some others traveled by both air and through land.

Table 23: Respondents Means of Transportation

Means of transportation	Frequency	Percentage
Land	59	25.1
Air	162	68.9
Land and air	14	6.0
Total	235	100

When the respondents were asked questions on the mode of transportation, 25.1% said that they traveled through land routes while 68.9 % said that they traveled by air. In addition 6.0 % said that they traveled through both land and air to the destination countries. This is shown in Table 23.

When one of the respondents that used both land and air to travel was asked to describe the routes, she said:

We were three ladies and one man. The man was helping us to get to Italy. We took a plane from Lagos to Accra. We traveled by road to Cote d'Ivoire. Then we went to Libya by air and by road to Morocco. From Morocco to Spain.

It is imperative to note that those who went through this long route spend an average of six months to one year before arrival at their destination. According to the respondents the journey is usually broken into several legs. At each leg of the journey, the traffickees are expected to work to provide for their up keep while the guide gathers information from the syndicate to determine whether to commence the next leg of the journey. The duration of the journey depends on whether the information received is favourable or not. Favourable information means that security at the ports and borders are lax and therefore they could risk crossing. Any thing to the contrary will mean settling down and working until the situation is deemed favourable. According to the respondents this mode of travel is extremely traumatic and exploitative. The guide makes them work so hard so as to make some money for him before arrival at their destination.

Table 24: If by air, was flight direct?

Is flight direct?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	153	65.1
No	9	3.8
Not applicable	73	31.1
Total	235	100

For those that traveled by air, the researcher asked them if it was a direct flight or whether the journey was broken? The data is shown in Table 24. Majority of the respondents (65.1%) said that the flight was a direct one while 3.8 %s said they had to break the journey.

4.9 INVOLVEMENT IN PROSTITUTION WHILE ABROAD

Table 25: Involvement in prostitution abroad

Nature of job abroad	Frequency	Percentage
Prostitution	155	81.5
Others	35	18.4
Total	235	100

From the information in Table 25, 81% of the trafficked but deported respondents engaged in prostitution while abroad. It is pertinent that only 18.4 % said they were engaged in other activities such as hair dressing and working as nannies. However, the narrative of one of the respondents put to question the veracity of this assertion. For Her:

Some of us are too ashamed to say what we did abroad. Any one that tells you that she is doing only the job of a hair dresser is just trying to deceive you. I am a trained stylist and I was combining it with prostitution.

In any case which madam will invest thousands of dollars and allow you to only make hair. How much will that fetch her? My sister, many of us did a lot of terrible things to make money. I always want to talk about it. May be that will help me to heal my conscience.

When the question on the relationship between the madams and traffickees was posed, she gave the following insights. She informed the researcher that the relationship was one of exploitation. According to her:

Each traffickee has a specific amount of money to work for before she could regain her freedom. She goes out every day to solicit for clients within her madam's territory. Every dime she makes everyday including tips is taken away from her. She is only entitled to lodging, food and clothing.

When the researcher sought information on medical services given the nature of their jobs, she was told that the madam was responsible for their medicare. This is because most of the traffickees came to the destination countries with forged

papers and thus could not qualify for medical insurance. The madam then arranges with a private medical practitioner to treat those under her care.

4.10 CONTRIBUTION TO FAMILY ECONOMY

Table 26: Financial remittances

Were you sending money home while abroad	Frequency (%)
Yes	178 (75.7)
No	57 (24.3)
Total	235 (100)

Table 26 shows that 75.5 % of the ever trafficked respondents were sending money home whereas 24.3 % said they were not sending money home. The high percentage of those sending money homes shows the impact on the family economy and corroborates Caldwell (1982) postulation of wealth flowing from children to parents in societies that favour pronatalism. It equally explains why Western Union Money Transfer has a high volume of business in Benin City necessitating using a whole building. The belief is that the quantum of foreign currency transaction informed this decision. This was buttressed by one of the fathers group that stated:

Why are you worried about this trafficking? how many companies are here in Benin City? This is our only way of surviving. When our children send us dollars we change the money and start a small project such as transport business or grinding of grains and pepper. It is our own democracy dividend.

The above statement buttresses the fact that trafficking is not an individual decision but rather a decision by family heads as represented by the fathers. In addition, the fact that the families of both the trafficker and the “trafficee” enter into contractual agreement that involves the signing of papers and oath taking at

Ayelela shrine shows that it is a family decision. According to one of the native doctors involved in administering oaths, family members must be involved to guard against the “trafficker” betraying her madam. The elders know the implication of swearing before *Ayelela*. This will ensure that both parties respect the agreement. He added that apart from the administering of oath, that the agreement is documented by a lawyer for both parties to sign. This includes the amount of money the “trafficker” will return to the madam. Upon returning the full amount she is deemed to be free. This freedom is akin to the type of freedom given to apprentices. It involves throwing a party by the madam while the “trafficker” presents her madam with a piece of Dutch wax with a big bottle of gin. The madam on her part blesses the young woman and prays for her to succeed in her own business. According to one of the “traffickers” a good madam can start you off by allowing you to work in her territory until you have your own territory. However, she said that some wicked madams never allow their wards to complete the payment. As soon as they are left with a couple of thousands to complete the payment they arrange with the syndicate to have them deported by the law enforcement agents. This way instead of celebrating freedom they are deported back to Nigeria. Such madams never want to share their territory. They continue to recruit new young women to replace the deported ones.

As to the oath taking when the researcher asked the priest what it entailed, he informed the researcher that it involved the following:

The two families will present two white fowls with some bottles of schnapps and alligator pepper, bitter kola and white chalk. In addition the “trafficker will supply some of her pubic hair, finger nails and hair from her head.

The things supplied by the “trafficker” are used to prepare “juju” (charm). One part of the “juju” is given to her for good luck in her new job, to attract clients and make plenty of money for her madam. The other part is kept in the shrine. If she fails to fulfill the contract she would become a lunatic. The other items are presented to the deity as sacrifice. The blood of the fowls is sprinkled on all the parties as covenant. The priest prays for every one’s protection and blessings from the deity. Thereafter every one departs with happiness.

4.11 SEXUAL EXPERIENCE OF ALL THE RESPONDENTS

Table 27: Sexual partnership of all the Respondents

		Ever trafficked (%)	Never trafficked (%)	Total (%)
Current number of Sex partners	No sex partner	4 (1.7)	165 (20.8)	169 (16.5)
	Occasional sex partner	16 (7.0)	172 (21.7)	188 (18.4)
	Regular sex partner	59 (25.8)	429 (54.1)	488 (47.7)
	Multiple sex partners	150 (65.5)	27 (3.4)	177 (17.3)
	Total	229 (100)	793 (100)	1022 (100)
	No response	6	122	128
	TOTAL	235	915	1150

Table 27 shows the extent of sexual networking involving the respondents. The data shows both the ever trafficked and those not trafficked. This further illustrates the health implication and transmission of diseases to the larger society. Of those respondents trafficked but deported 65.5 % have multiple sex partners while 25 % have regular sex partners. Worthy of note is the fact that 7 % have occasional sex partners. For those never trafficked only 3.4 % have multiple sex partners. The implication is that sexual networking is higher among the ever trafficked respondents than those respondents that were not trafficked. This is due to the fact that this category of respondents had been networking sexually prior to deportation hence their inability to curtail their activities. This calls for concern

given its health implications for the larger society. This fear was expressed by one of the key informants. He Said:

These deported traffickees have simply gone into what they were doing in Italy. The Government has not made any attempt to quarantine them to determine those that were infected with STIs. The society is at risk.

Table 28: Vulnerability to STIs (all Respondents)

		Ever Trafficked (%)	Never trafficked (%)	Total
Ever been	Yes	168 (71.5)	5 (0.6)	173 (16.5)
	No	67 (28.5)	811 (99.4)	878 (83.5)
Treated for STIs				
	Total	235 (100)	816 (100)	1051 (100)
No response			99	1150

A study of this nature is incomplete without looking at the health implications of trafficking on both the “trafficees” and those not trafficked. The essence is to view the implications for the larger society especially in the transmission of STIs. It is note worthy that 71.5 per cent of those actually trafficked but deported had been treated for STIs whereas for those respondents not trafficked only 0.6 per cent had been treated for STIs (see table 28). The health implication is the introduction and transmission of sexually transmitted diseases into the society. This assertion buttresses the view of X a catholic nun and a medical practitioner involved in rehabilitating deported traffickees:

In my 20 years of medical practice, I am yet to come across some of the variants of the STIs we have encountered since the year 2000. Some of these diseases defy conventional drugs we just try to keep the patients alive. There are two of our patients who have lost the ability to fall asleep naturally. We try to alleviate their problems.

4.12 TEST OF HYPOTHESES The results of the structured interview and the information gathered from the In-depth interviews and the Focus Group Discussions are presented in line with the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1:

H₁: Young women from large families are more likely to be trafficked than young women from smaller families.

H₀: Young women from large families are not more likely to be trafficked than young women from smaller families.

The first hypothesis states that: **Young women from large families are not more likely to be trafficked than young women from smaller families.**

Table 29: Respondents Willingness to Trafficking by Family Size

Family Size	Willing (%)	Not Willing (%)	All (%)
Less than 5	91 (62.8)	54 (37.2)	145 (100.0)
5 – 9	354 (67.7)	169 (32.3)	523 (100.0)
10 and above	178 (72.1)	69 (27.9)	247 (100.0)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100.0)

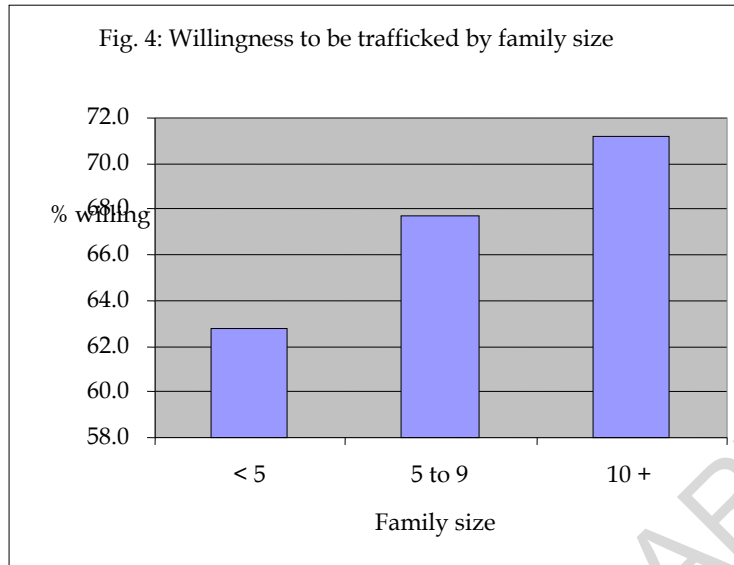
A large family confers economic advantage. It provides social security and prestige in a local community. The large family is the universally agreed ideal in Africa (Boserup, 1981). Despite being the capital of Edo State, Benin City still retains some vestiges of a traditional society. The Bini value many children because children are considered to be gifts from God. In addition they are seen as instruments of wealth creation. The distribution in table 29 above shows that of the respondents from families with 5-9 children 67.7 % indicated their willingness

to be trafficked while of those from families with 10 children and above 72.1% were willing to be trafficked. In addition 62.8 % of those from families with less than 5 children indicated willingness to be trafficked.

Table 30: Test of hypothesis: Willingness to be trafficked by family size

	Willing	Not willing
Mean family size	8.44	7.81
Standard deviation	4.603	4.353
ANOVA stat. F = 3.854; Significance = 0.05		

The ANOVA statistic in Table 30 shows a significant difference between the mean family size of young women willing to be trafficked and the mean family size of young women not willing to be trafficked. Whereas the mean family size of those willing to be trafficked is **8.44** than of those not willing to be trafficked is **7.81**. The ANOVA statistic, **F= 3.854**. This is significant at 0.05. The ANOVA statistic has been adopted for its utility in comparison of means between groups. The statistic gives test for significant difference in the means of groups within the entire sample. For hypothesis 1, H_0 is rejected which is that young women from large families are not more willing to be trafficked than those from small families. A high F statistic indicates a significant difference in the means being compared. Figure 4 is a graphic presentation of willingness by family size. The conclusion is that there exists a correlation between a large family size and the willingness to be trafficked. In essence young women from large families are more willing to be trafficked than those from smaller families.



Hypothesis 2:

H₂: The educational level of young women is significantly related to their willingness to be trafficked.

H₀: The educational level of young women is not significantly related to their willingness to be trafficked.

Table 31 below shows the cross tabulation of the respondents level of education and their willingness to be trafficked.

Table 31: Respondents Willingness to Trafficking by level of education

	Willingness to be trafficked		
Level of education	Willing (%)	Not willing (%)	Total (%)
None	7 (50.0)	7 (50.0)	14 (100.0)
Primary	48 (68.6)	22 (31.4)	70 (100.0)
Secondary	445 (70.2)	189 (29.8)	634 (100.0)
Post secondary	111 (62.4)	67 (37.6)	178 (100.0)
Others	12 (63.2)	7 (36.8)	19 (100.0)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100.0)
Pearson Chi square = 6.305; df = 4; Significance = 0.178			

Calculated **Pearson Chi Square = 6.305; df is 4** (degree of freedom) and its statistical significance is **0.178**. This shows that there is no significant relationship between level of education and the willingness to be trafficked. Education is a locomotive that drives economic development worldwide. Weeks (2002) averred that it is a vehicle for personal success used by people everywhere to achieve higher status. It is pertinent to mention that education is relatively free up to the senior secondary level in government owned schools in Nigeria. In Nigeria, education connects people to search for jobs in the public and private sectors with all its potentials for profitable enrichment. Over the years especially since the oil boom of the 1970s, centres of bureaucracies have proliferated for the employment of the educated and highly skilled. The poorly educated elites and semi skilled often lose out. The distribution in table 34 shows that 70.2 % of the respondents with a secondary level education were willing to be trafficked. In addition 62.4% of those with a post secondary education indicated their willingness to be

trafficked. Of those with a primary education 68.6% were willing to be trafficked while of those with no formal education 50.0 % said they would follow a trafficker if provided with the necessary documents. From the above results the null hypothesis is accepted which states that the educational level of young women is not significantly related to willingness to be trafficked. The issue is not education *per se* but rather the quality of the education received. The General Household Report (1995-2005) which showed Edo State having a literacy rate of 85.80 per cent for (15 yrs and above) corroborates the above finding. There exists no relationship between level of education and willingness to be trafficked. However, the qualitative data showed that a secondary level education cannot guarantee a tenured employment. The fact that most secondary school leavers desire remunerative positions in bureaucracies is an indication that the educational system has not adequately prepared the recipients to be self reliant. The narrative of IH lends credence to this assertion:

*What nature of job can I get with school certificate?
May be I can become a stylist or sales girl on a salary
of ₦3500 or ₦4000 a month. Tell me can it sustain me
in Benin here?*

The respondents said that such qualification can only get them jobs in the informal sector where there is no employment contract. They could be fired at the whim of the employer. The import of this revelation is that low level education and lack of professional skills contribute to the willingness to be trafficked. Having internalized the values of success but not having the prerequisite education or required skills to secure a tenured job in the formal sector the respondents resort to achieving the success goals by not following approved

societal method. They thus prepare to follow any trafficker that could provide them with genuine traveling documents.

Hypothesis 3:

H₃: Young women with friends abroad are more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad.

H₀: Young women with friends abroad are not more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad.

The third hypothesis states that: **young women with friends abroad are more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad.**

Table 32: Respondents Willingness to Trafficking by peer influence

Do you have friends Who live and work abroad?	Willing (%)	Not willing (%)	Total (%)
Yes	440(67.6)	211(32.4)	651(100.0)
No	183(69.3)	81(30.7)	264(100.0)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100)
Pearson Chi square = 0.259; df = 1; Significance = 0.611			

The test suggests that there is no significant relationship between peer influence (as measured by having a friend abroad) and willingness to be trafficked. The Pearson Chi Square = 0.259, df = 1 while significance = 0.611. Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis which states that young women with friends abroad are not more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad. The implication is that those not having friends abroad were ready to risk traveling to a foreign land despite not having any social capital in those countries because of

the nature of trafficking which usually operates as a team. Members of the syndicate take care of new entrants (Pharaoh, 2006). The narrative of IH lends credence to the above result. According to her:

One does not need to know any one before traveling to Italy. The business is run like a family business. All members of a team must live in the same house as the madam.

Coking and other domestic chores are organized by the madam. She prepares a roaster for the shopping, cleaning and cooking. The roaster is prepared using the monthly calendar of all the female members of the team. Anyone that is having her monthly period is expected to work in the house.

This way the working hours are not wasted on irrelevancies. The Madam takes charge of every member of the team. She ensures that all the activities are carried out orderly and that the new members are encouraged to work with the old members as one family.

Hypothesis 4

H₄: There is a significant relationship between the employment of young women and the tendency of being trafficked.

H₀: There is no significant relationship between the employment of young women and the tendency of being trafficked.

Table 33: Respondents Willingness to Trafficking by Employment status

Employment status	Willing (%)	Not willing (%)	All respondents (%)
Employed	179 (66.5)	90 (33.5)	269 (100.0)
Unemployed	82 (70.7)	34 (29.3)	116 (100.0)
Student/Apprentice	362 (68.3)	168 (31.7)	530 (100.0)
Total	623 (68.1)	292 (31.9)	915 (100.0)
Chi square = 0.668; df= 2, Significance = 0.716			

The Pearson chi square = 0.668 while the significance = 0.716. The result shows no significant relationship between employment status and willingness to be trafficked. Willingness to be trafficked cuts across all the categories in Table 33. Both the unemployed and the employed respondents were desirous of being trafficked with 66.5 per cent of those with employment indicating willingness while for the unemployed 70.7 per cent said they were willing. Of significance is that of those categorized as student/apprentice 68.1 per cent indicated willingness to be trafficked. In essence employment has no effect on willingness to be trafficked. The null hypothesis is therefore accepted that unemployed young women do not have a greater tendency to be trafficked.

Hypothesis 5:

H₅: Young women whose mothers have low level education are more willing to be trafficked.

H₀: Young women whose mothers have low level education are not more willing to be trafficked

Table 34: Willingness by Mother's Education

Mother's education	Willing (%)	Not willing (%)	All respondents (%)
None	90 (69.8)	39 (30.2)	129(100.0)
Primary	187 (71.9)	73 (28.1)	260 (100.0)
Secondary	208 (66.0)	107 (34.0)	315 (100.0)
Post secondary	87 (62.1)	53 (37.9)	140 (100.0)
Others	9 (56.3)	7 (43.7)	16 (100.0)
Total	581(67.6)	279 (32.4)	860 (100.0)
Chi square = 5.689; df= 4, Significance = 0.224			

Although the Chi square statistic of 5.689 is not significant, the Spearman's rho shows a weak correlation of 0.071 which is significant at 0.05 level of significance. Despite the weak correlation evidence from the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with a select group of mothers of some of the 915 young women yet to be trafficked showed that majority of the mothers had just a primary school education 71.9 per cent. Those that went beyond secondary school trained as either secretaries or beauticians. The implication is that most of the mothers are in the informal sector of the economy where there is no job security. Those employed in the organized sector had low paying jobs either as cleaners, typists and messengers. This situation exposed the gender dimension in employment that women with low level education are found mainly in the informal sector. Those lucky to be employed in the formal sector have to contend with pink jobs with its attendant low wages. Majority of the mothers viewed trafficking in young women in a positive light. Especially those who were in polygynous marriages considered it an honour if their daughters were chosen to be trafficked. As one of them argued:

Picking my daughter to travel is an indication that she possesses the attributes of a beautiful young woman. Or do you think an ugly lady will be picked?

This mind set has resulted in many mothers encouraging their daughters to follow traffickers. It is even considered a status symbol if some one's daughter is in Italy or Spain. This mind set gave birth to an all female elite club formed by mothers whose daughters had been trafficked to Europe. Members of this club flaunt the benefits that accrue from trafficking to the envy of non-members. According to Rev. Sister X: ***Members of this club tie Dutch wax instead of Nigerian wax. They see themselves as superior to those without daughters in Europe.***

The result is that other women aspire to join them by encouraging their own daughters to follow traffickers. Of significance is that the rate of re-trafficking is very high. All the 235 respondents that were trafficked but deported indicated their willingness to be re-trafficked. Both those rehabilitated and those undergoing rehabilitation argued that they had a better quality of life while they were in Europe. CB for instance, informed the researcher that the rehabilitation was a short term strategy. That her family had entered into negotiation with the syndicate to enable her return to Italy. She argued that her return has affected her family negatively.

4.13 SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES TESTING

This section presents the summary of findings based on the hypotheses earlier presented.

- Hypothesis one: There exist a significant relationship between family size and willingness to be trafficked. Respondents from families with ten children and above (72.1%) were more willing to be trafficked.
- Hypothesis two: There is no significant relationship between educational attainment and willingness to be trafficked. Even though that more people with secondary level education (70.2%) showed willingness to be trafficked but willingness cuts across all the categories thus highlighting the defect in the educational system.
- Hypothesis three: young women with friends abroad are not more willing to be trafficked. Both those with friends and those without friends were willing to be trafficked.

- Hypothesis four: there is no relationship between unemployment and willingness to be trafficked. Both the unemployed and those in employment were willing to be trafficked. And this is not unconnected with the fact that majority of the employed were actually in the periphery of the economy where they eke out a living.
- Hypothesis five: There exists a significant relationship between the educational qualification of the respondents' mothers and their willingness to be trafficked. Respondents whose mothers had a primary level education were more willing to be trafficked. Just like the employed respondents most of the mothers were in the informal sector of the economy where they too eke out a living.

4.14 CASE STUDIES

This section discusses in detail the narratives of the eight respondents with a history of long sojourn in the destination countries. The case study method allows for the profile of the respondents to be presented by pulling together threads from the interviews. Some of the responses generated through the qualitative interviews were used to corroborate the evidence from the quantitative data. The narratives provide an insight into the nature of the relationship between the traffickees and their madams. It highlights the level of exploitation that characterizes the relationship between the madams and the syndicates vis-a- vis the traffickees. The relationship between the madams and traffickees is characterized by extreme exploitation. The traffickees are like milk cows that must supply the financial needs of their madams until they are either freed or deported. The syndicates are loose networks of family members and criminal gangs. Their job is to ensure the smooth running of the businesses through violence and intimidation. The

syndicate protects the madams against the law enforcement agents and against potential rebellious traffickees who might want to assert themselves. In return the madams pay protection fees to the syndicate. The syndicates are mostly men with few powerful madams. They are akin to the Italian “Mafiosi”. The narratives give insight into the gender power relations. The syndicates are mostly men and they exercise absolute power over the traffickees. Despite being in a foreign land they ensure that the traffickees comply with the unwritten laws of the trade through intimidation and physical abuse and even death in extreme cases. This buttresses the postulation of radical feminism that patriarchy foists violence on women through physical and hidden practices of exploitation (Mackinnon,1979, Wolf,1991 & Thompson, 1994).s Each of the interviewee below has a unique story to tell to buttress the exploitation and intimidation by the madams and syndicates.

Case 1

MS. A is 25 years old. She left for Italy at the age of 15 years after her secondary school education. She spent a total of ten years in Italy. She worked for her aunt who brought her to Italy for four years. After four years, she was granted her freedom and started her own business. She recruited some young women who worked for her. Her business was thriving to the extent that she built a house in Benin City and started transportation business with a fleet of Coaster buses. In addition she owned a beauty and massage parlour and two personal cars. For her, life could not be better. However, she started having issues with the syndicate. According to her, frequent demand for protection fees by the syndicate made her very angry. She thought that with the help of her boy friend that she could call

their bluff. She refused to accede to their demands and challenged them to account for the money they had collected from her and others. The syndicate decided to teach her a lesson. They arranged for the police to arrest and deport her. She left Italy with nothing. The syndicate has simply warned other rebellious characters by using her as an example.

Case 2

MS B is also 25 years old. She came to Spain as a teenager and worked her way to the top to be a Madam. She acquired so much property and investments both in Spain and in Benin City. She has three young women working for her. She invested her money in legitimate businesses in Spain and was in no way under the scrutiny of the law enforcement agents. However, at 25 years old, she was desirous of getting married and raising a family. She informed her family and a young man from Benin City was arranged for her. She was advised against marrying any of her compatriots in Spain for fear of losing her wealth. The very young man that was brought from Nigeria arranged to have her deported by reporting her to the authorities. She was arrested and interrogated to explain the source of her wealth. Of course she was unable to convince the authorities and was subsequently deported to Nigeria.

Case 3

MS C is over 25 years old. She too came to Italy as a teenager after her junior secondary school education. She was very lucky in Italy because of her youth and beauty. She had many clients who gave her generous tips and pandered to her whims. Due to this she was loved by her madam and the syndicate. In no time she paid off her debt and was made a partner in her madam's business. She was so

trusted by the syndicate that she was asked to go to Russia and start a new territory. Getting to Russia she needed to solicit to establish herself before bringing in new people to work with her. Due to the inclement weather she contracted frostbites and had to go back to Italy. In Italy she became a liability to the syndicate and was dumped in front of a convent. The nuns took her in and arranged for her to be deported back to Nigeria. On arrival she was handed to COSUDOW for rehabilitation and possible reintegration into society. Due to the frostbites her legs were amputated and she now uses artificial legs.

Case 4

MS D is over 25 years too. She came to Italy after junior secondary school. According to her she had a debt of about \$30,000 to repay. She started work with her madam and was seeing an average of 13 clients a day. She was determined to work hard to see if she could repay her debts in four years and possibly start her own business. She took this decision after she was thoroughly beaten by her madam's pimps for attempting to conceal her tips. After the physical assault she was prepared to do any thing to earn more money. She was informed by one of her clients that a syndicate was recruiting some young women to participate in a pornographic film. Since the group was prepared to pay good money she jumped at the offer. On the appointed day she went to the rendez vous and was informed that she would be latched to the bed since it was a seedy session. She agreed and was latched on to the bed. Immediately the door was opened, a giant gorilla was ushered in and she passed out. When she regained consciousness she knew that she had been badly battered and she was dumped in front of her madam's house by those that abused her. When her madam heard her story she too decided to

dump her in front of the Catholic Church where she was picked by good Samaritans and cared for. They arranged for her to be deported to Nigeria and was handed to COSUDOW. She was subsequently transferred to the teaching hospital where her badly damaged reproductive organ was completely evacuated.

Case 5

MS E is 21 years old. She came to Italy when she was 15 years old. She had actually completed her secondary education and had the required credits to further her education. She was desirous of furthering her education but her family was not prepared to sponsor her beyond secondary school. She got a job as a sales girl in Benin City and planned to save money to further her education. Her Aunt visited from Italy and informed her parents that she could get a job as a nanny in Italy and still further her studies as a part time student. Her parents jumped at the offer and convinced her to go despite her reluctance. She accompanied her Aunt to Italy and discovered that there was no job for her. Rather she was compelled to prostitute. Initially she refused to cooperate with her but after she was beaten, raped by the pimps, and forced to go hungry for two nights she succumbed and started soliciting. For the first three months she was never allowed to go out without some form of surveillance. When she gained her Aunt's trust she was now allowed to work without supervision. She served her Aunt for 4 years and was now allowed to work for herself but she was still staying with her Aunt. According to her, life became more comfortable and she was sending money home regularly. She was also saving money to get her own apartment. Since she had more money she was in a position to take care of herself and improve her

looks. It was at this point that her Aunt's boy friend started making passes at her and she refused. The Aunt's boy friend informed the police that she was prostituting. He gave them accurate information as to her hours of work and the fact that she operates in night trains. The police raided the train and they were all arrested and since they came into Italy with forged papers they were detained and subsequently deported.

Case 6

MS F is 23 years old. She came to Spain as a teenager through the assistance of a trafficker. She considered herself lucky to be trafficked because she had many sisters back home and each of them was willing to follow the trafficker. However, being the prettiest and youngest of all her sisters, her father gave her the necessary support. Her parents partly financed her journey to Spain. On getting to Spain she was obedient and hard working and that earned her the favour of her madam. Instead of the minimum four years of apprenticeship she spent only three years and became a junior partner to her madam. According to her, this became possible because she found favour with her clients and always received very generous tips. Unlike her colleagues who were always devising ways to conceal part of their tips, she was very honest with her madam. She turned in whatever she received as tips and this endeared her more to her madam. For her hard work and honesty her madam was sending money to her parents every quarter. In addition she was allowed to solicit just four days in the week. The rest of the week was spent taking care of domestic chores at home. Her madam loved her so much that she was the only one allowed to clean her madam's room and wash her clothes. For these acts of favoritism, she incurred the wrath of her colleagues.

Unknown to her they had devised a plan to send her packing from Spain. On a certain day after they were dropped off to start the day's job, one of her colleagues picked issues with her. And when she demanded why she was rude to her, she was slapped. When she tried to retaliate the other ladies joined in the fray and it became a free for all fight. They were all arrested by the police and taken to the station. Since they were foreigners the first thing the police did was to ascertain their status and of course they were all illegal immigrants. They were charged to court with their madam. While the madam was sentenced to a prison term, all the young women were deported.

Case 7

MS G is 25 years. She went to Italy when she was 15 years old. She finished her secondary school education with six credit passes including English language and mathematics. A very intelligent young lady but according to her she was very adventurous. In her pursuit of something new and exciting she was introduced to a rich madam that was residing in Italy. The lady interviewed her and was quite impressed with her articulation of issues. She then entered into a discussion with her parents to take her to Italy. Her parents were equally excited and happy. Thereafter the madam commenced the process of getting her travel documents. After three months her papers were ready and her madam arranged for her to come to Italy. Before, the madam left Benin City she had entered into an agreement with her family that her apprenticeship would be for a period of four years. Papers were signed before a lawyer and oaths were administered at Ayelela shrine. Ms. G. was so excited when she got to Italy that she threw herself into the job with zeal. According to her she was so favoured that her daily returns put to

shame the older ladies that were working with her madam. She was always receiving invitations for outings and home services which were generously rewarded. Her vivacious nature coupled with her good command of the English language endeared her to both her madam and her numerous clients. In no time her apprenticeship came to an end and she had hoped that her madam would make her a junior partner in the business but this did not happen. Rather, she wanted her to spend an additional one year as an apprentice but she refused. This became a very big issue and the madam decided to use the syndicate to teach her a lesson because she was no longer giving her all the day's earnings. As she was coming back from an outing on a particular day a car ran over her. She was lucky because she was presumed dead but a good Samaritan picked her and took her to the hospital. She knew immediately that her life was in danger and decided to consult a client who had connections with the media. She was interviewed and her story published. The authorities arrested her madam and because of her good standing in her community, she was arraigned and tried in a court of law. The trial was a very long one and generated a lot of passion in the local media. During this period she was transferred to an organization run by catholic nuns because she came into Italy with valid papers. After four years of trial her madam was convicted and sent to jail while she was deported to save her from the long arms of the syndicate. However, the syndicate seems to have caught up with her in Nigeria. Several attempts had been made on her life and to protect herself she disguises herself during the day and does not spend two nights in the same place. The nuns feed and try to protect her. She cannot engage in any economic venture. According to her "it's a very hard life. I wish I had died in that accident".

Case 8

MS H is 27 years old. She came to Italy as a teenager too. However, she dropped out of secondary school to seek fortune. She has always wanted to make money and build an empire for herself and her siblings. Coming from a polygynous family with so many children she saw her mother's life as a waste. She vowed to change the situation. She was brought to Italy by a trafficker who sold her to a madam for a huge sum of money. She worked so hard to repay her debts and to win the respect of her madam. In no time she paid of her debt and remained with her madam for another two years. Fortunately for her, the madam had built an empire back home and decided to return home. She was appointed to oversee her madam's business interests in Italy. She was shrewd and very humble that she was brought into the inner caucus of the syndicate. She was doing so well that she built some houses and started a clothes line back home. Her mother became so comfortable that she had a car with a driver attached to her. Being a member of the syndicate exposed her to the various businesses run by the syndicate and she decided to take advantage of such opportunities. Unfortunately for her, she had earlier rebuffed the amorous advances of a top member of a rival syndicate. It was this rival syndicate that informed the police of this other illicit venture she had embarked upon. Her house was searched and some illegal substances were discovered. She got herself a very good lawyer who convinced the authority that what was discovered in her house was planted there. Due to the fact that she had become so well connected rather than going to jail she was deported.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY STATEMENT

This chapter summarizes the research findings by reviewing the main issues including the problematic and the objectives of the study. In addition, it presents the summary of the major findings, the deductions, and the conclusions. It also presents the recommendations as well as the limitations of the study and the need for further studies.

5.1 SUMMARY OF STUDY

5.1.1 STUDY PROBLEMATIC AND EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORKS

The problematic which the study sought to investigate, is the relationship between family socioeconomic background and the vulnerability to trafficking as measured by the willingness to be trafficked. The postulation is that young women from large families are more willing to be trafficked. Basic to this assumption is that young women from families with few children are not predisposed to trafficking situations. The study set out to investigate the impact of family size on the willingness to be trafficked.

In specific terms the study sought to establish the relationship between willingness to be trafficked and the following variables: family size, educational level of the respondents, peer influence, unemployment and the educational level of their mothers. Specifically, it tried to determine whether the number of children within individual families would influence the willingness to be trafficked.

In addition, it tried to determine the veracity of the assumption in literature that high educational attainment reduces the willingness to be trafficked. The study went further to determine whether young women with friends in Europe were more willing to be trafficked than those not having friends. Scholars have averred the existence of a relationship between unemployment and trafficking in young women. This study tried to establish the veracity of this conclusion. Finally, it sought to demonstrate the relationship between the educational attainment of mothers and the willingness of the respondents to be trafficked.

The study has contributed to the literature in human trafficking as well as providing insights into factors that motivate young women into trafficking situations. Significantly, it brought to the fore the dynamics in the trafficking of young women in Nigeria as well as providing a holistic picture in terms of the experiences of those trafficked but deported.

For review of extant literature, the study examined the bulk of knowledge in the area of human trafficking. It was discovered that a number of research work in this area had alluded to a relationship between some environmental factors such as the depreciation of the national currency especially within the context of the Structural Adjustment Programme and trafficking in young women. These studies linked the spate of trafficking in young women to the depreciation of the national currency (Naira) during the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida. However, none of the studies tried to establish the interplay between the depreciation of the national currency and the economic blue print of the military regime in existence. In addition those studies failed to establish a linkage between globalization and the desire of young women to be trafficked.

The study examined the contributions of various scholars on the relationship between socioeconomic factors and the trafficking of young women. It found that there was empirical evidence to link patriarchy, family pressure and sex tourism with the trafficking of young women. Fundamentally, it debunked orthodox views linking education, unemployment, poverty and peer influence with the willingness to be trafficked. It was discovered that such conclusions were not backed by nuanced evidence but rather were drawn based only on quantitative evidence alone.

Some scholars also attributed the phenomenon of trafficking in young women to demographic factors such as urbanization, immigration policies and family size. Their conclusion was that the urban culture of consumerism, materialism and commercialization of sex tend to heighten the phenomenon of trafficking in young women. They equally averred that strict immigration policies create lucrative niches for criminal syndicates who exploit the opportunity to cater for intending migrants that were denied licit migration. The study found that tight immigration policies put in place by European countries to discourage illicit migration actually encouraged illicit migration by driving intending migrants into the waiting arms of criminal syndicates that provide such services at exorbitant fees. Urbanization did not play a significant role but rather family size was found to be significant. Young women from large families showed greater willingness to be trafficked than those from smaller families.

Theoretical explanations for the phenomenon of trafficking in young women were examined. The theories comprised sociological theories, migration theories and the theories of deviant behaviour. The sociological theories included **theoretical**

perspectives on the family, the world-system theory, and radical feminism.

The migration theories comprised **the wealth-flow theory** and **the push-pull theory**. The theories of deviant behaviour included **the differential association theory**, and **the anomie theory**. The theoretical predilection of the study was eclectic as it relied on the key elements of the various theories to fashion an explanatory tool. The theoretical framework of the study is that the size of the family will impact on the willingness to be trafficked especially in situations where there are many young women within the family. When this situation works in tandem with socioeconomic factors like patriarchy, the nature of an individual's education (that is whether the education can provide access to a tenured job or not), immigration policies, high profitability and the educational qualifications of the mothers, trafficking in young women heightens. These conditions tend to determine the level of well-being of an individual and where there exist no moral inhibitions the tendency is to avail oneself of trafficking situations.

5.1.2 STUDY HYPOTHESES

The study tested five hypotheses

- Young women from large families are likely to be trafficked.
- The higher the educational level of young women the lower the willingness to be trafficked.

- Young women with friends abroad are more willing to be trafficked than those without friends abroad.
- Unemployed young women have a greater tendency of being trafficked.
- Young women whose mothers have low level education are susceptible to trafficking.

5.1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

For the study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The study was conducted in the three local government areas that make up Benin City namely Oredo, Egor and Ikpoba-okha. The study consisted of a survey, Key Informant interviews, In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions. For the survey, 1000 instruments were administered to young women aged 15-25 years that had never been trafficked but 915 of the instruments were found to be useful for statistical analysis. There were ten key Informant interviews. The interviewees included community leaders, religious leaders, heads of NGOS, top officials of the Police/Immigration and top government officials in charge of rehabilitating trafficked but deported young women. There were also ten In-depth interviews. Ten of the 235 trafficked but deported young women with a history of long sojourn abroad were selected and interviewed. However, due to ethical consideration only eight of the interviews were used as narratives to enrich the work. There were four Focus Group Discussions conducted for the fathers and mothers of the two groups of respondents. Each Focus Group Discussion had a total of twelve discussants.

5.1.4 STUDY FINDINGS

The study shows that 68.1 per cent of the respondents were willing to be trafficked. Of the 915 respondents, 89.2 per cent were single and 96.5 per cent professed Christianity. It is significant to note that 69.3 per cent of the respondents had a secondary level education. For family size, 84.2 per cent of the respondents were from families of five persons and above. And for family type 63.8 per cent of the respondents were from polygynous families.

For the 235 ever trafficked but deported respondents their median age was 22 years and 93.6 per cent professed Christianity. The study revealed that 82.6 per cent of the respondents were single. In terms of educational qualification 68.1 per cent of the respondents had a secondary level education. Worthy of note is that 82.1 per cent of the respondents came from families of 5 persons and above.

For this category of respondents, 75.5 per cent were contributing to the family economy through cash remittances.

The study reveals that of the 915 respondents that 80.9 per cent of those sexually active were willing to be trafficked. It equally showed that of those trafficked but deported that 65.5 per cent had multiple sex partners. In addition, 71.5 per cent of the ever trafficked had been treated for sexually transmitted infections.

The study reveals a statistically significant relationship between family size and the willingness to be trafficked. It showed that young women from large families were more willing to be trafficked. From the Focus Group Discussions the consensus was that large families pressure their daughters into trafficking to improve the well-being of the family members. This assertion was corroborated

by the key Informant interviews. In this regard, the study has contributed to the body of knowledge on human trafficking. Theoretically, it advanced the theory of victimization, that young women from large families become “sacrificial lambs” for their families to achieve better well-being.

The study shows a statistically significant relationship between mothers’ education and the willingness to be trafficked. Respondents whose mothers had a low level education were more willing to be trafficked. This finding is fundamental as it brings to the fore the gender dimension in trafficking given that mothers with low level education either had pink jobs or were confined to the periphery of the economy thus making it impossible to adequately provide for their families.

The study also shows association between education and trafficking. It shows that a secondary level education could not guarantee a tenured job and therefore those with such education either make do with low paying jobs or face the prospect of no job. This in itself was a motivating factor for many young women desirous of a better life to become traffickees. This in itself has a significant contribution to the body of knowledge in trafficking. It shows the discrimination against girl child education in patriarchal societies. From the Focus Group discussions the general consensus was that the female child should be encouraged to either get married or improve the family fortune so that the proceeds thereof could be used to train the male children. In essence it is not enough to get an education but rather the emphasis should be on the nature of education. Whether such an education will provide better life chances to the beneficiaries. This position was canvassed by most of the respondents and the In-depth interviews.

The study also shows a connection between employment and willingness to be trafficked. This is buttressed by the fact that both the employed and the unemployed showed willingness to be trafficked. This revelation is significant given the postulation in literature that there exists an association between unemployment and trafficking. The quantitative data show that there is no statistical significance between unemployment and trafficking. However, the qualitative data revealed the nature of employment. That all those that were employed were either sales girls or stylists on less than ₦5000 a month. This position was canvassed by the In-depth interviews and from the Focus Group Discussions. The general agreement was that such a salary was too meager to improve the life chances of any young person.

The under listed are major findings which emanate from this study

- Family size is a fundamental imperative in the trafficking of young women. The underlying factor is polygyny that results in many children. Again, the fact that the men are incapable of providing for the children fosters the attitude of asking the young females amongst the children to follow traffickers and improve the well being of the family.
- Willingness to be trafficked cuts across all ages and educational background with 68.1 per cent of the respondents indicating their willingness to be trafficked.
- The inferior position accorded women within Benin social milieu accentuates trafficking by making young women to aspire to success through any available means. That is why young women are willing to embark on risky journeys to Europe through land, sea or air.

- In patriarchal societies women could become commodities to be traded by their families. The household heads decide who gets trafficked and negotiates with the traffickers on behalf of the traffickees.
- The study provides insight in to the economic dimensions of trafficking. The fact that 75.5 per cent of those trafficked contribute to the family economy reveals the importance of such remittances to the family economy. Remittances are invested in real estate, transport business, boutiques and the milling of grains. Household heads consider such remittances as a means of improving their well being.
- The study reveals the gender dimension in employment. That most women operate outside the formal sector of the economy due to low level education. Even the few employed in the formal sector contend with pink jobs as a result of this handicap.
- The qualitative data threw more light on the issue of re-trafficking. Those trafficked but deported are willing to be re-trafficked even though they were under going rehabilitation.
- Many mothers view the issue of trafficking in positive light culminating in the formation of an elite club by the mothers of those trafficked.
- The study debunks the universality of factors rather that each society presents its own factors or multiplicity of factors within its sociocultural context.
- It is imperative that those trafficked but deported are quarantined to protect the larger society from being exposed to STIS considering that 71.5 per cent of those trafficked but deported had been treated for various STIS. And since many of

them were involved in sexual networking it becomes dangerous for the larger society.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

Women's commodification and marginalization have been a global phenomenon. It appears that every leap in technological advancement rather than erase gender disparity and reduce social marginalization of women heightens it. Within the Benin social milieu family size has been found to be an imperative in the understanding of trafficking in young women. The size of the family determines a number of opportunities for the female gender. It determines the decisions as to who goes to school or remains in school and above all who gets trafficked. It equally influences the attitude of the female child in respect to social and cultural expectations. In a bid to conform to the structural stigmatization of inferiority, the female child accepts to be trafficked in order to improve the well being of her family. She is expected to contribute to the education of her male siblings and turn around the fortune of her family. The society equally expects her to get married at a certain age and raise a family. These societal expectations conflict with the traditional concept of marriage and motherhood. To fulfill these societal expectations she jettisons the traditional values of marriage and chastity and embraces the western values of freedom which conflicts with the traditional values to enable her conform.

Underneath this issue of societal expectation is the issue of gender relations. The fact that men occupy decision making positions both at home and at the societal level and they exercise this power over women even when their interests are jeopardized.

Again patriarchy reinforces the structural marginalization of women through disinheritance both in their nuclear and families of orientation. This way, they become the chattels of their families. It is this commodification of the female gender that ensures that young women are trafficked and re-trafficked with the active connivance of family members.

The cultural expectation that the female gender is inferior to the male gender fosters an aggressive spirit in young women to the extent that they are ready to embark on risky ventures to ensure that they improve their family's well being as well as their own. They strive to succeed at all costs even to the point of self immolation.

Beyond the issue of societal expectations, is the gender dimension in employment. The fact that many women operate on the periphery of the economy. This is not unconnected with their poor educational qualifications and lack of requisite skills. The result is that the few that find themselves in the formal sector of the economy contend with pink jobs. Such low paying jobs cannot provide them the financial empowerment to raise their children. This engenders the mindset of acquiescing to their husbands' decision to traffick their daughters. Any wonder that such women view trafficking in a positive light culminating in the formation of an all female elite club of mothers of trafficked young women. For this group of women trafficking in their daughters has become a sort of status symbol since the proceeds from trafficking have provided them with better well being and the good things of life. To differentiate them from their fellows whose daughters have not been trafficked, they must wear a type of wrapper which is manufactured in Holland (Dutch wax). Thus, creating a new class of women from

the rest of the women. Marginalized they remain vis-à-vis the men but the proceeds from trafficking have improved their life chances and given them a better existence.

Finally, commodification of the female gender re-emphasizes patriarchal attitudes and behaviour thus undermining gender equality. The fact that women are traded will continue to foster in the female gender the feeling of inferiority and this will negate the agitation for equal opportunities for both men and women especially in education and the issue of inheritance.

5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

It is expected that the study will engender policy in the following areas.

- 1.** The fact that family size has been identified as a fundamental factor in the trafficking of young women should inform policy on the issue of family planning. The Edo State government and the many NGOS working in the area of fertility should focus attention on enlightening parents on the benefits of limiting one's family.
- 2.** The gender inequality in education should influence policy decisions in ensuring equal opportunities to all especially in view of the millennium development goals which emphasizes the imperative of gender equality in education by 2015. In addition the educational curriculum should be tinkered with to de-emphasise paper qualification and enhance the acquisition of relevant skills that will ensure self reliance.
- 3.** The Identification of the factors that accentuate trafficking in young women should inform policy decisions on ways of curbing the menace especially in view

of the involvement of NAPTIP in the fight against all forms of trafficking in human persons.

4. Cultural values that foster all forms of discrimination against women in society should inform policy decisions on the need to reorient the traditional institution on the imperatives of equality for all persons. Again, the Ministry of Women Affairs should see this as a challenge to initiate bills that could culminate into a law to discourage all forms discrimination against women.
5. The fact that 71.5 per cent of the deported traffickees had been treated for various STIS should be a source of concern to the Ministry of Health and other health institutions. This revelation should inform policy decisions on the need to quarantine deported traffickees to determine their health status before reintegration with the larger society.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study brought to the fore the importance of female education. Even though education is free from the primary to the secondary level but many young women drop out after the senior secondary school. They are withdrawn to get married, to follow traffickers or to make room for their male siblings to further their own education. It is recommended that female education should be made free and compulsory up to university level to empower more women. In addition NGOS and Civil Society Organizations should initiate skills acquisition programmes to cater for those unable to go beyond the secondary school level.

The findings of this study should encourage the Federal and Edo State governments to go beyond rhetoric and enter into bilateral agreement with

destination countries on the need to initiate programmes that will empower young women in order to deter them from embarking on risky journeys to Europe.

The National agency against the prohibition and traffick in human persons and other matters (NAPTIP) should collaborate with the Nigerian Police, the Immigration and NGOS towards having a common agenda of action against human trafficking. Such a synergy will engender wider processes and competencies to ensure wider coverage.

Since trafficking in human persons crosscuts many issues, it becomes imperative that the search for solution must be eclectic. This will ensure holistic approach to the problem. To this end Sociologists, Psychologists, Lawyers, the Police, the Immigration as well as priests and the religious must be involved in seeking a solution to the problem.

Anti-trafficking laws should focus on the real guilty party, namely the trafficker, the pimp, the procurer, the brothel owners and even the clients instead of focusing on the traffickees as criminals.

Nigeria, despite it's strive towards modernity reveres its culture and the traditional institution. It is recommended that the traditional institution be brought into the search for a solution. The various agencies involved in the eradication and rehabilitation of traffickees should collaborate with the local chiefs who are familiar with the traffickers to ensure that they are dissuaded from recruiting more young women.

5.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A number of factors could come into play in exacerbating the phenomenon of trafficking in young women. These include the traffickers who are desperate to continue in their business, corrupt government officials both at countries of origin and destination countries that connive with traffickers to circumvent the law. This study limited its search to those vulnerable to trafficking and those trafficked but deported. It did not consider the role of traffickers and other criminal elements that ensures the success of the trade.

The study was unable to interview law enforcement agents in the destination countries to ascertain how those with forged travel documents slip through the borders of such countries and even get employed in the brothels without having a social security number. Such examination will determine the veracity of the belief that some madams collaborate with some law enforcement agents to accentuate the phenomenon.

In addition, the study failed to interview the officials of some European embassies to ascertain how some madams manage to be issued with multiple travel documents for their wards. Such a search will give insight into the dealings in many of those embassies.

A sample size of 1150 is relatively small; a larger sample may throw up more factors and wider nuances.

Further research is required in the following areas:-

Further studies should involve larger samples. It is equally suggested that the socioeconomic profile of traffickers be examined to determine the class of people that engage in such businesses.

5.6 PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research should be carried out to determine who gets deported and who stays. The need to ascertain the veracity of the assumption that only traffickees that have issues with their madams or the syndicates get deported should inform such research.

Finally, there is a need to determine the nature and extent of the collaboration between traffickers and law enforcement agents. Such a research will throw more light on the nature of the relationship and what fuels such relationships. It will equally throw more light on the assumption that many law enforcement agents in destination countries keep some of the traffickees and their madams as mistresses.

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APPENDIX I

THE TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCE AND INTENTION STUDY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF BENIN CITY (FOR YOUNG WOMEN AGED 15-25 YEARS)

INTRODUCTION

Good day Ma,

I am....., working on a study of trafficking intention and experiences among young women in Nigeria, using Benin City as a case study. This research instrument is designed to elicit information on the trafficking intention and experience of young women in Nigeria. This study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree of the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos.

You have been randomly selected as one of the subjects for interview. Your response will assist in the understanding of trafficking intention and experience among young women. You are assured that no individual instrument will be made available to anybody and only summary information will be used for the purpose of this study. You are free to ask questions on issues that are not clear to you. Your co-operation in answering the questions accurately shall be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Attoh, F. C.

Are you willing to be interviewed? 1. Yes 2. No

SECTION A: SURVEY IDENTIFICATION

1.	Questionnaire Number		
2.	Do you live here (in Benin City) permanently	1. Yes 2. No (if no, skip)	
3.	Community of Interview		
4.	Local Government Area of Interview		
5.	Name of Interviewer & Code		
6.	Name of Supervisor & Code		
7.	Date of Interview (e.g. 14.07)		
8.	Time Interview Started (e.g. 14.20)		
9.	Time Interview Ended (e.g. 14.20)		

**SECTION B:
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

S/NO	ISSUES	RESPONSES	RESPONSE CODE
------	--------	-----------	---------------

10.	Sex of respondent:	1. Male 2. Female	
11.	Age of respondent as at last birthday?		
12.	Marital Status	1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorce 4. Separated 5. Others, specify	
13.	Religious Affiliation	1. Christianity 2. Islam 3. Traditional 4. Others(specify).....	
14.	Highest Education Level	1. None 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. Post secondary 5. Others.....	
15.	Employment Status	1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Student/Apprenticeship 4. Others, specify	
16.	If employed, state the nature of employment you are engaged in	1. Public sector 2. Private sector 3. Self-employed 4. Others (Specify)	
17.	How many wives have your father?		
18.	How many children have your father?	.....
19.	How many children have your mother?		
20.	What is your position among your father's children?	.....
21.	What is your position among your mother's children?		
22.	Is your biological father alive?	.....
23.	Is your biological mother alive?		
24.	How many girls are there among your father's children?	.....
25.	How many boys are there among your mother's children?		
26.	How many girls are there among your mother's children?		
27.	How many boys are there among your mother's children?		
28.	How many people live in your household ?		
SECTION C			
TRAVEL EXPERIENCE / INTENTION & ASPIRATIONS			
29.	Have you ever considered travelling out of Nigeria?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Specify country	
30.	If yes, why do you want to travel?	.....

31	Do you have friends who live and work outside Nigeria?	1. Yes 2. No	
32	ss Where specifically are they living abroad?	1. Europe 2. Asia 3. America 4. Africa	
33.	Do you have (a) brother (s)/ sister (s) living abroad?		
34	If yes, how many and what are their sexes?	M= F=	
35	What are their educational qualifications?	Sex M F 1. No Education 2. Primary Edu. 3. Secondary Edu. 4. Post Secondary 5. Others	
36	Did they get the support of your parents before traveling?	1. Yes 2. No	
37.	If yes what form of support?	1. Encouragement 2. Finance 3. Others (Specify)	
38	Have you traveled and lived outside Nigeria for a period over six months?	Yes No	
39	How old were you when you traveled?		
40	Who financed your traveling?		
41	If traveling was not financed by self, what was the relationship with the person who financed the traveling?		
42	What was your reason for traveling?		
43	Which country did you travel to?		
44	Whose choice was the country you traveled to?		
45	How did you get your entry permit (VISA) and other document to enable you travel?		
46	Through what means of transportation did you traveled?		
47.	If by air, was it a direct flight to designation country?		
48	If by road, through how many countries did you traveled? Pls. name the countries		
49	If by air and road, at which country did you traveled by road and air?		
50	Did you work in the country you traveled to?	1. Yes 2. No	
51	What type of job did you do?		
52	If respondent worked during stay, does the type of entry	1.Yes	

	permit you have allowed you to work?	2. No	
53	How did you get the job?		
54.	Was the job connected to the person who financed your traveling?	1. Yes 2. No	
55	If yes, was there any arrangement to pay him/her part of your remuneration from the job?	1. Yes 2. No	
56	How long did you stay in the country you visited?		
57	Was there any special circumstance that led to your returning as at the time you did?	1. Yes 2. No	
58	If yes, what was the circumstance that led to your returning as at the time you did?		
59	Who were you living with before traveling out of Nigeria?		
60	Who were you living with while abroad?		
61.	Were you working before traveling out of Nigeria?	1. Yes 2. No	
62	If respondent has not traveled out of the country before, would you like to live and work abroad?	1. Yes 2. No	
63	Please give reasons for your answer	.....
64	In the last five years, have you ever been approached by anyone willing to assist you with arrangements to travel outside the country?	1. Yes 2. No	
65	Did you accept the arrangement?	1. Yes 2. No	
66	If you are approach by someone willing to assist you get some traveling documents, will you be willing to travel out of Nigeria?		
67.	If yes, why would you agree?		
68	If no, why would you not agree?		
69	Do you know anybody who is living and working outside Nigeria?	1. Yes 2. No	
70	If yes, where does he/she live?	.....
71	What was their purpose of traveling?	.....
72	Do you know what they did to be able to travel out of Nigeria?	Yes No	
73	If yes, what did they do to be able to travel out of Nigeria?		
SECTION D			
FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO FAMILY ECONOMY			
74	Enumerator note that Q76-82 are for those with travel experience. If you have ever traveled and worked outside Nigeria, were you sending home money while abroad?	1. Yes 2. No	
75	If yes, how often did you send money home?	Monthly Quarterly Twice a year	

		Once a year Rarely Not at all	
76	How much were you sending home? (Enumerator probe for type of currency sent home and ask respondent to give Naira equivalent as at the time money was sent home)	1. <N20,000 2. N21,000-N50,000 3. N51,000-N80,000 4. N81,000-N100,000 5. >N100,000	
77	Through what means did you send home money?	1. Western Union 2. Through friends/ acquaintances 3. Others (specify)	
78	What was your reason(s) for sending home money? Probe for repayment of loan for traveling and travel financier?		
79.	What was your reason (s) for sending money home? Probe for repayment of loan for traveling and travel financier?	1. Yes 2. No	
80	If yes, what was the agreement?	.....
81	Q83-97 are for those without travel experience. If respondent has not traveled and worked outside Nigeria, do you have friends or relatives living and working abroad?	1. Yes 2. No	
82	How often does she send money home?	1. Monthly 2. Quarterly 3. Twice a year 4. Once a year 5. Rarely Not at all	
83	How much does she send home?	1. <N20,000 2. N21,000-N30,000 3. N31,000-N50,000 4. >N50,000	
84.	Does any member of your family live abroad?	1. Yes 2. No	
85	For how long has this person lived abroad?	1 <5 2 5-10yrs 3 >10yrs	
SECTION E			
FAMILY HISTORY			
86	With whom do you live?	1. Both parents 2. Either of my parents 3. None of my parents	
87	Father's educational qualification	1. None 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. Post secondary 5. Others, specify	
88	Father's employment status	1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Others, specify	
89	If employed, what is his occupation?	1. Public 2. Private	
90.	What is your father's average monthly income	1. <N20,000 2. N21,000-N30,000 3. N31,000-N50,000 4. >N50,000	
91	What is your mother's educational qualification	None Primary Secondary	

		Post secondary 5. Others, specify	
92	Mother's employment status	1. Employed 2. Unemployed 3. Others, specify	
93	If employed, what is her occupation?	1. Public 2. Private 3. Others	
94	What is your mother's average monthly income?	1. <N20,000 2. N21,000-N30,000 3. N31,000-N50,000 4. >N50,000	
95	Do your parents own a house/plot of land in Benin City?	1. Yes 2. No	
96	Can you inherit the house/plot of land?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know	
97	If no, why? Give reasons	.....
SECTION F TRAVELING EXPERIENCE AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH STATUS			
98	For respondents that have traveled and worked outside the country, while abroad how often do you have sex?		
99	How many sex partners do you have? 1. Then 2. Now	1. 2.	
100	Name the STIs that you know before you traveled out of Nigeria?	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	
101	Have you been treated for any of these STIs before?	1. Yes 2. No	
102	If yes, when were you treated? 1. While abroad 2. On returning home	1. While abroad 2. On returning home	
103	For all respondents What do you understand by HIV/AIDS?		
104.	Do you know anybody infected by this disease?		
105	If yes, how did you get to know about the status of the person?		
106	Do you currently have a regular sexual partner, an occasional sexual partner, multiple sexual partners, or no sexual partner at all?	1. Regular sexual partner 2. Occasional sexual partner 3. No sexual partner 4. Multiple sexual partner	
107	When was the last time you had sex?	1. Days ago 2. Weeks ago 4. Months ago 5. Years ago	
108	The last time you had sex, was condom used?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know	
109	How old were you when you first had sexual intercourse?		
110	Have you heard about diseases that can be transmitted through sexual intercourse?	1. Yes 2. No	
111	Which diseases do you know?	1. Syphilis 2. Gonorrhoea 3. AIDS 4. Do not know any 5. Other specify.....	
112	During the last twelve months, did you have any of these diseases?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know....	
113	Which of these diseases did you have?	1. Syphilis	

		2. Gonorrhea 3. Aids 4. Genital warts/ condylomata 5. Other specify..... 6. Don't know	
114.	Have you ever been pregnant?	1. Yes 2. No	
115	If yes, did you have the baby?	1. Yes 2. No	
116	If no, did you have an abortion?	1. Yes 2. No	
117	If yes, where was the abortion done for you?	1. Public Hosp. 2. Private Hosp./Clinic 3. Others	
118	Do you know your HIV status?	1. Yes 2. No	
119	Would you like to take the HIV test?	1. Yes 2. No	
120.	If No, give reasons	.....
121	What can government do to empower women financially and enhance their economic independence?	..... .....
122	What do you think can be done to control the incidence of young women wanting to travel abroad to work?	..... ..... .....

INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATION

To be filled in after completing interview

Comments about Respondent: _____

Comments on Specific Questions: _____

Any other Comments: _____

SUPERVISOR'S OBSERVATIONS

Name of Supervisor: _____ Date: _____

EDITOR'S OBSERVATIONS

Name of Editor: _____ Date: _____

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APPENDIX II

THE TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCE AND INTENTION STUDY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF BENIN CITY

INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE (IDI) Guide for Young Women with trafficking experience

INTRODUCTION

Good day Ma,

I am....., working on a study of trafficking intention and experiences among young women in Nigeria, using Benin City as a case study. This research instrument is designed to elicit information on the migration intention and experience of young women in Nigeria. This study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree of the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos.

You have been randomly selected as one of participants for this discussion. Your participation will assist in the understanding of migration intention and experience among young women. You are assured that no individual instrument will be made available to anybody and only summary information will be used for the purpose of this study. You are free to ask questions on issues that are not clear to you. Also there is no right or wrong answer. Your co-operation in answering the questions accurately shall be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Attoh, F. C.

SECTION A: SURVEY IDENTIFICATION

1.	Location of discussion		
2.	Name of Participants, ages in years and educational status	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.	<u>Education</u>
3.	Name of Moderator		
4.	Name of Note-Taker		
5.	Name of Supervisor		
6.	Date of Discussion (e.g. 14.07)		
7.	Time Discussion Started (e.g. 14.20)		
8.	Time Discussion Ended (e.g. 14.20)		
9.	Sitting arrangement at discussion (Preferably semi-round table)		

1. Have you traveled, lived and worked outside Nigeria in the past?
2. Who financed your traveling?
3. What was the relationship with your travel financier?

4. What did you do to enable you travel?

5. What are your reasons for traveling?

6. How did you get your traveling documents? (Probe for source of Passport, VISA, letter of invitation among others)
7. Where did you travel to?
8. Was where you traveled to your choice? If not your choice, who decided on where you traveled to?
9. Did you work in the country you travel to?
10. What was the type of work you did?
11. How did you get the job you did?
12. By what mode of transport did you travel?
13. Did you travel alone or in company of others?
14. If in company of others, did you all travel to the same place?
15. How long did you stay in the country you traveled to?
16. What circumstances led to your returning home?
17. Who were you living with while abroad?
18. Who were you living with before you traveled?
19. Were you working before traveling?
20. What type of work were you doing before traveling?

21. While you were abroad did you send home money?
22. How often did you send home money?
23. For what purposes were you sending home money?
24. What is your father's educational level?
25. Mother's educational level?
26. What is your father's occupation?
27. Mother's occupation?
28. How many wives does your father have?
29. How many children has he got?
30. How many are boys?
31. How many are girls ?
32. While you were abroad, how many sex partners did you have?
33. How often did you have sex while abroad?
34. Did you use condom whenever you had sex then?
35. Name the STIs that you know?
36. Have you ever been treated for any of these STIs?
37. How old were you when you first had sex?

38. What do you understand by HIV/AIDS?

39. Will you like to be tested for HIV/AIDS?

40. What do you think should be done to reduce the incidence of young women from being lured into sexual related economic activities?

Moderator, Pls thank participants for their time and contribution

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APPENDIX III

THE TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCE AND INTENTION STUDY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF BENIN CITY

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE (KII)

INTRODUCTION

Good day Sir/Maa

I am....., working on a study of trafficking intention and experiences among young women in Nigeria, using Benin City as a case study. This research instrument is designed to elicit information on the migration intention and experience of young women in Nigeria. This study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree of the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos.

You have been randomly selected as one of the key informants to be interviewed. Your response will assist in the understanding of migration intention and experience among young women. You are assured that no individual instrument will be made available to anybody and only summary information will be used for the purpose of this study. You are free to ask questions on issues that are not clear to you. Your co-operation in answering the questions accurately shall be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Attoh, F. C.

Are you willing to be interviewed? 1. Yes 2. No

SECTION A: SURVEY IDENTIFICATION

1.	Questionnaire Number		
2.	Name of the organization of Respondent		
3.	Position of Respondent in the Organisation		
4.	Type of Organisation	1. Government/Public Organisation 2. Private Organisation 3. NGO	
5.	Name of Interviewer & Code		
6.	Name of Supervisor & Code		
7.	Date of Interview (e.g. 14.07)		
8.	Time Interview Started (e.g. 14.20)		
9.	Time Interview Ended (e.g. 14.20)		

1. Most of our young people today are more anxious to travel abroad to work than ever before, from your experience what factors would you say are responsible for this crave? Why are the young women/girls also very anxious to travel out of the country to work? From your interaction with people in this category, where do most of them travel to?
2. How do they usually get their traveling documents (such as Passport, VISA, and letter of invitation etc.)? How do they usually finance their traveling? Who are their financiers and what is the relationship they have with their financiers? What do they have to do for their traveling to be financed by those who finance their traveling?
3. What is the nature of work that these young women/girls engaged in while abroad? Do they make any financial contribution to their families back home? Are their parents in support of their traveling?
3. By what means of transportation do they usually travel out of the country?
4. Those that have returned to Nigeria, what were the circumstances that led to their returning?

5. What are the implications of the economic (work) activities of these young women for their reproductive health such as contracting STIs and HIV/AIDS?
6. How would you describe the socio-economic characteristics of these young women (Probe for educational status, family background, employment status etc)
7. What do you think should be done to step-down the tide of young women/girls crave for traveling abroad to work, especially when nature of work is not known to them?
How can the reproductive health status of returnee young women be assured?

Thank you very much sir for your contribution and time

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APPENDIX IV

THE TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCE AND INTENTION STUDY IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF BENIN CITY

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR PARENTS OF YOUNG WOMEN ON TRAFFICKING INTENTION /EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

Good day Sir/ Ma

I am....., working on a study of trafficking intention and experiences among young women in Nigeria, using Benin City as a case study. This research instrument is designed to elicit information on the trafficking intention/ experiences of young women in Nigeria using Benin City as a case study. This study is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree of the Department of Sociology, University of Lagos.

You have been selected as one of the participants for this discussion. Your participation will assist in the understanding of trafficking intention/ experiences among young women. You are assured that no individual instrument will be made available to anybody and only summary information will be used for the purpose of this study. You are free to ask questions on issues that are not clear to you. Also there is no right or wrong answer. Your co-operation in answering the questions accurately shall be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Attoh, F. C.

SECTION A: SURVEY IDENTIFICATION

1.	Location of discussion		
2.	Name of Participants, ages in years and educational status	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.	<u>Education</u>
3.	Name of Moderator		
4.	Name of Note-Taker		
5.	Name of Supervisor		
6.	Date of Discussion (e.g. 14.07)		
7.	Time Discussion Started (e.g. 14.20)		
8.	Time Discussion Ended (e.g. 14.20)		
9.	Sitting arrangement at discussion (Preferably semi-round table)		

1. Do you have any female child/ children living abroad? (probe for sex and age).
2. Who financed her/their travel? (if by financier, probe for relationship)
3. What is your relationship with the travel financier?
4. How did the financier/financiers contact you?

5. What are the reasons for allowing your daughter/ daughters to travel?

6. How did she/they procure their traveling documents? (Probe for source of Passport, VISA, letter of invitation among others)
7. Where did she/they travel to?
8. If not, would you allow your daughter/daughters to travel and work abroad?
9. Would you readily contribute to such a venture? (probe for part sponsorship or full sponsorship).
10. Your daughter/ daughters travel destination was it your choice? If not your choice, who decided on where she/they traveled to?
11. What is the nature of the work she/they do in the countries they travel to since they are just school certificate holders?
12. Did you ascertain the nature of the job before consent was given for the journey?
13. Do you know how they get the job in the countries they travel to?
14. Do you know by what mode of transport they travel?
15. Do you know whether they travel alone or in groups?
16. For those with daughter/daughters in Europe: Did you contribute towards the journey? (Probe for part sponsorship or full sponsorship).
17. How long have they stayed in such destination countries?
18. How often is money sent home by these young women?
19. What exactly do you do with such money when you receive it?

20. Please, specify in clear terms the nature of the investments you put such money into.
21. What do you think should be done to discourage young women from following traffickers?
22. What role do parents play in the trafficking of young women? (Probe for the relationship between parents, traffickers, lawyers and priests).
23. What in your opinion is responsible for this craze by young Bini women to travel to Europe to work?
24. What do you think should be done to reduce the incidence of young women from being lured into sexual related economic activities?
25. Explain the role of the NGOs and other Civil Society Organizations in the campaign against trafficking in young women.

Moderator, Pls thank participants for their time and contribution.