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Faculty of Social Sciences

Patrick Whelan

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MASTER THESIS

The Embeddedness of Sex Trafficking in Nigeria: An Institutional Approach

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Reviewer   Scientific Supervisor
Candidate of Sciences (Ph.D.)   Candidate of Sciences (Ph.D.)

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Svetlana S. Biryukova   Ruben Flores

                                                                      Consultant
                                                   Doctor of Sciences (D.Sc.)

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                                                            Leonid Y. Kosals

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to go beyond the superficial moral crusade surrounding Nigerian sex trafficking (ST) and examine it through social embeddedness theory to see the institutional roots of the phenomenon. This allows for an approach towards social change instead of the current one of repression and rehabilitation of the victims. Regardless of any moral judgments, I argue that ST is socially and economically embedded in Nigerian society and is supported and facilitated by its institutional environment. Proving this would allow policymakers to take the necessary actions to initiate change, including working together with communities to find institutional solutions to the problems creating ST. The problem with studying an institutional environment is its complexity, in that the institutions involved can be difficult to reveal, understand, and change. Analyzing the process and its principal factors, I developed an institutional framework with five elements. They are the formal rules and their enforcement; the economy; the family; religion; and informal institutions. To gather data about the institutional environment surrounding ST, I carried out an interdisciplinary study involving 32 interviews with trafficked women, anti-trafficking experts, academia, government officials, law enforcement, a public prosecutor, and a reformed pimp. From the patterns that emerged, I constructed the cycles that trafficking to Italy and Russia follows, which exposed the institutionalization of ST. By analyzing its interactions with other institutions, I showed how the institutional environment embeds ST, making it necessary, possible, and profitable. From there I derive implications as to what embedded ST means for society, namely, that ST will continue to thrive as a viable economic opportunity, solidifying the institution of exploitation-garnered empowerment, and further 'othering' of the Nigerian, reducing legitimate opportunities and reinforcing the institutional trap. My primary recommendation is for policymakers to revisit their method of governance, recognizing the failure of democracy in Nigeria's weak institutional environment, but also the danger of dictatorship in a fractionalized state, opting, therefore, for a representative authoritarian meritocracy. I also propose that the government work with the community in examining its institutions so that relevant, holistic solutions can be found to increase trust and strengthen institutions, reduce personal development costs, enable opportunities, decrease corruption, and lead the region to greater socio-economic development to stop ST at the root.

Keywords: exploitation, informal institutions, institutional framework, othering, power, processual theory, social crime, social networks, socio-economic development

Acknowledgments

Writing this thesis has been a transformative experience. As a lifelong student of the human condition, delving into the institutional underpinnings of society to explain sex trafficking has radically enhanced my vision of how the world works, whether related to ST or not. What enabled me to apply institutional theory to such a complex problem and to gain as much as I did, was the background I received throughout the Master program at HSE. The Population and Development program, with its broad range of subjects designed to guide the student towards looking for answers everywhere, because there is no problem in the world that is unidisciplinary, set the stage for the broad approach taken in this paper. I will forever be grateful to Vladimir Kozlov and the Higher School of Economics for giving me the wonderful opportunity to study in Moscow at this great university. From the program, I also want to thank Ena Redžić for her friendship and as a study partner – I believe we both pushed each other to be better than we were.

Many people, having seen my presentations about this topic, have said that I was 'lucky' to have had such an interesting topic which seemed to tell the story on its own. That, I take as a compliment, because it means that I took all the stressful months without a clear topic, reading anything and everything, while debating with everyone to try and find the right direction, and turned it into something coherent and easy to digest.

However, if I am to be honest, I was actually very lucky. Not only did I have an academic advisor who cared about my work and wanted to see me succeed, but I had two of them. Ruben Flores agreed to supervise me when nobody else in the university felt suitable to advise on the topic of sexual exploitation. Ruben was also not an expert on the subject but had faith that I could be the expert while he guided my research and writing methods. Shortly thereafter, Leon Kosals contacted me and joined our team, giving us the perfect development-sociology-criminology trifecta. In over a year of working together, they were always available to answer any questions I had, and it was not unusual for us to share several email exchanges nearly every day. Even when they both had obligations pulling them away from HSE, we still maintained the trifecta through Skype and email. Together they helped transform me from an informal enthusiast into a scholar, and I will be forever grateful.

As this was my first ethnographic investigation, I cannot help but feel completely indebted to everybody I worked with throughout this process, and I could easily extend this

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

BREXIT – refers to the referendum supporting British exit from the European Union

GBP – Great Britain Pounds

HT – human trafficking

IOM – International Organization for Migration

MPC SS – Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy Social Services

NGO – non-governmental organization

RAM – representative authoritarian meritocracy

ST – sex trafficking

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

USD – United States Dollars

Introduction

In 1944, Karl Polanyi, in describing the process of societal change leading up to the World Wars said, "Instead of [the] economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system" (Polanyi, 2001 [1944], p. 60). Thus the economy has been given priority over social relations and indeed shapes social relations. The very idea that the economy is more important than social relations means it is acceptable to sacrifice social relations – to exploit a friend or family member – to serve economic interests. However, Block, in the introduction, says that Polanyi did not mean this to be entirely accurate, as it would mean the annihilation of the "human and natural substance of society" (Block, 2001, p. xxv). Though given the evidence throughout this dissertation of human trafficking (HT) for sexual exploitation in Nigeria, henceforth referred to as sex trafficking (ST), one has to ask whether it may be true in some societies.

Slavery, HT, and ST have been happening around the world for millennia, yet, when an examination of the methods being used to eradicate them is conducted, typically only means of repression and rehabilitation can be found. Certainly, we can expect that a practice which has survived the rise and fall of mighty empires will not be destroyed merely by passing laws, supposing society will abide by them, and corrupt officials and law enforcement will enforce them. Why, after all this time, are governments sticking to their failing tactics since they abolished slavery in the 19th century?[1] Why, in this age of information, are governments, international organizations, and academia not making a more concerted effort to learn more and understand the causes of the practice so that they can address them? Why does nobody appear to grasp that ST is just a symptom of other diseases in society?

There is a trend beginning in academia of distancing itself from the moral crusade[2] that has surrounded ST for the past decade. Authors such as Chuang (2014), Ebintra (2017), Lobasz (2012), Massari (2009), Skilbrei & Tveit (2008), Vijeyarasa (2016), and Weitzer (2015) challenge the status quo and dare to look deeper at the causes and mechanisms of this complex phenomenon,

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[1] The UK officially abolished the slave trade in 1807, but it was not until 1939 that Nigeria abolished it.

[2] "A moral crusade is a type of social movement that defines a particular condition or activity as an unqualified evil and sees its mission as a righteous enterprise with both symbolic goals (attempting to redraw or bolster normative boundaries and moral standards) and instrumental ones (providing relief to victims, punishing evildoers). Some moral crusades are motivated by genuine humanitarian concerns and desires to help victims while others are mainly interested in imposing a set of moral standards on others" (Weitzer, 2010, p. 325)

recognizing that ST is not simply a devious act carried out by societal outcasts, but is a manifestation of pressures within society.

I was part of that moral crusade as well, as the forced sexual exploitation of women, men, and children is one of the darkest horrors prevalent in society. However, through my research, I came to see that while cases of kidnapping and forced sexual exploitation certainly do happen, they appear to be the exception, not the rule. Furthermore, forced ST usually occurs within the channels that traffic people voluntarily, as the majority of cases considered to be ST do involve some level of agency on behalf of the trafficked. However, because of the United Nations Palermo Protocol's (2004) definition of trafficking being the "recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means […] of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability […], for the purpose of [sexual] exploitation", and deception and vulnerability are often involved, they are still considered to be ST. However, while there is deception, and an exploitation of vulnerability, ST also plays a role in the empowerment of the trafficked person, allowing them to gain resources and climb the social ladder within their community. The line between migration-for-prostitution and ST is blurred. It is this blurriness which requires a more detached study into the phenomenon of ST.

Nonetheless, even if there are agency and empowerment in ST, the problems associated with the trafficking of Nigerians for sexual exploitation are many. Not only does it temporarily rob people of their freedom and commodify them through commercial sexual exploitation, often involving physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, but the same channels used to traffic humans are also being used to traffic drugs, weapons, and money (Politzer & Kassie, 2016). Also, these channels export violence as the Nigerian criminal elements clash with those of their host countries, which often have different methods and ideals as a mafia organization[3]. However, even worse than the violence and the exploitation of individuals is the effect that it is having on society, especially in Nigeria and the host countries. Because consensual ST is both somebody's exploitation and empowerment, and many other actors are benefiting as well, the desire to facilitate it is creating institutions which cause it to become embedded in society.

On the surface, one can say that factors causing ST in Nigeria are poverty, inequality, a lack of education, a lack of opportunities, ignorance, deception, and greed. Nigeria's rapidly

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[3] Information about the Nigerian mafia comes from personal communications with De Santis and Conzo on February 21, 2017 in Naples.

growing population, high unemployment, low wages, job insecurity, and low human development (GSI, 2016; UNDP, 2015; WB, 2015) also create a situation that is desirable to escape. However, these desperate situations exist in many places, and the result is not always widespread ST as it is in Nigeria. Therefore, it is necessary to look deeper at other forces pushing Nigerians into ST instead of other informal opportunities.

In his article, *Human Trafficking and Contemporary Slavery*, Ronald Weitzer (2015, p. 224) best summarizes the literature thus far devoted to sex trafficking. "Legislative and enforcement initiatives have outpaced social science research [meaning that] domestic and international policies have been formulated largely without any basis in credible evidence." After reviewing 100 academic articles, very few were found to have original research, while most were only repeating the arguments and unsubstantiated empirical estimates made by government agencies and international organizations. Another review of 1500 different publications found that only one-third included empirical findings, though most used convenience samples or unidentified samples. Of 41 books reviewed, most cited "arguably flawed sources," while only a few contained original research. Most of the books were published by academic presses while containing no more evidence than the popular books. None were shown to doubt the dubious estimate of 27 million slaves in the world today, while three at least questioned the basis for the claim.

This superficial level of research validates Weitzer's claim of a moral crusade. To use a term coined by Christie (2001) when referring to gangs, sex trafficking "provides a ready-made 'suitable enemy,' suitable precisely because no one can disagree with its classification as such." Hallsworth and Brotherton add that by constructing something as a suitable enemy, "complex social problems that have their origins in the way our society is organized are being translated instead into problems of law and order to which illiberal law and order solutions are then made to appear logical and necessary" (Hallsworth & Brotherton, 2011, p. 6; Queirolo Palmas, 2015, p. 1). If we are to gain real understanding, there is a need to separate ST and its participants from enemy-ness, and find the root causes of migration, trafficking, and prostitution, including the barriers to women's economic advancement (Weitzer, 2015).

As a detached, interdisciplinary study of the institutionalization and embeddedness of trafficking in Nigeria, I am not examining a crime, tragedy, right, or wrong, but a choice - a decision - made by the trafficked, traffickers, families, and other colluders, and the effects of institutions on that choice. This approach is necessary because, while others have recognized

agency, there has not been an assessment of the institutional forces affecting this agency, and knowing the forces affecting each member of the ST value chain will enable policy makers to address them in trying to find a solution.

Subsequently, this research seeks to answer the question of whether ST is indeed embedded in social relations. Moreover, if so, what institutions cause it to be embedded, and how? What does it mean for ST to be embedded? If it is embedded, is it possible to disembed it? How? My argument is that ST is embedded and that the existence of agency, patterns, processes, cycles, participant transformations, and comprehensive institutional interactions underscore this embeddedness.

The main contribution of this research is that it goes beyond the superficial to expose the root causes of ST in Nigeria, and its apparent permanence. The importance of this investigation is that, while a highly embedded institution such as ST is nearly impossible to eradicate, any hope of creating change requires a holistic approach, considering the causes of its embeddedness. This research also adds to the growing trend of objectivity in the study of this topic. Furthermore, in confronting the dysfunctional aspects of society which lead to ST, this research adds to the dialogue concerning socio-economic development in the country. Additionally, since a study such as this has not been done before, leaving me to derive a method of analysis from institutional, embeddedness, process, and power theory, this research can be used as a guide to studying many other processes and informal institutions.

Applying the derived method to my interdisciplinary study, I was able to convert the observed patterns into a process outlining stages which have a particular structure with defined roles, locations, actions, and actors, highlighting the institutional aspect of ST. Furthermore, by applying power-dependence theory to the ST process, I revealed the possible mechanisms of transformation that trafficked people go through. Then, by analyzing the interactions between the process and other institutions, essentially the root causes of ST, I was able to portray its embeddedness clearly. The decisions within ST are profoundly influenced not only by economic factors, but formal institutional structures, religion, the family, and informal institutions, making it highly embedded.

The path to this revelation will begin by outlining the concepts and relevant literature regarding ST, embeddedness, and institutions. Then, after describing the methodology used to apply that theory, observed patterns in case studies from Russia and Italy will be analyzed to show the institutionalization of ST, and then an analysis of ST's interaction with other institutions will

show its embeddedness. Following that, I discuss the interaction between the institutional environment and ST, and its implications. I then propose a drastic rearrangement of politics in the country as a way of facilitating growth and development, before making my concluding remarks about further uses for this research.

1 Literature, Theory, and Clarification of Concepts

Before we continue, due to different uses of several of the concepts employed in this research, it is imperative that I make some clarifications.

1.1 Victimhood and Labels

When speaking of a criminal offense, there is always a victim. In the crime of Nigerian ST, which usually consists of bribery, forgery, corruption, smuggling, tax evasion, and illegal prostitution, among the victims is the government of the country in which the crime takes place and society in general. When referring to the trafficked persons, they are usually females who are smuggled abroad for prostitution. For the person that is trafficked, as they enter into trafficking through deception and manipulation, they are certainly victims. However, as I will show later, trafficked people, through processes and power dynamics, go through a transformation which eventually makes them a willing accomplice in trafficking. Not all of the victims transform, though, and for those that do not, the experience is beyond traumatic and limiting.

In describing any situation, I must use names or labels so that the audience can follow along. However, there is an inherent risk when attaching labels - that of 'othering.' To label somebody a victim or a trafficked person is to say they are not one of us, but one of 'them,' a person removed from society, existing not here, but nowhere - in a "no-place space" (Massari, 2009, p. 4). In a phenomenon where 'otherness' is rampant[4], and where the goal is to show the embeddedness, the oneness with society, I must refrain from attaching such labels. If I only use the term 'woman,' as women represent the vast majority of people who are trafficked for sexual exploitation, I would contribute to the 'othering' of the female gender and moreover disregard the existence of trafficking in men and children. Therefore, to recognize the universality of ST – that anybody embedded in the same institutional framework could end up in the same situation – and to acknowledge the blurriness between trafficking and smuggling, I will refer to those who go through the ST process simply as a 'person,' or 'people,' unless referring to somebody specific. For clarity, I will refrain from referring to anybody else as such.

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[4] The concept of 'otherness' in ST comes from Massari's 2009 paper and personal communication with her on February 23, 2017 in Florence.

1.2 Consent

Whether it can be called consent in Nigerian ST is debatable. Indeed, the person gives a positive reply to the offer of performing prostitution under debt bondage, but if the trafficked does not know the full extent of how they will be treated and the dangers therein, can it qualify as informed consent? Additionally, if a child is convinced by their parent to consent to trafficking, essentially an abuse of a position of authority, can we call it consent? In examining the embeddedness of ST, and the institutional influence on it, including by the family, I am looking at how decisions are influenced and manipulated by outside forces, making a further examination of consent irrelevant. The forces which affect consent, and the whole ST phenomenon, are the subject of investigation in this research.

1.3 Processes, Power, and Transformation

When considering that the definition of human trafficking according to the Palermo Protocol, to be "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons,"(UNODC, 2004) by immoral means for the purpose of exploitation, it is strange that a processual approach has not been applied to the study of ST before. Daniel Little (2016) summarizes Abbott (2016) in saying that the social world is "a set of ongoing processes rather than a collection of social entities and structures", and that a social process is "a series of choices, developments, outcomes, and plans that accumulate over time in ways that in turn affect the individual's mentality". What this means is that any ongoing activity, such as a job, or a relationship is not a static event with one choice and one outcome, such as, 'I choose to work, and now I work,' but is a series of options and consequences, which contribute to modifying the way we think. To elaborate on this example, when somebody decides they desire to work, they must then learn what options are available to them. Perhaps they will not find the exact job they want and must settle for something related. Then, they need to apply for the position. If the application process is time-consuming and intense, they may deem the job not worth the effort and stop the application and start looking for other jobs. Or, perhaps they make an effort; gain an interview; prepare for, and succeed in the interview; commence the job; go through the training period and then decide the job is not for them. Or, out of desperation, and being partially committed, they continue, becoming more entrenched in the position, until path dependence sets in, and the idea of leaving the job and starting the application process all over again seems too daunting. In this still rather simplified example, the previous example of simply choosing to work and then working has

turned into a series of choices, in which different decisions at various points may have yielded different results. When processes are problematic it is important to study the phases of the process, the potential outcomes of each phase, and the forces facilitating movement between phases so that weaknesses can be identified and addressed, either to disrupt a negative process or to facilitate a positive one.

Every tough decision we make is a venture into the unknown, for if we knew the outcomes, the decision would not be so daunting. Revealing unknowns can fundamentally change who we are as we process the new data and choose to accept and adapt to it or to reject it. Therefore, it is important to study processes, which involve series' of decisions, as means of transformation, as well. When considering ST, where there is a substantial power difference between the person and the trafficker, and in which the person becomes dependent on the trafficker, it is important to examine the effect of this power-dependence relationship on transformation. Emerson states that the power of A over B is equal to the dependence of B on A and that A is also dependent on B, giving B some power over A (1962, p. 32). It is possible that this power relationship can be equal, with both exerting power over each other, as when an employer demands exemplary work from her most valuable employees, while those employees demand high wages, comfortable working conditions and other perks to prevent them from leaving to join the competition. However, in exploitative situations the relationship is unbalanced, allowing A to dominate B. An example of this is during a period of high unemployment when employers have many candidates for their jobs, while job seekers have few opportunities, creating an imbalance of power in favor of the employer.

Our desire for autonomy creates stress when we are being dominated by another, forcing us to seek some method of exit from the stressful situation. Emerson states that the tensions rising from the power imbalance can be reduced in one of two ways. Either the dominated changes their goals and exits the relationship, which, in the case of ST, would take the form of a rejection of the trafficking offer, or an escape from ST; or they redefine their moral values, and accept, and adapt to, the new situation (Emerson, 1962, p. 34). Therefore, in the case of a social process, with each stage representing a new power imbalance, for the dominated to continue through the process, they need to accept and adapt at every stage, redefining their moral values along the way, transforming who they are. Thus, a person who enters such a process, ripe with power imbalances, can be a much different person when they come out. As I will show later, this helps to explain how a trafficked person can transform from a naïve victim during recruitment, to a willing accomplice

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by the time their debt bondage begins. However, it must be noted that this was not the focus of the research and is theoretical at this point as I have no direct evidence of such a transformation.

1.4 Institutions and Embeddedness

For complex phenomena such as ST, as William Riker once said, "the study of tastes is not enough […] one must study institutions as well" (Riker, 1982, p. 24). Institutions are the "rules of the game"; the formal and informal rules which structure political, economic, religious, and social relations (Duina, 2011; Gibson, McKean, & Ostrom, 2000; North, 1991; Ostrom, 1986); the 'formal transpositions of habit'(Ambrosino, 2017, p. 7; Veblen, 1899), the norms, practices and unwritten rules, which emerge endogenously and are shared and enforced (Aoki, 2001, p. 10; Greif, 1998, p. 80; Sjöstrand, 1993, p. 326) . These rules do not directly affect behavior. Instead, they shape the "structure of a situation in which actions are selected" (Ostrom, 1986, p. 6). These rules structure situations by delineating which actions or sets of outcomes are forbidden; or, by specifying the actions or outcomes which are permitted, and to what extent; or, by specifying a particular action or outcome (p. 7), such as a specific penalty for a specific infraction. North claims that the principal function of rules is to facilitate exchange, either political or economic (1997, p. 4).

Formal institutions, such as laws, regulations, and bureaucracy, are usually endogenously embryonic institutions which authorities deemed necessary to formalize and enforce as written rules. An example would be property rights, which reflect how society believes resources should be used. However, in many cases, laws are exogenous in that countries are pressured to adopt them by organizations such as the United Nations, or insistent countries, such as the USA. Examples would be laws concerning ST, corruption, and human rights. Though, without an informal institutional grounding, these laws are questionable as institutions in some societies, and can be described as unsupported legislative declarations (Hodgson, 2006, p. 17; Marošević & Jurković, 2013, p. 702). It is possible, however, for exogenous rules to become institutions and affect behavior within society if they are strictly enforced (Ambrosino & Fiori, 2017), allowing society to learn that a particular set of outcomes are not permitted. But, this requires strong institutions of enforcement.

Informal rules, however, are not as accurately defined as formal rules. "They are extensions, elaborations, and qualifications of rules that 'solve' innumerable exchange problems not completely covered by formal rules and that in consequence have tenacious survival ability"

(North, 1997, p. 4). They enable a flow of exchanges in everyday life without the burden of formality. Included among informal institutions are routines, traditions, customs, culture, conventions, norms defining interpersonal relationships, and self-imposed codes of conduct. Corruption, for example, qualifies as an informal institution in that it specifies actions or outcomes that are permitted, such as the exchange of money for political favors. In highly corrupted societies it may mean that a positive reply to a request is always possible if you have ways to pay for it, but on the other hand, it may also mean that a positive response requires payment. However, before the interaction even takes place, both parties know the set of outcomes that are possible because the institution of corruption is prevalent and structures such interactions.

The concept of embeddedness originated in *The Great Transformation* by Karl Polanyi (2001 [1944]) while discussing the question of whether social relations shaped the economy, or vice versa. He posits that, given the vital importance to society that we have placed on the economy, "once the economic system is organized in separate institutions, based on specific motives and conferring a special status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow that system to function according to its own laws" (p. 60). Therefore, the economic system molds social relations and social relations are embedded in the economic system.

It is possible Polanyi drew the metaphor of 'embeddedness' from his research of the English mining industry, involving the extraction of coal embedded in the walls of mines (Polanyi, 2001 [1944]). The term is quite fitting if you consider something more distinguishable than coal, such as a gold vein, embedded in three-dimensional space in the wall of a mine, noting that the mineral composition of different veins are the same (gold), while no two veins are exactly alike. This uniqueness is a result of the forces exerting pressure on it from every direction. Different compositions of the material surrounding the vein, in different magnitudes, exerting forces over millions of years, create a unique shape and structure in the resultant vein. The localized earth molds the gold vein, therefore the gold vein is embedded in the localized earth. It is important to note that the vein of gold itself is also a component of the localized earth, and exerts pressure in concert with, and against, the other elements, resulting in a stable equilibrium.

If the gold vein represents an institution, the different forces acting on it represents its institutional framework. The institution and its institutional framework represent the localized earth, which is a metaphor for local society. Therefore, an embedded institution is a part of society that has been shaped by society, and also contributes to shaping society. Now, as Granovetter

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(1985) points out, the problem with embeddedness is that it is not easily disembedded. How is a vein of gold extracted from the earth? Either by destroying the localized earth and removing the gold from the debris or when the forces within the localized earth push it out, very slowly, over an extended period, eventually depositing it in rivers and streams. It is the same for embedded institutions. Either there has to be a major shock to society, such as a significant technological advancement, war, or revolution, or the institutional framework slowly pushes it out, which can take hundreds or thousands of years (Roland, 2004).

Buddhism, for example, is an institution which has been in existence for approximately 2500 years (Bapat, 2016). Although the strength of the institution may have declined over the centuries, arguably due to technological advancement, globalization, and a mixing of values, it has persisted and can expect to endure for a while longer. While one might say that Buddhism and ST do not belong in the same sentence – as institutions, forces that shape, and are shaped by society – they do have something in common. ST has been devised as an institution to sate the ego and to ensure the survival of its participants through exploitative materialism, while Buddhism gives adherents the mechanisms to survive by reducing the ego, making its satiation less exploitative and materialistic. Though it may sound like the introduction of Buddhism to Nigeria is the key to ending ST, I must remind the reader that ST is quite widespread in Buddhist countries as well (USDOS, 2015). Institutions are not modular, in that one cannot be easily replaced by another. If gold could somehow be extracted without destroying the localized earth, inserting another mineral with different properties in its place will result in a different equilibrium of forces, destabilizing the localized earth. The properties of the gold vein and the properties of the surrounding materials structure the relationship between them. The same can be said of institutions, in that the way ST interacts with the economy is not the same way it interacts with the family, even though they each help to shape each other and create an equilibrium, along with other institutions. Abruptly removing ST will affect the economy, the family, and the other institutions within the local framework.

However, not all institutions are embedded. Vegetarianism, for example, is embedded in some societies in India, as it is influenced by religion, the family, the community, and the economy, as meat products are nearly impossible to acquire in those areas. To remove the institution of vegetarianism from those areas would be challenging and would take a long time, if it were at all possible. In Canada, however, while vegetarianism is practiced and may be a growing trend, at this

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time, there is no overwhelming pressure from various institutions to be vegetarian. If in the future, resources become scarce, making meat-eating unsustainable, formal regulations, the economy, and social norms may pressure people into becoming vegetarian, making it embedded. Conversely, if new attempts at creating safe, laboratory grown meat become sustainable, vegetarianism may wane and never become embedded in Canada.

1.5 The Need for a Theoretical Framework

According to Ostrom (1990, p. 214), given a complex institutional situation, as ST undoubtedly is, it is necessary to create a broad theoretical framework before jumping straight into a quantitative analysis. With a greater understanding of the situation from a macro level, that framework could then be used to create a family of models to investigate niches at the micro level. Furthermore, relying on models gives the impression that the situation is one for the government to manage, while a social issue such as ST requires the involvement of the community in creating change. Ostrom continues to say that contemporary studies in fields such as ST, which have an undeveloped theoretical base, "need [contributions] to be carried forward in theoretically informed empirical inquiries" (p.216).

2 Methodology

2.1 Data Collection

I conducted a comparative study of Nigerian ST both to Moscow, Russia and to Italy. The reason why only Moscow, a single Russian city, is being compared to Italy, an entire country, is because no data exists on Nigerian trafficking to Russia, forcing me to rely on my primary data, which exists only for Moscow. There is extensive literature on trafficking to Italy, allowing me to use primary and secondary data to make generalizations about the entire country. My primary data, in the form of interviews, were collected in two stages. I conducted twenty-seven in-depth interviews in Moscow, and online, between April and June 2016. Most of the interviewees were found through snowballing and included twelve Nigerian females trafficked to Moscow; a Nigerian Embassy official; two Nigerian graduate students at the Higher School of Economics; four senior members of the International Organization for Migration (IOM); Evon Idahosa, the creator of Pathfinders Justice Initiative, a Nigerian NGO specializing in ST prevention and victim rehabilitation; Oluremi Kehinde, founder of Help Services for Nigerians in Russia, an NGO specializing in the rescue and rehabilitation of people trafficked to Moscow; three members of the Moscow Protestant Chaplaincy (MPC), including the programme coordinator, a healthcare professional, and a volunteer; the anonymous director and a volunteer of an anonymous anti-trafficking NGO; and a reformed Russian pimp. The second stage of data collection took place in Naples and Florence, Italy, between February and April 2017 during an internship with a 'Mafia, Camorra, and Criminal Networks' research group at Universitá di Napoli - Federico II. There, I interviewed Fatimah Ekhikhebolo, a Nigerian woman trafficked to Italy in 1992 who has since spent 17 years working with La Gatta, an anti-trafficking NGO; Luciano Brancaccio, an organized crime expert and sociology professor; Monica Massari, an expert on transnational crime and gender studies, and a political science professor; Maresciallo de Santis, a Carabinieri[5] officer specialized in Nigerian organized crime; and Giovanni Conzo, a public prosecutor specializing in Nigerian organized crime in Italy. I also consulted with numerous experts around the world through email and Skype, including Melissa Farley, Lauren McCarthy, Ronald Weitzer, May-Len Skilbrei, and Francesco Duina, among others. Given the vast availability of literature and media devoted to Nigerian trafficking to Italy, my previous experiences with interviewing trafficked

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[5] The Carabinieri are Italy's military police also responsible for investigation and enforcement related to organized crime

Nigerian women, and the extensive experience and expertise of the experts in Italy, I did not feel that a further understanding of the embeddedness of trafficking in Nigeria would have come from more interviews with trafficked persons in Italy. I had also learned that talking to authorities or NGOs brought punishments and extended debt bondage for those in Italy.

Twelve of the Nigerian females, the Nigerian embassy official, the director of the anti-trafficking NGO, and the reformed pimp preferred to remain anonymous due to the obvious dangers – physical, legal, and political – within the ST realm. Eight of the Nigerian women, the reformed pimp, the Carabinieri officer, and the public prosecutor were only interviewed once, while I maintained an ongoing discussion with the experts. I interviewed four of the Nigerian women in Moscow and Ekhikhebolo in Italy twice for greater clarification.

The Nigerian women in Moscow, all being assisted by the anti-trafficking community, were key sources regarding the phases of the Nigeria – Moscow ST process, and the pressures between them. Ekhikhebolo, having been trafficked, and then having spent 17 years in anti-trafficking activities, frequently mixing with and talking to currently debt-bonded Nigerians, has a view of Nigerian trafficking that very few others could have, which allowed me to piece together the entire ST cycle from Nigeria to Italy. Hearing the stories of Ekhikhebolo and the 12 Nigerian women, firsthand, was crucial to the research.

Furthermore, the unique assortment of experts that I interviewed allowed me to have a very comprehensive view of Nigerian ST. All of the experts had a macro-level view of ST from a functional perspective. The embassy official contributed a political point of view; Conzo and de Santis provided a legal and law enforcement perspective; the many NGO experts gave a community and interventionist view; the reformed pimp gave the inside, criminal perspective; the Nigerian graduate students provided much-needed context; and the academics helped me to make sense of it all through criminological, sociological, political, economic and development theory.

At the inception of this research, the only goal was a comprehensive understanding of ST. For preliminary data, I sought inspiration from Farley et al. (2004) about prostitution in nine countries, and Freed's (2004) research about prostitution in Cambodia. I also brainstormed with professors from different academic backgrounds, including criminology, development, sociology, and demographics. I sought information on the pre-trafficking background of the people; the sequence of events in the trafficking experience; specifics about sexual exploitation and debt bondage; escape from debt bondage; life prospects after debt bondage; and the feelings and

motivations at all points of the ST experience. The information I sought is in Appendix 1. Data pursued from experts was related to their area of expertise though the discussion always extended to their view of the overall situation. I attempted to maintain an informal atmosphere during interviews to establish rapport and to facilitate a free flow of potentially unforeseen information, while also ensuring to gather all the data I wanted.

Most interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to two hours and some were audio-recorded with permission. Each of the interviews with Ekhikhebolo lasted about four hours and were not recorded. I was not allowed to record with the reformed pimp or the Nigerian government official. Most interviews were face-to-face, except with the anonymous NGO director, who was outside the country, and Idahosa, who was in New York. For these, interviews were conducted using internet teleconferencing. The three members of MPC were given two weeks to complete an open-ended questionnaire, which is in Appendix 2. I also held pre and post-questionnaire discussions with the volunteer and program coordinator. Most interviews were carried out in English, except for the reformed pimp, who spoke Russian, and de Santis and Conzo, who spoke Italian. MPC provided the Russian translation, while Brancaccio translated Italian. The Nigerian women in Moscow were all interviewed with other Nigerians or NGO members present, while Ekhikhebolo was conversed with alone.

2.2 Data Analysis

A direct interpretation method (Abbott, 2004) was used to analyze the data. With ST manifesting itself in diverse ways around the world, it was surprising when a clear pattern began to emerge in the stories of the women, and from the discussions with experts, some of whom had worked with hundreds of cases. After clarifying the pattern with respondents, I established the Nigeria-Moscow cycle. This cycle, however, is best understood as a Weberian ideal type (Weber, 1949), which means that while deviations are possible, I had not heard of any. Having established the cycle, a further analysis of the literature and primary data provided a greater understanding of the phases and the pressures facilitating movement between them.

Furthermore, upon recreation of the cycle, I found I had more questions than answers. How had nobody realized this before? What did the existence of a cycle of trafficking mean? After discussing with my scientific advisors, Ruben Flores and Leon Kosals, we came to discern that the highly structured form represented an institution and that it would be interesting to prove this and to understand how ST interacted with other institutions. In my research, and after speaking with

some other Nigerians who are not involved in ST, I came to comprehend that ST interacts with most institutions and is a major part of society. A deep review of institutional theory and recommendations from my advisors led me to Polanyi and Granovetter, and the concept of embeddedness, which drew many parallels with what I knew of Nigerian ST, inspiring me to take an institutional approach to show its embeddedness.

Since ST had never been explained through institutions or embeddedness before, and it was also rare for any criminal or informal institution to be explained through them, I had to seek methods applied to different kinds of studies and apply what I felt best explained the phenomenon. It was Ostrom's recommendation to develop a broad theoretical framework (1990, p. 214) which gave the initial direction. Then, expanding on a framework used by North (1991, p. 108), which included an analysis of formal rules and their enforcement, religious, and informal institutions, I added the economy and the family as two important groups of institutions in Nigerian ST, producing a framework with five nodes of analysis. While institutional aspects of the family, economy, and religion could be separated into formal and informal institutions, because they have a significant effect on decision-making in Nigeria, and in ST, they warrant distinct categories.
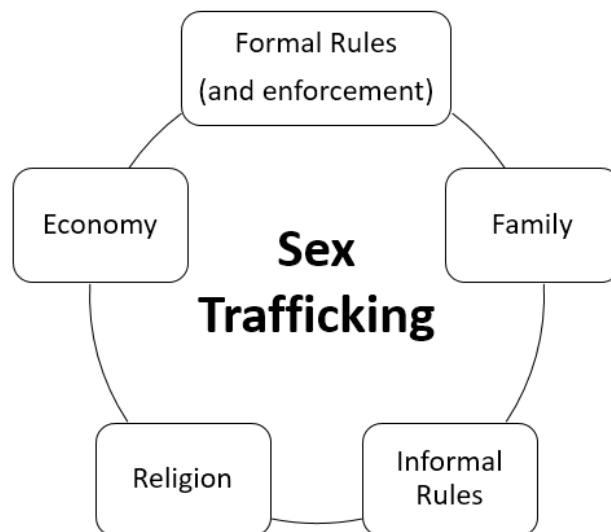

Figure 1: Institutional Framework

The formal rules category encompasses all laws, regulations, and bureaucracy, and the enforcement of them, to capture their influence on decision-making. The economic category discusses market forces, the labor market, wages, poverty, inequality, opportunities, and

remittances. The family category looks at the role families, and the type of families, play in the trafficking process, and the pre-trafficking situation. The category of religion examines the religious community and the impact that local rituals and beliefs have on ST. And, finally, the informal institutions category covers cultures, history, traditions, globalization, trust, and corruption, among others.

To analyze the interactions and dependencies between ST and the framework to acknowledge its embeddedness, I used my primary data and collected secondary data. Secondary data included institutional analyses of Nigeria with respect to formal institutional quality (Dahlberg, Holmberg, Rothstein, Khomenko, & Svensson, 2017; Kunčič, 2014; Okoh & Ebi, 2013); informal institutions (Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2000; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2008; Effiom & Ubi, 2013); trust (Odera, 2013); corruption (Ubi & Udah, 2014); the history of the slave trade (Nunn, 2008; Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011; Tønnessen, 2016) ; and ethnic, lingual and religious fractionalization (Alesina, Devleeschauwer, Easterly, Kurlat, & Wacziarg, 2003). The specific secondary data were chosen due to their empirical assessments of relevant institutions, enhancing the credibility of my institutional analysis. I then applied direct interpretation to make a qualitative assessment of the effect of each institutional group in the facilitation or support of ST.

At the beginning of the research, I anticipated three problems. First, given the suspected trauma that people may have experienced, as well as the sensitive nature of the requested information, it could not be expected that respondents would always be honest and forthcoming. With the research focused on the embeddedness of ST, which is less sensitive in nature, this did not appear to create any problems. The only question which remained unclear was whether every respondent knew they were going to be sexually exploited. While most admitted they were coming for prostitution, others had dubious stories. However, Idahosa and Ekhikhebolo, who are also from Edo State and experienced in anti-trafficking, claim that it is common knowledge throughout the state, and virtually all of the people trafficked know that they will be sexually exploited. Furthermore, ITV News reports that a third of women in Edo State have been solicited by a trafficker (2015), meaning that it is such a commonality that it would be unlikely for the people not to know.

Second, as a white, North American male without formal counseling training, I expected the social distance to create issues in building rapport, preventing me from being able to have an

effective dialogue with a female, Nigerian victim of ST. While the interviews may have included some initial rigidity, having other Nigerians and NGO members present may have aided in allowing the women to relax and speak more freely. However, having other Nigerians around may have affected the answers to the more sensitive questions, though, as previously mentioned, this should not have overly affected the research. Also, before the interviews, I consulted with a clinical psychologist and several professors to determine how best to proceed. One key piece of advice from Melissa Farley[6], which set me at ease was, "There are years and years of psychological research demonstrating that it does not cause people to fall apart if you ask about sexual abuse."

The third potential problem existed in the form of context. While I did seek out opportunities to do fieldwork in Nigeria, I was unable to find any organization to host an internship, paid or unpaid. The chance to experience Nigerian institutions in person would have been invaluable in the overall conceptualization of the institutional framework. However, given my experience living and traveling in different regions of the world, I know that the psychological and social distance between the local people and I would cause me to experience a different set of institutions than the individuals involved in ST, possibly leading to bias. I believe that my primary data, the literature on institutions and ST in Nigeria, and my discussions with Nigerian graduate students in Moscow are sufficient for the purposes of this research.

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[6] Melissa Farley is a clinical psychologist with dozens of publications in the field of violence against women, and the executive director of Prostitution Research & Education

3 Findings

The initial observation that came out of my research was that there was a clear pattern within ST. While there were slight deviations, they appeared to be exceptions and not the norm. The respondents had all dealt with traffickers performing specific roles, and conducting specific activities in specific locations. From the patterns, I was able to reconstruct the ST process and cycle. Recognizing the cycle, I was then able to analyze the forces creating movement through the cycle, which alerted me to the power mechanisms utilized by traffickers to maintain control over people. The highly structured cycle and the control mechanisms used in conjunction with it gave the first hint of the institutionalization of ST. Deeper analysis with this in mind confirmed it. Analyzing the interactions between ST and its institutional framework highlighted its embeddedness. However, there were key differences between the Moscow and Italian cycles, so I will elaborate on what was found and explain these differences and their effect.

3.1 Nigeria – Moscow ST Cycle

The Nigeria - Moscow ST process takes the form of a cycle comprising ten phases, as can be seen below. These phases are distinguishable based on the fact that they all contain different actors and physical locations, and that pressures exist between them to facilitate movement.

Nigeria - Moscow Sex Trafficking Cycle

Figure 2[7]

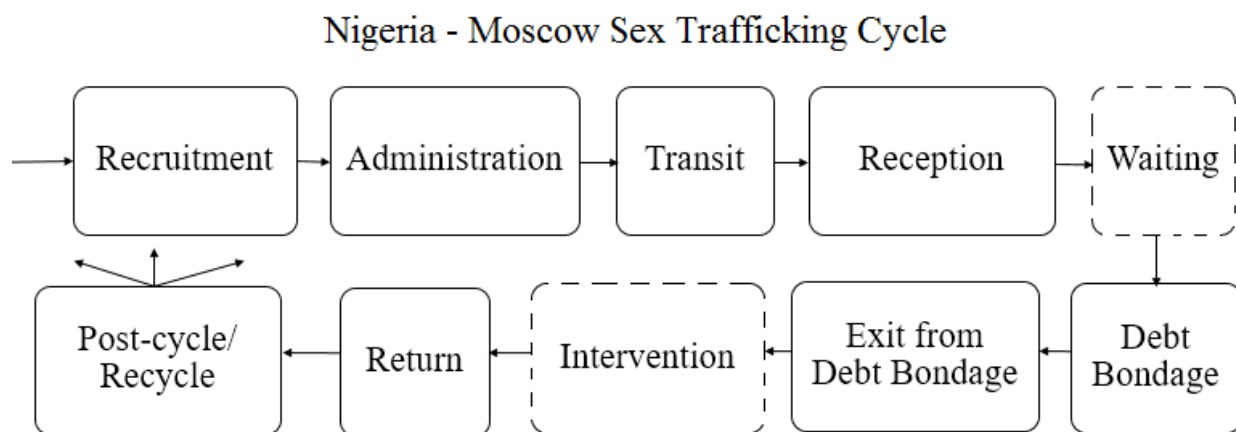To summarize the cycle, people are recruited by somebody they know and offered the 'opportunity' to work in Moscow as a prostitute, with the traffickers making the arrangements and paying the expenses. The people are expected to pay them back, usually about $50,000 for women,

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[7] The boxes with solid lines represent, more or less, definite phases, while the boxes with the dotted line do not necessarily occur

less for men, though they are told that it will only take about 6 months to do that, after which, they will be able to make a lot of money for themselves and their families.

When asked why she came to Russia, one respondent replied, "Because I had the connection." When I asked for clarification about why she used the connection to come to Russia, she said, "The woman who brought me here told me I can work…I can have a free life. That's why". When I asked about her recruiter, she said it was a neighbor she knew for three years beforehand, who seemed to have a lot of money, and that, "Yes, she's a very nice woman… she gives out…so it peaked my interest". She also said that the recruiter had two children, though she never met them as they were out of the country, and she did not know where.

After they agree to the deal, the person is introduced to somebody who takes care of the administration. This facilitator is responsible for acquiring passports, visas, booking transportation, and anything else that needs doing. The administration period usually lasts several months in which the person and the facilitator do not meet. When asked about the administration, a second respondent said, "The woman told me, she said yes, I will have my documents and everything…that she will do my passport and everything…that is not a problem…that she will do everything."

When everything is arranged, the person will have to go through a juju ritual to seal the deal. As the traffickers are making a sizeable, upfront investment in the person, which cannot be legally enforced, the juju (African traditional religion) serves as a spiritual pact between both parties. It also acts as a blessing of protection for them as well. A juju priest performs the ritual, which varies, and may include the sacrifice of a chicken and the drinking of its blood in an alcoholic mixture; the collection of personal items such as hair, fingernails, blood, and underwear; the chewing of the kola nut[8]; and the recital of the pact, which if broken carries with it a punishment of death, sometimes extended to the family, as well (Ikeora, 2016; Suuntaus, 2015). The first respondent described the situation: "The man (juju priest)…he was very fat, and not tall. He was the uncle of my madam. He gave me some incantations to read, and then gave me the kola [nut]". The second respondent also said, "I had to say that I will not take police to arrest him…that he brought me here."

The day after the ritual, the person flies, usually alone, to Moscow. Upon arriving, they are picked up by a Nigerian who was hired for the day to do so. He retrieves the passport and tells

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[8] Chewing of the kola nut is common during traditional ceremonies throughout much of West Africa

them it will be returned when they complete their debt. He then brings the person to their madam who may immediately outline the sex work that they will be doing and begin taking photos, some of them nude, for online advertisement. The second respondent describes her first 'work' week:

> "For the first week, I didn't work. I didn't understand what was I supposed to do. She said maybe I should go home. That's when we started having problems. That's when she started being rude to me. I had no way to go home from Russia, so that's when I decided I should pay her some money…to work and pay."

Sometimes, however, there is a period of waiting after the receipt of the person and before the beginning of prostitution. In the several months of administration in Nigeria, the official timeframe for the visa becomes partially expired. This is so the person, upon entering Russia, quickly becomes illegal and has to rely on the traffickers for protection from law enforcement. When the person becomes illegal, they are forced into prostitution. The second respondent went through this situation and described it here:

> "For the first 2 months, I didn't work. I just stay house. And then she took me to work in the salon. Salon, for me in Africa, is where they make hair. [laughing] It is not the salon I used to know, it is another different salon. It is house runs."

During the debt bondage, which can last several years, the person is not allowed freedom of movement. They only leave home to go to work and must return immediately after. This is to prevent them from running away or being arrested, securing the investment of the madam, who was the original sponsor for the trafficking operation. Money is also never passed directly into the hands of the person when being paid for sex. However, they do occasionally beg for and receive tips from clients. The forms of prostitution Nigerians are often involved in include brothels, online escort services, and street work. To ensure the safety of brothels and street workers, local police are regularly bribed. The second respondent describes her brushes with the police:

> "Every time the police came to the salon, they don't carry me. They pack up all the other girls, but they leave me. I don't know why. When they (brothel manager) came back, they were surprised I was still there."[9]

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[9] I do not know exactly what may have caused this to happen to her, but some extra information about brothels may help. The respondent's madam did not live or work at the brothel – the brothel has its own manager. Madams make arrangements with brothel managers to accept their associates working and living there. In return, the brothel manager keeps about one third of the money made by the person, while the other two thirds are passed directly to the madam, going towards the person's debt. So, all of the people working in the brothel are associated with different madams, though it may be possible that many are associates of just one. Based on everything I heard from all of the interviews in Moscow, it seems that the police make individual deals with everybody. The brothel manager will have their deal with the police, and the madams will have their deals. It seems to me that in this situation, there was a problem with somebody's deal, but not with the respondent's madam.

The conditions during debt bondage are very poor, and the people are barely fed, sharing a room with several others, and sometimes beaten by their madam or clients. Many clients force them to have sex without a condom, and infections, diseases, and pregnancy are common.

To escape debt bondage requires paying the full debt, escaping, or being arrested. Little is known of the people who pay their debt because they do not come into contact with authorities or NGOs. They may continue to work with the same madam to take advantage of her network; do freelance sex work; or become a madam and begin trafficking other people. For those who are arrested or escape, they usually make contact with the Nigerian Embassy who assists them by directing them to NGOs for medical and legal support, including repatriation assistance. Sometimes, when arrested, the people are sent to a deportation camp where they live in very poor conditions, and it may take months or years before they are sent home.

Upon returning to Nigeria, there are organizations such as NAPTIP and Pathfinders, whose goal is to protect and support returning victims, though most people return to trafficking as they have very few options as an uneducated person in Nigeria, and especially as a woman. Of the twelve people that I interviewed in April-June 2016 and who were assisted and repatriated, later follow-up found that by August 2016 most of them had been re-trafficked to Western Europe, with one dying en route[10].

3.1.1 Nigeria – Moscow Power-Dependence Mechanisms

From the beginning, the person is at a power disadvantage due to the social distance between them and the recruiter. Also, in the case of family involvement, the abuse of a position of authority and vulnerability put the person at a much greater disadvantage. Then, once the deal is agreed to, the costs of the administration that is carried out adds the burden of financial and social indebtedness to the traffickers. After the juju ritual, the people find themselves spiritually bound to the agreement, with the risk being extended to the family, which allows for them to be controlled without violence. Upon landing, alone, in Moscow, not knowing the local language, and having been convinced of the ruthlessness of the Russian authorities, the person finds themselves wanting the protection of the traffickers. When their status becomes illegal, this necessity for protection is compounded. Once they confront the reality of their work, even if they do not want to continue,

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[10] From personal communication with Kehinde in September 2016 in Moscow. He spent the summer in Nigeria following up on the people that he had repatriated, and talking to their friends and family members, he learned of their re-trafficking.

the situation they find themselves in, and the overarching feeling of indebtedness and powerlessness, causes them to give in and comply. Being under house arrest without a personal phone or the internet means that they remain ignorant to their surroundings and situation, preventing them from being able to learn of other opportunities. And finally, deprived of receiving cash-in-hand means that if they run, they find themselves penniless and illegal on the streets of Moscow where they do not speak the language to be able to ask for help. It is easy to recognize that even though the trafficking is voluntary, the traffickers do not allow for the person to change their mind.

3.2 Nigeria – Italy

The Nigeria - Italy ST process also takes the form of a cycle usually comprising fourteen phases, as can be seen below. These phases are also distinguishable based on the fact that they all contain different actors, physical locations, and that pressures exist between them to facilitate movement.
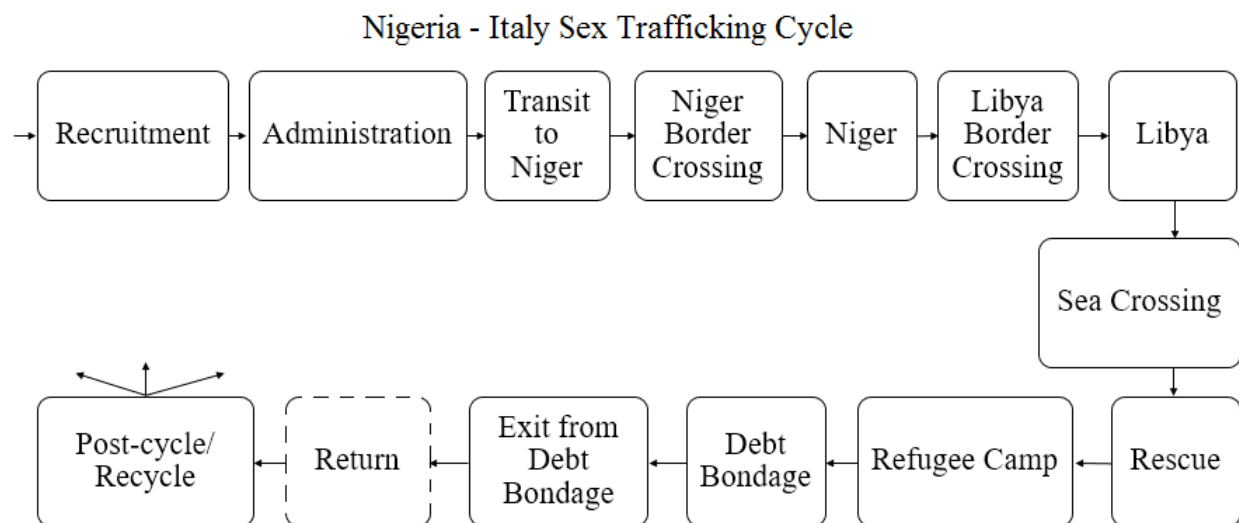
Figure 3[11]

Given the higher prevalence of trafficking to Italy than to Russia, the majority of the recruitment starts within the family as they seek to send their daughters abroad to support them in Nigeria. When males go, it is usually a personal choice, but in both cases, traffickers are usually

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[11] The boxes with solid lines represent, more or less, definite phases, while the box with the dotted line does not necessarily occur

sought out to provide the trafficking service. Given Italy's fame as a travel destination, less promotion is necessary than for Moscow. Trafficking to Italy is also much cheaper than to Russia and usually involves a debt of $25,000 – 40,000 USD for females if they travel by land, or $5,000 – 15,000 for males. Males are perceived as not as valuable as females, though they have more options for work.[12]

The administration is different than for Moscow in that legal documents and visas are not necessary. Forged documents will permit them to cross the desert to the sea, and then no documents are required when arriving as a fleeing refugee in Italian waters. Once a madam has been found to sponsor the trafficking, the Italian administrative process only requires the creation of a fake passport, for which groups exist to do so, the juju ritual, and the connection with a '*boga*,' or 'connection man' to arrange the journey.

The journey begins with an uneventful bus ride to the Niger border. Unlike trafficking to Russia, many are sent together to Italy, sometimes hundreds. The border crossing depends on the *boga* – if money has been made available, he will pay for their entry. If not, there are two options, either he will send those without money to run around the border crossing, out of sight of border guards, or he will allow the guards to rape several people in return for letting them all cross.

Once in Niger, everybody is loaded onto modified 'Hilux' trucks which can carry up to 200 people, consisting of the people being trafficked, the driver, and the 'collaborators,' whose job is to keep everybody under control, for which rape and beatings are often used. Sometimes a *boga* travels with them, though sometimes they do not, and the truck meets with *bogas* at each waypoint. The trucks, unknown to the driver, collaborators, and passengers are also loaded down with hidden drugs, weapons, and money also being trafficked through the desert. Travel conditions are brutal as they are under the desert sun all day while also crammed in the back of the truck, often sitting on, or under, others. At night they sleep on the ground unless they stop in a town, where they stay in ghettos or halls. There is limited room to carry water, so if they do not make it to the next well on schedule, it can have fatal results. Bread is also carried as food for everybody. A smooth trip through the desert to Libya can take from one week to one month. However, for people whose

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[12] Nearly all of the information about the Italian cycle comes from interviews with Ekhikhebolo in February and March 2017 in Naples. Given her unique experience of being trafficked, and then having worked for 17 years in anti-trafficking in Italy, where her background enables her to have open access to trafficked women who consider her their sister and have no reason to lie to her, Ekhikhebolo has information that nobody else but her could possibly have, making her testimony much more valuable than any published paper. Her information is also in line with what the published papers do have, leaving me no room to doubt her.

sponsors did not give money up-front, a *boga* may force them to prostitute to reimburse him for his expenses thus far, which may lead to them spending several months in Niger. Robberies, kidnappings, and rape by 'hooligans' is also common in the desert. When these attacks occur, nothing ever happens to the drivers, collaborators, *bogas*, or secret cargo, and it is the *boga* who negotiates with the sponsors for the money to free the kidnapped, hinting at their involvement.

In crossing the Libyan border, those without money are always raped, both males and females, and usually without condoms. To protect the virginity of young girls, they are raped anally. Sometimes madams are also being trafficked by land, but because they have learned some Arabic, know how to dress like a Libyan, and have money, they are never touched by guards. HIV is rampant among the border guards, and while males never go for medical checkups, 30-40% of the females that Ekhikhebolo has worked with over the years, have HIV.

The situation in Libya is an exacerbated version of what happens in Niger. The local Libyan street gang, the Asma Boys, are responsible for the robberies, kidnappings, rapes, and murders, while again, the traffickers remain unharmed. Ekhikhebolo estimates that over half of all females crossing through Libya are kidnapped at least once. Males are rarely kidnapped because nobody would pay for their release, while sponsors will pay for the liberation of females. Ekhikhebolo also estimates that approximately 80% of females are forced to prostitute in Libya, as any money they had rarely survives the long journey. Many women become pregnant and have abortions, either using drugs or something long and sharp, which often leads to gynecological problems. It is important to note that the entire cost of the journey is usually funded by the sponsor, and any additional costs, such as kidnapping, medical checks, or abortions result in an increase of the debt owed by the person. The total time spent in Libya can range from several weeks to one year.

To cross the Mediterranean requires careful planning based on the availability of boats, the weather, and Coast Guard patrols, which details about are acquired through bribery. When it is time to cross, boats are loaded with those being trafficked, and two (usually males) are trained to operate it. The cost of crossing is approximately $500-1200 for males and $1000-1500 for females. A boat operated by Libyans will sail out to lead the boats across the sea. When they reach Italian waters and are in the path of the Coast Guard patrol, the Libyans will turn back to their coast, leaving the boats to be rescued. Sometimes, for various unknown reasons, the Libyans will puncture the boats causing them to sink, usually killing everybody on board. Other times, the

weather, or the overloaded state of the boats also cause them to sink before they have a chance to be rescued.

For those who are rescued, they are brought to one of the many refugee camps around Italy. Before boarding the boat in Libya, everybody is trained in how to deal with the Italian authorities. They have premade stories to ensure that they are treated as refugees. Leaders are also chosen within the groups and given a mobile phone with numbers preprogrammed into it so they can contact their madams once they arrive. The conditions in the refugee camps are reported to be quite hospitable, and each person is supposed to receive a small daily allowance, as well. Everybody is free to leave the camp, but usually for a limited amount of time. The group leaders use this situation to arrange to meet their traffickers. Some may have madams in the North of Italy, such as Turin, and, in those cases, they will flee the refugee camp and make their way North, while those with local madams will live in the refugee camp while working regularly in prostitution.

Ekhikhebolo states that nearly 100% of the Nigerians crossing the sea to Italy are being trafficked and know they are being trafficked for sex work. For those that managed to maintain their virginity throughout the trip, often the madam will hire a group of boys to gang-rape them to 'break them in' and desensitize them to sex work, often with the madam present in the room. However, for most, their experiences in Niger and Libya already prepared them for prostitution in Italy, which is why they seek to escape the refugee camps to work for their madams.

A fundamental difference in ST to Italy compared to Russia is that in Italy there is a law which grants 5 years of asylum to people who admit they were trafficked and give information on their traffickers to authorities. However, traffickers know and exploit this law by training people in what to say so that they are granted asylum while authorities do not glean enough information to catch anybody, allowing the person to stay legally in the country, reducing the risk, and while still working in prostitution. Having realized their law is being exploited, Italian authorities rarely give the asylum anymore, though the law is still in existence. This is still important, however, in that it changes the trafficking situation and gives bargaining power to people. Otherwise, they would give real information to authorities to claim their asylum. The result is that, in Italy, there is freedom of movement, and the people usually have payment plans to balance their debt, meaning that they are able to earn money for themselves and their families while still under debt bondage. This also makes it rare for people to try to escape from trafficking in Italy.

For those who do complete their debt, first, they have a celebration for the conclusion of their juju oath, and their documents, and whatever articles taken from them for the ritual are returned to them, or their family. Afterward, they usually continue to work in prostitution, begin sponsoring others as a trafficker, or collaborate with the Nigerian mafia in drug trafficking. It is very rare that they will seek legitimate opportunities after concluding ST.

3.2.1 Nigeria – Italy Power-Dependence Mechanisms

In the case of Nigeria – Italy ST, the person first finds themselves disadvantaged in a power imbalance in the home as their position of vulnerability is abused by an individual in a position of authority, such as their mother. Being prepared and groomed from a young age to go to Italy to support the family, the child never had a chance to seek other opportunities. Then, again, once the sponsorship starts and they find themselves socially and financially indebted, and spiritually bound, the power imbalance begins to grow. When they find themselves on the perilous desert journey, beleaguered by the pressure to move forward, and physically unable to go back, relying on the traffickers to ensure their safety, they have no choice but to accept their fate and move forward. Throughout all of the hardships faced, they are met with the impossibility of return and are thus forced to adapt to their situations in order to survive, physically, mentally, and emotionally. By the time they reach Italy, they are no longer the naïve people who left Nigeria and realize that after the hell they have been through, life in Italy and the rewards to be gained from it, are heaven in comparison. This makes them a much more willing accomplice in their own trafficking compared to the people trafficked to Moscow, who do not have this painful transition.[13]

3.3 Nigerian Sex Trafficking as an Institution

Having outlined the ST cycles to Moscow and Italy, and following the theory presented in chapter one regarding institutions, we can now examine Nigerian ST as an institution. As ST is not officially prescribed by the state or legally sanctioned by any authoritative body, if it is to be an institution, it must be an informal one. As identified in chapter one, an informal institution affects the structure of a situation in which actions are selected, and those situations are generally political, economic, religious, and social relations. They 'solve' many exchange problems and enable a flow of exchanges without the burden of formality. We can now look at how ST structures political, economic, religious, and social relations, enabling exchange.

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[13] This hypothesis of transformation is based on theories and assumptions and has not been tested.

The bureaucracy in Nigeria is quite cumbersome and unwieldy. The ST institution, however, has been able to simplify bureaucracy in that the possible outcomes include the use of corruption, forgery, coercion, and exploitation of legal loopholes to bypass otherwise bureaucratic nightmares. Corruption allows for the easy acquisition of unscrutinised passports and visas, to cross borders, and to avoid harassment by law enforcement. Forgery produces legal documents without the need for the application process. Coercion ensures the compliance of everybody involved. And the exploitation of legal loopholes such as Italy's asylum law, and the legal complexity of investigating ST, allows traffickers to operate relatively unhindered as they cross borders, and violate many laws in several countries. Another influence that ST has on political relations is that officials know that there are no viable mechanisms available to grant a better outcome for people who are trafficked, so they allow it to continue.

Economic opportunities in an over-populated, under-educated, under-developed country like Nigeria are very scarce. ST enables outcomes which are otherwise not available. While exact numbers are not available, ST is a multi-billion dollar industry, employing families, recruiters, facilitators, juju priests, corrupt officials, forgers, *bogas*, drivers, collaborators, kidnappers, madams, and sex workers. The money generated by ST is a major source of income for the community. Decision-making within the community is affected by the economic opportunities available, and with ST being one of the most lucrative, it greatly affects decisions.

While it seems counter-intuitive, religion and ST are closely linked. Juju rituals exist for those who want to exercise power over others, and ST gives them the opportunity to do so. Also, given that a high position within the church community translates into a high position in society, the ST community has interlaced itself with the church community, in that pastors are recruiters, benefactors are traffickers, and church attendance is given as a reward to people who are obedient to their madams. Climbing the ranks of ST allows you to climb the ranks of the church community, thus enabling you to climb the ranks of society, which is the next point.

ST allows for social mobility. When somebody is able to travel to Europe and come home with money to build a house and buy a car, it does not matter if it is a doctor or a sex worker, they become respected in society. Given the low time and financial investment costs of ST compared to medicine, ST provides what many believe to be a more attractive method of achieving social mobility. A darker side to the social possibilities made available by ST is evident by the demand for African sex workers in post-colonial countries. The demand for the nameless mass prostitute,

the Nigerian, the other, an easy victim of violence, inferiorization, racism, sexism, an outlet for animosity. ST makes it possible and affordable for frustrated clients to vent their physical, sexual, and emotional angst which would be impossible and unacceptable against somebody of the same race (Massari, 2009)[14].

Having looked at how ST structures different kinds of relations, let us now look at how ST structures itself. As it has already been said, ST is highly structured. Key actors are filling specific roles, conducting specific activities in specific locations. Also, unlike Italian crime families, each actor within the ST structure is replaceable. The ST structure is not an actual organization with a hierarchy and people hired to fulfill specific roles. Instead, it is an aspect of society, an institution, with many individual agents performing interdependently through social networks. Positions are filled by opportunity and demand – that is, for example, if the current number of drivers could not seem to meet the demand for drivers, the complaints rippling through social networks would signal an opportunity to become a driver. ST is essentially its own economy.

Trust is necessary for any economy to flourish, and homogeneity generally allows for trust, two conditions that are far from prevalent in Nigeria at the national level because of ethnic, lingual, and religious fractionalization (Alesina et al., 2003; Odera, 2013). However, the socioeconomic institution that is ST is able to thrive because the majority of ST happens within one tribe in Nigeria, the Igbo tribe. Given the distrust between Nigerians and the outside world, and between different tribes within Nigeria, having nobody else to trust increases the amount of trust within the tribe, and enhances the functionality of ST as an institution.

3.4 The Institutional Framework and Embeddedness of Nigerian ST

With the institutionalization of ST being clear, an analysis of its interactions with other relevant institutions will reveal its place within society. As it was said earlier, not all institutions are embedded, and even those that are embedded will not be embedded in the same way. Every institution interacts with other institutions within its institutional environment in different ways. As each institution permits a range of outcomes, prohibits specific outcomes, or sets the punishment for specific outcomes, the embedded institution acts within the parameters of what is allowed by the institutions around it. However, not all institutions are of equal strength, and their ability to punish offenders needs to be taken into account as well. For example, the institution of

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[14] The ideas in this chapter come not only from Massari's 2009 paper, but also from a personal interview with her on February 23, 2017 in Florence.

vegetarianism has the power to socially punish people in regions of India, while it has no authority in Canada. Knowing which institutions support and facilitate ST, and how they manage to do this, allows for the creation of a holistic strategy to disembed it.

3.4.1 Formal Rules and their Enforcement

In a study by Kunčič (2014) of the strength of institutions in 84 countries around the world, based on formal legal, political, and economic institutions, with scores of 0.39, 0.36, and 0.51 (out of 1), respectively, Nigeria ranks as the 11th weakest for legal and economic institutions, and 15th weakest for political institutions. In more recent studies of institutional quality and governance, by the Quality of Government project (Dahlberg et al., 2017), Nigeria is the 11th weakest country in the world in the Quality of Government indicator, based on corruption, law and order, and bureaucratic quality, with a score of 0.28 out of 1. Other relevant indicators showing the weakness of Nigeria's formal institutions are: order and security (global weakest); global terrorism index (4th worst); percentage of people who have recently paid a bribe to police (2nd most, 81%); corruption perception of police (5th most); favoritism in decisions of government officials (9th most); political corruption (12th worst); firms needing to pay bribes to officials (3rd most); firms with female participation in ownership (15th lowest; 16%); ease of doing business index (19th most difficult); educational system quality (37th worst; score 3/7); recently paid bribe to education system (20th most; 30%); unemployment rate (6th highest; 21.1%); legal structure and security of property rights (13th worst; 3.4/10); human rights and rule of law (20th worst, tied with Iraq); civil liberties (31st worst); 'workers rights' received lowest possible score; 'women's economic rights' received the lowest possible score, meaning that there are no specific rights in the law and discrimination may be built into the law; 'freedom of foreign movement' received the lowest possible score, meaning movement out of the country is strictly limited; and 'socio-economic barriers' received a score of 2/10, meaning that many people are excluded from society due to poverty and inequality. In the Global Competitiveness Report (Schwab & Sala i Martin, 2016), out of 138 countries, Nigeria is ranked as the worst country for health and primary education; the 6th worst for infrastructure; and the 20th worst for institutions, giving an overall ranking for basic requirements of 3rd worst in the world. Nigeria is also ranked as 13th worst in the world for higher education, and the trends are showing that education at all levels is deteriorating in the country.

The above indicators show that Nigeria is a country where life is tough, especially for women, and that it is the weakness of the formal institutions of the country which create this

desperate situation. It is clear that many people would prefer to leave a situation like this, but as it was also shown, movement outside the country is strictly limited, not just by destination countries, but by Nigeria itself. According to Section 36 ("The Immigration Act [Nigeria]," 1963), "the Minister may […] by order prohibit the departure of any person from Nigeria; and if the travel documents of any person are not in proper order or there is […] an unsatisfied order of a court of competent jurisdiction or warrant of arrest relating to that person, an immigration officer may refuse to allow such person to leave Nigeria". In 2013, 106,739 people were refused departure according to this law, while only 1,241 were refused entry into foreign countries (Isiugo-Abanihe, 2016, p. 37).

A short summary of the above information is that the formal institutional environment in Nigeria presents more obstacles to progress than opportunities, which has led to many people wanting to leave. Furthermore, the official rules surrounding emigration also create roadblocks, making many Nigerians prisoners in their own country. However, the efficacy of any prison depends on the ability of the infrastructure and the guards to hold the prisoners in. As it was also shown above, the police force in Nigeria is one of the most corrupt in the world, while Nigeria's infrastructure is one of the worst in the world. This means that the formal institutional environment in Nigeria creates a situation where people want to leave, and forces them to leave through irregular means, and is unable to prevent them from doing so.

3.4.2 The Economy

The economic drivers of ST are obvious. When 77% of working Nigerians make less than $2 per day, and another 21% are unemployed (UNDP, 2015), being able to make thousands of dollars per month doing sex work in Europe represents an enormous opportunity. Moreover, large flows of money are entering the Nigerian economy through remittances sent from Nigerians abroad to their families in Nigeria. While one study has shown that remittances do not have a uniform developmental effect in the region, they have been shown to increase the socioeconomic situation of recipients. And, while the majority of remittances are spent on personal, household expenses, at least 30% is dedicated to education and business investments (Augustine & Sunday, 2015), which indirectly affect development.

Also of worthy note is that there are no training or education costs for ST. The economic model of education costs and benefits says that if your lifetime earnings minus the costs of training is greater than your lifetime earnings if you did not receive training, then it is worthwhile to

undertake the training (Kolosnitsyna, 2015). Based on the situation in Nigeria, it is highly unlikely that the model for any of the people who end up trafficked would recommend receiving the training and finding a legitimate job. In Nigeria, it would be necessary to add probabilities to the model to make an accurate recommendation, because weak enforcement of property rights, poor workers' rights, socio-economic barriers, and institutionalized discrimination against women mean that opportunities are never guaranteed. While there are extreme dangers and probabilities to be considered with ST as well, given the overwhelming odds against uneducated women in Nigeria, ST must seem more realistic. And, as Polanyi said, "social relations are embedded in the economy," meaning that economic factors do much to shape the way we act and interact with each other, making it a primary driver of ST.

3.4.3 The Family

Arguably, in many societies, the primary duty of a family is to look out for and ensure the well-being of its members. The term 'well-being,' however, can have different meanings in different situations. While it may seem like a dereliction of duty to coerce a child into ST, if it results in the child's empowerment, and an increase in the well-being of the rest of the family, is it still a failure? Nigeria has the 10th highest fertility rate in the world with 5.7 births per woman (Dahlberg et al., 2017), and in all of my interviews with Nigerians, I was told that the father rarely plays his role in parenthood, leaving the mother to make the decisions, run the household, and possibly be the breadwinner as well. This situation is even more pronounced in the case of polygamy, which is prominent in Nigeria, in which case a man can have many wives with each of them having many children. I was told that it is up to each mother to provide for her own children in polygamous marriages. When such a burden is placed on one person, especially in an institutional environment as in Nigeria, it can be expected that they will take advantage of any opportunity they encounter. When that opportunity is to send a child to Europe, allowing her to support the family and also rise up in the community herself, she can only agree, or continue to shoulder the burden for the rest of her life. And for the child that grows up in this situation, appreciating the work her mother does to take care of them, the opportunity to work and support her mother and siblings is a blessing.

3.4.4 Religion

While it would seem that religion would be the antithesis of ST, we must consider the goals of religion, and also those of religious organizations. Religious organizations seek to create and

build up a community, and if corrupt, to utilize and manipulate that community to gain power. Religion aims to replace insecurity with faith and gives tools for personal development. Within ST, religion and religious organizations attempt to fulfill these same goals. I have heard many stories of pastors being involved in recruitment and trafficking, and there is currently a trial being held against Pastor Tim Omotoso, for 22 counts of trafficking and sexual abuse (VanguardNGR, 2017).

In the administration phase of the trafficking process, there is the juju, or traditional oath, of which Ikeora (2016) has much to say. Essentially, since formal contracts to bind parties to the debt bondage agreements are impossible, oath-taking is used. Even though there are many religions in Nigeria, and Nigeria is the 15th most religiously fractionalized country in the world (Alesina et al., 2003; Dahlberg et al., 2017), there appears to be a real fear of the consequences of breaking these oaths. As Ikeora points out, oath-taking, juju, and superstition are institutionalized in Nigeria (p. 11), meaning it delineates possible sets of outcomes, thereby affecting behaviors. Juju, however, is more than a means of spiritual punishment, and the oath is accompanied by a blessing of protection to put the person at ease. At the end of the debt bondage, there is also a celebration and an annulment of the oath. For traffickers, there is also a juju ritual to give them power and dominance over others.

In the host country, Christian Nigerians, as 'others,' seek the comfort of the local Nigerian community through church-related events. Through the church, the traffickers, the gangsters, the students, and the legitimate business people socialize and form a cohesive community. Ekhikhebolo told me that the people who have been trafficked are only allowed to go to church if they are loyal and close with their madams, making attendance at church a reward. Given the nature of ST – the othering' and the isolation – the chance to become part of a community is a great reward. Social interaction is one of a human's basic needs, and while sex work may seem like a lot of social interaction, the distance that people put between their real selves and their work selves may prevent this. Within the church community, the opportunity to donate to causes, make connections, and host events allows somebody to climb the social ladder. The higher you climb within the church community, the more power you have within that community as well, and I have heard many stories of the members of the board of directors of a church settling disputes between members and even intervening with authorities to have trafficked people returned to their madams.

3.4.5 Informal Institutions

Normally, in an underdeveloped country with weak formal institutions like Nigeria, it is the informal institutions which really structure the realms of possibilities. However, in a study by Williamson (2009), not only did she find Nigeria to have extremely low formal institutions, but very low informal institutions as well. While it may seem an impossible task to measure informal institutions, Williamson based her measurements on four components of culture which should constrain behavior, namely trust, respect, individual self-determination, and obedience, as they govern both social and economic interaction. With low formal and informal institutions, this means that neither the government nor society is effective in creating and enforcing the rules of society, enabling a chaotic state of affairs.

While many might consider the content of this research to be a reason to label Nigeria and its people as an unmanageable society, we must remember that the persistence of institutions means that they are inherited, with current members of society caught in the vicious path of those institutions. When the British colonized the area, the creation of a border encapsulating many different tribes speaking many different languages, forcing them to live together in one state, under one rule, created a highly fractionalized society (Alesina et al., 2003; Dahlberg et al., 2017) with more than 500 ethnic groups (Findlay, 2017). Furthermore, because the disease situation of the region precluded the British from settling the area, as they had in other colonies such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, they established Nigeria as an extractive state, with extractive, exploitative institutions. These institutions would have included the conferment of power, and the means to enforce that power, to the people they believed would have helped ensure their interests in the region (Acemoglu et al., 2000). This exogenously imposed power imbalance would have created conflict and distrust, resulting in social and political discrimination along ethnic lines, greatly affecting the economic performance of different ethnic groups. Alesina et al. (2016) found that fractionalization coupled with economic performance differences between groups negatively affects socioeconomic development.

Another institution imposed on Nigeria was the commodification of humans through the slave trade. Nigeria was the fifth largest source of slaves in the world (Dahlberg et al., 2017), and slavery was not officially abolished there until 1936 (Lovejoy & Hogendorn, 1993). Nunn shows that slave trade history has an adverse impact on economic development (2008), and also trust (Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011), while Tønnessen (2016) shows that a history of the slave trade

correlates to increased trafficking at the present time. While slaves were initially captured through organized raids and war, insecurity led individuals to turn on one another, including family and friends, tricking or kidnapping to sell each other into slavery (Hair, 1965; Koelle, 1854; Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011, p. 3221; Piot, 1996).

While Nigeria's history has left it with a chaotic environment which accepts the commodification of humans and creates mass distrust between ethnic groups, ST still requires mechanisms to thrive as it does. Both corruption and social networks supply these mechanisms. Corruption is widespread in Nigeria and allows for the purchase of unscrutinised documents, the cooperation of officials, the bypassing of borders, and the evasion from law enforcement. Social networks are what allows a major ST operation, which does not have a strict hierarchy, to function smoothly. The different players in ST all seem to be independent agents, yet for ST to be successful, there must be cooperation and trust between all points in the network. Given the distrust previously mentioned in Nigerian society, the only way ST can operate as it does is through social networks. Kinship, friendships, and the community make up the ST network, and customarily all within the Igbo tribe. De Santis, the Carabinieri officer, said that infiltrating the Nigerian mafia is impossible because they do not trust anybody that they have not already known from back home or through a friend. Also, for the sexual exploitation of children in Italy, the only clients allowed are Africans, because of the paranoia of infiltration, and child exploitation is not so easily ignored by authorities as it is for adults[15].

While the previous points explain how ST can be facilitated and accepted by society, it is also important to consider how it can be accepted by the individual. Effiom and Ubi (2015, p. 262) enlighten us to the fact that obedience to a master, sometimes for up to seven years, with the expectation that one day they will become a master, is commonplace and a part of the culture of the Igbo tribe. When this seven-year apprenticeship is compared to two years of debt bondage in ST, after which the person can make much more money than they could in Nigeria, debt bondage in Europe appears to represent a move towards progress. Furthermore, discrimination and physical and sexual violence towards women are pervasive in Nigeria. Not only is sexual violence widespread, with 70% of women between the ages of 15 and 49 admitting to having experienced sexual violence, but it is also tolerated, with 44% of all women surveyed saying that it is tolerable. Within the 44% that tolerate gender-based violence, 68% of them have never experienced gender-

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[15] From personal communication with Ekhikhebolo, Feb and Mar 2017, Naples, Italy

based violence, while 32% had (Titilayo, Omisakin, & Ehindero, 2014). When considering that women have the option to live poor, oppressed, dominated, and sexually abused in Nigeria, or middle class, empowered, and sexually exploited in Europe, it is not so difficult to imagine why they would choose ST.

3.4.6 Summary

As it can be seen throughout this chapter, the weak formal and informal institutions in Nigeria have created a state which is considered among the most uncontrollable in the world in terms of law and order. Many of the laws meant to change the tide have been exogenously introduced, yet the weak state is unable to enforce them. There is no trust between the populace and the government, between ethnic or religious groups, or even between individuals, preventing opportunities for cooperation, organization, social action or societal enforcement. Not only does this reduce opportunities for legitimate personal and social growth, but it paves the way for illicit activities to flourish. Individuals, families, and communities, finding themselves in desperate situations, turn to what, in their mind, has always worked, what there has always been a demand for – human trafficking. Globalization, their history, and their institutions tell them that 'The West is the Best', and that white people are willing to pay for exploited black people. On top of this, the overarching discrimination and sexual violence against women in Nigeria, as well as a culture of prolonged domination, creates a further individual incentive to leave, at any cost. So, without other opportunities, and without anybody to stop them, of course, they turn to ST.

4 Implications of Embedded Sex Trafficking

Having established that ST is embedded, the question that many have asked is, 'so what?' Why does it matter that ST is embedded? Does it change anything? The answer is: yes – it does matter – it changes everything. The first major implication of embedded ST is that it is not going away anytime soon. Just as migration, prostitution, and exploitation have existed as long as civilization has, the culmination of those three in ST will continue to exist for a long time to come. Extracting a deeply embedded institution such as ST from society is no easy task and, barring some major, unexpected change in Nigerian politics, society, and development, may take hundreds of years or more. This means that any political war against trafficking is just that – political. The UK government recently pledged 5 million GBP to counter trafficking in Nigeria (Upright, 2017) – 5 million pounds to stop an industry worth billions which also happens to be embedded in all key aspects of society. While the UK government may not have considered the embeddedness of ST, they know that it is a much larger industry than can be affected by 5 million pounds. It is interesting that this pledge to stem the flow of trafficked people to the UK came after BREXIT when xenophobia appears to be at an all-time high in the UK.

The next major implication of embedded ST is the further 'othering' of 'the Nigerian. The increased prevalence and the growing, global notoriety of ST in Nigeria are conferring upon Nigerians an image of an 'other,' not one of 'us,' or even one of 'them,' but something else – a 'Nigerian.' A corrupt, letter scamming, drug dealing, weapon trafficking, sex trafficking other. Any Nigerian in Italy, of any age, is expected to be either a drug dealer or a prostitute, if not both. Ekhikhebolo told me of people in Italy approaching her asking to have sex with her daughter since her daughter was ten years old. Even when her daughter was at university studying law, she was being approached for prostitution. Ekhikhebolo stated that, besides in her work, she avoids anybody or anything Nigerian as much as she can, evidence that even people from Nigeria are 'othering' the Nigerian.

This degradation of reputation, this othering, means fewer legitimate opportunities for people from Nigeria. Unlike most people who need to prove 'what they are' to be awarded an opportunity, the Nigerian first needs to prove 'what they are not.' Even here, at the Higher School of Economics, one of the most prestigious universities in Russia, students were invited from Nigeria to study but were detained by border officials due to a suspicion of trafficking. This

necessity to prove 'what you are' not only adds complexity to the already difficult path to legitimacy in Nigeria, forcing people to seek illegitimate opportunities such as ST.

With one of the keys to the eradication of ST being socioeconomic development, which arguably requires foreign investment to do so, the distrust fostered by the reputation degradation of Nigeria is a roadblock towards this goal. It never makes sense to invest in mutually beneficial, long-term projects when you cannot trust your Nigerian partners or the future of the socioeconomic situation in the country. Furthermore, with remittances indirectly affecting development, this then implies that one of the keys to the eradication of ST, is more ST, as other foreign opportunities are hard to gain, due to the reasons stated above.

Consequently, given that ST can be linked to personal and socioeconomic development, Nigerian society can come to appreciate exploitation as a valid means of empowerment, causing an expansion of the exploitation-for-empowerment market. This market is already vast in Nigeria as they are ranked 8th in the world with an estimated 875,000 people in forced labor (GSI, 2016). With exploitation-fueled empowerment being embedded in society, this has the potential to change the concept of human rights, negatively affect health in the country, and increase inequality and class distinctions as the gap between exploiter and exploited widens. As seen in ST, it also creates the goal in society to rise from exploited to exploiter, as many people who are trafficked end up trafficking others.

As this exploitation-fueled empowerment becomes more commonplace, it means there will be no deception, and trafficking will transform into irregular migration, prostitution, and debt bondage, requiring society to adapt to the new socioeconomic situation or adapt their laws to find a way to condemn it. This legislative revision, however, would either reduce freedoms or make migration harder, which is how political institutions facilitate ST in the first place.

Furthermore, as the exploitation-for-empowerment market for unskilled labor grows, many people, knowing they have a future in prostitution, or drugs or weapons trafficking will cease to invest in their education and personal development. Already, many girls in Edo State leave school early as they believe it does not offer them a future, and education is deteriorating in the country. Education offers the most holistic path towards socioeconomic development. If the embeddedness of ST is followed by a decrease in education, its eradication is forsaken.

This abandonment of personal development, coupled with the distrust inherent in being 'othered,' precludes the possibility of gaining personal freedom, which then prevents the

acquisition of love and happiness. Mastery of the self and society is essential for gaining freedom, as only when you have mastered them can you be independent of them, and mastery requires personal development (Bakunin, 1971; Leopold, 2006; Stepelevich, 2006). Part of mastering society is the building of trust, as without others we can depend on, our freedom is severely limited (Sayer, 2005). A lack of independence is dependence, and as long as there is dependence, there is insecurity. Dependence prevents real love, and insecurity prevents happiness. Therefore, the distrustful, materialistic environment created by embedded ST, while leading to socioeconomic enrichment, impedes personal enrichment.

Additionally, the idea of a future in ST and the acceptance of the commodification of humans will also affect the decision-making of families, possibly leading to breeding-for-prostitution, and baby mills for the same purpose. Essentially, the embeddedness of ST, the commodification of humans, the drive for material gain at any cost, being exploited to become an exploiter, and the facilitation of exploitation, leads to the dehumanization of society.

5 Recommendations

5.1 Nigeria

While the last chapter may have appeared to spell out the doom of humankind, some actions can be taken to disembed ST from Nigerian society. Though ST is a symptom of the global economic and development paradigm, it is not embedded in every society, even though it exists in many different societies. One of the actual benefits of the embeddedness of Nigerian ST is that it makes it visible. Most ST around the world is pushed deep underground, making it difficult to reveal, understand, and eradicate. The visibility of Nigerian ST allows for experimentation and analysis within combat efforts, which would be very beneficial towards understanding the purposes and outcomes of global development.

Given the stubborn nature of embedded institutions such as ST, corruption, and inequality, any solution towards their eradication will require long-term planning. In chapter one using a vein of gold as a metaphor, I said that the only way to remove an embedded institution is either to wait and hope that over time natural forces cause it to leak out on its own, or to introduce a major shock to society, such as a major technological advance, war, or revolution. In order for the institution to leak out over time, there would have to be a concerted effort by the institutional framework, but, due to the mass distrust in Nigeria, fractionalization, and the weak formal and informal institutions, the coordination necessary to eradicate an embedded institution such as ST is nearly impossible to achieve. Without a mechanism to strengthen informal institutions organically, and without strong formal institutions in place to affect the informal, an alternative approach to formal institutions must be taken. Therefore, my first recommendation is just that. Given the impermanence of democracy, with each new government creating an entirely new development strategy every four or five years, it is ill-suited to bring about change in a country with such complex problems as Nigeria. Furthermore, Nigeria has a 'mean years of schooling' of 5.9 (UNDP, 2015), which means the average Nigerian has the education of an eleven-year-old. As an educated and experienced parent would not give their eleven-year-old child a voice in how to manage the household during times of crisis, neither can a government rely on an uneducated populace to decide the future of the country during such a complicated development process. Tough times call for tough measures, and democracy, as it is known, must be delayed. However, I do not advocate a traditional dictatorship as that will only create more problems than it would hope to solve in a highly fractionalized, distrusting state, such as Nigeria. I propose a representative authoritarian

meritocracy (RAM) based on China's model of decentralized development and incentive-based promotions and modified to suit the institutional environment of Nigeria. The exact design of the RAM would have to be well planned in coordination with politicians, academia, and community, tribal, and religious leaders to ensure that it is indeed representative of the entire country. This would hope to alleviate the power imbalances and possibly corruption which currently exist, as each member, having equal political power, may not allow others to gain while they, and the people they represent, do not.

While Western-centric views paint anything other than democracy as evil, there may be evidence that Nigeria is not so averse to non-democratic governance. Based on the Quality of Government study, Nigeria has the 13th lowest acceptance of democracy in the world, with only 60% in favor. Furthermore, Nigerian perceptions of the existence of deliberative democracy, deliberative decision-making involving consensus and majority rule, and egalitarian democracy, that everybody is equal in his or her ability to exercise their democratic rights were held by only 43% and 33% respectively (Dahlberg et al., 2017). This means that most people do not believe that a real democracy currently exists, while many do not believe there should be a democracy in the first place, though it is certainly possible that the weak performance of democracy in the country is the reason for this. However, the possibility still remains that a non-democratic government could be accepted in Nigeria, especially given the success that China has had with their governance structure since its inception in 1978[16].

The initial mandates of the RAM would be to bring about stability through a strong enforcement of the law; to eradicate gender, tribal, and religious inequalities; to maximize the gain from the extraction of its resources; to develop infrastructure; to create jobs; to reform and improve education; ensure a basic social policy; and to work with the community to discover the institutional causes of its social problems to discover solutions. With stability, and given Nigeria's large, low-paid workforce, this should attract international companies to invest and set up factories, creating jobs and contributing to the growth of the country. Eradicating gender, tribal, and religious inequality greatly improves the productivity of a country by increasing the talent pool. Current

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[16] In 1978, Deng Xiaoping engineered China's departure from communism towards 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' which included the opening of the Chinese economy to the world, the introduction of a meritocratic, incentivized decentralization of powers, and the marketization and the privatizing of public entities. The result was that China rose to have the 2nd highest economy in the world, and reduced poverty from 88% in 1981 to 11% in 2010, which is unheard of in history (Whelan, n.d.).

resource extraction regimes are based on exploitation causing mass amounts of money and resources to leave the country, and contributing relatively little towards development, so to take control of those processes will greatly aid the country. Nigeria is one of the least developed countries in the world in terms of infrastructure (Dahlberg et al., 2017), while infrastructure development creates jobs and supports business creation by reducing costs that would have otherwise been incurred by businesses (Okoh & Ebi, 2013). Additionally, infrastructure development, such as roads, railways, and high-speed internet plays a major role in bridging the distances, both mental and physical, between tribes, helping to break barriers and create cohesion. Supplying people with legitimate jobs increases tax revenues, as well as providing incomes to families. Improving education increases human capital, and, subsequently, productivity. As well, putting a strong focus on personal development in the education system will also help to create a more aware and responsible population. A modicum of social policy ensures that the population is not in dire need during times of transition, preventing crimes of necessity. With ST being embedded in local society, it means that local society can describe it best and must play a part in finding the solutions. Any policy implementation without considering the community would be as previously stated, an unsupported legislative declaration, and most likely would not be socially enforced. When considering where the money will come from, Nigeria has one of the lowest government debts in the world (Dahlberg et al., 2017), so once a strong government is in place with a long term plan, increased spending will be necessary and beneficial. It is crucial, however, that the strategy and the systems to enforce it be in place before spending begins, otherwise funds will continue to be lost to corruption, nepotism, and mismanagement.

Once stability is maintained, and growth has begun, medium range planning would continue with infrastructure development, further creating jobs and eradicating slums, while overall creating a feeling of progress within the country, renewing pride and creating unity. Further improvement of education quality and ease of access at all levels is crucial. An improvement in the provision of social services to allow for some comfort during the transition would help to ease tensions within society. Continued efforts to eradicate inequality, would increase productivity and reduce the incidence of people being pushed into illegitimate spheres such as ST.

Long term planning would be focused on transitioning through the resource and infrastructure development fueled growth towards a service based economy. This would require a continued focus on educational quality and attainment and improved social services provision.

Equality will be sought on the basis of the quality of life, and the harmony of society. Transparency would also become necessary at this time, to create trust as well as to educate the population in the matters of state. As the country is secured as a stable economy, with an educated workforce, and without any glaring inequalities, the government can then reduce its authoritarian interference in the management of the country, and elements of democracy can be gradually added to the RAM before eventually transitioning to a full democracy in the future.

While a RAM might sound highly controversial to some, given the weak institutional environment in Nigeria, the only way to strengthen informal institutions in a distrusting, unequal society is by strengthening formal institutions in a legitimate way, and then strictly enforcing them so that society effectively learns what is acceptable and what is not. Ambrosino and Fiori (2017, p. 1) call this a top-down process of change. Then, as society becomes harmonized in its vision of what is right and what is wrong, society, and the economy will be more predictable, which should increase investment and socio-economic development. It can serve to create stability, reduce inequality, create opportunities, increase education and personal growth, and remove the need to involve oneself in exploitative activities. Only a holistic approach, involving the government, Nigerian society, and the global community can have any effect on eradicating an embedded institution, but the stark divisions in Nigerian society are too complicated for the government to maintain control, which prevents the global community from being able to aid in creating change.

Furthermore, Amartya Sen (2001), and certainly many others would argue against the limiting of political freedoms to increase economic development, arguing that freedom is more important than economic needs, and therefore should not be sacrificed to satisfy economic needs. However, this is a highly idealistic and unrealistic notion of freedom. As it has been pointed out in Chapter 4, personal liberty requires mastery of the self and society. To master society means to master the following of society's rules. As any text on leadership will delineate, to be an effective leader one must also be a proficient follower. This period of mastering society, this followership, is a period of dependence, as one relies on society to satisfy all of their needs. Hence it is not a period of freedom or independence. Freedom is a tool, which is neutral by itself, and depending on the quality of the application of that tool, a positive, neutral, or negative result can be achieved. Mastery of the self, and of society, increases the quality of application of freedom, allowing for a positive result. This is why it is not beneficial for children to be given too much freedom – without training, experience, and maturity, the use of freedom can have drastically negative consequences

for the child and the people around them. Just as when an adult, in the use of their freedom, is a danger to themselves and to others, society calls for the incarceration, and hopefully rehabilitation of the offender. This restriction of their liberty is an opportunity for mastery so they can then make a better use of their freedom. I argue that freedom is not inherently positive and that not all people should have freedom all the time, while I agree that it should be a goal. It is in the best interest of society, and the individual, to be guided through mastery before being given too much freedom. Just as with any human, mastery of society requires the opportunity to acquire resources for education and the satisfaction of basic needs. Therefore, just as the human will forego freedom to acquire the means to achieve mastery, increasing the quality of their ultimate freedom, society would benefit from doing the same.

Lipset (1960), Barro (1996), Djankov et al. (2002), Przeworski (2004), and Glaeser et al. (2004) would agree with me. They propose that growth in poor countries comes from increased human and social capital; dictators with sound policies; and the subsequent improvement of institutions (Effiom & Ubi, 2015, p. 263; Glaeser et al., 2004, p. 298), which is very similar to my proposition of an authoritarian government which focuses on education, infrastructure, and opportunities, which should create growth and strengthen both formal and informal institutions. In the case of deliberate development, however, a RAM is much more feasible and realistic, as dictators with good policies are rare and difficult to predict. Additionally, Okoh and Ebi (2013) found that infrastructure development relies on contract enforceability and the reduction of corruption, which should be possible with a RAM.

5.2 Host Countries

Recommendations for host countries, such as Italy and Russia, are not so easy to decide on as each country has a different situation and different ideas about development. Italy's policies toward refugees and migrants allow for greater independence and a higher quality of life for trafficked people than in Russia. However, these same laws allow much more people to enter Italy, and drugs, weapons, and violence are coming with them, while this does not appear to be the case in Russia. If asylum and migration laws become stricter, it would make it harder for law-abiding citizens to escape conflict, for students to take advantage of international education opportunities, and for people wishing to conduct legitimate business - all affairs which can improve the quality of life of migrants, transnational relations, and socioeconomic development. Any law or policy which gives financial or legal aid to migrants, or asylum privileges, are exploited by traffickers,

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and countries do so at their own risk. The common, informal policy I observe applied in both Russia and Italy, though much more so in Russia, is to turn a blind eye. Knowing that most of the people want to be trafficked and that it is an opportunity for them, law enforcement and officials let them continue with what they are doing, as long as they do not create any obvious problems for them. However, this informal policy is essentially a refusal of their official existence, and this means that the people are not awarded the benefits or protection of the state. I do not believe this stance to be merely absent-mindedness, but strategic, in that, if they acknowledge their existence, they must choose a side – either to consider them as victims of trafficking or as illegal economic migrants. Since neither of them is entirely true, actions in either direction would be undesirable, as they both involve investigations and arrest, and the direction of the former would mean assisting criminals, while the latter would mean punishing victims. The same might be said of the legalization of prostitution. In countries with weak institutions, corruption, and mismanagement, such as Nigeria, Italy, and Russia, legalizing prostitution would be legalizing exploitation, making it harder to distinguish between agents and traffickers, which is why I believe these countries follow an informal policy of deliberate inaction. Consequently, given the complexity of the situation that host countries find themselves in, I refuse to give any recommendation that does not offer a net positive result, while I do not condemn the aforementioned policies either. Individual nations, with their own unique institutional environments, should be free to choose what they believe provide the greater good. If there is to be any universal recommendation, it can only be to modify the education systems everywhere to increase the focus on personal awareness and development to gradually remove the overriding theme of exploitation embedded in societies around the globe.

Conclusion

In this research, I took a departure from the moral crusade surrounding ST, daring to venture into uncharted territory as few others have before me. Looking at ST originating in Nigeria from a detached perspective, I sought to understand and explain the institutional underpinnings of the phenomenon. Beginning with the stories of trafficked women and experts in the field, I found the patterns, recognized the process, and reconstructed the cycle, which illuminated its institutionalization. Examining ST as an institution, and its interactions with its institutional framework, allowed me to reveal its embeddedness. The formal institutions in Nigeria create an insecure situation which people want to leave but need to do so through irregular channels, and the weakness of enforcement does nothing to stop this. Economic institutions make ST administratively easier and much more profitable than other possibilities. Large families without means to support their children, seek to traffic one or two children to provide for the rest and to improve their quality of life[17]. Religious institutions structure the ST community and bind parties in spiritual agreements of debt bondage. Informal institutions, such as the history of the slave trade, make the commodification of humans acceptable, while corruption makes ST possible, social networks make it easier, and the culture of bondage and sexual violence makes ST in Europe a possible welcome respite.

Realizing the enormity of the embeddedness of ST in society, I then sought to understand and explain the implications of this situation. The primary implication is that as ST has existed for millennia, it will remain for a long time to come, and will not be eradicated by political tricks and gimmicks. The second major implication is that the 'othering' of 'the Nigerian' will continue as ST continues, creating a world in which legitimate opportunities are less available to Nigerians, forcing them into illegitimate opportunities, such as ST. The third major implication, having recognized that ST represents both exploitation and empowerment, means that the trend of exploitation-fueled empowerment will continue to grow, modifying the labor market to accommodate the supply of exploited and exploiter 'wannabes.' This concept of moral self-sacrifice in the name of financial gain can prevent the acquisition of personal freedom, love, and happiness.

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[17] Information about the trafficking of multiple children is from multiple interviews with Nigerians

Given the nature of embeddedness, the only options for eradication are either long-term planning over decades or centuries, or a major shock to society. As the necessary shock, I propose the introduction of a representative authoritarian meritocratic government to begin the transformation. With the unstable socioeconomic system in Nigeria, weak formal and informal institutions, and an under-educated population, democracy is ill-equipped to create stability and to reduce the structural inequalities in the country allowing for socioeconomic development, which is the only real solution to the problems plaguing Nigeria, including ST. Based on the complexity of ST for host countries, and the necessity to choose the lesser of two evils, I then explained why I refuse to give recommendations to either country, instead choosing to illuminate several possibilities. As an overall recommendation to all countries, I recommended embedding the education system in personal development to reduce exploitation everywhere.

This research is important and groundbreaking for several reasons. The most immediate impact this research should have is in the illumination of the embeddedness and institutional aspect of ST, and a greater understanding of the root causes. A major part of that understanding is the realization that while ST represents the exploitation of somebody, it is also their empowerment, as it allows them to gain resources and to climb the social ladder. Consequently, this duality indicates that the war versus trafficking becomes a war versus empowerment, underscoring the need for a long-term, holistic approach towards eradicating ST so that empowerment is not sacrificed to prevent exploitation.

A second significant contribution is that this research adds to the slowly growing scientific debate surrounding ST. The moral crusade painting ST as a suitable enemy is being used as a tool for political and financial gain without doing anything to affect the roots of exploitation, which is disastrous when considering the enormous amount of time and resources put towards the effort around the globe. ST is just a symptom of the global world order, and instead of the entire world trying to apply band-aid solutions, there should be more impartial study and understanding so a cure can be found for the disease underneath.

Another contribution is my approach to the subject. Being a student of an interdisciplinary subject like development, I customarily look for answers wherever they may exist. I sought to understand ST from many different aspects, including micro and macro, processes, power mechanisms, political, legal, social, economic, and moral. This comprehensive approach allowed me to notice a pattern in the stories of 13 women, and then draw conclusions, ask further questions,

draw more conclusions, ask even further questions, and so on, until I was able to reveal the embeddedness of ST in Nigeria and the implications of them. Furthermore, putting the results from the stories, the cycles, the institutional explanations, and the implications of embeddedness all in one place gives the reader a more comprehensive understanding of ST.

Yet another contribution of my method is an extension of the use of the institutional approach. Thus far, the institutional approach is not widely used to study informal institutions, nevertheless given the vast importance of informal institutions to the structure of society around us, I believe that further development of this will be beneficial in creating an additional understanding of the root causes of social phenomena. Also, given that trafficking everywhere is not expected to be the same as trafficking from Nigeria, applying the institutional approach to the study of trafficking in other places will do much to gain a greater understanding of what initiates, facilitates, and supports it.

This research also contributes to the overall discourse concerning development in Nigeria and the region. Overcoming weak formal and informal institutions, a fractionalized society, and mass distrust is challenging, yet necessary if there is to be socioeconomic growth. It is time for the world to recognize that one system of governance, such as democracy, cannot be applied effectively in every situation. If there is going to be a genuinely concerted effort towards global development, leaders and academics must dare to look outside democracy to find strategies for optimal governance.

In recommending further research, given the temporal property of institutions, a historical comparative institutional analysis of the commodification of humans, through ST, human trafficking, and slavery in Nigeria would be enlightening. This would enable us to reveal how the institution came into being, how it changed over time, and possibly to make predictions about its future. Hopefully, it would also reveal the institutions which have affected it over time, both positively and negatively, so that a more explicit strategy for eradication could be conceived.

Furthermore, as Ostrom recommended that a broad theoretical framework should be created before diving into the niches to gain a deeper understanding, this research only showed the general embeddedness of ST, but there is much work to do in empirically explaining the exact impact of each institution. Further research can draw on this work to create indicators and perform quantitative analyses of the determinants and facilitators of ST. One such study could examine the effect of economic institutions and analyze trends in lifetime earnings and profits in ST compared

to different career paths in Nigeria, as well as the social capital gained in various paths. Analyzing the trends in earnings differential will show how well the Nigerian economy is doing compared to ST while also showing how much progress is needed to make ST less attractive.

Also, while it may be difficult to conduct, I believe an interdisciplinary study of people in different roles in the ST value chain, including families which traffic their own children, analyzing values, motivations, and perceived gains, in pre and post-trafficking situations, will add much to understanding the acceptable commodification of humans. Additionally, a more in-depth analysis of the transformation that people go through, including others in the value chain would be monumental in gaining true understanding. I believe if academics from within the Edo community in Nigeria can undertake this with understanding instead of judgment, it may be possible.

Additionally, I believe a study of social networks within ST may be able to give more clarity to the structure of Nigerian trafficking. As of now, investigators in Italy have not been able to determine how Nigerian organized crime is structured[18]. However, this lack of understanding could be because the Igbo tribe is non-hierarchical, unlike other societies (Findlay, 2017). The visibility of Nigerian ST provides a clear opportunity for detached researchers to gain further understanding of exploitation, social networks, institutions, and development. There is evidence in some of the literature that traffickers are willing to speak about their experiences if approached in the right way (Politzer & Kassie, 2016; Vijeyarasa, 2016). Everybody craves to be understood, and for the people who have been labeled as other and outcast, it is even more so.

My own future research will be concerned with the direction and goals of development, arguing that the embeddedness of social relations and development in the economy contributes to the theme of exploitation omnipresent in the world, whether it is the global North exploiting the global south, the rich exploiting the poor, or the powerful exploiting the powerless. While economic sustainability and growth are important, it is only as a means to personal and societal growth, which means the economy should be embedded in personal and societal development, shaping economic decision-making along the lines of developmental institutions.

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[18] From interviews with de Santis and Conzo, February 21, 2017, Naples

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Appendix 1

Background information

- Location:
    - Where from
    - Where majority of life spent
- Family
    - constitution (parents, siblings, present cousins/uncles/aunts/grandparents, etc.)
    - home
    - wealth/poverty level
    - parents/siblings occupations
    - substance use/abuse
    - abuse
        - emotional
        - physical
        - sexual
        - neglect
- Education
    - Beginning age, leaving age/grade, reason for leaving, childhood before school
    - Quality of education/school
    - Certificates/completions of education
    - Teacher relationships
        - Abuse (emotional, physical, sexual, neglect)
- Childhood
    - Did they work? What kind of work? What kind of pay?
    - How did they play/spend free time
    - Friends
        - Gender (same/different/mix)
        - Ages (older/younger/same)
        - Occupations
    - Sexual activity
        - First boyfriend

- o Substance use
  - ▪ Drugs
  - ▪ Alcohol abuse

Trafficking experience:

- Age of entry
- Do you remember clearly the whole process?
- When did you first realize that something was wrong?
- Advertising/Recruitment
  - o First contact
    - ▪ Where
    - ▪ Who (person, group, company)
    - ▪ How
      - Promises made (job, pay, home, visa)
      - The deal
      - How heard about?
      - cost
    - ▪ Overall experience
- Time and contact between making deal and leaving
- The trip
  - o When
  - o Who with
  - o How
    - ▪ Transportation methods
      - How long?
    - ▪ Border crossings
    - ▪ Freedom
    - ▪ Abuse
      - Physical, sexual, psychological, verbal

Debt Bondage

- Amount to pay back

- How are victims of debt bondage for sexual exploitation treated?
  - Ask about living situations and nutrition
    - Drug and alcohol use and abuse
      - Forced, voluntary
  - Ask about abuse (emotional, sexual, physical, neglect), by debtors or by clients
    - Intentional or mistaken?
    - Injuries?
    - Sickness?
    - Sexual abuse
      - Forced acts
      - rape
    - Psychological abuse
      - Intimidation and threats
      - Lies, deception
  - Ask about health care
    - Access to health services
  - Ask about pay
  - Ask about freedom of movement, free time
  - Ask about working situation (location, hours, clients per day, cleanliness, condom use, etc.)
  - Pregnancies?
    - Abortions?
  - Overall feelings during debt bondage
    - Easily tired, crying more than usual, headaches, unhappy/sadness, inadequacy, etc.
    - Ever think of suicide?
- What are the realistic/feasible exit options from debt bondage?
  - Can ask the women what options they know of
  - Can ask people who've exited this situation
  - Do they feel they could have run away

Appendix 2

1. What is your name?
2. Where are you from?
3. How did you come to be here?
4. Very briefly, what is your academic and employment background?
5. How long have you been in this line of work?
6. How long have you been with this organization?
7. How do people usually learn about the org?
8. Who are the typical clients of this org?
9. What does the org offer?
10. How is first contact usually made?
11. Does your org ever look to find trafficked people and rescue them?
12. What do you do for the organization?
13. Can you describe your interaction with the clients, as a process, from the beginning of their care to the end of your involvement with them?
14. What, in your perspective, is the greatest concern for those who have been trafficked here?
15. Do you have any male clients who've been trafficked here for sexual exploitation? If so, can you describe a case?
16. Can you describe to me some cases of clients who have been trafficked here for sexual exploitation?
17. Do the victims of sexual exploitation often use contraceptives?
18. How many women end up pregnant while here under sexual exploitation?
19. Generally, who are the fathers? Clients, pimps, friends, lovers, etc.?
20. What is the STI rate for the clients?
21. Can you tell me about the dangers the clients face?
22. From your perspective, can you tell me about the involvement of organized crime in these cases?
23. Is there anything else you would like to share which I have not asked?