2021

Role of Nigerian Labor Force Demand in Domestic Child Trafficking

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Abstract

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

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Abstract

Child trafficking, especially internal trafficking of children, is increasing despite efforts

by Nigerian federal, state, and local governments and agencies and other local and

international organizations. Internal child trafficking has denied many Nigerian children

access to quality education and human rights protections. The purpose of this generic

qualitative study was to investigate the perceptions of law enforcement officers and

bureaucrats regarding the influence of domestic labor demand on internal child

trafficking in Nigeria. The labor market segmentation theory and routine activities theory

provided theoretical foundations to explore the demand or pull factor of internal child

trafficking in Nigeria. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 12

participants who were law enforcement officers and bureaucrats in Ondo State, Nigeria.

The data were transcribed and analyzed manually to develop categories and generate two

themes: the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor (demand factor) and the quest

for high-paying jobs and opportunities (supply factor). The study provided a better

understanding of traffickers' modus operandi, victims' vulnerability, challenges facing

law enforcement in the country, and impact of domestic labor demand. Findings may be

used to mitigate internal child trafficking in Nigeria leading to positive social change.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to all Nigerian children and youths – who are vulnerable, without reliable guardianship, denied basic education and training, and exploited and enslaved worldwide.

Acknowledgment

I want to say a big thank you to my Committee Chairperson – Dr. Olivia Yu, and Committee Member – Dr. Marcel Kitissou, for their inputs, suggestions, prompt feedback, and encouragement. My appreciation goes to Dr. Karen Shafer – my first Committee Chairperson, for her mentorship and guiding me through the prospectus stage; and Dr. Meena Clowes – the university research reviewer, for her promptness. My special appreciation goes to Dr. John Okorie – my former lecturer at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, for his mentorship and for advising me to go for my Ph.D. at Walden University. I am grateful to my Dad (late), Mum, siblings, other family members, friends, and well-wishers for their support, encouragement, and belief in me. Finally, I would like to thank my lovely and beautiful wife, Mrs. Oluwayemisi Salami, for her prayers, understanding, support, and love throughout my Ph.D. journey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Human trafficking (HT), trafficking in persons (TIP), or modern-day slavery has become a global problem with adverse impacts on individual victims and their families, communities, and countries. Aronowitz (2009) stated that TIP is a threat to national security and human lives. TIP is a process of recruiting people, mostly children and women, in their communities and home country and transporting them to destinations where they are subjected to prostitution, domestic servitude, forced labor, organ harvesting, and other forms of exploitations (Aibangbe, 2015; Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016; Manbe, 2016). According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2001), TIP is transporting persons across national and international borders, mostly from developing countries (especially the African continent) and some countries in transition (especially the Asian continent and Eastern Europe) with the goal of forcing women and female children (mostly) into sexually or economically abusive and exploitative situations for the profit of recruiters, traffickers, and crime syndicates.

The focus of the current study was on domestic (or internal) child trafficking (DCT). According to the United Nations [UN] (2000), trafficking in children (persons under the age of 18 years) involves an action, in the form of "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child" (p. 42), which is undertaken for exploitation even with victim's consent and in the absence of threats, force, or deception. "Exploitation includes, at a minimum, exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (UN, 2000, p. 42).

TIP violates a range of human rights and in the long term may affect the victims psychologically and physically, causing loss of personal dignity and freedom (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Ali & Muhammad, 2014). Victims may be transported across international borders to other countries, and at the same time they may be trafficked internally within the borders of a country. According to Article 3 of the UNICEF Nigeria Fact Sheet (UNICEF, 2002), there are two types of trafficking: internal (domestic) trafficking and external (international) trafficking. Internal child trafficking (ICT) involves the recruitment and transportation of children from rural and remote communities to urban areas. In contrast, external trafficking involves crossing the country's borders into another country. Internal trafficking (IT), cross-border (external) trafficking, and transit point trafficking are the three dimensions of child trafficking in Nigeria.

Domestic HT comes in four different forms: rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to rural, and urban to urban trafficking (Okesola, 2007). In Nigeria, most of the scholarly studies on human trafficking have focused on external trafficking; few researchers have studied internal trafficking (Adesina, 2014; Tade, 2014). The few studies of IT concentrated on sex trafficking (Tade, 2014). The current study was conducted to fill the research literature's gap by focusing on DCT in light of Nigerian labor force demand. In Nigeria, children (especially girls) are trafficked from rural communities to the cities, working as domestic help, prostitutes, restaurants or bar service girls, street traders, and bus conductors (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Manbe, 2016; Tade, 2014). In most

cases, parents of the trafficked children and the traffickers benefit financially from the trafficking (Manbe, 2016).

Child trafficking (CT) remains a local and international problem despite efforts and significant investment by governments and international organizations (both governmental and nongovernmental) to combat this social menace (Aibangbe, 2015). Factors responsible for CT in Nigeria are categorized as push and pull factors. The push factors are the circumstances and issues located in the rural (source) communities where the victims reside, pushing them toward traffickers. These factors are the supply side of child trafficking. Some of these circumstances and issues include poverty, hunger and diseases, large family size, lack of parental care/support, unemployment among parents and guardians, greed, illiteracy and ignorance, political/economic instability, deterioration of essential social services, and gender and ethnic discrimination (Aibangbe, 2015; Bello, 2018; Nnachi, 2017). Conversely, the pull factors are circumstances and issues in the cities (projected locations) that often attract the victims to clients of trafficking. These factors are the demand side of CT. The increasing demand for cheap labor by the clients of child trafficking is one of the pull factors (Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016).

Background

CT within or across the borders is a criminal offense (Tade, 2014). CT is an underground criminal activity that started receiving increased media and international attention in Nigeria in 1998 (Nnachi, 2017). More children are trafficked from rural communities to cities such as Abuja, Lagos, Abeokuta, and Port Harcourt (Adesina,

2014; Tade, 2014). Some parents collaborate with traffickers because of severe poverty (Adesina, 2014; Olayiwola, 2019). Most of the children trafficked are girls who end up working as domestic help in the cities (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Manbe, 2016).

Girls are more vulnerable to trafficking than boys because girls are in high demand for domestic help, especially in cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of the children before and after school, and taking care of the elderly (Adesina, 2014). Child domestic labor survivors often suffer traumas and psychological problems (Adesina, 2014; Dunkerley, 2016; Greenbaum et al., 2018). In some cases, they are raped by family members or close relatives of their employers or while running errands on the street (Adesina, 2014). TIP affects Nigeria's efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, especially in engaging many Nigerian children in child labor within and outside the country without the opportunity to benefit from formal education (Njoku, 2015).

Nigeria is a source, transit, and destination country in TIP (UNICEF, 2007; see also Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016; Gamlin et al., 2015). To confront modern-day slavery, the Federal Government of Nigeria ratified the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons in 2001, and produced three legal processes in 2003, 2005, and 2015. On July 7, 2003, Nigeria passed into Law the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act 2003 (later amended in 2005), and 1 week later established the National Agency for the Prohibition in Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP, 2020) as a special antitrafficking institution to fight human trafficking in the country. Furthermore, on December 13, 2003, Nigeria became a member of the Transnational Organized Crime

Convention and its TIP Protocol (NAPTIP, 2020). At the same time, the Federal Government of Nigeria ratified the Convention on the Right of the Child and initiated the Child Rights Act of 2003. The Federal Government of Nigeria formulated the Child Rights Act to deal comprehensively with child trafficking in the country; however, not all states adopted the Law (Manbe, 2016; Ogunniyi, 2018).

The Women Trafficking and Children Labor Eradication Foundation initiated and sent a private bill to the National Assembly that later became the Trafficking Act (NAPTIP, 2020). Amina Titi Abubakar, the wife of the former Vice President, founded the Women Trafficking and Children Labor Eradication Foundation as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) to fight women trafficking and child labor in the country. The Nigerian National Assembly passed the bill into Law and established NAPTIP to investigate and prosecute offenders, conduct public sensitization, and counsel and rehabilitate victims of human trafficking (NAPTIP, 2020). The reports showed that 887 victims of human trafficking were rescued between October 2007 and September 2008, and NAPTIP took care of 932 victims (387 of whom were children) in its seven shelters across the country between February 2008 and February 2009 (NAPTIP, 2020).

In 2005, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) amended the Trafficking Act 2003 to empower NAPTIP against TIP (NAPTIP, 2020). According to NAPTIP, the FGN amended the law to expand the jurisdiction for trafficking cases to include the Federal High Courts in all 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory. However, the amended law was not stringent enough to confront the heinous crime of TIP, and the law allowed the judges the discretion to freely impose fines instead of strict jail term penalties (Akpomera

& Omoyibo, 2016). In 2015, the FGN repealed the existing Anti-Trafficking Act and enacted another act to respond to the new trends in human trafficking (NAPTIP, 2020). The new law has not stopped traffickers from operating as a powerful cartel. Traffickers continue to target anyone who can be exploited (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2016). According to the Trafficking in Persons Report (United States Department of State [USDS], 2018), Nigeria was grouped within the Tier 2 Watch List despite the significant efforts of the FGN, and the country has not met the minimum standard for the elimination of human trafficking in the country.

NAPTIP and other law enforcement agencies in Nigeria lack adequate information on traffickers and the movements of victims; also, the public is not willing to provide information, a necessity to facilitate investigations and prosecutions (Adesina, 2014). According to the 2017 TIP Report, human trafficking law enforcement is ineffective in many parts of Nigeria (USDS, 2017). The USDS (2017) identified corruption in all government institutions, insufficient resources, and jurisdictional challenges between the states and federal governments as some of the possible causes of this problem. According to Akpomera and Omoyibo (2016), the unnecessary delays in prosecuting criminal matters in the country, coupled with the pervasive corruption in Nigerian legal and security institutions, have weakened the efforts of NAPTIP and the good intentions of NGOs against TIP in Nigeria. Adesina (2014) found no serious collaboration, coordination, or networking among law enforcement agencies, civil society, and other relevant stakeholders combating CT in Nigeria. Unlike the efforts of NAPTIP toward international HT, the agency has not been effective in tackling the issue

of internal TIP (Adesina, 2014). Furthermore, academic work on DCT in Nigeria is far less than expected. The current study addressed ICT in Nigeria, its demand (pull) factor, and perceptions of participants to determine how domestic labor demand affects ICT.

Problem Statement

HT, especially CT, is a problem in Nigeria. Children are trafficked within the country for domestic work (Aibangbe, 2015). More children are trafficked from rural areas to urban cities for domestic labor and other exploitative purposes despite the growing concerns of governments, the NAPTIP, NGOs, human rights organizations, and international bodies (Adesina, 2014). The NAPTIP, Nigerian Police Force (NPF), and many law-enforcement institutions in the country have faced challenges in identifying the victims of child trafficking in Nigeria (USDS, 2012). The current study addressed DCT in Nigeria. CT impacts individual victims and Nigerian society because it impedes learning, a necessity for a children's development and improvement (Aibangbe, 2015; Chinyoka & Naid, 2014). Poverty, illiteracy, lack of parental care, migration, unemployment, violence, political/economic instability, increasing demand for cheap labor, and corruption are some of the factors contributing to CT in Nigeria (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Bello, 2018; USDS, 2018).

In the current literature, researchers have discussed the influence of poverty, girl-child education, government officials' complicity in HT offenses, recruitment and abuse of trafficked children, and Nigeria's criminal justice system (Bello, 2018). However, researchers have not examined the impact of demand for domestic workers, especially in the cities, on internal child trafficking. Prior studies focused on the supply of children,

whereas the current study addressed the issue from a different angle: the demand side. Findings from this study may provide knowledge and useful data to policymakers and other stakeholders for addressing ICT and the demand for domestic workers in Nigeria.

Purpose of the Study

This study addressed participants' perceptions regarding the influence of domestic labor demand on internal child trafficking in Nigeria. I used the qualitative paradigm to fill the gap in the literature. A generic qualitative design with semi-structured interviews enabled me to explore the participants' perceptions of internal child trafficking and domestic labor demand in Nigeria.

Research Question

How does the demand for domestic labor in the cities contribute to internal child trafficking in Nigeria?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework was based on labor market segmentation (LMS) and routine activities (RA) theories.

Labor Market Segmentation Theory

LMS theory explains the economic marginalization in the labor market against the ethnic minority, women, and lower classes (Clairmont et al., 1983; Fevre, 1992). The LMS theorists suggested that labor and jobs are divided based on labor market segments (Bauder, 2001). The argument is that labor market segments function relatively independently because workers and jobs are divided based on demand-side and supply-side processes (Bauder, 2001). Bauder (2001) contended that labor supply relates to labor

attributes, such as occupational preferences, job skills, and education, and labor demand refers to characteristics of jobs, such as wages, employment stability, educational demands, and skills. My study addressed the demand side of a child domestic labor market. Increasing demand for cheap labor in the cities is one of the factors contributing to ICT in Nigeria (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015).

LMS theory describes the labor market's problems as dynamic in nature (Kwon, 2013). Scholars of LMS theory argued that the labor market is not competitive, and it is structured with different policies and rules to influence employment and determine wages (Dickens & Lang, 1992; Leontaridi, 1998). According to Reich et al. (1973), employers deliberately design the labor market segmentation to divide and conquer the labor force. According to Kwon (2013), the theorists of LMS argued that disadvantaged groups of workers are positioned at the lower segment to limit their upward job mobility.

Routine Activities Theory

RA theory, also known as victimization theory, was proposed by Cohen and Felson (1979) who posited that a crime would occur when three elements converge: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and an absence of capable guardians. Many scholars have used RA theory to explain the property crime and physical assault as a function of three elements: the presence of a motivated offender, a suitable target, and an absence of capable guardians (Sacco & Kennedy, 1996). Cohen and Felson established that the three factors must be present to activate a direct contact predatory crime.

Cass (2007) used the RA theory to study sexual assault to initiate policy implications from the individual and institutional angle. The RA theory helped to explain

the demand side of child domestic labor and the occurrence of domestic child trafficking in Nigeria. The victim's routine activities, such as drinking, employment, enjoying leisure in the absence of loved ones, and late-night behavior, especially unaccompanied, increased the victimization risk (Waldner & Berg, 2008). The three elements identified by Cohen and Felson (1979) reflect some of the causes of DCT. The suitable target is the vulnerability and ignorance of potential victims (Greenbaum & Todres, 2018; Makinde, 2016; Tade, 2014), the offenders (traffickers) are motivated by the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Tade, 2014), and absence of capable guardians is the lack of parental care (Adesina, 2014) and weak institutional frameworks and parents' ignorance (Nnachi, 2017).

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was a qualitative approach with a generic design and interviews as a data source. I conducted semi-structured interviews with participants to explore the contribution of domestic labor demand in the cities on ICT in Nigeria. The interviews addressed the participants' perceptions of how the demand for domestic workers in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. The participants were field officers from NAPTIP; officers from the anti-human trafficking units of NPF, Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), and Nigeria Security & Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC); personnel from the Department of Anti-Human Trafficking, Ondo State Ministry of Women Affairs; and lawyers from Ondo State Ministry of Justice.

The participants must have arrested or prosecuted employers of child domestic workers or internal child traffickers, rescued victims of ICT, or been involved in the

prosecution and conviction of offenses relating to ICT. All these law enforcement institutions have anti-human trafficking units across the states of the federation. At the same time, I interviewed the personnel from the Department of Anti-Human Trafficking, Ondo State Ministry of Women Affairs, and lawyers from the Ondo State Ministry of Justice as a strategy to achieve triangulation and enhance the quality of the data. Collecting data from different sources helps to corroborate and cross-check evidence and illuminate a theme (Rudestam & Newton, 2015).

Definitions

Charter man: The person responsible for the coordination of the recruitment process and transporting the victims from the source communities to the destination point, including bribing the law enforcement officers along the transportation routes (Tade, 2014).

Child: According to the TIP Protocol (UN, 2000), a child is any person below the age of 18 years.

Child abuse: According to the Federal Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2018), child abuse is defined as "any recent act or failure to act on the part of a parent or caretaker which results in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse or exploitation" (p. 4).

Child trafficking (CT): According to the TIP Protocol (UN, 2000), CT is "the recruitment, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation" without necessarily involving

threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person. (pp. 42–43)

Child victim: "A 'child victim of trafficking' is any person under 18 who is recruited, transported, transferred, harbored or received for the purpose of exploitation, either within or outside a country" (UNICEF, 2006, p. 1).

Clients (users): People who engage the services of cheap and manageable labor of trafficked children to fulfill unavailable or scarce supply (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003).

Destination country: UNICEF Innocenti Research Center (2003) described a destination country as a destination in the trafficking process.

Domestic servitude: According to the USDS (n.d.), domestic servitude is a crime that allows a domestic worker to be abused, harassed, exploited, and experience sexual and gender-based violence without basic benefits (or payment) and protection (including a day off) normally extended to another group of workers.

Domestic work: The Domestic Workers Convention described domestic work as "work performed in or for a household or households" (International Labor Organization [ILO], 2011, No. 189, Article 1a).

Domestic worker (or house help): According to the Domestic Workers Convention, a domestic worker is "any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship" (ILO, 2011, No. 189, Article 1b).

Exploitation: Exploitation is the generation of illicit profits from the victim through the use of accumulated debt, or deception, coercion, forces (UNODC & UN. GIFT, 2009).

Fort: A private, transitional place located on the outskirts of the city where trafficked children are traded for use as domestic servants (Tade, 2014).

Human trafficking (or trafficking in persons): The United Nations Protocol to Protect, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons (Trafficking in Persons Protocol) defines human trafficking as the

recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (UN, 2000, p. 42)

North-Central Zone: States in the North-Central Zone includes Niger State, Benue State, Kogi State, Kwara State, Nasarawa State, Plateau State, and the Federal Capital Territory.

Prostitution: Prostitution is described "as the exchange of sexual services for economic gains between a female prostitute and a male customer" (Lucas, 2002, p. 1286); although there are male prostitutes, most prostitutes are women (Lucas, 2002).

Rural area: A rural area could be a village or town with a low-density population with few homes or other buildings, and agriculture is the primary industry of most of the inhabitants (National Geographic, 2020).

Source country: Source country is a victim's home country or country of residence (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003).

South-East Zone: States in the South-East Zone include Anambra State, Ebonyi State, Enugu State, Imo State, and Abia State.

South-South Zone: States in the South-South Zone include Cross River State, River State, Akwa Ibom State, Edo State, Delta State, and Bayelsa State.

South-West Zone: States in the South-West zone include Ogun State, Lagos State, Oyo State, Osun State, Ondo state, and Ekiti State.

Tier 2 Watch List: Countries that do not meet the minimum standard for eliminating human trafficking despite their government's significant efforts (USDS, 2019).

Trafficker: A trafficker is a person who works to increase the supply of trafficked persons through recruitment, mostly by fraudulent identification, false information, and abuse of power, and at the same time tries to boost the demand by aiding easy access to a steady supply of trafficked persons (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003).

Transit country: According to the UNICEF Innocenti Research Center (2003), a transit country is a country where the traffickers and their victims pass through to arrive at the destination due to logistic and geographical reasons.

Urban area: Urban areas could be towns, cities, and suburbs with many commercial buildings, bridges, railways, and roads and where most of the inhabitants have nonagricultural jobs (National Geographic, 2020).

Assumptions

Qualitative research methods are used to provide robust accounts and multilayered perspectives of research participants (Trochim &Donnelly, 2007). According to Fouche and Schurink (2011), a qualitative approach provides comprehensive meaning and detailed explanations of the lived experiences of study participants. The current study included direct quotations from the participants about their experiences and provided comprehensive descriptions of victims, traffickers, and users of child trafficking and child domestic workers (see Rudestam & Newton, 2015). I employed a general qualitative design to understand the contribution of domestic labor demand in the cities toward ICT in Nigeria. Percy et al. (2015) stated that a general qualitative approach is appropriate for researchers studying people's subjective views on events and happenings.

The current study was based on the following assumptions:

1. The research findings relied on the understanding of the participants' subjective worldviews about the subject matter.

2. The participants answered all interview questions truthfully and provided in-depth responses. The participants had adequate working experience to answer the interview questions.

3. The interviews were conducted in a nonmanipulated or natural setting involving an interactive process with participants via WhatsApp.

4. The data analysis produced the themes that addressed the research topic.

Scope and Delimitations

The purpose of this study was to understand the contributions of demand for domestic workers in the cities toward ICT in Nigeria. The research site was Ondo State, Nigeria. The participants consisted of the officials of NAPTIP and officers from the anti-human trafficking units of NPF, NIS, and NSCDC, all having their primary assignment within Ondo State, Nigeria. The participants were interviewed via WhatsApp to gather their perspectives on the subject matters. The participants had to have a minimum of 2 years of anti-human trafficking work experience and must have arrested or aided the prosecution of child traffickers or rescued victims of child trafficking and child domestic labor within the research site.

Limitations

Face-to-face interviews were not possible. WhatsApp was employed, and this posed some challenges. All participants were government officials working for Ondo State and FGN, which presented associated problems. Some government officials were complicit in child trafficking offenses (USDS, 2018, 2019). Access to NAPTIP, NPF, NIS, and NSCDC officers and their willingness to speak candidly constituted one of the biggest challenges. Also, there were inadequate supporting documents and no database relating to the number of internally trafficked children in Nigeria (see Adesina, 2014; Bello & Olutola, 2017). The magnitude of ICT in Nigeria was challenging to establish.

Significance

This study provided insights into ICT in Nigeria related to the increasing demand for domestic workers in the cities. The study relied on interviews with officers of the NAPTIP, NPF, NIS, and NSCDS who had arrested or prosecuted internal child traffickers. This qualitative study contributed to positive social change by generating knowledge needed by Nigerian policymakers and other stakeholders to initiate useful policy options essential to empower the anti-human trafficking agency in the country: NAPTIP.

Moreover, the study findings may aid law enforcement organizations in confronting ICT in the country. Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Tade, 2014) asserted that little is known about the IT networks and the recruitment process in Nigeria. The study may improve the knowledge of relevant stakeholders regarding the nature of ICT, its underlying conditions, and the profiles of victims and traffickers, which is a necessity to combat child trafficking in Nigeria. Also, the study findings may be used to create opportunities for government officials and other stakeholders to understand the underground networks of internal child traffickers in the country.

The study may help policymakers address the lack of appropriate anti-trafficking legislation and weak enforcement and strengthen the policy framework to curb HT. Also, policy stakeholders may be equipped with the relevant knowledge to advocate for the execution of the existing anti-human trafficking laws and, at the same time, harmonize contradictory state and federal laws. The study may help to refocus state and federal governments' attention and may help to address ICT and child domestic labor in Nigeria.

Summary

This chapter included the introduction of trafficking in persons as modern-day slavery. The chapter presented the background of CT in Nigeria, the problem statement, the study purpose, the research question, the theoretical framework, the nature of the study, definitions of terms, assumptions, limitations, the scope of the study, and the significance of the study. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature used to examine the contributions of domestic labor demand in the cities toward ICT in Nigeria, and how LMS and RA theories help to explain the contributions. Also, Chapter 2 presents the reports on ICT, forms of CT, the process of CT, and the policies to combat CT in Nigeria.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Trafficking in persons (TIP) is a criminal offense that has become an international business. Most of the victims of TIP are children and young adults due to their lack of exposure and vulnerability, especially in less developed countries (Adesina, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Ukwayi et al., 2019). Some of these countries include the Philippines, Brazil, Sri Lanka, Mali, Kenya, and Nigeria (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015). CT used to be debated within the broad context of human trafficking (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). In recent times, trafficking in children has continued to increase across Nigeria and abroad due to its profitable nature (Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Foua & Diriwari, 2020). CT has now become the main subject in child rights and child protection debates (Foua & Diriwari, 2020).

CT begins in rural communities or countries of origin from which vulnerable children are transported to urban cites or abroad (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Tade, 2014). IT of children in Nigeria has been increasing, and it has been fueled by activities of small and "closely networked individuals" (Tade, 2014, p. 277), among other factors. Unlike external HT, ICT has received little attention from the government and other policy stakeholders in Nigeria (Adesina, 2015). Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Olayiwola, 2019; Tade, 2014) stated that more vulnerable children are trafficked from the rural communities in the South-West, South-East, South-South, and North-Central zones to cities such as Port Harcourt, Calabar, Kaduna, Kano, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Lagos, and Abuja, mostly to the southern states due to their attraction of large number of migrants.

Most of the children trafficked into these major cities are forced or cajoled into domestic

work, farm labor, and prostitution (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Tade, 2014)

Folami et al. (2018) identified voluntary CT and involuntary CT as the two

perspectives of CT. According to Folami et al., during voluntary CT the children agree to

follow the trafficker outside their community to seek for means of survival. Conversely,

involuntary CT involves tricking or forcing the children by the trafficker to travel to other

regions or states for labor. There is a common practice of IT in Nigeria in which low

socioeconomic status parents give their children to immediate or extended family

members who are rich urban dwellers for nurturing or care, especially to expose the

children to better opportunities in the future (Olateru-Olagbegi & Ikpeme, 2006; Orakwe,

2019). Most of these children are often engaged in domestic capacities doing house

chores and running errands for the host family (Gamlin et al., 2015; Olateru-Olagbegi &

Ikpeme, 2006; Orakwe, 2019).

Child domestic workers are usually defined as children under the age of 18 years

who work in the household of people other than their closest family, doing domestic

chores, caring for others, running errands, and sometimes helping their employers run

small businesses from home (Gamlin et al., 2015). More than 15 million children under

the age of 18 are employed in domestic work worldwide (International Programme on the

Elimination of Child Labour [IPEC] & ILO, 2013). In popular discourses, child domestic

labor is one of the issues frequently connected with human trafficking in Nigeria

(Olayiwola, 2019). CT, especially for domestic labor, is a common practice in Nigeria.

Many homes employ the services of domestic workers; in most cases these workers are

vulnerable children who are trafficked from their less privileged rural homes to urban cities to work as live-in domestic help.

Economic crises in Nigeria have forced members of the family, including housewives and children between the ages of 9 and 14, to work outside their homes to support their family's needs (Adesina, 2014; Makinde, 2016; Manbe, 2016; Nnachi, 2017). At the same time, the increasing number of career mothers in urban cities has contributed to the high demand for domestic help (Adesina, 2014; Inyang & Ebirien, 2015). According to Adepelumi (2015), there is a high demand for child workers, especially for domestic, construction, quarry, and agricultural purposes. Nnachi (2017) stated that many children have been lured into cheap domestic labor through child trafficking. Both girls and boys are engaged in domestic work (UNDOC, 2009, as cited in Ali & Muhammad, 2014). If there were no demand for cheap child labor, children would not be trafficked (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). The current study focused on how the high demand for domestic work in urban cities contributes to ICT in Nigeria. Trafficking in children is exploitative and jeopardizes the survival of trafficked children, denying the trafficked children education, a good standard of living, physical well-being, and life prospects (Aibangbe, 2015; Chinyoka & Naid, 2014; Salihu & Chutiyami, 2016; Tade, 2014).

Literature Search Strategy

The search for literature was conducted through the Walden University library databases, including Academic Search Complete, Education Source, Directory of Open Access Journal, SocINDEX with Full Text, International Security & Counter Terrorism

Reference Center, Taylor & Francis Online, CINAHL Plus with Full Text, Social

Sciences Citation Index, and Complimentary Index. Also, I used the Google Scholar

search engine via the Walden University library to complement the database searches.

The database searches included articles in peer-reviewed and scholarly journals published

mostly between 2015 and 2020. The keywords used in the database searches were *human*

trafficking, *trafficking in human beings*, *modern-day slavery*, *child trafficking*, *child*

labor, *child abuse*, *internal child trafficking*, *child domestic worker*, *child exploitation*,

rural-urban migration, *cheap labor*, and *theory of labor market segmentation*. I also

gathered research information from NAPTIP, UNICEF, UN, UNESCO, UNICEF,

UNODC, and the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Person, USDS.

Theoretical Foundation

Theory of Labor Market Segmentation

The exploitation of trafficked children is one of the underlying themes of this

study. The study is based on the theory of labor market segmentation (LMS). The current

theory of LMS focuses on how working conditions, compensation, and

training/promotion opportunities related to the way the activities of the market are

organized and institutionalized (Clairmont et al., 1983). However, the theory of LMS was

"developed essentially as a critique of, or supplement to, explanations of employment-

based, differential life chances which are cast in terms of individual characteristics,

human capital, or economic qualities" (Clairmont et al., 1983, p. 246). The theory of

LMS emerged in the 1960s based on the concepts of the internal and external labor

market when social reform against poverty focused on economic forces (Cain, 1976). The

theory of LMS exposes the inability of neoclassical and classical economics to explain the major issues of labor market policy (Kwon, 2013).

Classical economics focuses on how to maximize the behaviors of individuals and firms; on the other hand, neoclassical economics focuses on the theories of supply and demand based on maximizing the utility of workers on the supply side and maximizing profit of employers on the demand side (Leontaridi, 1998). The theory of LMS criticized the inabilities of classical and neoclassical approaches to explain the distribution of wages, discrimination in the labor market, and unemployment (Kwon, 2013). Unlike the neoclassical economic theory and human capital theory, LMS theory argued that the placement of workers and jobs does not depend on the universal market mechanism (Bauder, 2001). LMS theory identified and explained the labor market problems as dynamic factors (Kwon, 2013).

According to LMS, labor and jobs are divided into segments of the labor market (Bauder, 2001). Ryan (1981) and Clairmont et al. (1983) identified a dual segment between the primary or independent and secondary or subordinate segments. Many scholars (Averitt, 1968; Clairmont et al., 1983; Fevre, 1992; Peck, 1989, 1996) argued that the boundaries between the segments are stiff enough to ensure that jobs and workers are restricted within segments no matter the influence of demand-supply processes from other segments. The theorists of LMS "emphasized barriers rather than mobility, inequity rather than the equalization of return, employer strategy in place of worker sovereignty and institutionalized job structures and market arrangements as well as individual labor market outcomes" (Clairmont et al., 1983, p. 247).

"The rules governing the behavior of labor market actors differ from one segment of the labor market to the other" (Peck, 1996, p. 46). Many scholars (Dickens & Lang, 1992; Leontaridi, 1998) argued that the labor market is composed of many non-competitive segments with different policies and rules for the determination of wage and employment. However, beyond the analysis of equilibrium between supply and demand in the labor market, LMS theory stated that the definition of labor market segments relies on distinct and critical mechanisms of wage determination and employment relations (Kwon, 2013).

The theorists of LMS argued that workers and jobs are divided by supply-side and demand-side processes, allowing segments of the labor market to function relatively independently (Bauder, 2010). In this context, Gordon et al. (1982) and Lee and Loveridge (1987) identified the attributes of labor, such as occupational preferences, job skills, and education–among other factors, as the labor supply. According to these authors, the demand-side relates to the jobs' characteristics, such as wages, employment stability, skills, and educational demands–among others. Many scholars described labor supply and demand issues as pre-market and in-market processes (Ryan, 1981), the worker's side and employer's side (Clairmont et al., 1983), occupational choice and structure of opportunities (Lee and Wrench, 1987), and social stratification and market segmentation (Picchio del Mercato, 1981). On the demand side, Reich et al. (1973, p. 361) argued that employers often employ the LMS to "divide and conquer" their labor force.

According to many scholars of LMS, the processes of supply-side confine women (Ashton & Maguire, 1984; Kenrick, 1981), workingclass people (Clairmont et al., 1983; Offe & Hinrichs, 1985), and minorities (Blair & Fichtenbaum, 1992; Gordon & Sassen, 1992; Morales & Bonilla, 1993) into lower segments of the labor market. Furthermore, gender, working-class, and ethnicity usually overlap (Athey & Hantaluoma, 1994; Carnoy et al., 1993; England, 1995; Hiebert, 1997; Massey, 1994; Mattingly, 1999; Romero, 1993; Segura, 1995). According to Kwon (2014), scholars of LMS theory argued that the groups of disadvantaged workers are often trapped to the lower segments with restricted upward job mobility. The LSM theory explained the economic exploitation of ethnic minorities, women, and the lower classes (Clairmont et al., 1983; Fevre, 1992). Clairmont et al. argued that the bargaining power of workers and their capacity to resist exploitation depend on their social characteristics and the sectors where they are working.

The idea of "social nature of labor" (Peck, 1996, p. 29) identified that workers are both social actors and labor and that social division is designed outside the market before shaping the employment relationships (Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Offe & Hinrichs, 1985). The social roles of the male the breadwinner and female child rearer is a good example of the identities of the gendered labor market (Gregson & Lowe, 1993; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; KesslerHarris, 1982). According to the LMS theory, it is difficult to reward human capital due to institutional barriers (Leontaridi, 1998). Job competition theory, radical theory, and dual labor market theory are developed after the emergence of the LSM approach, and these theories equally addressed the nature of the labor market (Kwon,

2014). These theories emphasized the importance of social and institutional impact on employment, wage, and segmented nature in the labor market (Kwon, 2013).

Routine Activities Theory

Cohen and Felson (1979) developed RA theory to analyze the "predatory crime rate change" during the post-World War II era (1947–1974). The authors originally developed RA theory to explain how the patterns of victimization were connected to the waning and waxing of criminal opportunities gradually and across places. RA theory used control theories as sources and explained crime based on the occurrence of crime opportunities in our everyday lives (Felson, 1994). Cohen and Felson (1979) proposed that opportunities for victimization occur when each motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of capable guardians converge within the space-time. The demand for victims of CT does not necessarily lead to supply through criminal activities. RA theory argued that crime (for example, CT) occurs when all the three elements converge: likely offenders, suitable targets, and absence of capable guardians.

Likely Offenders

Every individual has the potential to perpetrate illegal behavior, and people make rational choices based on the risks and benefits associated with illegal behavior (Cohen & Felson, 1979). There are many potential offenders in society, waiting for the right motivations to commit a crime (Nguyen, 2020). Nguyen stated that potential offenders would indulge in a criminal act if they come across a suitable target without capable guardians. According to Nguyen, in addition to suitable targets without capable guardians, likely offenders must possess the capacity and motivation to commit a crime.

Nghia and Binh (2014) stated that the capacity to commit a crime could include knowledge about the targets, tools, and skills that can help likely offenders to commit crimes such as CT offenses. On the other hand, motivation to commit includes, but not limited to, political movement, financial gains, curiosity, recreation, and self-defense (Li, 2017).

Suitable Targets

The motivation of likely offenders is not sufficient for converting criminal intentions into committing illegal acts (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The essential condition is the presence of a social situation that creates the avenue for unprotected targets to exist and for potential offenders to decide for or against turning their criminal intentions into actions (Nguyen, 2020). Nguyen pointed out that RA theory described a suitable target as an object, a place, or a person with four dimensions–inertia, accessibility, visibility, and value. Nguyen (2020) described inertia as the physical properties of persons, objects, or places. Visibility means that likely offenders must recognize the presence of suitable targets (Bennett, 1991). Accessibility is the characteristics of targets that influence offenders' capacity to commit criminal acts against the targets and later flee the scene (Felson, 1998). The value is the critical factor, where the potential rewards largely outweigh the potential consequences or punishment (Yar, 2005).

Absence of Capable Guardians

The presence of capable guardians often prevents potential offenders from committing crimes against the targets (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Capable guardians can be available as the physical presence of people or in the form of government policies such as

the country's legal frameworks, or as technical tools (Nguyen, 2020). Guardianship can be divided into individual, organizational, and governmental levels, and the absence of guardianship encourages more victimization (Bossler & Halt, 2009; Williams, 2016).

Internal Child Trafficking in Nigeria

Definition of Internal Child Trafficking

IT occurs in all the 36 states and the federal capital territory. Olujuwon (2008) stated that IT occurs through the network of job placement or through family members. Trafficking in children has exploited the level of poverty in the country and the vulnerability of children and their family members. CT is "the recruitment, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation" without necessarily involving

> threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person. (UN, 2000, pp. 42–43)

ICT in Nigeria is a process that begins with the recruitment of vulnerable children from the source–mostly from the rural communities, where the children are transported to the destinations–mostly the cities where they are engaged as domestic help and other exploitative duties.

Reports on Internal Child Trafficking

CT has become a worldwide phenomenon. Some scholars (Adesina, 2014; Bello & Olutola, 2017; Greenbaum et al., 2018) pointed out that there is little or no reliable

statistics to indicate the number of children trafficked, especially in Africa. The clandestine nature of trafficking and lack of strong data collection–among other factors, contributed to the tainted data on CT in Africa (UNICEF, 2006 & 2007). In Africa, about 62% of victims of human trafficking are children (UNODC, 2020). It is estimated that more than a million children are trafficked yearly in the continent of Africa–most of these children are trafficked from West Africa (Adesina, 2014).

Nigeria has the largest economy in West-Africa, with about 65% of her population living below the poverty level; about 75% of the children affected with multi-dimensional poverty, and about 60% of the children suffering from more than one form of violence (UNICEF, 2017). UK Home Office (2012) stated that about 40% of children could not attend school and had to work to cater for themselves. According to ILO (2015), more than 15 million Nigerian children are working–about six million of these children are not attending school, and almost one million of these children have dropped out of school. According to Okunola & Ikuomola (2010), most of these working children are less than 15 years of age and are employed in the cities.

The statistics of victims of CT in Nigeria vary widely (Ifeakandu, 2019; Olooto & Oladeji, 2017). The number of children trafficked internally in Nigeria has been increasing in the last two decades (UNESCO, 2006). UNICEF (2007) stated that about 31% of the children trafficked internally are engaged in domestic labor in Nigeria. According to UNODC (2018), Nigerian officials reported that 815 Nigerian citizens experienced internal trafficking in 2014–without any specific details on CT or child domestic labor. However, several HT prosecutions in Nigeria were concerned with

trafficking in children (Foua & Diriwari, 2020)–where most of these children are engaged in domestic services (Ifeakandu, 2019). Ifeakandu (2019) stated that the number of children working as domestic helps in Nigeria is mostly unknown due to the lack of data.

Forms of Child Trafficking

Many scholars pointed out that children are trafficked within Nigeria into different forms of labor and for sexual exploitation (Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Greenbaum, 2018; Tade, 2014; USDS, n.d.).

Forced Labor

Bonded labor or debt bondage, child domestic servitude, forced child labor, and unlawful recruitment and use of child soldiers are the different forms of forced labor (USDS, n.d.).

Bonded Labor or Debt Bondage. Agents, recruiters, traffickers or employers from the source or destination point usually exploit the trafficked children by charging fees such as recruitment fee with the exorbitant interest rate–making it difficult for the exploited children from quitting their employment post (USDS, n.d.). In some cases, the arrangement between the trafficked children and the agent or employer may be structured as debt bondage–in a way that the victim may not be able to pay off the debt (Okesola & Adenugba, 2018).

Child Domestic Servitude. A domestic servitude is a crime that allows a domestic worker to be abused, harassed, exploited and experience sexual and gender-based violence and without basic benefits (or payment) and protection (including a day off) normally extended to other groups of workers (USDS, n.d.). In Nigeria, some

children, especially girls, are trafficked as domestic help, servants, and servitude (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016; Salihu & Chutiyami, 2016; USDS, 2019). Some parents or guardians train their children in readiness for the role of a domestic help in urban cities (Adesina, 2014).

Forced Child Labor. Many children are trafficked to perform work that, in most cases, benefit their parents, agents, or employers–without giving the children the option of leaving the exploitative engagements (USDS, n.d.). In Nigeria, children, especially boys, are trafficked for various forms of forced labor (Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016; USDS, 2019). Millions of quartered young boys, known as 'Almajiris' from the northern part of the country were enrolled in many Quranic schools–many of these children were subjected to forced begging to support their tutors and themselves (Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016; UNESCO, 2006; USDS, 2019).

Unlawful Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers. "Child soldiering is a manifestation of HT when it involves the unlawful recruitment or use of children—through force, fraud, or coercion—by armed forces as combatants or other forms of labor" (USDS, n.d.). In the past, the media reported that the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) used some CT victims to lead CJTF and army personnel into the Boko Haram camps, instead of providing them the needed care (USDS, 2019). According to USDS (2019), Boko Haram and ISIS–WA forcibly recruit and trafficked many children as young as 12 years of age for use as spies, cooks, messengers, armed combatants, bodyguards, and suicide bombers.

Child Sex Trafficking

According to USDS (n.d.) child sex trafficking occurs

when a child (under 18 years of age) is recruited, enticed, harbored, transported,

provided, obtained, patronized, solicited, or maintained to perform a commercial

sex act, proving force, fraud, or coercion is not necessary for the offense to be

prosecuted as human trafficking. There are no exceptions to this rule: no cultural

or socioeconomic rationalizations alter the fact that children who are exploited in

prostitution are trafficking victims.

About 30% of children trafficked within the Nigerian border was for prostitution

(UNICEF, 2007). In Nigeria, many children, especially girls, are trafficked within the

country for prostitution (Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018).

Profiles of Victims, Traffickers, and Clients of Internal Child Trafficking

Victims

Vulnerable children are mostly trafficked from rural communities to urban cities

for domestic service, prostitution, and various forms of forced labor. Greenbaum and

Todres (2018) asserted that the children are especially vulnerable to trafficking due to

their roles in the family and society, limited skills set and options, and their lack of rights

relative to adults. These children are predominantly trafficked between the ages of eight

and twelve years (Makinde, 2016). The victims are of both sexes with full hope–unaware

of what awaits them in their employment destination (Tade, 2014). Poverty, ignorance,

greed, and the urge for urban migration are some of the factors behind child trafficking in

Nigeria. Also, some of the victims were forced to leave their homes because of

molestation, harassment, and insecurity in search of freedom in urban cities (Aibangbe, 2015). They are transported from one point to another–usually from one state to another until they arrive at their destination where they are transferred to their future employers (Okesola & Adenugba, 2018). The trafficked children are mandated to pay back their transportation fares–in most cases, inflated or with interest rates (Tade, 2014). Most of the children are trafficked for prostitution, domestic services, and forced labor (Aibangbe, 2015; Makinde, 2016; Tade, 2014).

Many of the victims of CT are not provided with proper education and training– that creates opportunities for self-improvement, suitable employment, and greater participation in the modern world (Aibangbe, 2015). Victims of CT are denied access to education and those that are sent to school while working experience physical exhaustion and fatigue (Aibangbe, 2015). On the other hand, some young people agreed to be trafficked for use as a domestic servant because of the desire for basic sustenance and education (Olayiwola, 2019). According to Olayiwola (2019), this category of children or their parents contacts intermediary or agents themselves to facilitate their migration to the cities for work. Some children that are trafficked for domestic service see their slavery-like conditions or labor exploitation as a temporary engagement–a stepping-stone or investment for a better future or opportunity for improved wellbeing (Tade, 2014; Olayiwola, 2019). Olooto and Oladeji (2017) pointed out that trafficked children often help to support and improve the well-being of their families by sending part or all their wages or income to augment the total income of their parents at home.

Traffickers

Traffickers are key actors in the trafficking process. Traffickers play a significant role in the supply and demand for trafficked children (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003). Most of the traffickers are well known in the communities, and some are even members of the victims' friends and extended family (Adesina, 2014; Okesola & Adenugba, 2018). Research shows that most of the traffickers are women–because parents often trust women more than men and easily entrust their children to these women (Adesina, 2014). Child traffickers often target low-income families and parents overburdened with large family size and children out of school with false promises (UNICEF, 2016). The traffickers deceive potential victims and their parents–promising them access to better education, and also, employment with good wages (Okesola & Adenugba, 2018). Some children and their parents are often too eager and desperate to start enjoying the goodies from the promised better life but often fail to verify the promises before jumping into the agreement.

Trafficking is a year-round–indiscriminate activity, but traffickers often trap their victims during festivities and are guided by the demands and needs of their customers in the cities (Tade, 2014). Traffickers conduct their illegal activities as a form of business– relying on many agents and intermediaries to perpetrate their illegality (Alkali et al., 2015). Even in the face of the challenges associated with trafficking, traffickers devise different techniques to recruit their victims (Tade, 2014). Traffickers rely on victims' close friends or family members to present false promises–for example, access to many booming business opportunities in the target destination (Tade, 2014). Traffickers use

false promises to exploit the economic ambitions of their desperate victims (Khan et al.,
2018) and at the same time, exploit the increasing unemployment in Nigeria, a weakening
extended family system, a weak institutional framework, and parents' ignorance to recruit
children for sex and labor trafficking (Nnachi, 2017). Most traffickers rely on their
overbearing influence on their victims (Bello & Olutola, 2017) and various mechanisms
and methods–ranging from oath-taking to death threats to monitor, control, and maintain
hold of their victims (Aronowitz, 2009).

Traffickers usually prefer the inter-state trafficking–because it affords them the
opportunity to have full control over their victims and equally, limits the ability of
concerned parents or guardians to monitor their children or wards (Tade, 2014). On the
other hand, some parents or guardians, family members, influential businesswomen, and
syndicates collaborate with some traffickers to work as suppliers of trafficked children
(Aibangbe, 2015,). Traffickers often recruit their victims through informal channels such
as the extended family members, neighbors, church members, or customers to recruit
children and also, through their organized network (Olayiwola, 2019).

Clients

The users or employers of the trafficked children within Nigerian border are
mostly working mothers, owners of canteens, and shop owners (Adesina, 2014)–
including plantation agriculturists, family households, hotels, and brothel in the cities
(Aibangbe, 2015; Tade, 2014). Research studies and campaigning policies against human
trafficking have placed little attention on the clients of trafficked persons (Adesina,
2014). The working mothers engage the services of domestic help, especially girls, to

help them take care of their children and perform other domestic chores when they are away and busy with duties related to their professions and careers (Adesina, 2014).

Tade (2014) pointed out that the clients from urban cities often prompt the recruitment and aid the transportation of victims from the rural communities to the target destinations. The demanding client or household usually approaches the agents with details of their preferred domestic servants–specifying the age, sex, character, history, or place of origin and possesses the ability to work under stress and speak pidgin English (Tade, 2014). The users are not always aware of CT and its process, and they do not see themselves as part of the trafficking network (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003). According to UNICEF Innocenti Research Center (2003), users are critical factors in the "machinery of exploitation" (p. 8).

Child Trafficking Process

Recruitment of Victims

Recruiting children for trafficking within the Nigerian border involves a network of activities and informal channels within the source communities (Alkali et al., 2015; Tade, 2014). According to Tade (2014), trafficker/agent goes to the source communities with an empty bus–mostly during the festive periods and engages in house-to-house canvassing–cajoling parents and guardians to release their children or wards, usually on agreed terms, to go to the cities with them. Some parents release their children to traffickers based on poverty, while ignorance influences the decision of others (Adesina, 2014; Tade, 2014). Tade believed that traffickers go to the source communities with an

empty bus helps to facilitate the recruiting phase and reduces the risk of being arrested by law enforcement officers.

Transporting Trafficked Children

Traffickers engage the services of drivers–who are part of their trafficking network to transport the newly recruited children from the source communities to the destination cities (Tade, 2014). According to Tade (2014), the drivers understand the associated risks, the modus operandi of the trade, and the safest routes from the source through transit to the destination. The traffickers employ every means to prevent being caught, including using individuals to pose as children's relatives, packaging a covert operation, and bribing corrupt security operatives along the routes to the destination (Tade, 2014). The charter man coordinates the network of activities from the point of leaving the source communities to the destination, including the provision of money to the driver to bribe corrupt security agents along the routes (Tade, 2014).

Transferring Trafficked Children to the Client

Traffickers keep the trafficked children at a private place–fort on the outskirts of the cities to await their collection by the users or clients (Tade, 2014). The fort is not conspicuous to the public, and it is well guarded by people working for the traffickers (Tade, 2014). The charter man coordinates the business activities at the fort–they bring and distribute the children (Tade, 2014). Some users make the selection at the fort, and also, the charter man often takes the trafficked children to the employers who need the services and where the services are demanded (Tade, 2014).

Child Trafficking Knowledge and Awareness Among People

Lack of awareness of the public, especially the ignorance of many parents, is one of the factors responsible for CT in Nigeria. Olayiwola (2019) asserted that many scholars believe that the level of awareness concerning HT in Nigeria is practically low. The lack of awareness is an indication that the public still lacks information about the modus operandi of the organized crime syndicate involved in CT in Nigeria (Tade, 2014). Despite efforts made by many stakeholders (Olayiwola, 2019), especially by NAPTIP and other law enforcement agencies at schools, churches, and via radio, television, and other media outreach (USDS, 2019), many Nigerians are still ignorant of CT. According to USDS (2019), NAPTIP uses its nine zonal commands and headquarters in Abuja to organize awareness campaigns once a week against all forms of human trafficking in Nigeria.

Efforts by NAPTIP and other law enforcement agencies have indeed contributed to increased awareness (USDS, 2019). However, many parents and guardians are still releasing their children and wards under the false illusions–without the knowledge of the severe exploitation awaiting their children at the desired destinations (Tade, 2014). Most of the parents do not see sending their children to work as domestic help in the city as trafficking (Adesina, 2014). They see it as an opportunity for their children to enjoy the essential things of life that they could not provide and an avenue to make extra income to cater for the rest of the family (Adesina, 2014). According to most of the parents, CT is when children are taking outside the country for prostitution (Adesina, 2014). However,

parents' ignorance is one of the factors often undervalued by policy and lawmakers (Foua & Diriwari, 2010).

Gender Inequality and Internal Child Trafficking

Girls are more vulnerable to trafficking than boys due to gender inequality and cultural factors (Adesina, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Khan et al., 2018; USDS, 2019). Some families still believe in the culture that views educating the girls as a waste of time but see them as a source of wealth for the family (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015). There is a cultural perception, especially among many parents in rural areas, that boys are more beneficial to the family than girls (Adesina, 2014).

Most of the children trafficked are girls, who end up working as domestic help in the cities, while most of the boys stay in the community to assist their parents with farm work (Adesina, 2014). Girls are more vulnerable to trafficking than the boys because of the belief that they are more useful as domestic help, especially in the area of cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of the children before and after school–including taking care of the elderly (Adesina, 2014). Many parents release their girl-child easily to work as house-help, nannies, or shopkeeper in the cities, they regard sending their girls to school as a waste of time because they will end up becoming housewives (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015). Girls are often giving away in early marriage or trafficked from rural areas to the cities or outside the country to generate additional income for the family (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015). These include for prostitution (Alkali et al., 2015; Okesola & Adenugba, 2018; USDS, 2019) while the boys are often trafficked for various

forms of forced labor (Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016; Alkali et al., 2015; Okesola & Adenugba, 2018; USDS, 2019).

Supply (Push) and Demand (Pull) Factors for Internal Child Trafficking in Nigeria

There are many factors responsible for ICT in Nigeria. These factors are categorized into push and pull factors or supply and demand factors. Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Ifeakandu, 2019; Inyang & Ebirien, 2015; Nnachi, 2017; Tade, 2014) identified poverty, high unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance, large family size, bad governance and corruption, conflicts, and increasing demand for cheap labor in the cities as some of the factors responsible for ICT in Nigeria. Other factors include the existence of the local market for children in the labor and sex trade (Ali & Muhammed, 2014; Salihu & Chutiyami, 2016), the urge to migrate from the rural communities to the cities, especially among the youths, low risk and high profitability (Ali & Muhammad, 2014), and zero conviction of complicit government officials (USDS, 2019).

Supply or Push Factors

Push factors are circumstances and issues that reside with the victims in the source communities that make them susceptible to internal child trafficking (Adesina, 2014; Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016). Push factors are equally known as the supply factors because they are responsible for the supply of victims of internal child trafficking in Nigeria. Some of these factors include poverty, high unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance, large family size, bad governance and corruption, conflicts, rural-urban

migration, low risk and high profitability, and conviction of complicit government officials. In the study, I elaborated on some of these factors.

Poverty. Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Ifeakandu, 2019; Inyang & Ebirien, 2015; Nnachi, 2017; Salihu & Chutiyami, 2016) identified poverty as the main factor responsible for ICT in third world countries–including Nigeria. In Nigeria, victims of ICT are from poor family backgrounds with no economic opportunities (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Okesola & Adenugba, 2018). Most of the families are from rural communities–where many of the parents are unemployed or small-scale farmers with no access to basic amenities. Aibangbe (2015) pointed out that some of the parents or guardians released their children or wards for trafficking in the expectation that their actions would amount to economic relief to the rest of the family.

Corruption. Corruption is a big institution in Nigeria that has influenced many illegal activities, including HT in the country. Many child traffickers continue to achieve success with the collaborations of some law enforcement officers despite the massive investment of the Federal Government of Nigeria against all forms of trafficking in the country. Internal child traffickers continue to thrive because of the small risk of being arrested by law enforcement agents (Tade, 2014). The traffickers operate within the fluid network of corrupt agents of law enforcement to complete their illegal and inhuman trafficking process (Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016; Okesola & Adenugba, 2018). Bello (2015, as cited in Bello, 2018) stated that the corruption of law enforcement institutions, especially the NPF and NIS, has helped to fuel human trafficking in Nigeria. This is a

considerable impediment to the criminal justice system in Nigeria (Bello, 2018). Human traffickers often exploit this challenge in law enforcement to evade arrest, especially while transporting their victims from the sources to various destination points in the country (Bello, 2015, as cited in Bello, 2018).

Low Risk and High Profitability of Internal Child Trafficking in Nigeria. Ali & Muhammad (2014) identified the low risk and high profitability associated with ICT as one of the factors motivating traffickers in Nigeria. Human traffickers in Nigeria still engage in their illegal activities with relative impunity–while their victims experience severe exploitation (Bello, 2018). According to Ali & Muhammad, CT continues to thrive because the associated benefit is more than its cost. Many scholars (Hughes, 2003; Makisaka & Marc, 2009; O' Neil, 1999) argued that the crime of TIP prevails because traffickers continue to make money from the business due to its associated limited effort– especially while recruiting and transporting their victims. Bello (2008) stated that the high profitability of CT is one of the motivating factors behind the trade. CT is the third-largest profitable trade–after drugs and arms in the world (Miko, 2000; Olateru, 2004). According to many scholars, HT is a relatively low-risk trade with abundant supply, increasing demand, and high profitability (Bales, 1999, 2007; Hughes, 2000; Joffres et al., 2008; Kapstein, 2006).

Conviction of Complicit Government Officials. NAPTIP was established to address the scourge of HT in Nigeria, and one of its functions involves the investigation and conviction of all offenses relating to trafficking in Nigeria (NAPTIP, 2020). According to USDS (2019), in its annual Trafficking in-person report, the Federal

Government of Nigeria improved significantly by convicting more traffickers than the previous reporting year and, at the same time, started the prosecutions against seven officials of government allegedly complicit in TIP. According to the report, the government failed to meet the minimum standard in various keys areas. The report stated that one of the critical areas is the failure of the Nigerian Government to convict any complicit government official despite repeated reports detailing the involvement of government officials in various HT offenses in the country each year. The report concluded that the Nigerian Government failed to investigate, prosecute, or hold any CJTF members or military personnel for exploiting IDPs in any form of trafficking–including the use of child soldiers.

Demand or Pull Factors

The demand factors are also the pull factors. These are factors that reside in the projection location, which tend to influence victims and their parents into accepting the exploitative offers (Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016). Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Manbe, 2016) identified the demand for cheap and low-skilled labor as a pull factor of ICT in Nigeria.

The increasing demand for cheap labor has been identified as the pull factor for ICT in Nigeria (Adesina, 2014; Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016). ICT is demand-driven trade with a huge market for children in the labor and commercial sex trade (Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Manbe, 2016). Makinde (2016) stated that most of the children are trafficked to meet the demand for cheap and

controllable labor. The increasing demand for low-skilled and cheap labor has created a huge market in the cities.

Implications of Internal Child Trafficking

Child trafficking is a human-made social evil that obstructs the development of the individual victims, the communities (both the source and destination), and the country. CT is an exploitative act that put child survival in jeopardy (Salihu & Chutiyami, 2016). Trafficked children experience different forms of psychological torture, deformity, and ill-health arising from infections and painful experiences (Aibangbe, 2015). Trafficked children are exposed to various forms of hazards (Aibangbe, 2015), and multiplicity of diseases due to lack of money and basic needs that push the children into the trap of the labor market (Chunyoka & Naid, 2014). According to Ifeakandu (2019), the development often poses problems to the victims' families and the justice system of the country.

Most of the trafficked children, especially girls that are brought from the rural areas to work as housemaids at a tender age, are maltreated by their employers (Aibangbe, 2015). Many of these kids were involved in a motorcycle or motor accidents while hawking wares for their employers (Adesina, 2014). Some of them were raped by family members or close relatives of their employers or while hawking wares on the streets (Adesina, 2014). Chunyoka and Naid (2014) explained further that trafficked children–who often work long hours and without a break–are not only sexually abused but equally exposed to various forms of harassment. These challenges hinder learning and obstruct education–a necessity for a child's improvement and development

(Aibangbe, 2015). Most of these children are denied the opportunity to go to schools–causing them to lose their self-esteem and feel inferior among their peers (Aibangbe, 2015) and equally, violating their rights to employment and self-determination (Ali & Muhammad, 2014).

Greenbaum et al. (2018) stated that victims might experience shame, humiliation, and debilitating isolation associated with marginalization, stigma, and discrimination. Greenbaum et al. identified physical and sexual assault, deprivation, separation from loved ones, emotional manipulation and abuse, and witness to violence as some of the trauma trafficked children may experience. Most survivors of child trafficking often suffer many traumas and psychological problems (Adesina, 2014; Greenbaum et al., 2018). Also, survivors of child trafficking tend to become quarrelsome, liars, cheats, rude, and abusive (Aibangbe, 2015). They often become undisciplined, wild, and raw, and they find it difficult to conform to constituted authority (Aibangbe, 2015).

Makinde (2016) stated that child trafficking is an abuse that denies trafficked children various rights. TIP violates the Child Right Act of the United Nations because of its child labor, neglect, and sexual abuse (Aibangbe, 2015). TIP is an abuse of the fundamental rights of the victims (Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016)–causing loss of freedom and personal dignity (Aibangbe, 2015). CT is a social and health problem (Aibangbe, 2015; Chunyoka & Naid, 2014)–that violates the right of trafficked children to health and health care, right to security and liberty, right to freedom from violence, torture, cruelty, or degrading treatment (Ali & Muhammad, 2014).

Trafficked children are treated and regarded as articles of trade and, at the same time, subjected to the inhuman conditions by threats, force, and deceit (Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016). Furthermore, traffickers and clients exclude trafficked children from the wage negotiation, thereby denying them the opportunity to determine the nature of services they are willing to render and how they can be protected in the labor relationship (Tade, 2014). The traffickers/agents economically exploit trafficked children, and at the same time, the employers or users exploit their labor (Tade, 2014). Also, CT from rural communities to urban cities has caused massive rural-urban migration–causing a negative impact on society (Makinde, 2016). Makinde (2016) stated that the development had created a vast surplus of human capital in the cities, especially the supply of domestic labor in the informal labor market.

Policies and Initiatives to Combat Internal Child Trafficking in Nigeria

On July 14, 2003, the FGN through the Trafficking Act 2003 created NAPTIP as a special anti-human trafficking agency to fight the scourge of TIP in Nigeria (NAPTIP, 2020). The FGN established the agency to investigate and prosecute traffickers and their collaborators, conduct sensitization, and counsel and rehabilitate victims of TIPs. According to NAPTIP, the FGN created and funded the agency in response to the "country's international obligation under the Trafficking in Persons Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Transnational Organized Crime Convention–UNTOC" (2020, about NAPTIP section, para. 2). On December 13, 2000, Nigeria became a party to the Transnational Organized Crime Convention and its TIP Protocol, and Article 5 of

the Protocol expects States Parties to criminalize all forms of human exploitations, including the minimum sexual and labor exploitation (NAPTIP, 2020).

The FGN responded to many international laws against human exploitation. The Nigerian Government formed the National Child's Rights Implementation in 1994 in response to UNICEF's 1989 convention on the Rights of the Child (Aibangbe, 2015). In 1999, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched and executed the Universal Basic Education (UBE) Program in response to the ratification of the UN convention and adoption of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child by the Organization of African Unity–among other things (Aibangbe, 2015). UBE is a compulsory and uniform nine-year basic educational program introduced to address illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty, and equally, to stimulate political consciousness, national integration, and national development in Nigeria (UBEC, 2020). The FGN in collaboration with ILO and International Program on the Eradication of Child Labor inaugurated the Nigerian Program on the Elimination of Child Labor between August 2001 and June 2003 to raise awareness and initiate direct action toward child labor eradication in the country (ILO, 2005)

The FGN amended the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act, 2003 to empower NAPTIP more (NAPTIP, 2020). Furthermore, the FGN repealed the amended Act, 2005, and enacted the Trafficking in Persons Prohibition, Enforcement and Administration Act, 2015, to boost the agency's efficiency against the new human trafficking-related crimes (NAPTIP, 2020). NAPTIP collaborated with many international donors and NGOs–and in March 2018, the agency approved a

2019 national action plan on anti-trafficking and continue the drafting of a five-year

national action plan (NAPTIP, 2020). NAPTIP conducts awareness campaigns in public

places, including schools, churches, and transit parks, and expands its media coverage via

radio and television to enlighten the people on the identification and dangers of TIP in

Nigeria (NAPTIP, 2020). The agency also engaged each of its nine zonal commands and

Abuja headquarters to execute outreach campaigns once a week to raise awareness on

TIPs (NAPTIP, 2020). NAPTIP conducted its outreach campaigns in Benue State and

Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps to educate

persons displaced by rural violence and mass flooding (NAPTIP, 2020). There are

hotlines with staff who speak English and relevant local languages in each of the nine

zonal commands and headquarters of NAPTIP (NAPTIP, 2020).

The FGN passed the Child Rights Act (CRA) 2003 into Law to deal

comprehensively with CT in Nigeria (CRA, 2003). The Act mandated every person,

institution, agency, and organization in the country to give necessary protection and care

for the wellbeing of every child (CRA, 2003, part I). Many law enforcement

organizations–including the NPF, have set up anti-trafficking units in response to the

growing challenges of TIP in the country. Articles 49, 59, 60, 61, 65, and 73 of the

Nigerian Labor Act 1990 protect children's rights in a labor relationship against the

exploitation by their employers (Nigerian Labor Act, 1990).

Furthermore, the fight against TIP has received a further boost in 22 states

through the National Anti-Child Trafficking with UNICEF's collaboration and the United

States Department of State (NAPTIP, 2020). NAPTIP, with the collaboration of an

international organization, started conducting screening and sensitization campaigns in all state-run camps, IDP camps, and in and around Maiduguri in response to the alleged involvement of government employees and security officials in offenses relating to TIP (USDS, 2019). There is an inter-ministerial committee on trafficking–meeting on an ad hoc basis to develop policies on trafficking in Nigeria; and has completed a draft on a protocol for identification, safe return, and rehabilitation on trafficked persons awaiting cabinet approval (USDS, 2019). Equally, the department of child development of the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD), with collaboration with various NGOs, organized and implemented various sensitization workshops concerning various aspects of rights of girl-children in Nigeria (FMWASD, 2018).

At the state level, Ondo, Edo, Delta, Ogun, Lagos, Oyo States made significant efforts to address ICT in Nigeria. Edo State played prominent roles in addressing TIP, especially trafficking in women and children within and across the Nigerian border (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). Aibangbe (2015) stated that many states emulated Edo State for passing legislation against the trafficking of children and women into law. Like Lagos State, the Edo State Taskforce Against Human Trafficking (ETAHT) conducted awareness campaigns in the state to address the vulnerability of migrants to sexual exploitation and trafficking (ETAHT, 2020).

Ogun State and Oyo State adopted the "action plan to eliminate child labor" in alignment with various legislations at the national and international stage (Ogun State, 2014; Oyo State, 2014). Both states adopted the action plan–spanning over three years,

from 2014 to 2017 (Ogun State, 2014; Oyo State, 2014). Ogun State improved its

management to address child labor and CT in the state in line with the sub-regional,

regional, and international treaties as rectified by the FGN (Ogun State, 2014). In 2006,

Ogun State passed into law the Child Rights Law (CRL 2006) in response to the Child

Rights Act 2003–passed into law by the Nigerian National Assembly (Ogun State, 2014).

In the same vein, Oyo State passed the Child Rights Law 2006 (CRL 2006) into

law in response to the Child Rights Act 2003 (Oyo State, 2014). Like Ogun State, Oyo

State used the existing legal and institutional frameworks initiated by the Federal

Republic of Nigeria to draft and execute its action plan for the elimination of CT and

child labor in the state (Oyo State, 2014). In 2014, Oyo State inaugurated State Steering

Committee on child labor (SSC) to decide the adoption of the National Action Plan for

the Implementation of child labor at the state level (Oyo State, 2014). On the other hand,

the state governments of Delta State and Ondo State inaugurated anti-trafficking

taskforces to address TIPs in their states (USDS, 2019).

Barriers to Policy Implementation

NAPTIP and other law enforcement agencies in Nigeria lack adequate

information on traffickers and the movements of victims, and at the same time, the public

is not willing to provide information (Adesina, 2014). The central database on CT is

necessary for the investigations and prosecution (Adesina, 2014). Relevant data and up-

to-date research on ICT are not readily available (Adesina, 2014; Bello & Olutola, 2017).

The Federal Government of Nigeria, States Governments, and NAPTIP concentrate more

on combating cross-border human trafficking and combating ICT less effectively (Adesina, 2014).

The Federal Government of Nigeria passed the CRA into law to address CT in the country; however, some states have not adopted the law (Manbe, 2016; Ogunniyi, 2018). The Nigerian Government has not been able to enforce the CRA provisions in some states, particularly in the Muslim Northern States, who refused to adopt the Act (Ifeakandu, 2019; Ogunniyi, 2018). The CRA conflicted with the religious, cultural and traditional beliefs and practices of these states and the areas of conflicts include the prohibition of child begging and destitution, child and forced marriage, child adoption, the right to education, girl-child education–amongst others (Ifeakandu, 2019; Ogunniyi, 2018). Also, some states that re-enacted the legislation had to lower the standards to address some conflicts, thereby initiating a law that cannot protect children's rights effectively (Ogunniyi, 2018). The Constitution does not empower the Federal Government to unilaterally enact a child-focused legislation without the states' support– that have more extensive powers on childcare matters (Nigerian Constitution, 1999).

Lack of funding is one of the challenges preventing NAPTIP from meeting its statutory and social obligations toward victims of ICT (Adesina, 2014; USDS, 2019). NAPTIP does not have enough resources to withstand the demand associated with CT in the country (USDS, 2019), and NPF is equally facing the same challenges (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). The agency does not have adequate funds to provide the needed proactive anti-trafficking operations, and most of the time, NAPTIP officers often concentrate their operations within the state capitals–a development that hinders the

investigation and identification of trafficking in the rural areas (USDS, 2019). At the same time, the violation of child rights is increasing in rural areas because the enforcement of legal provisions is becoming a challenge (Ifeakandu, 2019).

The unwarranted delays associated with the prosecution of criminal matters in the country judicial system coupled with the endemic corruption in the Nigerian security and legal systems are some of the factors working against NAPTIP and the collaborating efforts of many NGOs (Akpomera & Omoyibo, 2016). The complicity of guardians and parents of trafficked children has also thwarted the anti-human trafficking efforts of NPF in the country (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). Ignorance of victims and their parents is another barrier against the country's anti-trafficking efforts–some victims and their families do not see their trafficking as exploitation, and they consider their experience as opportunities for empowerment (Foua & Diriwari, 2020). Foua & Diriwari (2020) stated that people often refuse to testify against traffickers because of the fear of reprisals.

Ifeakandu (2019) identified limited jurisprudence and education on the existence of Child Rights Laws and other measures as one of the barriers to policy implementation. Ifeakandu stated that the officers of NPF and other law enforcement agencies exhibited inadequate training and capacity to detect traffickers and victims, including in the treatment of victims of TIP. According to Ifeakandu, the politicians and other policy stakeholders lack the needed political will to fully implement the child's rights policies and laws in the country. Many child's rights policies and laws have been partially implemented–a development that has put child's protection and welfare into jeopardy–

leading to the continuation of abuse and marginalization of Nigerian children (Ifeakandu, 2019).

Lack of cooperation, coordination, and collaboration among various government agents and civil society groups is another challenge against CT policies (Adesina, 2014; Foua & Diriwari, 2020; Ifeakandu, 2019). The study showed no serious collaboration, coordination, networking among the law enforcement agencies, civil society, and other relevant stakeholders combating CT in Nigeria (Adesina, 2014; Foua & Diriwari, 2020). There was a lack of coordination and cooperation among federal ministries and state governments; and equally, there were no cooperation and collaboration between state governments and civil society groups in the country–and this has affected the implementation of many child's rights policies, including CRA (Ifeakandu, 2019).

Summary

ICT in Nigeria is a huge challenge that needs consistent and adequate government interventions. However, unlike government efforts toward international human trafficking, ICT has received little attention. The current study intended to draw the attention of elected government officials and other major policy stakeholders to this gap. The current study identified the exploitations experienced by trafficked children and was based on LMS and RA theories.

Chapter 2 covered the strategy used for the literature review, x-rayed ICT in Nigeria, explored the policies and initiatives adopted by the Nigerian government to combat ICT, and identified the barriers encountered during policy implementation. The literature review covered reports on ICT and identified forms of CT, including child sex

trafficking and forced labor. The chapter examined the profiles of victims, traffickers, and clients (or users) of ICT. It covered the process of ICT–involving the recruitment of victims–mostly from the rural communities, transporting victims, and transferring trafficked children to the users, mostly in the cities.

The literature review identified the supply (push) factors, which include poverty, corruption, low risk and high profitability of DCT, and conviction of complicit government officials–among other factors. At the same time, the review identified the demand (pull) factors, including the demand for cheap domestic labor. Most of the literature reviewed focused on the supply side of DCT in Nigeria. Some of the findings revealed the root causes of ICT, the importance of free education, roles of religious bodies, benefits of the joint-agency approach, government failure to protect child's rights, and lack of enabling environment for private sector development, among others. Conversely, the current study would add to the knowledge base from the demand side of the trafficking, including exploring the routine activities theory to explain the traffickers' motivation, victims' vulnerability, and inefficient law enforcement.

Academic writings concerning DCT in Nigeria are scanty. Most of the literature reviewed relied on secondary data, while few researchers used a qualitative research approach with in-depth interviews and purposive sampling to generate primary data. However, less research provided a better understanding of ICT and created more awareness for the public and policy stakeholders. Some of the research exposed the traffickers' modus operandi, corruption of law enforcement officers, and the human rights abuses perpetrated during and after the trafficking process. Equally, some of the

literature reviewed identified some policies and initiatives adopted by Nigerian government, including the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act 2003–which paved the way for the NAPTIP establishment.

NAPTIP is a specialized anti-human trafficking agency empowered to investigate and prosecute traffickers–among other functions. The FGN amended Act 2003 (to Act 2005) to strengthen NAPTIP against TIPs. Furthermore, the FGN repealed Act 2005 and enacted 2015 to enhance the legal framework of NAPTIP to respond to the new trends initiated by the traffickers. The literature review equally identified lack of funds, ignorance of parents, lack of relevant data and up-to-date research on DCT, unnecessary delay in the prosecution of criminal matters in the Nigerian judicial system, and lack of absolute power by the FGN to enact child-focused law as some of the barriers encountered during policy implementation.

Chapter 3: Research Method

This qualitative study addressed the research participants' perspectives on how the demand for domestic labor in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. The participants included NAPTIP officials; officers of the anti-trafficking units of NPF, NIS, and NSCDC; and bureaucrats from the Ondo State Ministry of Justice, the Department of Anti-Human Trafficking, and Ondo State Ministry of Women Affairs. This chapter focuses on the research design and rationale, researcher roles, and methodology including participant selection, instrumentation, and data collection. Also, this chapter covers the data analysis plan, issues of trustworthiness, and ethical considerations.

Research Design and Rationale

Data were collected from a qualitative approach to understand how the demand for domestic workers in Nigerian cities contributes to internal child trafficking in the country. The research question was the following: How does the demand for domestic workers in the cities contribute to internal child trafficking in Nigeria? To answer this question, I conducted semi-structured interviews with participants who had firsthand experience of ICT as law enforcement officers and lawyers in the country. Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) stated that a qualitative researcher relies on interviews to collect perceptual information to understand participants' descriptions of their experiences.

Due to the insufficient literature on ICT in Nigeria, a qualitative method was appropriate to develop an extensive and in-depth understanding of the research topic. A qualitative approach provides insights and perceptions through the narratives of the

research participants; a quantitative method cannot measure the individual subjective

opinions, attitudes, and experiences (Percy et al., 2015). Sutton and Austin (2015) stated

that the quantitative method is used to examine causal relationships to provide answers to

research questions. The quantitative approach was not appropriate for the current study

because it involves the statistical analysis of numeric data to determine the relationships

between variables (see Creswell, 2014). Stake (2010) stated that qualitative data are

situational, interpretative, experiential, and personalistic.

A general qualitative method provides extensive exploratory findings where there

is little knowledge of the research topic (Merriam, 2002). According to Merriam (2002),

a general qualitative approach enables the researcher to discover and understand the

research participants' perspectives and worldview as it relates to a research topic.

According to many scholars (Maxwell, 2005; Merriam, 2002; Patton, 2002), the general

qualitative approach allows the research participants to speak for themselves concerning

their experiences on the research topic. The general approach is a flexible method to

understand the perceptions and experiences of the participants (Caelli et al., 2003). Caelli

et al. (2003) stated that qualitative methodologies guide a general approach without

relying on a traditional or specific set of philosophical assumptions.

The general qualitative approach enables empirical advances by deviating from

methodological standards, recreating established methodologies, and building approaches

that may or may not lead to the formation of a new methodology (Kahlke, 2014). The

general qualitative approach becomes a useful alternative when the traditional qualitative

inquiry, such as case study, ethnography, phenomenology, or grounded theory, is not

suitable for a study (Percy et al., 2016). Ethnographic research was not appropriate for the current study because ethnography addresses cultural experiences (Lodico et al., 2010) and social experiences (Mertler, 2016) of a specific population for an extended period. The case study approach was not appropriate because it is an extensive exploration and analysis of one or more cases (Hancock & Algozzine, 2017). Grounded theory was not appropriate because generating new theory was not my primary purpose for conducting this study (see Lodico et al., 2010). The phenomenological methodology was equally unsuitable for this study because it addresses the lived experiences of research participants (Mertler, 2016). Finally, the narrative approach was not suitable because it addresses participants' experiences by collecting data in the form of personal stories from one or more participants to understand the research topic (Mertler, 2016).

Roles of Researcher

I served as the primary instrument during the process of data collection by recording the interviews, transcribing the recorded interviews, and keeping a researcher's journal. The researcher as instrument "raises important ethical, accountability, and social justice issues, including intersubjectivity, power, authorship, and voice" (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 47). Before the interviews, I contacted the participants through their organizations via email to solicit their participation. As the researcher, I collected and analyzed the data.

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were conducted to capture the perceptions of the participants regarding how the demand for domestic workers in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. The interviews were conducted

via WhatsApp at different times and locations within Ondo State, Nigeria based on the

preferences of the participants. The researcher is expected to be a patient listener during

the interviews and allow the participants to reflect on the questions to provide valuable

responses (Gay et al., 2015). To be an effective interviewer, the researcher needs to avoid

asking the participants leading questions, including judging their responses, to allow

them to focus on the research topic (Gay et al., 2015). I analyzed the data to generate

codes, categories, and themes.

I had worked at the NSCDC, Ondo State Command, about 10 years before the

establishment of the anti-trafficking unit. Most of my former colleagues are no longer

working in Ondo State Command. In the current study, I took measures to avoid or

minimize biases that would have affected the reliability and validity of the research

findings (see Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2015). As a qualitative researcher, I ensured the

validity of my results. I sent the transcripts of the interviews to the participants after the

interviews to ensure that they reflected their responses without errors (see Patton, 2015).

Ethical practices were followed in selecting the participants, collecting the data,

analyzing the data, interpreting the data, and presenting the findings.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

For this study, the population of interest included the field officers from NAPTIP

and the anti-trafficking units of NPF, NIS, and NSCDC. The population extended to

lawyers from Ondo State Ministry of Justice and personnel from the Department of Anti-

Human Trafficking, Ondo State Ministry of Woman Affairs. The correct identification of

the intended population contributed to the study (see Creswell, 2014). The participants were required to have a minimum of 2 years of work experience covering ICT. The participants shared their experiences and perspectives regarding how domestic labor demand in the cities contributes to ICT in Nigeria.

Random sampling was not appropriate for this study because it may have hindered the findings by introducing cases not relevant to the purpose of the study (see Rudestam & Newton, 2015). Purposive sampling was used, and snowball sampling was intended to support it. Rudestam and Newton (2015) argued that qualitative researchers use purposive sampling to increase the range or scope of data and gather clear perspectives from the sample of participants. Qualitative researchers select participants who have a high probability of contributing to a sound understanding of the research topic (Morse, 2007; Rudestam & Newton, 2015). Purposive sampling allows researchers to obtain information-rich perspectives that can bolster the understanding of the central issues of the study (Gentles et al., 2016; Patton, 2002).

Snowball sampling was intended to complement the purposive sampling to arrive at the sample size. Snowball sampling is one of the most common sampling methods used by qualitative researchers (Griffith et al., 2016). Snowball and other nonrandom sampling methods allow qualitative researchers to obtain an adequate number of research participants in a study involving a relatively unusual topic (Rudestam & Newton, 2015). In a snowball sampling method, researchers ask participants to provide details of other individuals with relevant knowledge that can contribute to a deeper understanding of the research topic (Griffith et al., 2016).

Determining an appropriate sample size can be challenging in a qualitative study (Guest et al., 2006) because there is no universally accepted method of achieving it (Marshall et al., 2013). The characteristics of a research study–among other things, influence the appropriate sample size (Creswell, 2014). Some of these characteristics include the research questions, data, process of analysis, and resources available to the researcher (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016); also, money, time, and access to research participants (Gay et al., 2015).

Experts hold different views about the sample size in qualitative studies. Many scholars (Guest et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2013; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007) maintained that a sample size of 12 might be enough for a qualitative researcher to study the perceptions of relatively homogenous participants. According to Creswell (2012), a sample size could range between one and forty in a qualitative study using purposive sampling. Conversely, Onwuegbuzie et al. (2010) recommended a sample size of 15 as adequate to collect and report subjective research findings. Some scholars suggested that a sample size of fewer than 20 participants is appropriate for qualitative research (Fraenkel et al., 2012; Gay et al., 2015). Many qualitative researchers recommended a sample size of 12 as sufficient to gather data in a one-on-one interview (Guest et al., 2006; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), some qualitative researchers determine their sample size before data gathering; at the same time, some determine the sample size during the data collection stage. I intended to use 16–18 participants for this study–a minimum of two participants from each organization. The participants could be more

than 18–because the data collection will go beyond the point of redundancy. Lincoln and

Guba (1985) stated that qualitative researchers often gather data to the point of

redundancy. The point of redundancy is the point when the data is saturated (Merriam &

Tisdell, 2016)–a point where more data may not lead to new theme(s) because the

researcher has collected enough data to support the research study (Fusch & Ness, 2015).

The study surpassed the point of redundancy by one participant to reflect Lincoln and

Guba (1985). The participants were selected from four law enforcement agencies

(NAPTIP, NPF, NSCDC, and NIS) and two organizations from the Ondo State

Government (Ondo State Ministry of Justice and Department of Anti-Human Trafficking,

Ondo State Ministry of Women Affairs).

Instrumentation

I conducted intensive interviews with the participants–relying on some

demographic questions and semi-structured (open-ended) interviews question (appendix

A) via WhatsApp. The interviews generated perceptual information and discussions on

the research question–among other information. A recording device was purchased for

recording all the interviews. This section describes the interview and shows how the

interview served as an adequate method to generate discussion on the research question.

Researchers often select interviews as the primary method for collecting data because it

evokes thick and detailed descriptions from the participants (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019).

Patton (1990) stated that "qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that

the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit" (p. 278).

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2019), a qualitative interview is a legitimate method

of generating data–it creates an opportunity for a researcher to talk to and listen to their interviewees to understand their experiences in their own words. Individual, in-depth interviews allow researchers to capture the participants' perspectives of their experiences (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). According to Bloomberg and Volpe, interviews give researchers access to clarify statements, and at the same time, the opportunity to probe for further information. The current study provided the participants with adequate time to elicit in-depth information for each open-ended question.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Recruitment Procedures

The recruitment process started on September 9, 2020–a day after obtaining an approval from the Institutional Review Board [IRB] (approval number 09-08-20-0348443). The participants' recruitment began by invitation emails to the potential participants through their organizations. Invitation emails were sent to the potential participants via their organizations, seeking their participation in the research study (Appendix B). The invitation emails requested interested participants to contact me via emails or WhatsApp. Those that responded to the email were screened based on the selection criteria. All potential participants received a confirmation email (Appendix C) after meeting the selection criteria.

Participation Procedures

All research participants received a copy of the consent form via emails and gave verbal consent before the commencement of the interviews. Equally, before the interviews, the purpose of the research study was briefly explained to the participants and

informed them that the interview would be audio recorded. To qualify for participation, potential participants must have a minimum of 2 years of work experience with the anti-trafficking unit or with the state ministries. They must also have participated in the arrest, prosecution, and conviction of child traffickers or rescued victims of CT or child domestic workers. The interviews were conducted at different locations and time–based on the participants' preferences. The locations were quiet and without any interference from family members and work colleagues. The interviews took place within three weeks. The interviews were recorded, and the recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim in readiness for analysis.

Data Collection

Intensive interview via WhatsApp was the primary and only method for the data collection in this research study. WhatsApp is an instant messaging mobile application available for smartphone users to send message, audio, video, image, and group conversations between or among multiple users–using the internet instead of the SMS text messaging system. Qualitative researchers rely on the interview method as a fundamental tool in data collection (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Seidman, 2012). Qualitative researchers use the interview to "attempt to understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of the subject's experiences, to uncover their lived world" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 1). The researcher served as the primary instrument throughout the data collection process.

In my proposal, I intended to interview 16–18 participants for this study. All the participants were contacted via emails immediately after transcribing the interviews–

requesting them to conduct a member check on the transcribed interviews. A member

check ensures that a researcher represents the participants and their ideas accurately and

promotes the trustworthiness of the research study (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 206).

Rudestam and Newton (2015) stated that a member check allows researchers to confirm

their findings' accuracy and credibility. At the end of the member check, the participants

received three thousand naira each (an equivalent of $8) as a token of my appreciation.

The participants were informed about the $8 gift before the interviews via a confirmation

letter (appendix C).

Data Analysis Plan

I proposed to transcribe the recorded interviews and analyze the data manually.

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2015), transcribing the recorded interviews gives

the researcher access to intimate with the collected data. Equally, exploring the data–that

is, reading through the whole data allows the researcher to develop a general

understanding of the data collected (Creswell & Clark, 2011). The study assigned an

identification code for each of the transcripts. Unlike the face-to-face interview,

conducting the interviews via WhatsApp did not allow the researcher to record nonverbal

communications. However, recording the interviews in the exact words of the

participants ensured that the researcher did not omit any information.

The data analysis started by developing conceptual categories that were linked to

the research question. The word category is often used interchangeably with the word

theme (Saldana, 2016). Ryan and Bernard (2003) pointed out that researchers know they

have found a theme when they can answer the research question. They identified

repetition as the most common theme recognition technique–there is a theme if an idea reoccurs across and/or throughout the transcripts. Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) stated that developing categories involves searching for "themes, clusters of themes, and relationships among themes by determining similarities and differences" (p. 238). Furthermore, Bloomberg and Volpe stated that developing categories includes highlighting and explaining any unusual cases.

The next stage was coding. A code represents the participants' responses to the research questions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). A code was assigned to each category to form categories and subcategories. Coding involves dividing a text into small units– assigning each unit with a label (Creswell & Clark, 2011). After that, the transcript was assessed to identify any relationship between the major categories and their subcategories (see Rudestam & Newton, 2015). Selective coding was next. Selective coding focuses on categories that have a relationship with the core category or theme (Urquhart, 2013). Bloomberg and Volpe pointed out that coding brings all the parts of the transcript together–and allows the researchers to review and develop their thought about the research topic. Rudestam and Newton argued that coding helps a researcher to choose a single category as the central model.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Researchers are expected to demonstrate and clarify to their readers how they have accounted for trustworthiness while conducting the research study. Many scholars (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Maxwell, 2013) argued that accounting for trustworthiness is vital in qualitative research–it reassures the readers that a research

study was of value and significance. Lincoln and Guba (1985, 2000) proposed credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability to assess the trustworthiness in qualitative research.

Credibility

Credibility involves the researcher's ability to ensure that the data collected reflect the participants' perceptions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). Houghton et al. (2013) stated that a researcher is expected to generate credible and accurate findings from the data collected. A detailed description of the research process was presented to promote the readers' better understanding and ensure the study's credibility. This study relied on information from participants working in different law enforcement agencies and two State Ministries in Ondo State, Nigeria, to compare the data collected through triangulation and corroborate the study's conclusion. I clarified my subjective biases before collecting data from the participants by stating that I had worked with one of the law enforcement agencies–NSCDC, about 10 years ago.

Transferability

A research finding is transferable if it can be applied in other studies and contexts (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). Unlike generalizability in a quantitative research approach, transferability is applicable in qualitative literature. Transferability makes it possible for readers to have access to a full description of the study's research processes and apply similar processes in their research settings (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). Detailed descriptions of all the research processes were provided to allow the readers to

understand the research setting and participants clearly. Furthermore, the detailed description covered the methods of data collection and analysis and the research findings.

Dependability

In qualitative research, dependability creates avenues for changes in the area studied and research design (Toma, 2006). Miles and Huberman (1994) defined dependability as "whether the process of the study is consistent, reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods" (p. 278). To achieve the dependability of a study, a qualitative researcher must document the research process in a logical and traceable manner (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). The dependability of the study entails that the data must be dependable to answer the research question. Detailed explanations were provided on how the data were collected and analyzed and how participants' perceptions were recorded (see Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Confirmability

Confirmability occurs when someone–other than the researcher can confirm the data (Toma, 2006). Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) stated that confirmability is established when a researcher can generate the research findings and interpretations from the participants' data. Marshall and Rossman (1999) pointed out that research findings should correspond to the participants' perceptions and inquiry and not a product of the researcher's biases and prejudices. Miles and Huberman (1994) described confirmability as "relative neutrality and reasonable freedom from unacknowledged researcher's biases–at the minimum, explicitness about the inevitable biases that exist" (p. 278). Neutrality was displayed throughout the research study, and the research findings and conclusions

were generated from the subjective participants' perceptions, and the interference from the researcher's subjective opinions was managed.

Ethical Considerations

As the study's primary instrument, the researcher is morally bound to reduce or eliminate the participants' potential harm while conducting the research study. Before the data collection, a research proposal and other required documents were submitted to get approval from Walden University's IRB. Before gaining access to the research participants, I sought the potential participants' participation by sending emails to them through their organizations. Ethical issues may include all the research process stages– including the data collection, data analysis, and presentation of research findings (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) stated that ethics issues involve protecting the participants' rights, including informed consent, protecting participants from harm, and promoting confidentiality.

All the research participants read and understood the informed consent form and gave verbal consent before eliciting information from them. Frey (2018) described informed consent as special attention to purposeful dialogue with the participants concerning the research and their participation. Frey (2018) stated that informing the participants is when the researcher reviews the informed consent form with the participants–including an overview of the research purpose. According to Frey, informing the participants provided explanations on the study's voluntary nature, potential benefits and risks, participation requirements, and provided the participants with the researcher's contact if they have additional concerns or questions.

Privacy is another component of ethical consideration. Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) described privacy as denying other people access to participants' information. Anonymity and confidentiality are the two aspects of privacy. As described by Frey (2018), anonymity was ensured by protecting the identities of all the study's participants; and information collected was protected against unauthorized access, theft, or loss. Confidentiality was ensured by using pseudonyms to conceal the participants' names and confirmed that participants' attributes in the research findings were not disclosed (see Frey, 2018).

Summary

This chapter explained the rationale behind using a general qualitative research approach to explain how domestic labor demand in the cities contributes to ICT in Nigeria. Also explained was why the research methodology was appropriate to elicit the participants' subjective perceptions, especially the use of semi-structured and open-ended questions to collect necessary data to answer the research question. This chapter discussed the strategies adopted for data analysis, sampling method, and participants' recruitment procedure. This chapter discussed trustworthiness and all other ethical obligations expected of a researcher to conduct this research study.

Chapter 4: Results

This study addressed the perceptions of the participants, mostly law enforcement officers, regarding how the demand for domestic workers contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. A generic qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews were used to gather data from the participants. The research question that guided this research study was the following: How does the demand for domestic workers in the cities contribute to internal child trafficking in Nigeria? This chapter presents the demographic details of the research participants, the research setting, the data collection method, and the data analysis process. Also, data analysis findings and evidence of trustworthiness are provided, and the chapter concludes with a summary.

Research Setting

Semi-structured interviews were conducted via WhatsApp. The interviews were carried out based on the participants' availability. A Sony audio recorder was used to record the interviews. I experienced a few interruptions during the interviews due to connectivity issues of the Nigerian network. Three interviews had to be stopped and rescheduled for another date. However, the network issue was not significant to abort the interviews and recordings. I conducted all interviews alone from my apartment in California between 6:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m. Nigeria time. The time difference between California and Nigeria was 8 hours. All participants chose this time range to avoid disrupting their daily routines.

All participants were working with anti-human trafficking units/organizations in Ondo State South-West Nigeria. The interviews addressed DCT cases in Ondo State. The

capital of Ondo state is Akure. Ondo State has 18 local government areas and is bounded

on the north by Kogi and Kwara states, the east by Edo state, the southeast by Delta state,

the west by Ogun and Osun states, and the south by the Atlantic Ocean (Encyclopaedia

Britannica, 2020). The state has a population of about 3.4 million people with a high

percentage of urban dwellers and a landmass of about 16,606 square kilometers

(Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020). Yoruba is the predominant ethnic group in Ondo State,

with many dialects of the Yoruba language.

Three of the partner organizations (NPF, NIS, and NSCDC) have state command

offices in Ondo State. In contrast, the NAPTIP has a zonal office in Osun State covering

the activities in Ondo State. Other partner organizations (the Ministry of Justice and the

Ministry of Women Affairs) are part of the Ondo State government bureaucracy.

Demographics

Twelve participants out of 23 who satisfied the selection criteria took part in the

WhatsApp interviews, with seven female and five male participants. The participants

were selected from six organizations; 10 participants were law enforcement officers, and

two were bureaucrats working with the Ondo State government. The participants' age

ranges were between 30 and 58 years, with working experience between 2 and 29 years.

Eight participants had a bachelor's degree, while the remaining four participants had a

master's degree. The participants' job descriptions included investigation, prosecution,

victims' rehabilitation, and child rights protection. The number of traffickers' arrests and

victims' rescues by the participants ranged from two to 15 cases. Two of the participants

were junior officers, while the remaining 10 were senior officers. All the participants

were parents except one. The summary of participants' demographics is shown in Table

1.

Table 1

*Description of the Participants (*N *= 12)*

Partici-pant ID	Age	Sex	Education	Rank	Job description	Years of exp.	Arrests made	Rescues made	Parental status
A1	30	M	BSc.	Junior officer	Investigation	10	5	4	Yes
A2	41	M	BSc.	Senior officer	Investigation	11	7	4	Yes
A3	37	M	BTech	Senior officer	Investigation	2	5	3	Yes
B1	38	F	BSc	Senior officer	Investigation	8	10	8	Yes
B2	38	F	MSc.	Senior officer	Investigation	10	3	3	Yes
C1	38	M	MPA	Senior officer	Investigation	17	2	2	Yes
C2	35	F	MSc	Senior Officer	Investigation	6	15	15	No
D1	37	F	BSc.	Senior officer	Investigation	7	4	4	Yes
D2	41	F	PGD	Senior officer	Investigation and Victims Rehabilitation	10	2	2	Yes
D3	30	F	BSc	Junior Officer	Investigation	8	5	4	No
E1	40	F	LL.M.	Senior officer	Prosecution	5	4	10	Yes
F1	58	M	BSc.	Senior officer	Child Rights Protection	29	7	7	Yes

Data Collection

Data collection started on September 9, 2020, a day after receiving IRB approval.

Letters of invitation were sent to the potential participants via emails to the six partner

organizations. Two of the partner organizations' email addresses were not functional; the

issue was resolved through immediate direct-mail communications with these organizations. Between September 12, 2020, and September 21, 2020, 42 participants from the six organizations showed interest in participating in the study using WhatsApp messages. Based on the preestablished qualifications for participation in the study, 23 participants received a confirmation letter.

All 23 potential participants received a copy of the informed consent form after acknowledging the confirmation letter's receipt. Sixteen participants were ready to continue with the study after reading the consent form. However, only 12 participants took part in the interviews. Two could not complete the interviews due to network connectivity. Another two withdrew from the study due to unexpected official assignments and personal engagement. The interviews were conducted between September 23, 2020, and October 6, 2020, via WhatsApp. The participants confirmed reading and understanding the informed consent form and gave verbal consent before starting the interviews via WhatsApp.

I sought participants' permission before using a Sony handheld audio recorder to record the WhatsApp interviews. The time for each interview ranged between 45 and 55 minutes. All participants, including the two who could not complete the interviews due to network disruptions, received three thousand-naira (N3,000, about $8) as a token of my appreciation for their participation. Data reached the point of saturation with 10 participants. However, I needed to surpass the point of saturation by at least one participant, as stated by Lincoln and Guba (1985). Microsoft Word was used to manually transcribe the data collected from each interview before starting another interview. As

O'Dwyer (2008) suggested, transcribing the data by myself forced me to think about the data collected and develop intimacy with the participants' words to facilitate the data-analysis process.

A member check followed each interview. That is, interview transcription was sent to participants to increase the accuracy, credibility, and validity of the data. 11 participants confirmed their recorded interview data; only one made a change to the interview transcription, which was incorporated into transcription. The participants answered all the interview questions with no unusual circumstances. The transcribed interviews were saved on my personal laptop with a password for security purposes.

Data Analysis

Data analysis started after collecting data from the participants, transcribing the data, and conducting a member check. I read the transcribed data several times to develop fluency and immerse myself in the participants' perceptions. The analytical process started by "theming the data" (see Saldana, 2016, p. 198)–that is, considering the themes in the collected data. The next step involved dissecting and classifying the data to arrange the sections of the materials into categories (see Bloomberg and Volpe, 2019). The data were organized into a more manageable pattern–that gave room for analytical consideration (see O'Dwyer, 2008). It is important to reduce collected data to a manageable database to facilitate useful grouping (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2019). According to O'Dwyer (2008), the ideas developed during the data organization can facilitate the researchers' coding process. The coding process was used to categorize data to identify themes. Coding assists researchers to focus on the most important ideas within

a large dataset (Bergin, 2018). The coding process included open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.

The transcribed interviews were reviewed for descriptive categories (see Corbin & Strauss, 2014). Open coding was used to code the entire data without limiting any emerging categories (Rudestam & Newton, 2015). I concentrated on more generic and simpler codes at this coding stage and left deeper themes for later coding stages (see Madden, 2010). The entire data were reviewed several times to ensure that no important themes (including those that are not completely relevant to the research questions) were neglected.

Axial coding started after exhausting all possible themes in the data. Axial coding allowed researchers to connect categories that they have identified in the open coding, and connect narrower categories into broader codes (Strauss, 1987; Noaks & Wincup, 2004). Axial coding was used to connect categories with sub-categories to discover how themes and findings are related (see Charmaz, 2015, p. 71). The categories that repeatedly appeared in the collected data were identified and compared the different circumstances under which the categories appeared (see Bergin, 2018). According to Bergin (2018, p. 158), this process established the foundations for analysis and allowed researchers to narrow the categories to focus on the themes leading to the results.

The next step is selective coding. The selective coding, also known as focused coding, was used to focus the analysis on the main themes related to the research question (see Bergin, 2018). All the categories identified in the earlier coding stages were scrutinized to recognize the most relevant categories in the data collected. This stage

involves the culling of less relevant categories in the data and allowed researchers to concentrate on key themes and findings (Marvasti, 2004). Selective coding was used to scrutinize all the relevant codes, especially as they relate to the research question. According to Parkin (2014), researchers use this stage to determine whether there are any missing relevant themes in the data (p. 160). Researchers use selective coding to combine key themes to facilitate their research findings (Taylor et al., 2016, p. 181). The selective coding concluded the data analysis process.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Accurate transcription, member checks, and triangulation were used to promote the credibility of the study. The recorded interviews were carefully and accurately transcribed to ensure the credibility of the study. Member checks were conducted by sending the interviews' transcription to the participants to confirm the data's accuracy and ensure the study's credibility. Triangulation was used by collecting participants' perceptual information from multiple sources–four different law enforcement agencies and two state ministries.

For the transferability, I provided a detailed description of the purposive sampling method used in this study to reveal the participants and their experiences and the study's context (see Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). Bloomberg and Volpe (2019) stated that this allows the readers to form opinions about the study's quality, the meaning of the research findings, and how relevant is the researcher's interpretations.

An audit trail was provided to achieve the study's dependability. The audit trail involved a detailed explanation of the data collection and data analysis strategies (Lincoln

& Guba, 2000). Confirmability was established by ensuring that the study's findings and interpretations were the products of the data collected (see Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019). Detailed explanations about the choices for the research methodology, theoretical framework, and data analysis were provided to allow readers to understand what necessitated the decisions (see Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019).

Results

The research question was: What are the perspectives of the research participants on how the demand for domestic labor in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria? This research aimed to examine how domestic workers' demand in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. This generic qualitative study focused on exploring the participants' experiences–using semi-structured interviews via WhatsApp to generate perceptual information to answer the research question. 12 participants: A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, C1, C2, D1, D2, D3, E1, and F1, took part in the study. Interview question 14 is most relevant and closely related to the research question. Five other interview questions–questions 13, 15, 16, 17, and 18 faintly addressed the research question.

Interview question 14 asked the participants: how does domestic workers' demand in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria? The participants used their experiences as law enforcement officers and state bureaucrats, especially during the arrest and prosecutions of traffickers and their interactions with the rescued victims of child trafficking. 92% of the participants said that the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor in the cities contributes to DCT in Nigeria. 67% of the participants

identified the quest for high paying jobs and opportunities by the victims and their

parents or guardians as a contributory factor. 25% of the participants said that traffickers'

falsehood is responsible for increasing domestic child trafficking. Another 25% of the

participants identified access to better education in the cities. Only one participant said

that the unregulated labor market demand is responsible for domestic child trafficking.

Two themes emerged from the data analysis: increasing demand for cheap domestic labor

in the cities and the quest for high paying jobs and opportunities.

Theme 1: Increasing Demand for Cheap Domestic Labor

92% of the participants said that the increasing demand for child domestic labor

in the cities influences how domestic workers' demand contributes to domestic child

trafficking in Nigeria. These participants included A1, A3, B1, B2, C1, C2, D1, D2, D3,

E1, and F1. Participant A1 stated, "… many working mothers (especially from the

middle-class families) in the cities need domestic maids to take care of their homes while

they are away working. They normally request for child domestic maids who can live

with them." According to participant A3

> The employers prefer to recruit child domestic maids from rural areas because
>
> they are extremely cheap compared to hiring urban dwellers. Many employers
>
> prefer rural kids because they believe that they are naïve and more secured–they
>
> want to employ traceable and trusted hands from rural areas. Professional
>
> traffickers play the role of the middle person here. In many cases, the employers
>
> did not know that they have taken part in the trafficking process.

Participant B1 asserted that

The number of housewives is gradually diminishing, many used-to-be housewives

are now leaving their homes to work or engage in one business or the other. Many

families are currently in need of housemaids, but most of these homes would

prefer child domestic helps because they are cheap and easy to control and

manage.

Equally, participant B2 opinioned that "The growing demand for domestic workers in the

cities has motivated many traffickers who call themselves agents to roam about rural

areas looking for vulnerable children to recruit or lure to the cities to work as domestic

help." According to participant C1:

The cost of hiring caregivers in the cities is costly, thus the need to contact a

trusted family member in the rural area with the promise that the victim will be

given urban education. Many families looking for domestic labor in the cities

would request cheap and naïve girls and boys as housemaids than regular urban

adult dwellers.

Participant C2 stated that

Most parents in the cities are working-class who often leave their homes early and

return late. They need someone who can take care of their children and other

domestic chores. As long as both parents need to leave their homes to attend to

their paid jobs or businesses, there will always be a need for domestic child help

easy to manipulate and control. Also, as long as aged folks cannot keep their adult

children to live with them forever, they will always need child domestic maids

(also known as house-helps) to help these fragile, in most cases, sickly senior

citizens in their household chores. Because it is always a live-in arrangement, under-aged house help is in high demand. It is difficult to exploit adults and dangerous to live with adult strangers.

Participant D1 asserted that

The growing numbers of working-class mothers in the cities demanding cheap domestic help–hence, more children are lured to the cities to work as domestic help. Very few employers demand adults as domestic help compared to the rate at which they demand the under-aged.

According to participant D2, "some parents were influenced to send their children to work as housemaids in the cities because of the increasing demand in the cities …."

Participant D3 pointed out that

And the demand for child domestic help is increasing because many homes need someone to take care of their kids and other household activities while both parents are busy with their businesses outside their homes. The economic hardship in the country has forced both parents to work long hours away from homes to cater for their families. One of the employers interrogated stated that it is cheap and less demanding to keep an under-aged house-help in the house than to hire an adult for the same job.

Participant E1 stated that

The traffickers are exploiting the increasing demand and supply to satisfy the victims and employers. The demand for domestic workers, especially child labor

in the cities, has influenced many jobless Nigerians into the business of DCT in the country.

Participant F1 asserted that

> Most parents (in most cases, both parents) in the cities are working-class–both with the public and private firms. They need domestic workers who can take care of their families while busy with their businesses or away from their homes; thus, they need to hire a maid. They look for cheap, under-aged maids, mostly from the remote villages. In some cases, these house-helps could be members of their extended family. Some of these children are brought to them by the traffickers, who claimed that the victims are well known to them.

Theme 2: Quest for High-Paying Jobs and Opportunities

67% of the participants stated that the quest for high paying jobs and opportunities in the cities by the rural dwellers influences how domestic workers' demand contributes to domestic child trafficking in Nigeria. These participants include A1, A2, A3, C1, D1, D2, D3, and F1. This argument addressed the push or supply factors contributing to internal child trafficking in Nigeria.

Participant A1 asserted that "the kids (including their parents) believe that there are many jobs in the cities with high wages, unlike what they have in the villages." According to the perception of participant A2

> Victims often believe that many opportunities await them in the cities, unlike the situations in rural areas. Furthermore, victims and their parents believe that the cities' wages far outweigh whatever they can earn in the rural areas. They accept

any job request from the cities without appraising the potential danger of what they are getting into.

Participant A3 stated that

Poverty in rural areas has contributed to the willingness of the victims and their families–making them accept cheap wages. With the support of some of their family members, the victims are eager to go with the traffickers because they believe that there are many opportunities in the cities.

According to participant C1, "some parents/guardians release their children/wards–hoping that there are better and lots of opportunities in the cities. Equally, participant D1 stated that the victims believe that there is "high wages for domestic workers in the cities compared to the rural areas." Participant D2 asserted that "the victims and their parents or guardians believe that there are lots of job opportunities in the cities unlike what they are experiencing in their remote villages. For example, access to better education and high wages."

According to the perception of participant D3

The rural dwellers believe that there are many jobs in the cities with high wages; they think going to the cities would alleviate them from poverty, so they send one or two of their children to work as domestic maids in the cities. Equally, some parents believe that there are better opportunities to have formal education and exposure while working as maids.

Participant F1 stated that "victims of child trafficking see going to the cities as the only avenue to have access to many opportunities, so they want to participate in the cities' harvest. This encourages internal child trafficking."

Interview Question 13: What Are the Factors Responsible for Internal Child

Trafficking in Nigeria?

Table 2

Participants' Responses to Interview Question 13

Participant	Response to what factors are responsible for internal child trafficking in Nigeria?
A1	Poverty, unemployment, large family size, and lack of basic amenities in many rural areas.
A2	Under-development, low standard of living, low educational level, and lack of stringent punishment for the offenders.
A3	High poverty rate, unemployment, no adequate security surveillance, high demand for child labor in the cities.
B1	Corruption, Ignorance, lack of legal framework, parents' orientation, and traffickers' orientation.
B2	Poverty, unemployment, laziness, demand for cheap child labor, and corruption of some law enforcement officers.
C1	Poverty, low education level on the part of the parents, and urbanization.
C2	Harsh economic conditions, rural-urban migration, growing number of working-class parents, lonely-aged folks who needs younger people to stay with them since their children are grown and are away.
D1	Lack of quality health care and social amenities in the rural areas, lack of quality education in the rural areas, and poor family background.
D2	Urbanization, underemployment, lack of basic amenities in the rural area, and poor family background.
D3	Poverty, ineffectiveness of legal framework to tackle trafficking offences, lack of education, and some law enforcement officers are corruption.
E1	Poor family background, and the quest for greener pasture by the victims and their families in the cities.
F1	Weak security network, greediness of some citizens, the urge to move to the cities for opportunities, increasing demand for domestic labor, existence of many loose roads (that served as escaped route) that are not under the surveillance of the security agencies, and corruption of some officers

75% of the participants identified poverty and low standard of living as factors responsible for internal child trafficking in Nigeria. In comparison, 42% of the participants stated that unemployment and harsh economic conditions are responsible for domestic child trafficking in the country. 42% of the participants identified illiteracy and ignorance, 33% of the participants mentioned corruption, and another 33% of the participants identified urbanization and rural-urban migration as factors responsible for internal child trafficking. Equally, 25% of the participants identified a high demand for child labor. Another 25% of the participants mentioned the lack of basic amenities in rural areas as factors contributing to domestic child trafficking in Nigeria. At the same time, 17 percent of the participants identified the lack of adequate security surveillance. Another 17% of the participants mentioned ineffective legal framework and lack of stringent punishment against offenders as factors that could increase ICT in Nigeria.

Interview Question 15: How Can Internal Child Trafficking Be Eliminated in

Nigeria?

Table 3

Participants' Responses to Interview Question 15

Participant	Response to how can internal trafficking be eliminated in Nigeria?
A1	Enacting laws that will punish perpetrators squarely. Educating the rural dwellers about the effects of human trafficking and child labor. And the introduction of birth control.
A2	Repositioning and empowering law enforcement agencies especially, NAPTIP with the required resources and law. The government should invest more in orientation programs on the effects of human trafficking and child labor in the country.
A3	By improving the standard of living in the rural area, making education free or affordable for every citizen, and enacting laws that are very harsh on child traffickers.
B1	Public enlightenment, the promulgation of stringent laws, punishing parents who influence their children into child trafficking and child labor.
B2	The government should establish a partnership with non-governmental organizations and international organizations to address the issue of ignorance on child trafficking. The government should work with these organizations to ensure full domestication and enforcement of international treaties on child protections signed by Nigeria. The government should establish national abuse hotlines to report suspected trafficking for early intervention and prevention. Also, the government should provide free and compulsory education to every Nigerian child.
C1	Make laws with stringent penalties for anybody who commits trafficking offenses. Improve the standard of living of people dwelling in rural areas. Educate the parents of the evil of sending their children out as house-helps.
C2	Establishment of government policies/agencies to regulate the demand for domestic services and domestic help. People in need of domestic help can be encouraged to foster children in need of support, with the Ministry of Women Affairs' supervision.
D1	Enforcing laws against trafficking crimes effectively and ensuring that all traffickers are punished accordingly.
D2	Legislation that can compel victims to give evidence in court even if they are not willing. There is a need to increase the offenders' penalties against the five years or N190,000 fine (about $500).
D3	Offenders of child trafficking should not be allowed to escape the law and the government and NGOs should organize regular public enlightenment programs to change the orientation of the rural dwellers against child trafficking.
E1	Enforcement of trafficking laws with stringent penalties. Parents and guardians who encourage their children and wards to work as housemaids should be punished by law. The government should assist the low-income families.
F1	Better commitment to the implementation of the existing anti-trafficking laws. Massive sensitization of the public. The imposition of stiff penalties against traffickers. Enormous exposure of children to formal education, and strong internal security system/network.

67% of the participants stated that the government should enact stringent penalties against CT offenders to address DCT. On the other hand, 58% of the participant pointed out that organizing regular public enlightenment programs could eliminate internal child trafficking. 25% of the participants argued that the provision of free and compulsory education for every Nigerian child can combat the scourge of ICT. At the same time, 17% of the participants stated that improving rural dwellers' standard of living could fight ICT in Nigeria. Equally, another 17% of the participants opinioned that punishing offending parents can tackle ICT in the country.

Interview Question 16: What Are the Challenges Facing Your Organization/Unit in Fighting Child Trafficking or Trafficking in Persons?

Table 4

Participants' Response to Interview Question 16

Participant	Response to what are the challenges facing your organization/unit in fighting child trafficking or trafficking in persons?
A1	Just like other law enforcement agencies, my organization lacks the necessary resources to effectively combat the new trend of internal child trafficking in the country.
A2	Lack of needed resources (mobility, finance, security equipment, and the likes) and functional legal framework.
A3	There is no constant training for the officers, there is no proper synergy among the law enforcement agencies, and no adequate communication between the populace and the law enforcement agencies.
B1	Lack of prompt and effective means of disseminating information, lack of logistics, administrative difficulties, and lack of trained officers.
B2	Inadequacy of necessary gadgets and logistics.
C1	Bureaucratic bottleneck, lack of adequate amenities to work with, lack of proper education of the trafficking offences, and ineffective legal framework.
C2	Lack of working tools, like recording discreet recording gadgets, and well-equipped investigation facilities, mobilities and logistics to go for the arrest of suspected traffickers, regular training is needed to tackle all crimes related to trafficking in persons with the evolving trend
D1	Inadequate funding for the agency, especially in research, training and retraining of officers, and victims' rehabilitation. And inadequate funding to prosecute offenders.
D2	Cumbersome judicial process, political interferences in the judicial process–many political appointees are above the law. Many of the victims are not ready to testify in court, corruption, and administrative clusters.
D3	Law enforcement officers are not adequately trained to address the challenges associated with human trafficking in the country.
E1	Financial constraints, intimidation of junior officers by some corrupt senior officers, and political influence.
F1	Challenges of logistics support, including funds, mobility challenges, and lack of trained officers.

Interview Question 17: What Are the Challenges Facing Nigerian Law Enforcement Agencies in Fighting Child Trafficking?

Table 5

Participants' Response to Interview Question 17

Participant	Response to what are the challenges facing Nigerian law enforcement agencies in fighting child trafficking?
A1	Delay in court cases, lack of proper legal framework, inter-agency crises, and political influences.
A2	Nonchalant attitude of some officers at work, delayed court cases, inadequate funding, and inter-agency crises.
A3	There is no constant training for the officers, there is no proper synergy among the law enforcement agencies, and no adequate communication between the populace and the law enforcement agencies.
B1	Lack of cooperation from the public, lack of modern training techniques to fight the trafficking trend, and inter-agency crises.
B2	Political and legal lacuna, we have watery laws against trafficking offenders in Nigeria.
C1	Political influence, no adequate training and sensitization of officers regarding the trafficking offences, and inadequate inter-agency communications.
C2	Lack of working tools, like recording discreet recording gadgets, and well-equipped investigation facilities, mobilities and logistics to go for arrest of suspected traffickers, regular training is needed to tackle all crimes related to trafficking in persons with the evolving trend.
D1	Lack of cooperation of some victims and lack of necessary logistics. Some officers are on the payroll of the traffickers and, as such, will frustrate investigation that can lead to the apprehension or prosecution of offenders.
D2	Cumbersome judicial process, political interferences in the judicial process–many political appointees are above the law. Many of the victims are not ready to testify in court, corruption, and administrative clusters.
D3	Lack of proper legal framework, inter-agency crises, inadequate funding, corruption, and administrative bottleneck.
E1	Corruption, lack of well-trained officers, lack of effective amenities, and faulty channel of communications.
F1	Lack of funding and failed legal system.

50% of the participants claimed that inter-agency crises are some of the challenges facing law enforcement agencies in their fight against internal child trafficking. In comparison, 42% of the participants pointed out the Nigerian law enforcement agencies lack adequate training to tackle ICT. Another 42% of the participants stated that the Nigerian legal framework is ineffective. 33% of the participants identified corruption as a factor working against law enforcement agencies. 25% of the participants pointed out that inadequate security gadgets limit law enforcement agencies' efforts in their fight against internal child trafficking in Nigeria. 25% of the participants stated that political interferences limit the anti-trafficking efforts of the law enforcement agencies. Equally, another 25% of the participants asserted that one of the law enforcement agencies' challenges is inadequate funding. 17% of the participants pointed out that delayed court cases are working against the law enforcement officers. At the same time, another 17% of the participants stated that the public's lack of cooperation is a challenge in the fight against ICT. Furthermore, 17% of the participants identified the victims' lack of cooperation as a challenge facing law enforcement agencies. Another 17% stated that administrative bottleneck is working against the law enforcement agencies in their anti-trafficking efforts.

Interview Question 18: Describe the Level of Cooperation Among All the Law Enforcement Agencies in Their Fights Against Child Trafficking in the Country

Table 6

Participants' Response to Interview Question 18

Participant	Response to describe the level of cooperation among all the law enforcement agencies in their fights against child trafficking in the country.
A1	There are many discriminations among agencies due to the power of supremacy, and inter-agency relationships need to be improved. There is a jurisdictional crisis among law enforcement agencies.
A2	The cooperation is fair, but some agencies feel that they have more jurisdictions on trafficking offenses than others.
A3	There is no proper synergy among the law enforcement agencies in the country.
B1	Not too good. Junior officers need to cooperate more on the field for a collective goal.
B2	The level of cooperation is not encouraging; the government needs to address the issue of jurisdiction among the agencies.
C1	The government and leadership of the law enforcement agencies need to work on improving cooperation, especially among the low-ranked officers. Notably, some agencies do sabotage the efforts of other agencies.
C2	The Nigerian Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) is a law enforcement agency with good cooperation with relevant stakeholders like the NAPTIP, Nigerian Immigration Service, Chief Security Officer of the state, and the Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development. Unfortunately, I can only talk about my organization.
D1	Cooperation among the agencies is not encouraging. Some officers withhold information because they do not want officers from the other agencies to succeed, while some officers do not want to collaborate with other agencies to resolve a case. The government needs to improve cooperation among law enforcement agencies to address the crimes in the country.
D2	Cooperation among law enforcement agencies is a serious challenge that needs to be addressed.
D3	Inter-agency rivalry is affecting the level of cooperation among law enforcement agencies in the country. The level of cooperation needs a lot of improvement to fight trafficking crimes effectively.
E1	Inter-agency rivalry is a critical cluster in the level of cooperation. The junior officers need to be schooled that security of lives needs collaborative efforts.
F1	In Ondo State, there is a strong relationship and cooperation among the security stakeholders.

83% of the participants agreed that there is no adequate cooperation among Nigerian law enforcement agencies to fight ICT in Nigeria. Most participants identified the agencies' level of collaboration as a challenge requiring the government and agencies' leadership attention. According to some participants, junior officers need more training on collaborative efforts among the agencies.

Summary

The purpose of this generic qualitative research was to understand the participants' perception of how the demand for domestic workers contributes to ICT in Nigeria. Semi-structured interviews via WhatsApp were conducted to collect perceptual information from 10 law enforcement officers and two bureaucrats–who have a minimum of 2 years of work experience in anti-child trafficking in Ondo state, Nigeria. Non-random sampling–purposive sampling method was used to select the 12 participants from six organizations in Ondo states, Nigeria. The research question was: How does the demand for domestic workers in the cities contribute to ICT in Nigeria? Interview question 14 directly addressed the research question. Equally, interview questions 13, 15, 16, 17, and 18 faintly addressed the research question.

The data analysis involved three phases–open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to analyze the data to generate two themes. The two themes included the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor and the quest for high paying jobs and opportunities. The result showed how the demand for domestic labor in the cities influenced ICT in Nigeria. This chapter revealed the result of the generic qualitative study–including the research setting, demographics, data collection and analysis, and the

evidence of trustworthiness. Chapter 5 covered the findings' interpretation, the study's

limitation(s), recommendations, and implications for positive social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This generic qualitative study was conducted to explore the participants'

perceptions of how demand for domestic workers in the cities influences ICT in Nigeria.

The research question was the following: How does domestic workers' demand in the

cities contribute to internal child trafficking in Nigeria? I used a qualitative method to

answer the research question because researchers use qualitative methods to study the

participants' experience. According to Rudestam and Newton (2015), qualitative

researchers engage participants in a study to collect and understand the "unobservable

aspects" (p. 41) of participants' experiences. Interview Question 14 (How does domestic

workers' demand in the cities contribute to internal child trafficking in Nigeria?) was

used to answer the research question. Two themes emerged from the participants'

responses: the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor and the quest for high-paying

jobs and opportunities. This chapter includes an interpretation of the findings,

recommendations, limitations, implications for social change, and a conclusion.

Interpretation of the Findings

The findings of this study confirmed the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. More

vulnerable children are trafficked from rural areas due to the increasing demand for

domestic labor in the cities (Adesina, 2014; Aibangbe, 2015; Tade, 2014). The current

participants acknowledged that increasing domestic labor demand in the cities influences

internal child trafficking in Nigeria. The reviewed literature and the theoretical

framework addressed in Chapter 2 were consistent with the participants' perceptions and

confirmed that the two themes that emerged from the data analysis answered the research

question. One theme addressed the research question from the demand (pull) factor, and the other theme from the supply (push) factor. The increasing demand for cheap domestic labor addressed the research question from the demand side, and the quest for high-paying jobs and opportunities addressed the research question from the supply side. However, this study focused on the demand side of domestic child trafficking in Nigeria.

Findings Related to Literature Review

Most participants agreed that the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor in the cities has contributed to internal child trafficking in Nigeria. The research question addressed how domestic workers' demand in the cities contributes to ICT in Nigeria. 50% of the participants identified the growing demand for child domestic help by working-class mothers in the cities as a significant factor contributing to child trafficking in Nigeria. The participants pointed out that the number of housewives has decreased and the demand for domestic help has increased because both parents in many homes need to work far away from their residence.

These working-class mothers, mostly from the middle class, often leave their homes early and return late. This absence from home has created a demand for domestic labor to take care of their homes while they are away working. Participants reported that as long as these mothers leave their homes to attend to their businesses, there will always be a gap in the domestic labor market.

The literature reviewed confirmed the assertions of the current participants. Adesina (2014) and Aibangbe (2015) identified working mothers and family households as regular users of child domestic help. According to Inyang and Ebirien (2015), the

increasing number of married women entering the labor market has necessitated the demand for house help. The working mothers employ domestic help to take care of their children and other household chores while they are away for their business or professional engagements (Adesian, 2014). The growing number of working-class mothers in the cities has contributed to the high demand for cheap domestic labor in Nigeria.

50% of the current participants agreed that many domestic labor users prefer child domestic help because they are cheap, naïve, and easily exploited, manipulated, and controlled. According to the participants, the employers of domestic labor prefer to recruit children from rural areas as maids because they are cheap compared to urban dwellers. Employers often demand rural kids because they believe that they are naïve, cheap, and lower security risks. Very few employers demand adults as domestic help compared to the rate at which they demand the underaged. According to the participants, the employers believe that it is cheap and less demanding to keep underaged house help in their homes than to hire an adult for the same job. The participants stated that the growing demand for cheap domestic help in the cities lures many children into child domestic labor.

The literature reviewed corroborated the responses of the study participants regarding the increasing demand for child domestic labor. The rising demand for low-skilled and cheap labor has created a huge market in the cities. There is a considerable demand for child labor by many households in the agricultural, construction, quarry, and brass-melting sectors (Adepelumi, 2015). Many children are lured into the labor market

to fill the growing demand for cheap domestic child help (Adesina, 2014; Adepelumi, 2015; Imo, 2017; Inyang & Ebirien, 2015). Makinde (2016) pointed out that many children are trafficked to meet the demand for cheap and controllable labor. According to Foua and Diriwari (2020), the growing demand for cheap domestic child labor has contributed to ICT in Nigeria. Many scholars (Adesina, 2014; Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Alkali et al., 2015; Bello, 2018; Manbe, 2016) identified the growing demand for cheap labor as the pull factor for Nigerian ICT. ICT is demand-driven trade with a large market for children in the labor and commercial sex trade (Ali & Muhammad, 2014; Manbe, 2016).

Findings Interpreted Using the Theoretical Framework

Theory of Labor Market Segmentation

The domestic labor recruiters prefer underaged domestic help from rural areas who are cheap, naïve, and easily exploited and manipulated to work in a live-in arrangement. According to the participants in the current study, most CT victims are from needy and desperate households with little means or hope to survive. Work not only helps the family feed a child, but the earnings of the child also bring some income to the household. The participants reported that the victims, with their families' encouragement, are willing to accept any job from the cities without assessing the likely associated danger. Scholars of LMS argued that disadvantaged workers are often trapped in the lower labor segments with no career advancement opportunity (Kwon, 2013). Clairmont et al. (1983) argued that workers' bargaining power and their capacity to resist exploitation depend on their social characteristics and working sectors. The current

participants asserted that the victims of ICT face economic exploitation. These victims belong to the have-not group in society, mostly from rural areas of the country. The LMS theory explains the economic exploitation of ethnic minorities, women, and the lower classes (Clairmont et al., 1983; Fevre, 1992).

Routine Activities Theory

ICT in Nigeria occurs amid an abundant supply of victims, motivated traffickers, and lack of parental support and government policies. According to some participants in the current study, the victims with encouragement from their parents are making themselves available for domestic jobs in the cities because of the increasing demand. The rising demand for domestic labor in the cities is influencing some parents to send their children to explore such opportunities. At the same time, the growing demand for domestic workers in the cities has motivated many traffickers who roam about rural areas searching for vulnerable children to lure to the cities as housemaids. The traffickers are exploiting the increasing demand and supply to satisfy the victims and employers. The demand for domestic workers, especially child labor in the cities, has influenced many jobless Nigerians into the business of IT of children. The RA theory supports the responses of the research participants.

RA theory stated that crime, including ICT, occurs in the presence of likely offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians. There are many potential offenders in society, waiting for the right motivations to commit a crime. Nguyen (2020) stated that potential offenders would indulge in a criminal act if they come across a suitable target without capable guardians. The motivation of likely

offenders is not sufficient for converting criminal intentions into committing illegal acts (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The essential condition is the presence of a social situation that creates the avenue for unprotected targets to exist and for potential offenders to decide for or against turning their criminal intentions into actions (Nguyen, 2020).

Government policies in Nigeria are not significant enough to alleviate the scourge of domestic child trafficking in Nigeria. The participants pointed out the punishment against child traffickers is not stringent enough to discourage CT. The federal government, including the state and local governments and NGOs, are not adequate to play the role of capable guardians to suppress the traffickers or offenders' motivation. The participants identified delayed court cases, poorly funded law enforcement agencies, and inter-agency rivalry among the agencies.

In the child trafficking parlance, parents or guardians of vulnerable children plays a significant role. The participants stated that most parents encouraged their children to work as domestic workers in the city – due to poverty and ignorance. Most victims of DCT lack parental care, denying vulnerable children–unprotected or suitable target access to capable guardians. The presence of capable guardians often prevents likely offenders from committing crimes against the targets (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Capable guardians can be available as the physical presence of people or in the form of government policies such as the country's legal frameworks, or as technical tools (Nguyen, 2020). Without the convergence of suitable target from the vulnerable population, motivated traffickers, and capable guardianship, ICT cannot occur.

Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations in this qualitative study. However, none of these limitations are significant enough to invalidate the research findings. I conducted semi-structured interviews via WhatsApp. All the participants were cooperative; however, conducting the interviews via WhatsApp did not capture the participants' emotions and attitudes.

The most significant limitation is the recruitment process. I intended to recruit 16–18 participants; I ended up interviewing 12 participants. 42 people showed interest in participating in the study, only 23 of them satisfied the selection criteria, and eventually, I was able to interview only 12 participants. I felt short of the intended participants' number by four. Equally, I intended to use snowball sampling to complement the purposive sampling to arrive at the sample size. To the best reason(s) known to the participants only, all of them refused to recommend their colleagues for the current study.

Bad network connectivity was another limitation that challenged the research. I used WhatsApp to interview the participants. All the participants suggested that the interviews should be conducted early in the morning–Nigerian time (WAT) to minimize the possibility of bad network connectivity. However, two participants had to pull out of the study after two attempts to interview them–due to bad network connectivity. Furthermore, there was an eight-hour time difference between, California (where I reside), and Ondo state, Nigeria (the research setting). This difference caused some inconveniences, especially during the interviews and member checks.

Recommendations

This study was aimed to understand the perceptions of the participants on how the domestic workers' demand contributes to ICT in Nigeria. The participants' perceptions reflected their work experience with the traffickers' arrests and victims' rescues in Ondo state, Nigeria. The research findings identified that the growing demand for cheap domestic labor in the cities contributes to ICT. The research revealed that employers of domestic labor prefer cheap and submissive labor; underaged maids are easy to control and exploit with less pay.

There is a need for further studies on domestic labor employers' experience. According to Tade (2014), some employers usually approach the traffickers with the details of their preferred domestic maids. The employers are key factors in the exploitation machinery; however, they do not see themselves as part of the trafficking process (UNICEF Innocenti Research Center, 2003). The study should not be limited to a particular state because of the difficulty of getting willing employers to participate in the study. I recommend a qualitative research method for future research. Preferably, in-depth face-to-face interviews to create an avenue for the researcher to clarify statements, probe for more information and capture the participants' attitudes and emotions during the interview sessions.

Furthermore, many parents, especially in rural areas, have influenced the trafficking of their children. I recommend additional qualitative research study–using interviews to explore parents' attitudes in rural communities toward ICT. The study may

provide more insights into the parents' motives and reveal their level of ignorance and greediness.

The current participants agreed that many challenges confronting law enforcement are vital factors limiting the Nigerian government's efforts against ICT and other related crimes in the country. Many participants asserted that there are inter-agency rivalries and a lack of cooperation among the Nigerian law enforcement agencies. I recommend another qualitative study to determine how law enforcement agencies in the country can collaborate with NAPTIP to fight HT and child labor in Nigeria efficiently. The study may provide useful insights on how to address inter-agency rivalries and alleviate HT.

Implications

More children are trafficked from rural areas to urban cities for domestic labor and other exploitative demands despite the growing concerns of government and its agencies and various non-governmental organizations' efforts (Adesina, 2014). This qualitative study's findings have many social change implications for alleviating ICT in Nigeria. The current findings contributed more information to the existing one about ICT in Nigeria. The study revealed more details about the victims and their parents, the employers of domestic labor, traffickers, and law enforcement organizations.

Many children with their family members become victims due to greed, ignorance, and lack of knowledge of the impending dangers of child trafficking. Findings from the current study may promote awareness among the public, especially vulnerable children and their parents from rural areas, about ICT, including the traffickers' modus

operandi. The findings may educate potential victims and their family members about what constitutes their vulnerability.

The research findings may assist the federal government of Nigeria and its agencies and other stakeholders to gain more insights to initiate and enforce appropriate policies to fight ICT and other related crimes. Law enforcement institutions, including NPF and NAPTIP, have continued to experience many challenges in their fight against TIP, especially their difficulties in identifying the victims of CT in Nigeria (USDS, 2012). The study revealed that lack of training is a crucial factor responsible for law enforcement agencies' inability to identify victims.

Furthermore, as an agent of positive social change, I intend to use multiple platforms, including professional conferences and publications in many professional journals, to share my study's findings with a large audience. Sharing my findings with the public, relevant government officials, law enforcement agencies, and concerned stakeholders would reveal the blind spots of Nigeria's ICT process. And ultimately, may lead to positive social change in the fight against ICT in Nigeria.

Summary

The current study contributed to the knowledge of ICT vis-à-vis the domestic workers' demand in Nigeria. A generic qualitative inquiry was used to answer the research question. Almost all the participants agreed that the growing demand for domestic workers' in the cities contributed to ICT in Nigeria. LMS and RA theories were used as the theoretical frameworks for this study. The two themes that emerged after the data analysis aligned with the two theoretical frameworks.

The two themes included: the increasing demand for cheap domestic labor and the quest for high-paying jobs and opportunities. The rising demand for child domestic labor explained the demand side (pull factor) of ICT. In contrast, the quest for high-paying jobs and opportunities explained the supply side (push factor). However, the focus of this research was on the demand side of ICT in Nigeria. 50% of the participants agreed that the rising number of working-class mothers in the cities is responsible for the growing demand for domestic labor and ultimately contributes to ICT in Nigeria. Furthermore, 58% of the participants stated that many domestic labor users prefer child domestic help because they are cheap and naïve, easily exploited, manipulated, and controlled.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. What is your name, the name of your organization and unit/department, and how old are you?

2. What is your current rank/position?

3. What is your level of education?

4. How long have you been working at your unit/organization?

5. Describe your job details at your unit/organization

6. Describe the roles of your unit/organization in the fight against human trafficking

7. Have you arrested or helped to prosecute child trafficker(s) before?

    7a. If yes, how many times and where?
    7b. What is the age range of the trafficker(s)?
    7c. Are they from Ondo State, and are they in-transit, or have they reached their destination?
    7d. Describe the trafficker(s)
    7e. Describe your experience with the trafficker(s).
8. Have you rescued the victim(s) of child trafficking before?

    8a. If yes, how many times and where?
    8b. What is the age range of the victim(s)?
    8c. Are they from Ondo State, and are they in-transit, or have they reached their destination?
    8d. Describe the victim(s).
    8e. Describe your experience with the victim(s).
9. Have you rescued victim(s) of child domestic labor before?

    9a. If yes, how many times and where?
    9b. What is the age range of the victim(s)?
    9c. Are they from Ondo State, and are they in-transit, or have they reached their destination?
    9d. Describe the victim(s).
    9e. Describe your experience with the victim(s).
10. Have you rescued the victim(s) of child abuse before?

    10a. If yes, how many times and where?

10b. What is the age range of the victim(s)?

10c. Are they from Ondo State?

10d. Describe the victims.

10e. Describe your experience with the victim(s).

11. How often do you receive a complaint from the public about child trafficking or trafficking in persons?

12. What are the factors responsible for child domestic labor in Nigeria?

13. What are the factors responsible for internal child trafficking in Nigeria?

14. How does domestic workers' demand in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria?

15. How can internal child trafficking be eliminated in Nigeria?

16. What are the challenges facing your organization/unit in fighting child trafficking or trafficking in persons (TIP)?

17. What are the challenges facing Nigerian Law enforcement agencies in fighting child trafficking or trafficking in persons (TIP)?

18. Describe the level of cooperation among all the law enforcement agencies in their fights against child trafficking or trafficking in persons (TIP) in the country.

19. What other things do you think I should know about internal child trafficking or trafficking in persons in Ondo State or Nigeria at large?

20. Thank you for your participation.

Appendix B: Letter of Invitation

Name of Respondent
Address of Respondent

Dear Respondent,
I am pleased to invite you as a research participant in a qualitative research study.
I am a student in the Department of Public Policy and Administration at Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA. I am conducting a study on "internal child trafficking in Nigeria" toward an award of a Ph.D. program. The study's purpose is how domestic workers' demand in the cities contributes to internal child trafficking in Nigeria.
I am interested in your experience as a law enforcement officer/lawyer/personnel fighting human trafficking in Ondo State. I will conduct phone interviews via the WhatsApp to collect perceptual data from you. To participate in the research study, you must have a minimum of two-year work experience in the fight against human trafficking.
Participation in this research study is voluntary, and your identity and information will be confidential.
I look forward to your participation.
Yours sincerely,

Muideen Salami

Appendix C: Letter of Confirmation

Name of Respondent
Address of Respondent

Dear Respondent,
I am pleased to inform you that I have confirmed you as a research participant after meeting all the selection criteria for the research participation.
I will pay you three thousand naira as a token of my appreciation if you complete your participation and have certified the transcript of your interview.
Once again, participation in this research study is voluntary, and your identity and information will be confidential. I will contact you soon for more details.
I look forward to your participation.
Yours sincerely,

Muideen Salami

Appendix D: List of Acronyms

1. Human Trafficking (HT)

2. Trafficking in Persons (TIP)

3. Child Trafficking (CT)

4. Internal Trafficking (IT)

5. Domestic Trafficking (DT)

6. Internal Child Trafficking (ICT)

7. Domestic Child Trafficking (DCT)

8. Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN)

9. National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP)

10. Women Trafficking and Children Labor Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF)

11. United Nations (UN)

12. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

13. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

14. United State (US)

15. United Kingdom (UK)

16. US Department of State (USDS)

17. Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)

18. Nigeria Police Force (NPF)

19. Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS)

20. Nigeria Security & Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC)

21. Labor Market Segmentation (LMS)

22. Routine Activities Theory (RAT)

23. United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT)

24. International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)

25. International Labor Organization (ILO)

26. United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

27. Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF)

28. United Nations Transnational Organized Crime Convention (UNTOC)

29. Universal Basic Education (UBE)

30. Federal Capital Territory (FCT)

31. Internally Displaced People (IDP)

32. Child Rights Act (CRA)

33. Child Rights Law (CRL)

34. Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (FMWASD)

35. Edo State Taskforce Against Human Trafficking (ETAHT)