

10. Nigeria¹

I Legislation

1. Criminal laws

Nigeria has two codes of criminal law, the Criminal Code covering the Southern States of Nigeria, and the Penal Code applying to the North. The vast majority of Nigerian women trafficked to Europe for prostitution come from the South, specifically Edo State. Under the Criminal Code, there are various offences against liberty or slave dealing which could be used to prosecute trafficking in persons.² Section 369 regards slave dealing as *inter alia* purchasing, selling, dealing with or transferring persons so they may be treated or held as slaves or placed in servitude as a pledge or security for debt or entering into a contract or agreement in furtherance of these purposes. This is punishable by imprisonment of up to 14 years. Section 365 deals with unlawful confinement or detention against a person's will. Section 366 covers compelling someone to do something by threats, surveillance or other intimidation and is punishable by one year's imprisonment. If this involves assault, the penalty increases to five years.³ These provisions cover some of the main methods of intimidation used by traffickers in Nigeria, particularly in regard to the situation of debt bondage in which most women who are trafficked from Nigeria for purposes of prostitution find themselves.

The Nigerian authorities continue to regard trafficking as being exclusively for prostitution and the articles of the law most often invoked in relation to trafficking regard the procurement of women for sex or exploitation of prostitution.⁴ Individual Nigerian States can amend the Criminal Code, and in 2000 Edo State added new provisions making prostitution itself a crime, and purporting to criminalise trafficking.⁵ These changes have not moved the definition of the offence into line with the Trafficked Protocol. They relate more to the criminalisation of third parties (sponsors and traditional priests) who facilitate migration out of Nigeria for prostitution or 'immoral purposes'. In fact, the Edo State law criminalising prostitution has had significant negative effects for trafficked women who are now regarded as criminals on their return to Nigeria if they have been involved in prostitution. Under section 223b, any person who knowingly offers herself for prostitution may be punished by up to two years' imprisonment.

The Penal Code, which applies to northern states of Nigeria, states that "whoever imports, exports, removes, buys, sells, disposes, traffics, or deals in any person as a slave or accepts, receives or detains any person against his will any person as a slave shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to fourteen years and shall also be liable to a fine".⁶ This does not define the term 'traffic'. The term 'as a slave' has meant this provision is extremely restrictive, thus not useful to prosecute traffickers. The same problem is shown in the various other provisions relating to trafficking including abduction (inducing someone to move somewhere by force or deceit)⁷ and kidnapping.

The lack of adequate provisions regarding trafficking in Nigeria's criminal laws has led the Federal Government to draft a new law on trafficking entitled the Prohibition of Trafficking and Allied Matters Bill.⁸ The Bill has been passed by the House of Representatives and is currently in the Senate. It is expected to be passed in 2002. The Bill adopts the definition of trafficking laid out in the Trafficking Protocol.⁹ It covers both trafficking within and across borders¹⁰ and a range of offences including attempted trafficking,¹¹ forced labour¹² and traffic in slaves.¹³ It restates the slave dealing provision of section 369 of the Criminal Code, increasing the sentence to life imprisonment.¹⁴ However, the Bill still shows a strong focus on prostitution rather than trafficking for all forms of exploitation.

2. Other laws and policies affecting trafficked persons

a) Deportation

Since many Nigerians who have been trafficked are deported back to their country, Anti-Slavery International spoke to various officials about the treatment of deported nationals. When women return, Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) officials do not know if they have actually been trafficked or not, only that they have been found abroad with an illegal status. Depending upon the circumstances of deportation, deportees may be detained and interviewed on their return by immigration, police or both.¹⁵ Police and/or immigration officials record details of the women including their statements concerning how they were trafficked abroad. Deported women are generally hostile to the law enforcement personnel. During Anti-Slavery International's visit to Nigeria, a group of approximately 160 women were deported from Italy *en masse* and taken directly from the airport to the police station at Alagbon, Lagos to be interviewed by police.¹⁶ Police held the women for three to four

days, without charge, to interview them. The women were hostile and clearly distressed about their situation of having been deported from Italy and now again detained. According to police, some had escaped from the station by breaking down a gate during the night and were rounded up and forcibly returned by police. Anti-Slavery International witnessed a reunion between one girl and her relative. The girl was crying and her first words were, "I have nothing. They [Italian authorities] let me take nothing. I'm sorry, I wasn't able to bring anything back... not even any clothes, nothing".¹⁷

As part of the screening process, all deported women arriving back in Nigeria through Lagos are forced to undergo medical tests including tests for HIV/AIDS.¹⁸ No such tests appear to be obligatory for Nigerian men. Police report that details of those who are HIV positive are given to the State Liaison Office (state office for social welfare), however, it is unclear that anything is done with the results of the tests. Officials stated women are informed of the results of tests by post, but many of the women do not give their true address due to an unwillingness to be later identified by officials, so actually never know the result of the HIV test. No medical assistance is provided to those women who are HIV positive. Many local NGOs have condemned the practice of screening women for HIV/AIDS as violating their basic rights, and encouraging the perception of trafficked women as "potential HIV/AIDS victims or carriers".¹⁹ The Edo State Criminal Code Amendment Act 2000 includes a provision that deported Nigerian nationals should be made to undergo compulsory medical examination for the purpose of determining if they have a sexually transmitted disease.²⁰ This violates the United Nations HIV/AIDS standards, which clearly states that HIV testing should be done only with the specific informed consent of the individual.²¹ This stigmatises and discriminates against deported women, making the process of reintegration much more difficult for returning women.²²

Although police and immigration both claim to detain returnees for as short a time as possible, usually one to five days,²³ in one case where 33 women were deported from Conakry, Guinea, they were detained for at least one month at Alagbon, which is poorly equipped and not a long-term detention facility. Once the screening is complete, immigration and police release women to the State Liaison Office, which is charged with organising the women's return travel home and reunion with families.²⁴ Two sources, who did not wish to be identified, claimed that the Edo State Liaison Office does not always accept responsibility for deported women. In such cases, it is

alleged women are released in Lagos, either to families who come to collect them (who could potentially be traffickers) or are simply left to their own devices. The State Liaison Office is also given details of deported women, to record these women and prevent them from being issued passports to travel outside Nigeria.²⁵ This practice violates the freedom of movement of women, and in effect means the women concerned are even more vulnerable to agents, who could be traffickers, to arrange illegal migration.

b) Voluntary return and reintegration

IOM states that the two key factors affecting repatriation of Nigerian trafficked persons are reprisals against women and their families, and stigmatisation of returned women, where women who return empty handed are seen as failures regardless of the human rights abuses they have suffered through being trafficked abroad.²⁶ IOM has a programme run in conjunction with the Committee for the Support and Dignity of Women (COSUDOW) in Benin City, an order of nuns who provide support and assistance to those who return voluntarily. COSUDOW contacts the woman's family and prepare the family for her return: "We need to know if the family will reject the woman, and if so, to counsel the family before she returns back to Nigeria. We do not have a shelter so we need to ensure the family will accept the woman back before she returns."²⁷ Trafficked women are met and escorted back to Benin City by representatives from COSUDOW. They are provided on-going counselling, medical and legal assistance, opportunities for vocational training and small micro-credit loans for income generation activities. The process can take up to a year, but most practical aspects of reintegration are covered within the first three months. Only a minute number of women actually return to Nigeria voluntarily. In the one year period since its inception, this programme has assisted nine women to return.²⁸ COSUDOW, through direct links with NGOs in Europe, has provided assistance in reintegration to approximately 11 other women since 1999.²⁹

II General analysis and comparison of cases

1. Investigation and prosecution of traffickers

There is no clear indication of exactly how many cases related to trafficking have been prosecuted in Nigeria, but very rarely indeed do cases ever reach a courtroom. Many cases are filed but never tried, and cases are often suspended.³⁰ The court process is very slow. The Police Task Force Against

Trafficking in Human Beings (hereafter Police Task Force) in Lagos reported that there were four cases undergoing police investigation as of March 2002.³¹ Of these, two cases had been filed in court. Since then, one other prosecution of 17 Nigerian traffickers who were deported from Guinea has come to trial.

Gina

Gina from Benin City travelled from Nigeria to Guinea and was awaiting false travel documents to enable her to travel on to Europe. A man, 'Sunday', who was staying in the same premises as Gina, reported to the Nigerian Embassy and local Guinean police that Gina and other women were to be trafficked to Europe to work in prostitution. Gina was arrested, along with 32 other women from Nigeria and 17 traffickers. All were deported to Nigeria. According to the Special Advisor to the President on trafficking issues, charges against these traffickers relate to procuring women for prostitution and forgery offences under the Criminal Code.³² Although the trial commenced, it has proceeded slowly, and no witnesses have given evidence to date in court.

As stated earlier, trafficking tends to be seen as one and the same as prostitution in Nigeria. In Cross River State, one trafficker has been convicted under section 223 of the Criminal Code (for procurement for prostitution) and sentenced to three months in prison.³³ In Edo State, the Solicitor General reported that in the past five years, two cases of trafficking had reached court; but neither has been concluded.³⁴ Only one of the cases involved adults, and it was not clear whether the women were actually going to be exploited since they never reached their destination:

Ladi

Ladi was promised work in Europe and paid a fee to an agent who agreed to facilitate her travel and arrange false travel documents. She was intercepted with four other women and two alleged traffickers at Lagos Airport. The traffickers were charged under section 369 (slave-dealing), section 223 (procurement for prostitution) and section 516 (conspiracy to commit a felony) of the Criminal Code.³⁵ Ladi was also charged with conspiracy, but granted bail. She was released on the grounds of being a State witness against the traffickers.

The lack of prosecutions and convicted traffickers in Nigeria is widely blamed on the lack of adequate anti-trafficking legislation, poor investigations by police officials and the unwillingness of those who have been trafficked to testify against their traffickers. Law enforcement officials lack expertise in detecting, investigating and gathering evidence against traffickers.³⁶ Additionally, the current provisions of the Criminal Code are difficult to prove when the exploitation generally occurs outside Nigeria, and there is poor information sharing between the authorities in destination countries and those in Nigeria; police in Europe blame this on corruption in Nigeria.³⁷ Police corruption in Nigeria is high, because of non-payment and delayed payment of police wages. In an interview with officials from the Solicitor General's Office, an official said, "It is very difficult for us as prosecutors, because on the one hand, our police have not been paid for months, they are not properly paid and the sponsors (traffickers) in Benin City are very powerful. Even if we [prosecutors] did have the power to direct police to investigate a case, they probably would not do it... traffickers offer money to police officers".³⁸ In one case in Edo State involving trafficking of minors police actually gave evidence against the prosecution. "We called two police to give evidence. The police claimed the case was hurriedly charged to court and that they did not find anything against the defendant.... So two of the charges were dismissed".³⁹ Police are rarely victim sensitive and as a result trafficked persons rarely co-operate with police as witnesses. Indeed, in Ladi's case, the women themselves were charged with conspiracy. This might be resolved by a provision in the new Trafficking Bill that trafficked persons cannot be detained, imprisoned or prosecuted for offences related to being a trafficked person.⁴⁰

Various attempts are underway to improve the performance of law enforcement agencies in Nigeria. For example, the Italian Government recently committed major funding to the Police Task Force for police vehicles and technical equipment to aid investigations. At community level, the Italian based NGO, Turnaround Project, has also tried to address the lack of investigations by making Italian law enforcement and judiciary officials aware of reality of trafficking in Nigeria. Turnaround Project organised a delegation of police, immigration, prosecutors and magistrates to visit Nigeria and to establish direct connections between the authorities concerned in Benin City and Turin.⁴¹ This has proved successful, with one arrest in Benin City so far and positive responses from the Italian authorities.⁴² Likewise, an awareness-raising visit for local Benin City

authorities is planned in Turin.

The other major obstacle is the unwillingness of trafficked persons to give evidence against traffickers. This is in part due to fear instilled by ritual oaths of secrecy that women undergo when they are lent money to travel abroad.⁴³ These oaths are frequently administered by traditional priests in the community as part of a ceremony at a shrine. As one traditional priest interviewed stated, "Traffickers use both authentic and fake priests to administer these rituals... The whole process of undergoing this kind of ritual, under such circumstances of fear, means that a psychological reaction may in itself trigger the effect of the oath, and that is where it has power over the woman".⁴⁴ For example, in one case a Nigerian woman who was trafficked to the United Kingdom refused to give evidence to police because of the fear of the oath. She was eventually persuaded to speak to police. Soon after speaking about her experiences to a social worker, she injured herself and blamed the injury on the oaths she had sworn.⁴⁵ Unwillingness is also due to fear of retaliation by traffickers, with reprisals against family members not uncommon (see Italy Chapter).

The Police Task Force states that the most common way of obtaining information for investigations is through interviewing deported women who return.⁴⁶ However, due to the treatment at the hands of authorities abroad and upon return, such women are often hostile and reluctant to provide information, as Anti-Slavery International witnessed at first hand in the March 2002 deportation from Italy. This is probably due to the circumstances of the deportation: being detained in substandard facilities against their will and often lacking clothing, food and water.⁴⁷ For deported women, the authorities are seen not as 'saviours' or protectors of their human rights but rather as captors and oppressors.

2. Procedures affecting trafficked persons and measures of protection

a) Residency rights

Although Nigeria was considered in the study as predominantly a country of origin, it is also a country of destination for people from neighbouring African countries. There is no current legislation providing a right to stay to migrant trafficked persons, but the Trafficking Bill stipulates that a trafficked person should not be denied temporary residence visas during criminal, civil or other legal actions and adequate health and social services should be provided to

the person during this period.⁴⁸ This inclusion of civil action is broader than that available in other countries.

b) Protection from reprisals and police protection

If trafficked women leave their trafficker before paying back their debt (either because of being apprehended by authorities or of their own will), often agents and traffickers in Nigeria will harass and intimidate families in Nigeria to pay the outstanding debt. In some cases they threaten the family verbally, physically or destroy the family's property.⁴⁹ Positive examples of police protection from reprisals by traffickers are rare, whilst allegations of corruption and police complicity in trafficking remain rife. Lack of faith in the police means reprisals against families and trafficked persons go largely unreported. In one case reported in the chapter on Italy, police in Nigeria investigating reprisals allegedly requested money from the victim's family to continue the investigation.⁵⁰ Another Italian NGO, COLCE, mentioned a case where a woman trafficked to Italy escaped her situation and was about to testify against the trafficker: however, her family was being threatened and her mother in Edo State was shot dead: "It seems clear to us, that the mother being shot is not merely a coincidence, but was related to the fact that her daughter was going to testify, but there is a huge problem of proving the nexus and of course with the mother dead, who else is going to be willing to talk?"⁵¹ Reprisals are not limited to trafficked persons and their families, but include other witnesses.

Gina

Sunday, who is a key witness against the traffickers in Gina's case, was threatened despite the fact that 17 traffickers were imprisoned. According to Sunday, his life is in danger as associates of the traffickers tried to kidnap his daughter and burn down his parents' house in Benin City.⁵² His family had to go into hiding. Sunday himself cannot return to Benin City. Sunday was given some protection; he was relocated from his hometown Benin City to another place in Nigeria. He was provided housing and some financial assistance. Sunday has also been given a card that states he is a Government witness and authorities should provide him appropriate assistance when in need. Sunday wants to be relocated in another country after the trial to protect him from the traffickers.

Sunday's case illustrates some key issues faced by law enforcement in providing police protection to trafficked persons and their families. Whilst Sunday himself has been provided protection, his family are left unprotected. Although a higher level of protection was provided initially, this was down graded because he did not observe basic principles regarding the protection scheme and is consequently described as a difficult witness to 'protect'.⁵³ There is clearly a gap between the ideal type of protection from the point of view of a witness, and the authorities' capacity to provide such protection. In relation to trafficked persons and their families, service providing agencies such as COSUDOW and also lawyers can play an important role in facilitating dialogue between trafficked persons and law enforcement officials to ensure that concerns for the safety of the victim and family are addressed adequately.

The current Bill provides for protection from intimidation, threats of reprisals and reprisals from traffickers, their associates and persons in positions of authority. It states that safety and integrity of trafficked persons and witnesses must not be subordinated in the interests of prosecution before, during or after, any legal proceedings.⁵⁴

c) In-court evidentiary protection

No information was obtained concerning in-court witness protection measures, because in the case studies the victim witnesses, even when called, did not appear in court and give evidence against traffickers. There are positive provisions in the current Bill regarding measures for evidentiary protection. It states that proceedings must be consistent with the psychological and physical safety of trafficked persons or witnesses,⁵⁵ and evidence may be given *in camera* in cases of sexual violence.⁵⁶ The defence cannot introduce evidence of the personal history, a current or previous occupation of the trafficked person.⁵⁷ The Bill provides that the name of the trafficked person should not be released 'recklessly',⁵⁸ but it is unclear what may be considered 'reckless' and this may provide little protection in reality.

d) Right to information regarding court proceedings

No information was obtained on this point once again because of the lack of cases of trafficked persons testifying.

3. Support and assistance to trafficked persons

a) Right to lawyer/legal advocate in criminal proceedings

As in other common law countries, in Nigeria victims and witnesses do not have any right to be legally represented in criminal proceedings.

b) Right to recovery (assistance measures)

There is a stark lack of Government assistance to trafficked persons who return home. The lack of any shelters for trafficked persons in Nigeria is the most pressing problem, though there is no legal assistance, medical care, financial assistance or counselling available by the authorities. The COSUDOW and IOM reintegration programme does provide assistance, but it assists only a tiny number of victims. There is also one 'rehabilitation centre'⁵⁹ in Abuja, which has capacity to house a small number of victims, but no capacity to assist large numbers of deported women. In March, three women were living there who had been deported back to Nigeria from neighbouring African countries and in one case from Italy.⁶⁰ There is no such centre in Lagos or Benin City. In Benin City, there is a skills acquisition centre⁶¹ that provides free vocational training programmes (such as sewing, catering and computer skills) to women and girls. This is primarily a prevention rather than reintegration activity because it is aimed at women and girls at risk of being trafficked. The centre states there are women in the programmes who have been deported from neighbouring African countries in their attempts to travel abroad.⁶² Returned women are not identified so as to avoid stigmatisation. There is a need for support and assistance measures to be integrated into the process of deportation in order to protect the basic rights of deported women who have been trafficked.

4. Legal redress and compensation

No trafficked persons have received legal redress or compensation in Nigeria. Such issues are unlikely to be resolved until better mechanisms for completing criminal cases against traffickers are developed. The Trafficking Bill addresses this area and enables a trafficked person, regardless of immigration status, to bring a civil action against a trafficker (including public officials).⁶³ Whilst pursuing such claims, trafficked persons are entitled to temporary residency in Nigeria.⁶⁴ The Bill also entitles the trafficked person to compensation, restitution and recovery for economic, physical and

psychological damage from the traffickers' assets or the appropriate Government agency.⁶⁵ The Bill will establish a Victims of Trafficking Trust Fund into which proceeds from confiscated assets are to be paid, and this will be used to compensate trafficked persons.⁶⁶

III Conclusions and recommendations

The research indicates that destination countries need to be aware of the distinct lack of protection available or afforded by the Nigerian authorities when they decide to repatriate trafficked persons to Nigeria. In particular, the procedures facing deported nationals in Nigeria violate basic human rights by discriminating against and stigmatising women as sex workers, forcing them to undergo STD tests and preventing them from leaving the country legally again. There is a lack of basic support and assistance available to trafficked persons, and organisations that do offer services should be involved in restructuring treatment for deported persons. The lack of prosecutions of traffickers and lack of access to justice means trafficked persons are vulnerable to reprisals and to being re-trafficked. Police rarely protect the rights of victims or their families, and the lack of faith in the police means that many cases are left unreported and potential witnesses are unwilling to testify.

Recommendations to the Nigerian Government

- Amend the new proposed Bill, in line with the Trafficking Protocol, to provide a more comprehensive definition of all forms of trafficking, rather than concentrating on trafficking of women and children into prostitution, and add provisions to protect trafficked persons' rights.
- Ensure all aspects of the new law are implemented once it is adopted, and provide training to police, immigration, judiciary and NGOs accordingly.
- Provide awareness-raising training on human rights abuses of trafficked persons for law enforcement officials in conjunction with law enforcement officials from countries to which Nigerians are routinely trafficked.
- Improve co-operation with countries of destination in sharing information, in particular to address reprisals and protect returned trafficked persons or their families from intimidation and violence.
- End the practice of routine screening of deported persons without

- their consent for AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases.
- End the practice of removing entitlement to passports from deported persons.
- Deported persons who might have been trafficked should be notified about access to free legal services or social services and organisations that provide these in Lagos, Benin City or elsewhere.
- Provide adequate housing on a voluntary basis in appropriate shelters to deported trafficked persons.
- Give access to voluntary medical care and tests for deported trafficked persons.
- Provide trafficked persons with contact details of an NGO and the relevant law enforcement agency that can be relied upon to investigate trafficking cases impartially, in case they decide later that they want to report trafficker or if they have a problem with reprisals.
- Improve communication between Benin City and Lagos, so that women who return to Benin City can be made aware of resources available there to assist them.

Endnotes

¹ In Nigeria, Anti-Slavery International conducted the research with the Belgian partner NGO, Payoke. Anti-Slavery International visited Lagos, Abuja and Benin City. Anti-Slavery International appreciates the assistance of the Women's Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON) in arranging appointments in Lagos. Anti-Slavery International spoke with people who had used illegal agents to travel overseas and been deported back to Nigeria, sex workers, police, immigration officers, prosecutors, lawyers, various government officials and NGOs. Unlike other countries, Anti-Slavery International was only able to obtain in depth information about one case that matched the selection criteria (see introduction). However in regard to treatment and repatriation,

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references are made to other cases.

² Chapter 31 Criminal Code Act (Cap 77) Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990.

³ Section 367 Criminal Code (compelling action by assault).

⁴ Sections 223 - 226 Criminal Code. See Olateru-Olagbegi, B., *The Social and Legal Implications of Trafficking in Women and Children in Nigeria*, 2000, WOCON, p. 15-18.

⁵ Criminal Code Amendment Law (2000) Amendments to sections 222, 223, 225, 226 and 233 of the Criminal Code.

⁶ Section 279 Penal Code.

⁷ Section 272.

⁸ Full title is: A Bill for an act to establish the national agency for trafficking in persons law enforcement and administration to enforce laws against traffic in persons, to investigate and prosecute persons suspected to be engaged in trafficking in persons, and to take charge and co-ordinate the rehabilitation and counselling of trafficked persons and for other matters connected therewith. Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette, 21 February 2001, Lagos, Volume 88 No. 10. Hereafter 'the Bill'.

⁹ Section 2.

¹⁰ Section 4.

¹¹ Section 3.

¹² Section 9.

¹³ Sections 10 and 11.

¹⁴ Section 25.

¹⁵ Anti-Slavery International interview, NIS, Lagos, 27 February 2002 and confirmed in interview, Police Task Force Against Trafficking in Human Beings (Police Task Force), Lagos, 28 February 2002.

¹⁶ 2 March 2002.

¹⁷ Anti-Slavery International was unable to interview the women since the commanding officer was not present when we visited Alagbon police station.

¹⁸ Anti-Slavery International Interview, Police Task Force, Lagos, 28 February 2002.

¹⁹ Olateru-Olagbegi, B., *Promoting Human Security to Prevent Exploitive Migration in Africa with Special Emphasis on Trafficking in Women and Children*, Nakano, K. (ed.), Peoples for Human Rights; Durban and Beyond, International Movement Against Discrimination and Racism (IMADR), Japan, Volume 8, 2001 p.69.

²⁰ Section 233A(2).

²¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, *HIV/AIDS and Human Rights: International Guidelines*, Second International Consultation on HIV/AIDS and Human Rights, Geneva, 1996, HR/PUB/98/1, Guideline 3: Public Health Legislation. 128(b)

²² Advocacy Net, "Deportation Backfires", *Nigeria: Trafficking in Women*, On The Record Series, www.advocacynet.org/cpage_view/nigtraffick_deportation_6_36.html

²³ Anti-Slavery International interview, Police Task Force, Lagos, 28 February 2002.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Anti-Slavery International interview, NIS, Lagos, 27 February 2002.

²⁶ Anti-Slavery International interview IOM, Lagos, 1 March 2002.

²⁷ Anti-Slavery International interview, COSUDOW, Benin City, 6 March 2002.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Anti-Slavery International interview, COSUDOW, Benin City, 6 March 2002.

³⁰ Anti Slavery International interview, Women's Right's Watch Legal Aid Clinic, Benin City, 8 March 2002.

- ³¹ Anti-Slavery International interview, Police Task Force, Lagos, 28 February 2002.
- ³² Anti-Slavery International interview, Special Assistant to the President, Human Trafficking and Child Labour, Abuja, 4 March 2002.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ Anti-Slavery International interview, Director of Public Prosecutions, Ministry of Justice, Edo State, 7 March 2002.
- ³⁵ Both cases come under the 'old' Edo State law because they refer to acts prior to the 2000 law being passed.
- ³⁶ Olateru-Olagbegi, B., *Promoting Human Security to Prevent Exploitive Migration in Africa with Special Emphasis on Trafficking in Women and Children*, p.69.
- ³⁷ Anti-Slavery International interview, Carabinieri police, Turin, Italy, 24 September 2001.
- ³⁸ Anti-Slavery International interview, Solicitor General's Office and Director of Public Prosecution, Benin City, 7 March 2002.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ Section 52.
- ⁴¹ Anti-Slavery International telephone interview, Turnaround Project, 10 June 2002.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Women's Consortium of Nigeria (WOCON), *Research on Trafficking in Women in Nigeria*, supported by The Netherlands Embassy, Lagos, 2000 p. 51.
- ⁴⁴ Anti-Slavery International interview, traditional priest, Ebohon Cultural Centre, Benin City, 8 March 2002.
- ⁴⁵ Anti-Slavery International interview, solicitor, London, 16 April 2001.
- ⁴⁶ Anti-Slavery International interview, Police Task Force, Lagos, 28 February 2002.
- ⁴⁷ The Advocacy Net, "Deportation Backfires".
- ⁴⁸ Section 48(e) and (b).
- ⁴⁹ Anti-Slavery International interview, COSUDOW, Benin City, 6 March 2002.
- ⁵⁰ Anti-Slavery International interview, Caritas, Turin, Italy, 1 February 2002.
- ⁵¹ Anti-Slavery International interview, COLCE, Varese, Italy, 30 January 2002.
- ⁵² Anti-Slavery International interview, "Sunday", Abuja, 4 March 2002.
- ⁵³ Anti-Slavery International interview, Special Assistant to the President, Human Trafficking and Child Labour, Abuja, 4 March 2002.
- ⁵⁴ Section 48(j).
- ⁵⁵ Section 49.
- ⁵⁶ Section 50.
- ⁵⁷ Section 51.
- ⁵⁸ Section 48(g).
- ⁵⁹ Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF).
- ⁶⁰ Anti-Slavery International interview, WOTCLEF, Abuja, 4 March 2002.
- ⁶¹ Idia Renaissance Skills and Acquisition Centre.
- ⁶² Anti-Slavery International interview, Idia Renaissance Skills and Acquisition Centre, Benin City, 7 March 2002.
- ⁶³ Section 53(a).
- ⁶⁴ Section 48(e).
- ⁶⁵ Section 53(b) and (c).
- ⁶⁶ Section 27(3).