



HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN EASTERN AFRICA

**Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi**



IOM International Organization for Migration

The Publisher, IOM and Editors cannot be held responsible for errors or any consequences arising from the use of information contained in this publication; the views and opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Publisher, IOM and Editors, neither does the publication of advertisements constitute any endorsement by the Publisher, IOM and Editors of the products advertised.

IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an intergovernmental organization, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to: assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

Publisher: International Organization for Migration
17 route des Morillons
1211 Geneva 19
Switzerland
Tel: +41.22.717 91 11
Fax: +41.22.798 61 50
E-mail: hq@iom.int
Internet: <http://www.iom.int>

ISBN 978-92-9068-443-5
© 2008 International Organization for Migration (IOM)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior written permission of the publisher.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN EASTERN AFRICA:

**Research Assessment and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and Burundi**



IOM International Organization for Migration

T able of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Executive Summary.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 Background.....	5
1.2 Research objectives.....	5
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Push factors	7
2.2 Pull factors	11
2.3 Trafficking flows	13
2.4 Impact of trafficking on individuals and communities.....	15
3.0 METHODOLOGY.....	17
3.1 Research sites and participants.....	17
3.2 Sampling.....	18
3.3 Data collection instruments.....	19
3.4 Limitations.....	20
4.0 FACILITATING FACTORS	23
4.1 Migration	23
4.2 Supply and demand for labour in the context of poverty.....	24
4.3 Aspirations	26
4.4 Armed conflict	28
4.5 Natural disasters and health crises, including HIV and AIDS	29
4.6 Governance.....	29
4.7 Crime and law enforcement.....	30
4.8 Child labour and fostering.....	31
4.9 Gender roles	32
4.10 Marriage, sexual relations, and gender based violence.....	33
5.0 PERCEPTIONS OF TRAFFICKING	35
5.1 Perceptions of awareness.....	35
5.2 Perceptions of trafficking in organs.....	35
5.3 Perceptions on origin, transit, and destination.....	36
6.0 VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING: PROFILING AND EXPERIENCES	39
6.1 Victim profiles.....	39
6.2 Trafficking experiences	44

- 7.0 HUMAN TRAFFICKER PROFILING.....55
 - 7.1 Trafficked person responses.....55
 - 7.2 Trafficker and proxy trafficker interviews.....56
- 8.0 HEALTH RISKS FOR TRAFFICKED PERSONS AND IMPACT ON LIFE OPPORTUNITIES.....63
 - 8.1 Health risks for trafficked persons.....63
 - 8.2 Impact on life opportunities64
- 9.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....67
 - 9.1 Conclusions.....67
 - 9.2 Recommendations68
- Annex 1
 - Bibliography71
- Annex 2
 - Challenges with sampling75
- Annex 3
 - Data processing and analysis77
- Annex 4
 - Occupational and service categories used in coding.....79

Acknowledgements

IOM’s Regional Office for East and Central Africa would like to acknowledge the following for contributing to this publication:

Michael Fleisher and Research International for primary data collection; Rochelle Johnston for the literature review, quantitative analysis, and presentation of findings; Inbal Alon and Carolyn Hunt for processing data; Ivelina Borisova, Clara Barata, and Andrea Rossi for guidance on data analysis; Heather Komenda and Lara Quarterman for qualitative analysis and presentation of findings; the IOM offices in Tanzania and Uganda; colleagues at IOM regional office in Nairobi and IOM headquarters in Geneva for advice, review, and support; and other IOM staff that made this research possible, including the late Inke Rosebrock.

came in increasing numbers, and lived in shanty towns in desperation and poverty. Street children as beggars who simply work on the streets but are without families or homes are increasing in number in [sub Saharan Africa's] major cities... Irregular migration as well as trafficking in young boys and girls was stimulated and intensified by worsening youth unemployment and rapidly deteriorating socio-political and economic conditions and poverty (Adepoju, 2005).

Sometimes the livelihood trafficking victims are seeking for their own benefit and sometimes it is to increase the income of the family through remittances or a flat fee upon recruitment. Women and children in particular may be working to provide income for their families (Kamala et al., 2001). Especially in the case of children, it could be to benefit an adult relative. Parents may inadvertently facilitate the trafficking of their own children when their own means of livelihood fail, having the perception that sending their children away would be a better way to ensure that their children's needs are met (Adepoju, 2005).

The particular vulnerability of women is also noted in relation to unemployment, though again this conclusion is based on anecdotal evidence rather than systematic analysis. Women may have fewer livelihood options (particularly as they may be less likely to have land and capital) and be paid lower wages, leading them to seek out opportunities to migrate (Kamala et al., 2001). This, in combination with social/cultural practices that discriminate against women, may explain what is being called the "feminization of migration."

Other than to meet basic needs, livelihood opportunities may be sought to pay off debts and to earn a lot of money quickly and easily (Kamala et al., 2001). There may be a perception that work in the cities is less arduous and pays better than work in the countryside. This desire for a quick and easy payoff may be on the part of the individual who becomes a victim of trafficking or it may be on the part of others who are exploiting them, especially in the case of children.

Some research results suggest, however, that people's hope for a better life does not necessarily mean wanting a perfect life: "almost 80 per cent of the girls interviewed do not necessarily want to get rich, rather they want to gain access to a 'good life'" (Kamala et al., 2001). Particularly for women, migration may be perceived as a way to access greater freedom (Pearson, 2003).

Family and social networks

Much of the research hypothesize that the number, strength, and nature of a person's relationships affects whether they are trafficked or not. Those whose families have disintegrated either through death (leaving orphans and widows) or divorce are viewed to be more at risk for trafficking. Women and children running from different forms of violence are also considered vulnerable while those with friends and family in the destination area who can facilitate safer migration are considered more protected. Contrary to this last point, having family members or friends who encourage migration may be a risk factor for trafficking.

Death of both parents is linked to more intense poverty, increased pressure on children to work, and dropping from school due to inability to pay school fees (Adepoju, 2005). Being orphaned may also result in displacement as children migrate to live with extended family members and cope with less adult protection against exploitation, including by those meant to care for them.

Death of even one parent and divorce are also hypothesized to lead to problems (Adepoju, 2005). However, in general family problems, rather than the family's disintegration, are more frequently cited as a risk factor for trafficking (ILO, 2006). Parents may abuse alcohol or desert or neglect their children. Children themselves may quarrel with their parents, contributing to family disharmony.

Another family characteristic hypothesized to affect children and their vulnerability to trafficking is a large family size. Again, having a large family is linked with children's economic participation. The explanation is that the adults in larger families may be unable to meet the family's basic needs alone and thus may require their children to work (Adepoju, 2005). Research done in West and Central Africa has shown an association between having a large family and children being trafficked (ILO, 2001).

Returning to the issue of divorce, girls and young women who are forced into marriages (early or child marriage) may migrate to escape their husbands or parents (Kamala et al., 2001). Sexual abuse is frequently cited in the context of domestic workers abused by their employers or children abused while living on the street who end up being trafficked (Kamala et al., 2001; Pearson, 2003; UNICEF, 2003). However, when it comes to children leaving home, some of the research suggests that physical abuse may be more important than sexual abuse or rather that physical abuse may affect more children: only 3 per cent of the children in the Tanzanian study on commercially sexually exploited children left home because of sexual abuse, while 20 per cent left because of fights and maltreatment (Fitzgibbon, 2003; ILO, 2006).

Some people also leave with support and encouragement from their family, usually for the economic reasons mentioned above, including the hope of receiving remittances (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; Fong, 2004; ILO, 2006; Kamala et al., 2001).

Peer influence, particularly with trafficking into commercial sexual exploitation, including having peers who have already migrated for work, may also be important. This foreshadows the involvement of some victims in recruitment (UNICEF, 2003).

Community characteristics

The research reviewed focuses primarily on how the economic environment in people's home communities contributes to their vulnerability to trafficking. However, there is some mention of other community or environmental characteristics that may be important. This includes the lack of protective services for children trying to escape an abusive home, employer, or early marriage (UNICEF, 2003). The vulnerability of working and often living with an abusive employer may be compounded by the fear and sometimes inability to return home or to access support after migrating. Young people also mention lack of recreational and social opportunities in rural communities, particularly in comparison with urban communities, as something that makes migration an attractive alternative.

Lack of educational opportunities, however, is a more widely cited factor. Researchers suggest that while universal, compulsory primary education provides some protection, once children are no longer legally required to go to school they may become vulnerable to recruitment into commercial sexual exploitation (Pearson, 2003). Further, secondary schools in rural areas may be unaffordable, unavailable, or full (Adepoju, 2005). A World Bank study suggests that further education, rather than work, is often the reason parents send their children away (UNICEF,

2003). While universal primary education may be protective, improvements in the quality of education are needed to increase retention (Pearson, 2003). Vocational training opportunities in rural communities may also be important (Kamala et al., 2001); in a Tanzanian study, almost the same percentage of surveyed children working in the informal sector cite “training” (14%), as cite “employment” (15%), as their reason for migrating (Kadonya et al., 2002). Lack of educational and training opportunities in rural areas can of course be exploited by traffickers to lure people with false promises of both (UNICEF, 2003).

2.2 Pull factors

Much of the research argues that trafficked labour is attractive to employers as compared to less- or non-exploitive forms of labour because it is cheap, compliant, and, because of this, profitable. Internationally trafficked people are likely to have, or perceive themselves as having, an irregular immigration status. They usually also come from a dramatically different cultural context (i.e., different languages, customs, etc.) which makes them more dependent upon their trafficker.

Children who are trafficked and thus separated from their families may be more exploitable because they are less likely to have an adult advocating on their behalf for fair pay and acceptable work conditions. Furthermore, particularly in the case of domestic work or sexual exploitation, a child’s employer may be simultaneously their caretaker and therefore able to use that power for economic exploitation.

While that same power dynamic does not exist with adults, given the rural to urban pattern of trafficking in Eastern Africa and the relative economic disparity of those arriving from rural areas, victims may be dependent on their better-resourced trafficker and/or employer initially for subsistence, particularly for accommodation. They may have exhausted or abandoned all of their resources to migrate and the cultural context, particularly as it relates to social and economic structures, of the place they end up may be unfamiliar. All of these power imbalances may make trafficking victims especially dependent upon their traffickers and employers, increasing their traffickers’ ability to maintain control over them.

Agricultural and domestic work, prostitution, and sexual exploitation

Trafficking is not just labour supply for illicit or informal industries. The type of work that is or could most easily be regulated also pulls trafficked labour. In Eastern Africa in general, trafficking for agricultural labour is mentioned by multiple sources (Adepoju, 2005; Fong, 2004; Pearson, 2003) as well as mining and the service industry (United States Department of State, 2006).

There is much evidence of trafficking into domestic work in the region (Pearson, 2003). Internal trafficking for domestic work has also been documented in Kenya and Tanzania (Adepoju, 2005; Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003; Kibuga, 2000; UNICEF, 2003; United States Department of State, 2006;). Also, there has been analysis of why there is a demand for trafficked labour for domestic work in particular (UNICEF, 2006). Particularly in urban areas, mothers may need to work outside of the home and so need substitute care for their children. There is often a shortage of low-cost and compliant labour in urban areas to fill this need. Urban/rural linkages are strong in the region, which may facilitate less formal forms of trafficking for domestic labour.

International trafficking for domestic work is also a concern. There have been reports of Ugandan and Burundian girls being trafficked to the UK for domestic work and of girls being trafficked into the Middle East from Tanzania (UNICEF, b) and Kenya, as well as into Europe and North America from Kenya (United States Department of State, 2006) for the same purpose.

As in other parts of the world, trafficking for the purpose of prostitution is one of the most well-documented pull factors in the region (Kamala et al., 2001). Internal trafficking for the domestic sex industry has also been identified in Tanzania (Adepoju, 2005), and Kenya (UNICEF, a). Much has been documented about trafficking in Eastern Africa for the international sex industry, whether internally for sex tourists or externally to countries within the region and to the Middle East, South Asia, Europe and North America (Fitzgibbon, 2003). The demands of the sex industry in Kenya are so great that it is drawing women from other countries including Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, and even South Asia (United States Department of State, 2006), and there are documented cases of sexually exploited Ugandan girls in the UK (Somerset, 2004) and South Africa (UNICEF, c), of Kenyan girls exploited in Europe (Adepoju, 2005; Pearson, 2003) and of Burundian children being sent abroad.

Though trafficking for sex tourism may be high profile and therefore better documented, there is some evidence that the domestic sex trade is much larger. In a Tanzanian study only 20 per cent of respondents engaged in prostitution worked for upper class or tourist clients (Kamala et al., 2001). Similarly, a Kenyan study revealed that Kenyans form the majority of the client base for commercially sexually exploited children along the Kenyan coast (Jones, 2006). Finally, militaries in Kenya are reported to use trafficked persons to provide sexual services to their soldiers. Reports in Kenya have focused on the British Army who are stationed near Nanyuki (UNICEF, a).

Military service related work

Due to the two decades long conflict between the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) and Ugandan People's Defense Force there is a considerable demand for trafficked labour for military service in the region. While much of this work is for combat duties, sexual servicing of soldiers and military support functions also make significant demands. With all types of work militaries may either be directly involved in trafficking or may rely on others to provide a supply of trafficked labour.

Abduction of northern Ugandan, southern Sudanese, and Congolese citizens, particularly children, by the LRA, is one of the highest profile forms of trafficking in the region. The human rights abuses constituted by the extremely violent methods they use to recruit and control their soldiers as well as their use of children as soldiers has been widely documented and condemned (Human Rights Watch, 2003; ILO/GoU, 2004). The LRA relies upon trafficking because they lack public support for their activities, they do not regularly remunerate their soldiers, and they subject their soldiers to extreme dangers and hardships. While some combat functions carried out by people trafficked for military service in this region include fighting other soldiers, many activities focus on civilian targets and could be characterized as criminal activities; some of those abducted in Uganda are ordered to steal, loot and burn villages, and rape, beat up, and kill civilians (Human Rights Watch, 2003; ILO/GoU, 2004).

While the scale of the LRA's trafficking (estimates are that 20,000 children alone have been abducted since the beginning of the conflict) justify focusing on their culpability, the Ugandan

People's Defense Force has also been accused of forced recruitment, including of children, particularly through their Local Defense Forces (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

While trafficking for the purpose of combat may constitute one of the most severe violations, there is evidence that the majority of people are not abducted to serve as soldiers: in one study of children who had escaped or been released only 17 per cent of the boys had been combatants (ILO/Government of Uganda, 2004). Support functions may include work as a porter, cook, or domestic worker (ILO/Government of Uganda, 2004). Roles such as guarding encampments, carrying messages, spying, and acting as a personal bodyguard may or may not qualify as combat roles, but may expose those trafficked to far more danger. Similarly, carrying heavy loads over long distances can result in injuries, health problems, and death. Overall the extreme hardships, illness, and risk of attack that those performing military support functions face may be on par if not sometimes worse than what is faced by soldiers.

Finally, militaries in Uganda are reported to use trafficked labour to provide sexual services to their soldiers. While some women may receive some form of remuneration and have a level of freedom of choice and movement, others are literally enslaved. Some may have sex with multiple soldiers, while others may be forcibly “married” to one man.

Other forms of exploitation

Some demands for trafficked people should probably not be viewed exclusively in labour terms. This is particularly the case with the demand for women as “wives” (Pearson, 2003). It is also possible that traditionally sanctioned forms of forced marriage that involve a girl or woman having to migrate to join her new husband could be considered forms of trafficking.

Furthermore, while there may be some implicit acceptance of transactional sex between adults as a labour issue, it may be inappropriate to view what is legally defined and/or subjectively experienced by victims as rape as a question of supply and demand. This issue is of particular concern *vis-à-vis* children who cannot legally consent to transactional sex. However, on this last issue, it is important to consider the way in which market forces may have increased demand for Eastern African children. This includes the increased risk, because of increased levels of awareness and more severe punishments, of seeking sex with children from the West. This increased risk may lead paedophiles to travel to seek a more accessible and lower risk supply of children. Further, there is a domestic market shaped by tradition as well as contemporary fears about HIV and AIDS that favours children both as short-term sexual partners and wives.

Finally, there are a handful of examples in the literature of the use of trafficking victims in ritual practices both in the region as a whole (Fitzgibbon, 2003; Kamala et al., 2001; United States Department of State, 2006), and in Kenyan in particular (Republic of Kenya, 2001). While this may include religious leaders using victims for labour, it also includes the use of human organs for ritual purposes.

2.3 Trafficking flows

According to the literature, Eastern Africa is affected by both internal and international trafficking. Fourteen sources reviewed make reference to internal trafficking in Kenya, ten in Tanzania, and

eight in Uganda. Urbanization and strong urban/rural connections are suggested as important factors in all Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, as is the concentration of labour intensive industries in certain areas and military recruitment in Uganda. Rural and poor slum communities are mentioned as points of origin and urban, intensive agricultural and tourist centres as destinations in Tanzania and Kenya, as are mining areas in Tanzania (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; ILO, 2006; United States Department of State, 2006). Northern and western Kenya are named as points of origin (United States Department of State, 2006).

The following chart records all reports of international trafficking flows from the research reviewed on Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi. As mentioned earlier, a limitation is the discrepancy between the amount of research that has been done on trafficking in the four different countries and the fact that the primary research reviewed was limited, with a few exceptions (UK sources), to Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Burundi. Given this second limitation, there is likely to be under-representation of those who originated in the four countries being studied and were trafficked outside of those same four countries.

**TABLE 1
INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKING FLOWS CONCERNING EASTERN AFRICA**

		Origin Countries						
		Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi	Sudan	Somalia	South Asia
Destination Countries	Tanzania		Yes	Yes				Yes
	Kenya	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
	Uganda							Yes
	Burundi	Yes						
	Sudan			Yes				
	Malawi	Yes						
	South Africa	Yes		Yes				
	UK	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			
	Europe	Yes	Yes	Yes				
	Oman	Yes						
	Middle East/Gulf	Yes	Yes	Yes				

Not included on the chart are reports on the transiting of trafficking victims through any of the four countries. Countries may be transit points because of their geographic location between origin and destination points, or because it is easier to transfer victims through them than through the most direct route.

Kenya and Tanzania serve as transit routes for Ethiopian women being trafficked to Europe and the Middle East (Adepoju, 2005; United States Department of State, 2006), and Somalis trafficked to South Africa (UNICEF, b). Chinese women have been trafficked for sexual exploitation and Bangladeshis for forced labour through Kenya (United States Department of State, 2006). A UNICEF report identifies Uganda as a transit country but does not specify for whom or which type of trafficking (UNICEF, 2003).

2.4 Impact of trafficking on individuals and communities

Victims of trafficking

Trafficking may affect the health and future life opportunities of both child and adult victims of trafficking, but the literature reviewed only addresses these factors as they impact children. ILO research in other parts of Africa has found that trafficked children are at risk of increased heart rhythm, poisoning due to chemicals in insecticides, dust inhalation in sawmills and mines, machinery accidents, burns, road accidents, stagnation of growth, sunstroke, and general fatigue that makes them less resistant to malaria and other diseases due to exposure to harsh working conditions (Masudi et al., 2001). Trafficked children may be less likely to receive health care, including immunizations.

Drug and alcohol abuse is reported by children trafficked into the sex industry in Tanzania as well as by children trafficked into the LRA (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Traffickers may use drugs and alcohol as a means of controlling their victims, or victims may use them to help cope with their circumstances. Sex in the context of trafficking, which usually does not involve using a condom, brings health risks including exposure to sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and the risk of pregnancy.

Victims may also miss out on important life opportunities because they are trafficked. However, the only impact documented in the research reviewed is the impact on children's education (Somerset, 2004).

The most studied trafficked population in the region with regard to health impacts are children abducted by the LRA (Annan et al., 2006). These children suffer from myriad mental health symptoms including irritability, an inability to concentrate, nightmares and insomnia, hyper arousal, feelings of loneliness and helplessness, feeling unloved, feeling sad, being extremely fearful of losing one's family, keeping to oneself when worried, crying when thinking of the past, headaches, chest pain and shaking from "over-thinking," and violence and aggression.

Communities

The impact of trafficking on communities has not been systematically documented in this region, but some of the suspected impacts of trafficking on communities around the world include:

- loss of cultural knowledge – parents are unable to pass on traditions because trafficking separates people of different generations (either parents are trafficked away from their children or vice versa);
- introduction of new values into rural communities by returning victims;
- delinquency and crime by victims who have been negatively affected by their experiences;
- reduction of children's opportunities for education and healthy development for trafficked children;
- depression of wages and working conditions for all workers because of competition from trafficked/forced labour;
- loss of human resources from source communities leading to reduction in economic development and fewer productive workers to care for children and the elderly;
- deterioration in public safety and the rule of law;

- increased corruption of law enforcement, immigration, and judicial officials;
- stronger organized crime networks and increase in other types of trafficking including trafficking in drugs, weapons, and stolen goods.

(United States Department of State, 2004)

**HUMAN
TRAFFICKING
IN EASTERN
AFRICA**

Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This section will describe the research sites and participants, sample size and recruitment, and the data collection instruments. It also discusses research limitations. A full discussion on sampling challenges in human trafficking research is contained in Annex 2 while additional information on data collection and analysis can be found in Annex 3.

3.1 Research sites and participants

Preliminary interviews were conducted with a variety of persons believed to be familiar with trafficking issues in their countries.² Based on information gathered during these interviews, research sites were subsequently selected.³ Primary data was collected over a six-month period in partnership with Research International, an international research organization with offices in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and other parts of Africa. Participants from the groups described below were included in the research.

Key informants

Interviews were conducted with people who were expected to have contact with traffickers and/or victims of trafficking, and/or who were likely to be aware of trafficking activities due to their professional roles and responsibilities. These included teachers, bar and hotel owners and staff, business people, journalists, radio presenters, salespeople, religious leaders, soldiers, drivers, internet shop attendants, social workers, village elders, tour and travel company staff, and university professors. National and municipal government officials including immigration officers, legal counsel officers, establishment officers, crime officers, police officers, judges, clinical officers, labour officers, declaration officers, fisheries officers, and custom agents were likewise interviewed.

Traffickers and “proxy” traffickers

Those identified as currently trafficking others or who had trafficked people in the past were contacted and interviewed. If it was not possible to locate the actual traffickers or get them to agree to participate in the interview, an interview was conducted with their friends or relatives who were knowledgeable about their characteristics and trafficking activities. These participants are called “proxy” traffickers.

People vulnerable to being trafficked and trafficked persons

Based on the results of the key informant interviews, a list of occupations believed to use high levels of trafficked labour was generated. Vulnerable groups were also identified. Participants were then recruited from these “predisposed” occupations and groups.

² In Tanzania this included government and law enforcement officials, representatives of civil society organizations and international organizations, and members of the media. In Kenya, government officials, representatives of civil society organizations, and an international recruitment officer were interviewed and in Uganda, preliminary interviews were conducted with government officials, representatives of civil society organizations, local and international NGOs, and UN agencies, as well as embassy staff, law enforcement officers, and a Member of Parliament.
³ In Tanzania the sites selected were Dar es Salaam, Iringa, Manyara, Mbeya, Mwanza, and Zanzibar. In Kenya, research was conducted in Busia, Eldoret, Kisumu, Malindi, Mombasa, Mtwapa, Nairobi, and Voi. In Uganda, research was conducted in Busia, Gulu, Kampala, Kyangwali, Kyotera, Lira, Lugazi, Lukaya and Mbiko, and in Burundi in Bujumbura, Cibitoke, Kirundo, Muyinga, Ngozi, Rutana, and Ruyigi.

**TABLE 2
PREDISPOSED GROUPS PER COUNTRY**

Predisposed Groups	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Bar workers	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Prostitutes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Domestic workers	Yes	Yes		Yes
Farmers	Yes			
Internally displaced persons			Yes	Yes
Lumber workers	Yes			
Mine workers	Yes			
Orphans		Yes	Yes	
Other vulnerable groups	Yes			
Refugees		Yes		Yes
Street children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tourist industry workers	Yes			

Respondents in this sample were all asked a series of questions regarding their personal, family, and community characteristics as well as questions about trafficking incidents. They were then read a definition based on the Palermo Protocol. If they identified themselves as being trafficked based on this definition, an additional protocol was administered. The latter included questions about their trafficking experience (e.g. recruitment, transportation, etc.), the means used (e.g. deception, debt bondage, etc.), and the nature of their exploitation. Due to the subjective nature of self-identification, these responses were then reviewed by the lead researcher to determine if the conditions of trafficking were indeed met.

3.2 Sampling

Recruiting the sample

While good sampling methods are crucial to good research design, the extreme difficulties of drawing a representative sample of traffickers and trafficking victims have been well documented. Annex 2 contains an in-depth discussion on the importance of good sampling, a description of the different sampling methods used, and the sampling challenges specific to research on human trafficking.

The key informants sample were recruited using a combination of convenience and snowball methods, while traffickers and “proxy” traffickers were recruited through snowball methods. In Kenya, Uganda, and Burundi the “predisposed” sample was recruited from the targeted occupational categories identified through snowball methods based on a convenience sample and referrals from service providers and key informants. In Tanzania on the other hand, the predisposed sample was identified using random or convenience methods for the first wave of recruitment and snowball sampling for the second.

Sample size

The table below shows the sample size for each group of participants. The Tanzanian sample has the largest number of predisposed participants with 1,090, followed by Kenya with 372, Uganda with 305 and Burundi with 149.

TABLE 3
SAMPLE SIZE FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS

Participant type	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi	All
Key informant	47	49	64	28	188
Traffickers	10	6	12	2	30
Actual traffickers	4	2	9	2	17
“Proxy” traffickers	6	4	3	0	13
Predisposed	1,090	372	305	149	1,916
Trafficked	140	165	159	15	479
Not trafficked	950	207	146	134	1,437

The following chart shows which percentage of participants in the samples of predisposed people have been trafficked. These proportions differ across countries. Given the very small size of the sub-sample of trafficked persons in the Burundi sample, fewer findings can be reported on Burundi in comparison to the three other countries covered in this report.

According to the methodology employed, 25 per cent of participants in the sample of predisposed people were identified as having been trafficked, varying from 10 per cent in Burundi to 52 per cent in Uganda. However, due to the sampling challenges faced by those researching human trafficking, the percentage of trafficked people in the samples cannot tell us the percentage of trafficked people in the actual population.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF PREDISPOSED SAMPLE TRAFFICKED

Country	%	
	Not trafficked	Trafficked
Tanzania	87	13
Kenya	56	44
Uganda	48	52
Burundi	90	10
All	75	25

No systematic attempt was made to stratify the samples, therefore differences in the sizes of the groups represented in the sample (i.e. women vs. men, children vs. adults, trafficked vs. non-trafficked, different geographic areas, occupational characteristics) can be attributed to any number of factors from chance, to population characteristics, to the amount of time spent in one community, to the research employed, or to the personal bias the researchers themselves have.

3.3 Data collection instruments

The research instruments used in this study were able to collect quantitative and qualitative information from individuals using structured protocols. The content of the protocols depended upon the type of informants. However, certain questions were asked to all participants, which allowed for triangulation.

Instrument

Key informant
questionnaire

Trafficker and proxy
trafficker questionnaire

Predisposed persons
questionnaire

Supplemental
questionnaire for self-
identified victims of
trafficking

Topics covered

- Trafficker characteristics
- Health concerns (other)
- Trafficking incidents (other)
- Community characteristics (geography, culture, economy)

- Characteristics past, present, future (self)
- Family characteristics (self)
- Trafficking incidents (self)

- Characteristics past, present, future (self)
- Family characteristics (self)
- Community characteristics (geography, culture, economy)
- Trafficking incidents (other)

- Trafficking incidents (self)
- Trafficker characteristics
- Trafficking exploitation (self)
- Health concerns (self)
- Victim assistance (self)

The quantitative items required people to either answer yes or no to a question or to choose between several options. The interviewer checked off boxes to mark their responses. On some questions participants were able to respond however they wished; the interviewer wrote down their full answers on the interview protocol.

The research protocols were executed in both English and Swahili in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, and in English and Kirundi in Burundi.

3.4 Limitations

The design and execution of any study naturally influence the legitimacy of the findings. Given the sensitivity and complexity of this topic, a range of factors could affect whether or not the findings mean what appear to be saying at face value – in other words, whether or not they are valid.

Survey design

As it is, human trafficking is a complex subject. Some of the questions in the survey were complicated and even a few were potentially confusing. It can be expected that participants had been able to answer some questions more accurately than others.

There are benefits and limitations to both the closed and open-ended questions used in the surveys. Closed-ended questions are those that require the participant to choose between a finite number of responses. In such cases, participants may not have known how to answer or may have had a preferred answer that was not offered as a choice. Whenever an answer was given, however, it was not subject to misinterpretation by the researcher.

Open-ended questions, on the other hand, allow the participant to answer in their own words and however they choose. While open-ended questions may allow participants to answer more accurately, the researcher might misinterpret their meaning during analysis. Further, the biases of the researcher may affect how this data is interpreted and analysed.

A further limitation was the inability to pinpoint the accuracy of the events.

Validity of participant responses

Talking about one's involvement in trafficking, either as a trafficked person or a trafficker, might make some individuals uncomfortable. As a result, it is to be expected that some participants may have provided false information or omitted important information when answering questions on the survey. Similarly, in some cultural contexts in Eastern Africa, people do not feel comfortable disclosing information about the amounts of money and the number of people in their family. Responses to questions on these topics should therefore be viewed with caution.

Questions that require participants to estimate dates, time, and distance are challenging, especially for people with low levels of formal education, people who do not use precise measures in their daily lives, and/or children. The precision and accuracy of these responses should therefore be viewed cautiously. In addition, the trafficked persons identified in our study were often recounting experiences about their trafficking experience after it happened, at times years later. This may have affected their ability to accurately recall events.

Sampling

The most important limitation with the study was the sampling. As discussed in Annex 2, drawing a sufficiently sized random sample of trafficking victims and traffickers would be extraordinarily difficult and expensive. In fact, one of the strengths of this research is that the sample was not based solely on referrals from service providers. This being said, the findings cannot be generalized to a larger population because of the sampling method. Furthermore, it is important to be extremely cautious in drawing relationships between different variables that are found in the sample as they may be explained by the sampling.

Additionally, limiting the recruitment of participants to four Eastern African countries meant that those who have been trafficked outside of these countries and have not returned were not included. To study this population, it would be necessary to either trace those who have left the country or conduct a separate study in hypothesized destination countries on people trafficked from Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi. Following from this limitation, it is not possible to draw any valid conclusions from the findings about the ratio of international to domestic trafficking victims.

All of this being said, the sample of trafficked persons was of a sufficient size for all countries to perform quantitative statistical analyses. The exception was Burundi.⁴ Furthermore, the design has included non-trafficked people as a control group, which allowed us to illuminate factors that may protect or put people at greater risk for being trafficked.

⁴ For Burundi, the size of the sample of "predisposed" persons is significantly smaller than for the other countries, at 149. Of those, only 15 were trafficked persons based on our methodology.

4.0 FACILITATING FACTORS

In this section we will discuss broad factors that may facilitate trafficking in Eastern Africa. Findings from our own research, as well as from other primary and secondary research, will also be discussed.

4.1 Migration

The international migrant stock for Eastern Africa is estimated to have increased from 3.1 million in 1960 to a high of 5.1 million in 1990, and then decreased to 4.5 million by 2000 (Oucho, 2006). Much of the migration in this region has been forced. In addition to massive refugee movements between countries there have been high levels of conflict-induced internal displacement within three of the four countries included in this study: approximately 100,000 people in Burundi (figures from 2006), approximately 431,000 in Kenya (figures based on a 2002 survey), and approximately 1,310,000 in Uganda (current figures) (IDMC, 2007). However, these numbers only capture displacement that takes place due to conflict, human rights abuses, or natural disasters.

Relatively open borders and formal economic unions have facilitated economically motivated migration within this region, both regular and irregular. Traditional seasonal labour migration patterns and the geographical boundaries of communities may not conform to, nor respect, the modern borders of nation-states. Furthermore, ideas of national identity and citizenship are both recent and subject to volatile changes depending upon political conditions. This is compounded by the fact that in the region, many children do not have their citizenship documented through birth registration. The percentage of 0 to 5-year-olds registered at birth are: Burundi at 74.9 per cent, Kenya at 48 per cent, Tanzania at 7.1 per cent, and Uganda at 4.2 per cent (ChildInfo, 2006).

Looking beyond intra-regional migration, since the 1980s Southern Africa has attracted many Eastern African workers, as has the UK, Canada, and the USA (Oucho, 2006). It is estimated that in 2005, 20,000 to 30,000 Kenyans were employed in Middle Eastern nations (United States Department of State, 2006).

Furthermore, urbanization has produced dramatic internal migration. Between 1990 and 2003, there was a very high annual urban growth rate in all four countries. This was much higher than the annual population growth rate. In Kenya it was 5.6 per cent, Tanzania 6.4 per cent, Uganda 5.3 per cent, and Burundi 5.7 per cent (World Bank, 2006).

Within sub-Saharan Africa, the types of migrating workers range from those who are highly educated and skilled to those with very few resources and opportunities (Adepoju, 2005). No evidence found in the research reviewed suggested that those at either end of the spectrum are more or less vulnerable to being trafficked.

While trafficking and migration are conceptually linked, we were interested in whether or not high levels of labour migration were associated with high levels of trafficking and vice-versa. We tested this hypothesis in our survey using a chi-square test for independence. We found that in Tanzania a higher percentage of trafficked (132 respondents or 96%)⁵ than non-traf-

⁵ When presenting our findings throughout the report, both the number of respondents and the percentages are reported in the text. Readers should note that a variety of factors influence the numbers reported. For example, some questions had some missing values in their responses – i.e., not all respondents answered a particular question. In such cases the numbers and percentages reported are based on those who did answer the question. For some questions respondents were allowed to select more than one response, resulting in combined numbers higher than the sample size, and in others cases different categories were collapsed, resulting in combined numbers smaller than the sample size.

ficked (673 respondents or 84%) participants reported that it was common practice for people in their home areas to leave home to find work. However, in Kenya a lower percentage of trafficked (156 respondents or 95%) than non-trafficked (193 respondents or 99.5%) participants reported the same. These differences are significant and are thus unlikely to have occurred by chance alone.

TABLE 5
COMMON PRACTICE FOR PEOPLE IN HOME AREA TO LEAVE TO FIND WORK

Country	%	
	Not trafficked	Trafficked
Burundi	89	100
Kenya	100	95
Tanzania	84	96
Uganda	99	96
All	88	96

From this, we can infer that in our Tanzanian sample, there is either an association between being trafficked and coming from a community where people migrate for work or at least, that there is an association between being trafficked and perceiving labour migration as common. On the other hand, the reverse was found in our Kenyan sample. Labour migration was not found to be a significant factor in either our Uganda or Burundi samples as well.

4.2 Supply and demand for labour in the context of poverty

Poverty is cited in most of the research reviewed as a “cause” of trafficking, but rarely is this claim properly substantiated. Furthermore, the idea that poverty causes trafficking is a simplistic view of what is more likely a complex relationship. Very little of the existing research specifies that either it is living in an environment where poverty is pervasive or the actual economic status of individuals relative to others who share the same environment which is relevant to trafficking.

Even by limiting ourselves to a macro view, poverty remains a multi-dimensional concept. Poverty describes diverse conditions including the inability to meet basic needs (absolute poverty) (Adepoju, 2005; Kamala et al., 2001; Mwami et al., 2002; Pearson, 2003) and disparity of consumption between communities (relative poverty) (Kamala et al., 2001).

Absolute poverty levels – how similar are our Kenyan and Tanzanian samples to the national population?*

According to national measures from 1997, 53 per cent of rural and 50 per cent of urban Kenyans were living below the government defined poverty line of 1,846 KSH (25.46 USD)**/month in rural areas and 4,425 KSH (61.03 USD)/month in urban areas. Similarly, according to national measures from 2000-2001, so were 38.7 per cent of rural, 29.5 per cent of urban, and 35.7 per cent of all Tanzanians (World Bank, 2006). For Tanzania, according to poverty measures designed for international comparisons, 57.8 per cent of the population lives on less than 1 USD/day and 89.9 per cent on less than 2 USD/day. Although we did not measure consumption (the indicator used

to measure poverty) in our survey and the national measures of poverty for Kenya are very old, we can very cautiously compare these statistics with the income of those we surveyed. Though there is no way to test statistically, assuming an urban bias in our Kenya sample and so comparing with the urban rates, the rates in our sample appear to be similar to the national rates: 166 or 61 per cent of our respondents earn less than 5,001 KSH (68.98 USD)/month. In Tanzania, 47 per cent of our respondents earn less than 0.84 USD/day and 91 per cent earn less than 2.10 USD/day. We have no way to compare the distribution of the sample; however, due to the sampling design we expect that our sample excludes high income people.

* Sufficient information on national measures on poverty for Uganda and Burundi were not available to allow for similar analysis to be made for those countries.

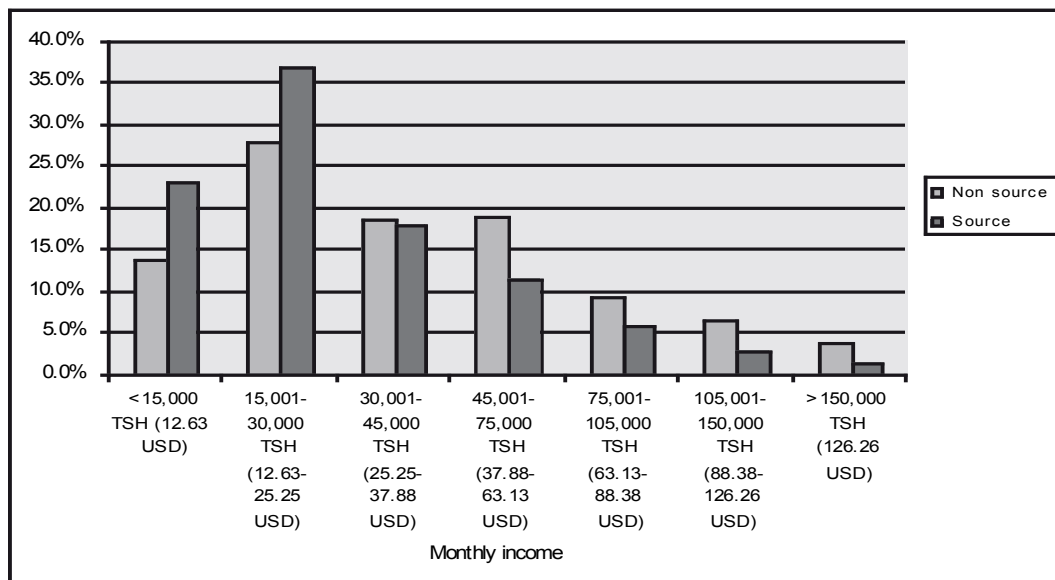
** Conversion rates of TSH 1,188, KSH 72.5, and UGX 1,820 to USD 1 have been used throughout the report.

Source communities

In the Ugandan sample a higher percentage of those who reported being from source communities (52 respondents or 47%) were not working as compared with those who did not report being from source communities (66 respondents or 30%). This finding confirms our hypothesis that source communities may have on average higher rates of unemployment. However, Uganda was the only country in which a statistically significant difference was found.

A Mantel-Haenszel chi-square test for trend⁶ on data from the Tanzanian sample found a higher percentage of those from source communities reporting lower incomes while a lower percentage reporting higher incomes. This confirms our hypothesis that source communities have lower income levels, and thus pushing trafficking victims out. However, Tanzania is the only country for which this relationship was found.

FIGURE 1
COMPARING INCOME IN SOURCE AND NON-SOURCE AREAS IN TANZANIA



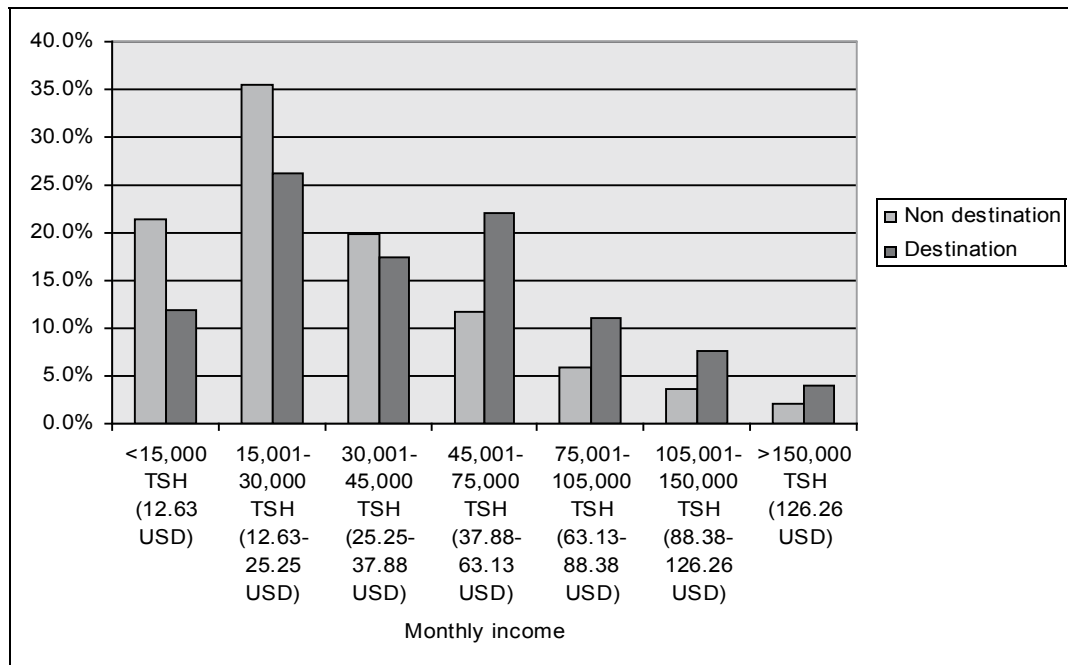
⁶ Mantel-Haenszel chi-square test looks for a relationship between two ordinal variables. If the relationship is found to be significant, the interpretation is that an increase in one variable is associated with an increase or decrease in the other variable to a level greater than that which could be expected by chance alone.

Destination communities

In the Kenyan sample a higher percentage of those who reported coming from destination communities (54 respondents or 24%) also reported having no work as compared to those who did not come from destination communities (70 respondents or 17%). This is the opposite of what we expected to find. It suggests that other factors, more powerful than labour market forces, may be pushing trafficked labour in Kenya out of source communities and into destination communities.

For the Tanzania sample, a Mantel-Haenszel chi-square test for trend found a lower percentage of those from destination communities reported lower incomes while a higher percentage reported higher incomes. Although this is the only country in which this relationship was found, it does confirm our hypothesis that destination communities may have on average higher income levels, and thus pulling trafficking victims in.

FIGURE 2
COMPARING INCOME IN DESTINATION AND NON-DESTINATION AREAS IN TANZANIA



All of these differences are statistically significant and so are unlikely to be due to chance alone.

4.3 Aspirations

To make these market forces work though, workers must be aware of the employment opportunities available elsewhere. It is assumed that there has been a dramatic growth in the amount of information available to people in most communities in Eastern Africa about work opportunities and living conditions in other places. This has been made possible through increased access to mass media and improvements in transportation that allow those who have migrated to return to their home communities and communicate through word of mouth “what it’s like” in other places. Further, improved communication and transportation have allowed employers and potentially traffickers to access workers in remote locations.

However, the balance and accuracy of the information or, more importantly, people's capacity to judge the balance and accuracy of the information, has not kept pace with this explosion in access. While difficult conditions in people's home community (i.e., absolute poverty) contribute to aspirations not being met, expectations may be raised to an unrealistic level through exposure to information sources that report better employment opportunities and higher standards of living elsewhere (UNICEF, 2003). For example, World Bank surveys from West Africa suggest that exposure to the outside world through television and soccer clubs contributes to people deciding to leave their home community (Fitzgibbon, 2003). Referred by those working with trafficking victims in the region as the "better life syndrome", people may come to the conclusion that if they simply move closer to these opportunities they'll be granted them, regardless of their skills, education, experience, or social connections (Komenda, 2007).

Traffickers are able to take advantage of this gap between people's reality and their dreams by offering a "service" for which there is already much demand. One way we are able to measure this is to compare what trafficked respondents in our survey report about the work available in their home areas, the work they were promised by traffickers, and the work they actually obtained.

All trafficking victims surveyed report manual labour being available in their home community. Perhaps because of its abundance locally, only 3 per cent to 14 per cent of victims were promised manual labour. Either a large majority of those in our sample did not aspire to be manual labourers and/or there may not be a huge demand for trafficked labour in that sector.

Around half of those trafficked reported street work as being available in their home areas, and very few of them travelled based on promises of street work. Though there may be a demand for trafficked labour in this sector only 4 per cent to 9 per cent of victims were trafficked into it.

A small minority of trafficked respondents reported skilled, semi-skilled, and professional work was available in their home community. This type of work did not figure prominently in the Kenyan and Tanzania samples; however 28 respondents (19%) of Ugandan trafficking victims were promised these types of work but only three respondents (3%) ended up getting it.

Hospitality, other service work, and domestic work are both readily available in many home areas of those trafficked and frequently promised by traffickers. It is therefore possible that traffickers are promising similar jobs as those that are available locally, but with better working conditions. In other words, some of those trafficked may not aspire to better/different jobs, but to the same jobs with better terms.

Only a handful of respondents were offered work as prostitutes but substantial proportions (20% to 24%) end up being trafficked for sexual exploitation. This is also the case with domestic work: 20 per cent to 43 per cent were promised domestic work, but 28 per cent to 75 per cent ended up being trafficked into it.

TABLE 6
COMPARING OPPORTUNITIES IN HOME COMMUNITY WITH WORK PROMISED TO

Type of work*	% Kenya			% Tanzania			% Uganda		
	Work at home	Work promised	Work obtained	Work at home	Work promised	Work obtained	Work at home	Work promised	Work obtained
	Manual labour	100	3	2	100	8	10	100	14
Skilled/semi-skilled/prof	2	6	4	5	7	1	4	19	3
Hospitality work	26	19	10	33	36	14	15	15	10
Other service work	55	13	3	30	21	1	47	19	5
Artist	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Street work	58	2	9	46	0	9	41	1	4
Domestic work	62	43	75	34	20	28	27	22	32
Entertainment	0	6	6	0	0	2	0	1	0
Prostitution	2	1	24	0	0	20	2	5	23
Other informal/illegal work	3	1	5	0	0	12	3	3	4
Military service	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Bride	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other	0	0	16	0	0	3	0	0	1
No work	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	0	0

* For a listing of all occupational and service categories used in coding categories of employment used throughout the survey please see Annex 4.

4.4 Armed conflict

While high levels of migration may facilitate trafficking, conflict has facilitated migration. Recent conflicts in the Great Lakes Region have led to massive migration and immigration for Burundi, also affecting Tanzania and Uganda. Ugandans, as well as foreigners residing in Uganda, have fled to neighbouring countries during Idi Amin's dictatorship in the 1970s. Kenya has received refugees from conflicts in Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia and both Kenya and Uganda have received refugees from Sudan. The wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo have sent people into Uganda and Burundi. While some refugees have been or are being repatriated from these conflicts, others will likely stay as they have in the past.

While conflict in the region may lead directly to trafficking in labour for military service it may also make populations more vulnerable to other types of trafficking (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003). During war people may be psychologically vulnerable and in desperate need of livelihood. Their communities and families may have been displaced or destroyed leaving them with few ties. In need of sanctuary, they could be looking to migrate further. Refugees have been made to stay in areas, including camps, where there are few economic opportunities and regular means of moving, and obtaining employment have sometimes been blocked to them. In such a situation, risks that were untenable during peace may now seem manageable.

Governments fighting wars in this region may not be in the best position to address trafficking, even trafficking by their own military. For example, in Burundi ongoing combat between government security services and the Parti de liberation du Peuple Hut/Forces Nationales de Liberation has limited the government's ability to demobilize and rehabilitate child soldiers (United

States Department of State, 2006). In concentrating on trafficking most directly related to war, that of forced military recruitment by the LRA, the Ugandan government and possibly human rights groups as well have neglected other forms of trafficking that may be more widespread in their country (United States Department of State, 2006). With the loss of some of the most productive workers in a community to military service more marginal workers, like children, may get pulled into the labour force and may be vulnerable to exploitation (UNICEF, 2003).

Systems that may protect people from trafficking including border control, employment regulation, and identity registration systems may be severely weakened or collapse altogether during war. For example, the Ugandan birth registration system ceased to work because of the conflict. Organized crime may too flourish (UNICEF, 2003). UNICEF also reports that in Burundi, insecurity has resulted in further entrenchment of a practice that may put girls at risk of trafficking: early marriage of girls living in refugee camps. Exploitation may also occur in the context of traditional and contemporary forms of adoption used to cope with the large numbers of children orphaned because of conflict (UNICEF, 2003).

4.5 Natural disasters and health crises, including HIV/AIDS

Other complex emergencies like famines, natural disasters, and health crises may facilitate trafficking in ways similar to the way conflict does (Adepoju, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003; Oucho, 2006). HIV/AIDS in Eastern Africa is often conceived of as one such emergency. Though much linking of HIV/AIDS with trafficking is conjecture, there are three suspected relationships worthy of investigation:

- the level of exposure of trafficked people and their communities to HIV and AIDS;
- the high proportion of children orphaned and adults widowed due to AIDS. If those who are orphaned or widows/widowers are at higher risk of being trafficked (to be explored under push factors below), then AIDS may be increasing the number of people who are vulnerable (Fitzgibbon, 2003);
- the targeting of younger, even prepubescent girls, for trafficking for sexual exploitation based on the belief that these girls are less likely to be infected with STIs (reported by traffickers themselves). This is reportedly done for the commercial sex trade in Tanzania (Kamala et al., 2001) and for forced abductions by the LRA of “wives” for military officers in Uganda (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

4.6 Governance

In existing literature, lack of government response to human trafficking is considered to be a potential facilitator of human trafficking in Eastern Africa. Absence, weakness, or lack of clarity in legislation and government policies are of concern in this region, particularly with regards to the lack of or insufficient deterrents, the scattering of mechanisms to address trafficking across different laws and/or policies, and loopholes in these mechanisms. (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003; Kamala et al., 2001; UNICEF, 2003).

To varying extents, governments in the four countries have failed to follow through on international commitments made to address these issues; (Adepoju, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003; Pearson, 2003; UNICEF, 2003; United States Department of State, 2006) although efforts to enact comprehensive counter trafficking legislation are ongoing in a number of them. Currently, only Tanzania has ratified the Palermo Protocol. Kenya has acceded to the Protocol, and Uganda and Burundi have signed.

Due to the cross border nature of the issue, domestic frameworks need to consider the actions being taken in neighbouring countries. In certain cases regional agreements and harmonization of legislation may be necessary. An example of this is the Plan of Action adopted by ECOWAS governments (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005). However, regional agreements that are in place, such as those governing the East African Community, must be sensitive to human trafficking since measures to ease migration may worsen rather than help alleviate the problem (Oucho, 2006).

While a framework for action is important, resources for implementation are also necessary (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005).

Setting up and maintaining an identity registration system is one example of an under-resourced programme that may have an impact on trafficking. As mentioned above, lack of identity documents may both increase the vulnerability of people to trafficking and make it difficult to assist victims (UNICEF, 2003). This is particularly important in preventing traffickers from posing as children's guardians, or in protecting children from forms of exploitation linked to trafficking, such as early marriage and hazardous and dangerous work. A poorly run and corrupt identity registration system is also more vulnerable to being exploited by traffickers.

4.7 Crime and law enforcement

Law enforcement systems may fail to prevent trafficking, punish traffickers, and protect those who are trafficked. In general the failure of law enforcement officials to ensure security, particularly in the context of conflict, means that traffickers can act extremely violently with impunity. The Ugandan government's inability to stop abductions by the LRA is an extreme example of this (Fitzgibbon, 2003). Criminal organizations trafficking arms and drugs, as well as a less formalized criminal cultures, have grown in Eastern Africa in the absence of effective law enforcement (United States Department of State, 2006). These criminal institutions and mores may nourish human trafficking and other forms of irregular migration (Adepoju, 2005; Fitzgibbon, 2003; Kamala et al., 2001; Pearson, 2003).

Within the Eastern African context, then, it is not surprising that law enforcement officials struggle to investigate, prosecute, and track trafficking cases. This is particularly true for cross-border cases, which require more skills and resources than other law enforcement work (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005; Kamala et al., 2001; Pearson, 2003; UNICEF, 2003; United States Department of State, 2006;). However, more fundamental than resources and skills is awareness. Law enforcement officials need to be able to recognize trafficking when they see it. When they do not, they may ignore a case or take inappropriate measures.

Of more concern are reported instances of law enforcement officials in the region harassing rather than helping victims, particularly those engaged in prostitution (Pearson, 2003) or, as has been reported in Kenya, those engaged in "criminalized" forms of livelihoods, such as hawking and begging (Kamala et al., 2001; Pearson, 2003). Even in contexts where law enforcement officials tend to act professionally, it is reported that some victims fear being arrested or deported because of their involuntary participation in criminal activities or irregular status. These factors may undermine government efforts to provide assistance to trafficking victims and make victims unwilling to support the investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases (Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN, 2005).

Counter-trafficking work requires an inter-sectoral approach that engages government departments responsible for labour, justice, security, border control, transportation, and child welfare, not to mention coordination with civil society actors and international organizations (Kamala et al., 2001). Enforcement of labour regulations provides scope for proactive efforts to identify trafficking cases. In Tanzania, there are reports of success with this approach (United States Department of State, 2006).

The creation and implementation of counter trafficking legislation and policies will not be forthcoming without political will. Generating this may require donor and civil society pressure. While governments in the region are faced with many competing priorities, a number of civil society organizations have begun to be more vocal on the issue. Donors can also have an impact; the US State Department's *Trafficking in Person's Report*, which rates the progress countries are making towards stopping human trafficking, is an example of a tool for motivating governments to act.

4.8 Child labour and fostering

Much of the literature focusing on child labour is concerned with whether children should work or be in school. Child labour is seen as facilitating trafficking of children because only children available for work are available to be trafficked (with the important exceptions of abductions of school children by the LRA in Uganda (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Traffickers also use the promise of further education as a recruitment strategy). An underlying value that may be relevant to trafficking is that children in this context are expected to contribute to the household economy (Pearson, 2003).

According to Fong, "traditional fostering, based on the culture of entrusting children to wealthier relatives or families to provide a better education and living, is a culturally accepted phenomenon within Africa" (2004). There are two concerns with this practice. First, in "fostering" situations where parents make all of the arrangements, children may be vulnerable to labour exploitation and, therefore, this practice may facilitate trafficking. Second, traffickers may invoke this practice with families when trying to recruit their children (Kamala et al., 2001). The following can make this practice analogous to servitude:

- the financial exchange that may occur in the context of this practice – trafficker paying families for their children;
- the absolute power "fostering" families have over the child as their temporary guardian;
- the non-payment of wages to the working individual.

All respondents to our survey were asked if it was the custom in their home areas to place children with better-off friends or relatives living in other areas and the responses indicate that this practice is indeed widespread in our Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania samples, and to a lesser extent in Burundi.

TABLE 7
CHILD FOSTERING BY COUNTRY

Country	Count	%
Burundi	39	26
Kenya	254	69
Tanzania	779	72
Uganda	212	70
All	1,284	67

4.9 Gender roles

Gender roles, the relative value given to females and males in a community, and relations between females and males are hypothesized as important in the understanding of trafficking. If gender shapes the way power and violence are used in the wider society, then it may shape the way it is used in the context of trafficking. The conclusion of much of the research reviewed is that girls and women are more at risk of being trafficked in Eastern Africa (Kamala et al., 2001).

However, even if females in the larger population are more at risk (though there is as yet no evidence from the region to prove this), the mechanisms that can lead to discrimination against girls and women are often glossed over in the literature and the particular ways that boys and men are affected by gender roles and gender values are ignored.

The types of work that girls and women are permitted to perform in this region are hypothesized to be different than those permitted for boys and men (ILO, 2006; Kamala et al., 2001; UNICEF, 2003). This is relevant to trafficking for two reasons. First, males and females may be trafficked for different types of labour (although young boys may also be trafficked for “women’s work”): prostitution for females (Adepoju, 2005; ILO/GoU, 2004d; Kamala et al., 2001; UNICEF, 2003) and fishing for males are two examples. Second, a person’s ability to pursue a livelihood option as an alternative to being trafficked may depend upon them being the “right gender” for the employment opportunities available in their community. In other words, if manual labour is the only livelihood available in a community, even if men are unable to meet the need, women in that community may be unlikely to take up manual work and may still be vulnerable to being trafficked for female appropriate work, such as domestic labour.

There were differences found between the participation and interest of males and females surveyed in different types of work, particularly in the context of trafficking. It is worth noting that while gender roles may have a powerful influence over the type of work males and female will engage in, their influence is not absolute although these categories are quite broad so there may be a specific job within the category that would be exclusive to a gender. The following table summarizes the occupational categories that emerge as male and female dominated in three of the samples:

**TABLE 8
MALE AND FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK**

Types of work	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda
Manual labour	M	M	M
Skilled/semi-skilled/professional	M	M	M
Hospitality work		F	F
Other service work		M	
Street work	M		M
Domestic work	F		F
Entertainment	M		
Prostitution	F	F	F
Other informal/illegal work	M		

F = female dominated
M = male dominated

Not only are gender roles vis-à-vis livelihoods probably different for males and females in this region, but female roles or even girls and women themselves may be seen as less valuable, and thus more expendable, because of their gender (UNICEF, 2003). A classic example of this is boys being favoured for educational opportunities while girls are removed from school and trafficked to provide income for the family (Fong, 2004; ILO, 2006; Kamala et al., 2001).

4.10 Marriage, sexual relations, and gender-based violence

Sexual relations and marriage – practices that may be entwined with rather than separate from the economic sphere – may also affect human trafficking. Violence within these contexts may be similarly relevant. Practices linked with sexual relations and marriage that are found in Eastern Africa, though by no means practiced by all cultural groups, include female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), forced and early marriage, bride price/wealth, punishment of girls for pregnancy outside of marriage, and divorce.

When FGM/C and forced marriage are practiced, girls and women may flee their families and communities (Adepoju, 2005; Fong, 2004; ILO, 2006; Kadonya et al., 2002; Kamala et al., 2001). The practice of paying bride price or bride wealth may allow traffickers to pose as potential husbands. They can then persuade desperate or greedy parents to exchange their daughters for financial compensation (Fong, 2004; Kamala et al., 2001; UNICEF, 2003). This issue was explored in our study. Nearly all surveyed reported that bride price is being paid in their home areas: between 94 per cent and 99 per cent of respondents across the four countries reported bride price is custom. Given that this tradition is nearly universally practiced amongst those surveyed, there is not enough variation in our sample to determine whether or not bride price is an important factor.

Gender-based discrimination may also lead to gender-based violence. When violence by husbands against their wives is condoned by the community, women may have no alternative than to leave home to escape abuse (Kamala et al., 2001). The shame and punishments placed on girls and women who become pregnant outside of marriage may cause girls to leave home of their own accord, or to be chased away by their families (Kamala et al., 2001). If women are given no rights to property upon divorce or death of their husbands, they may be left with few options and no place to live in their home communities (Fitzgibbon, 2003; Kamala et al., 2001). All of these factors may force women to migrate and thus make them more vulnerable to being trafficked than men.

Though none of these practices can be said to cause trafficking directly, they may facilitate it. Far less research has investigated traditional values that may protect against trafficking. It may be that the weakening and corruption of cultural norms is a greater risk factor than the persistence of them. As an example, strict controls placed on the sexual behaviour of girls and women in Zanzibar may protect Muslim girls and women from being trafficked into prostitution (Kamala et al., 2001).

5.0 PERCEPTIONS OF TRAFFICKING

5.1 Perceptions of awareness

Amongst those surveyed there are differences between the countries in the percentage who agree that people in their area know what human trafficking is. Respondents from Kenya indicate the highest level of awareness with 83 per cent of respondent agreeing that people in their area know what human trafficking is, followed by 56 per cent in Tanzania, 34 per cent in Uganda and only 12 per cent in Burundi.

**TABLE 9
PERCEPTIONS OF KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Country	%	
	No	Yes
Burundi	88	12
Kenya	17	83
Tanzania	44	56
Uganda	66	34
All	47	53

With the exception of the Burundi sample, there is less variation across countries in the percentage of respondents who felt human trafficking was occurring in their region. Except for Burundi, the rates are extremely high, from 88 per cent in Tanzania to 99 per cent in Kenya.

**TABLE 10
PERCEPTIONS OF OCCURANCE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Country	%	
	No	Yes
Burundi	66	34
Kenya	1	99
Tanzania	12	88
Uganda	6	94
All	12	88

While these statistics about perceptions of levels of awareness of human trafficking help us understand our sample, sampling limitations prevent us from generalizing the findings to the wider population.

5.2 Perceptions of trafficking in organs

A minority of trafficked respondents – 13 per cent in Uganda, 17 per cent in Tanzania, and 19 per cent in Kenya – have heard or seen things related to trafficking in human organs.

5.3 Perceptions on origin, transit, and destination

Burundi

There are only 29 responses from the Burundi participants about the type of trafficking occurring in their region because the majority of respondents (66%) felt there was no trafficking at all. Because of these small numbers, no percentages are reported. All areas in which participants were surveyed, except Burundi, were reported to be areas of origin for victims who are then transported elsewhere. Similarly, all except for Bururi, Ruyigi and Kinindo were reported to be a destination for trafficking while all except Ruyigi were reported to be transit areas. Only participants from Buja, Ruyigi and Rutana reported living near a rich area. Participants from these same areas, as well as those from Muyinga and Cibitoke, reported living near a tourist area.

TABLE 11
PERCEPTIONS OF TYPE OF TRAFFICKING AREA
AND REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN BURUNDI

Burundi regions	Number		Number		Number		Number		Number	
	Origin		Destination		Transit		Near rich		Near tourist	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Buja	4	8	11	1	7	5	9	5	6	10
Bururi	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Bujumbura	0	3	1	2	2	1	1	0	2	0
Ruyigi	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	4	1
Muyinga	0	4	1	3	1	3	3	0	1	2
Cibitoke	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	3	3
Rutana	0	4	2	2	2	2	6	4	4	5
Kinindo	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ngozi	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	0

Kenya

A large majority of respondents in our Kenyan sample from Busia, Kilifi, Malindi, and Makueni felt their region to be an area of origin for victims who are then transported elsewhere. A more moderate majority of respondents from Kamukunji felt the same, as did around half of respondents from Mombasa and Kisumu. A large majority of respondents from Kwale, Kilifi, Mombasa, and Makueni felt their region was a destination for trafficking victims, as did a moderate majority of respondents from Kamukunji, Taita, Malindi and Kisumu. Busia, Kisumu, Kilifi and Kamukunji were regions in which a majority of respondents from those areas felt they transit areas where victims pass through on their way to other destinations. A very large majority of respondents from Busia, Kisumu, and Kilifi said their region was close to a rich area, as did a more moderate majority of respondents from Malindi, Mombasa and Kamukunji. A very large majority of respondents from Busia, Kisumu, Kwale, Kilifi, Malindi, Mombasa, Makueni and Kamukunji and a more modest majority of respondents in Taita agreed that their region was close to a tourist area.

TABLE 12
PERCEPTIONS OF TYPE OF TRAFFICKING AREA
AND REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN KENYA

Kenya region	%		%		%		%		%	
	Origin		Destination		Transit		Near rich		Near tourist	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Busia	14	86	86	14	11	89	3	97	6	94
Kisumu	55	46	43	57	2	98	4	96	0	100
Nairobi	69	31	50	50	81	19	57	43	70	30
Kwale	70	30	0	100	60	40	56	44	11	89
Kilifi	22	78	13	87	17	83	17	83	0	100
Malindi	24	76	47	53	49	51	40	60	4	96
Mombasa	44	56	18	82	66	34	27	73	3	97
Makueni	13	88	13	88	50	50	57	43	14	86
Taita	67	33	33	67	78	22	88	13	44	56
Kamukunji	36	64	40	60	36	64	38	62	18	82

Tanzania

A high percentage of respondents (767 respondents or 88%) agreed that human trafficking occurs in their region. This was found in all regions where the research was conducted: Dar es Salaam, Iringa, Manyara, Mbeya, Mwanza, and Zanzibar. A large majority of respondents from Iringa and Mbeya felt their region was an area of origin for victims who are then transported elsewhere, as did a little over half of respondents from Mwanza. A large majority of respondents from Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Zanzibar felt their region was a destination for trafficking victims, as did a moderate majority of respondents from Manyara and Mbeya. Mbeya and Iringa were the only districts in which a majority of respondents felt that the area was a transit area that victims passed through on their way to other destinations. A majority of respondents in Mwanza, Iringa and Manyara said their region was close to a rich area. A very large majority of respondents in Zanzibar and a more modest majority of respondents in Mbeya reported that their region was close to a tourist area.

TABLE 13
PERCEPTIONS OF TYPE OF TRAFFICKING AREA
AND REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN TANZANIA

Tanzania region	%		%		%		%		%	
	Origin		Destination		Transit		Near rich		Near tourist	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Dar es Salaam	72	28	15	85	81	19	92	8	76	24
Mwanza	44	56	26	74	62	38	23	77	63	37
Iringa	21	79	80	20	42	58	43	57	99	1
Manyara	74	26	32	68	88	12	41	59	82	18
Zanzibar	97	3	5	95	97	3	66	34	6	95
Mbeya	10	90	60	40	41	59	76	24	35	65

Uganda

A very large majority of respondents from Gulu and a smaller majority from Lira and Kyangwali felt their region was an origin area for victims who are then transported elsewhere. Similarly, a large majority of respondents from Lugazi, Mbiko and Busia felt their region was a destination for trafficking victims. Lukaya and Kyotera were the only districts with a small majority of

informants who felt their district was a transit area where victims pass through on their way to other destinations. A large majority of respondents in Mbiko, Lukaya, and Kyotera and a more moderate majority of respondents from Kampala, Kyangwali, Lira, Gulu, and Busia responded that their region was close to a rich area. A majority of respondents in Kampala, Lugazi, Mbiko, and Gulu said their region was close to a tourist area.

TABLE 14
PERCEPTIONS OF TYPE OF TRAFFICKING AREA
AND REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS IN UGANDA

Uganda regions	%		%		%		%		%	
	Origin		Destination		Transit		Near rich		Near tourist	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Kampala	59	41	56	44	85	16	28	72	38	62
Lugazi	92	8	17	83	92	8	75	25	21	79
Mbiko	83	17	25	75	92	8	20	80	33	67
Kyangwali	46	55	64	36	91	9	25	75	91	9
Lukaya	77	23	83	17	40	60	10	90	87	13
Kyotera	83	17	69	31	49	51	11	89	89	11
Lira	43	57	80	20	77	23	26	74	60	40
Gulu	9	91	91	9	100	0	25	75	48	52
Busia	95	5	8	92	97	3	39	62	71	29

In the Uganda sample, we also tested the hypothesis that proximity to rich and tourist areas could have some impact on trafficking in that community. We found that a higher percentage of respondents who reported their community was a transit area also reported their community was near a rich area: 49 respondents (88%) as opposed to 107 respondents (66%) who reported their community was not a transit area. Furthermore, a lower percentage of the same respondents (15 respondents or 28%) reported their community was near a tourist area (80 respondents or 49%). Meanwhile, a lower percentage of respondents who reported their community was a destination area also reported their community was near a rich area – 68 respondents (65%) as opposed to 88 respondents (77%) who reported their community was not a destination. All these differences are significant and thus, unlikely to be due to chance alone.

6.0 VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING: PROFILING AND EXPERIENCES



In order to develop a profile of trafficked persons in each country, a series of questions were asked to all predisposed respondents, i.e., both trafficked and non-trafficked respondents, allowing for comparison between the two groups. Questions focused on individual, family, and community characteristics. The results are discussed below.

6.1 Victim Profiles

Individual characteristics

Age: In Kenya the average age of predisposed people surveyed is 25 years and the standard deviation of their ages is 7 years. No association was found between age and being trafficked. Fifty respondents (13%) were legally children (less than 18-years-old). There is no statistically significant difference between the percentage of children and the percentage of adults trafficked in our Kenya sample.

In Uganda, on the other hand, the average age of those surveyed is 24 years and the standard deviation of their ages is 6.5 years. Forty seven of those surveyed (18%) are legally children. A higher percentage of children (38 respondents or 81%) in our sample were trafficked than adults (110 respondents or 51%). This difference is significant and thus unlikely to be due to chance alone. However, this result should be attributed not to age, but to other factors, such as the fact that a disproportionate number of the children surveyed (as compared to the adults) were homeless. If this factor were controlled, there would be no statistically significant association between being trafficked and being a child in the Uganda sample.

In the Tanzania sample, the average age of predisposed people surveyed is 24 years and the standard deviation of their ages is 6.5 years. No association was found between age and being trafficked. Of those surveyed, 101 (11%) were legally children. A higher percentage of children in our sample were trafficked than adults. This difference is significant and hence is unlikely to be due to chance alone. Again, this result should not be attributed to an association between age and trafficking. A majority of children recruited for the survey were homeless: 41 (58%) of child respondents as opposed to 56 (16%) of adult respondents.

In the Burundi sample, the average age of the sample is 27.6 years, with most people in the sample falling between 19 and 32 years of age. With 45 per cent of Burundi's population less than 15-years-old this sample is not reflective of the population.

Gender: There is no statistically significant difference between the percentage of males and females trafficked in Kenya, Uganda, or Tanzania, although it is important to note that the samples may have been biased in terms of gender. The Burundi sample was too small to test for any significant association. Overall, in our samples, we cannot conclude that girls and women are at a higher risk of being trafficked.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN EASTERN AFRICA

Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi

TABLE 15
NUMBER OF MALE RESPONDENTS IN SAMPLES

Country	Number	%
Burundi	89	60
Kenya	116	31
Tanzania	570	52
Uganda	129	42
All	904	47

Zacharia was working in the Rungwe Tea Estates when one day a man arrived telling the workers that he owned a tea processing plant in Tanga and he was looking for employees to work there at the rate of 60,000 TSH (50.50 USD) per month. Zacharia and other male employees of Rungwe went with the man, who paid for the costs involved in the lorry travel to Tanga. To the men's surprise, when they arrived in Tanga they found no factory jobs in the tea processing plant and were instead forced to work in a tea estate, picking tea. The men were not paid for their labours and, as Zacharia did not have enough money to leave the tea estate, he was forced to become a street vendor in addition to picking tea to save enough money to leave the exploitive situation.*

* Real names have not been used

Early marriage: We tested the hypothesis that marriage and early marriage may be linked to trafficking. A low percentage of girls and women in our sample were married (16% to 18%). The exception was the Burundi sample, where 59 (40%) respondents were married. There is no statistically significant association between age of marriage and being trafficked for girls and women in any of our samples.

Nationality: A large minority of the Kenyan sample (55 respondents or 36%) were trafficked internationally. A minority of those surveyed in Uganda (26 respondents or 17%) were trafficked outside of their own country while a very small minority of those surveyed in Tanzania (9 respondents or 7%) were trafficked outside of their own country. These numbers included foreigners trafficked into the country where they were surveyed, as well as those were from the country where they were surveyed but who had been trafficked internationally and then returned.

There is not enough variation in Uganda and Tanzania samples to determine whether or not residing outside the country of birth or residence is linked with trafficking. While the majority of respondents interviewed in Kenya were born in Kenya, 72 people (19%) in the sample were not. Further, 52 respondents (14%) were not Kenyan citizens.

We tested the hypothesis that those residing outside of their country of birth or citizenship were more likely to be trafficked; we found that a higher percentage of those who were born outside of Kenya (54 respondents or 33%) were trafficked as compared to those who were born inside of Kenya (16 respondents or 8%). Similarly, a higher percentage of those who were not citizens of Kenya (42 respondents or 25%) were trafficked as compared to those who were Kenyan citizens (9 respondents or 5%). These differences are significant and therefore are unlikely to be due to chance alone.

Gloria is from Kisumu, Kenya, and is the adult daughter of two professionals. She was interested in moving to Australia after a childhood friend of hers, whose parents were employees of a private employment agency, moved there to work as an au pair. Gloria received emails from her friend and was enticed to go through the same private recruitment agency to secure employment in Australia. Gloria travelled to Australia and was greeted by the family that would employ her. Instead of offering her fair pay with reasonable work, she was treated very harshly and overworked. Although her contract stated that she was only to be responsible for the children's care, she was also forced to cook and clean. The family did not pay Gloria what had been agreed upon in the contract nor did they allow her to attend a language college as she had expected. Eventually Gloria befriended a woman at her church who helped her return to Kenya.*

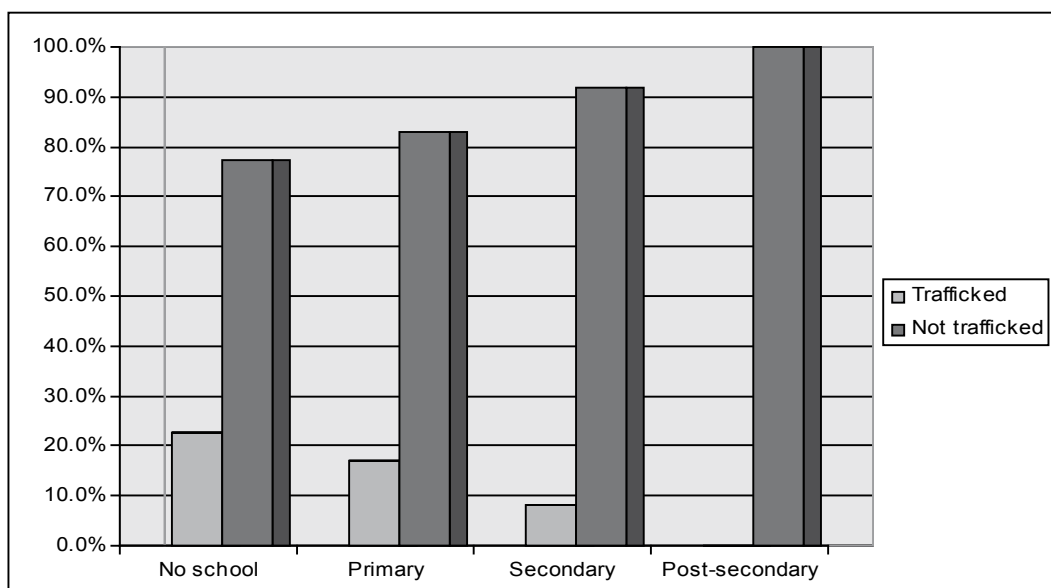
* Real names have not been used

Level of education: We tested the hypothesis that education was a protective factor against trafficking but found no statistically significant association between education levels and one's likelihood of being trafficking in either Kenya or Uganda, although an association was found in the Tanzania sample.

In the Tanzania sample, we tested this hypothesis using a Mantel-Haenszel chi-square test for trend and found that a higher percentage of trafficked girls and women had lower levels of education and a lower percentage had higher levels of education, i.e., a negative association between being trafficked and higher educational attainment was found.

In statistical terms, this difference is strong enough that it cannot be explained by chance alone. Such an association remains evident even if age is controlled for (age and educational attainment are usually associated, and it is therefore important to distinguish between the effect of one or the other). This same difference was not found for either male or female respondents in any of the other samples.

FIGURE 3
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF TRAFFICKED AND NON-TRAFFICKED
FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN TANZANIAN SAMPLE



Family characteristics

Family fostering: In the Tanzanian sample, a higher percentage of trafficked (69 respondents or 53%) than non-trafficked persons (310 people or 42%) came from a family that practices “fostering”. Likewise, in Kenya, more trafficked (83 respondents or 51%) than non-trafficked persons (67 or 36%) came from a family that practices fostering. Therefore for these countries, coming from a family that “fosters” appears to be a risk factor.

TABLE 16
FAMILY PLACED CHILDREN WITH BETTER OFF FRIENDS
OR RELATIVES IN OTHER AREAS

Country	%	
	Not trafficked	Trafficked
Burundi	33	20
Kenya	36	51
Tanzania	42	53
Uganda	43	44
All	41	48

Number of siblings: Another family characteristic hypothesized to affect children and their vulnerability to trafficking is a large family size. In our samples, there is no statistically significant difference between the number of siblings of those who are trafficked and those who are not.

Death of a parent: Death of only one parent and divorce are hypothesized to lead to problems (Adepoju, 2005). This hypothesis was partially supported by our findings. Overall, but particularly in Kenya and Tanzania, a higher percentage of trafficked respondents had a father who already died; this difference is statistically significant. However, no statistically significant differences between the percentages in the two groups who had mothers who were still alive were found in any of the countries.

TABLE 17
RESPONDENTS WITH FATHER ALIVE

Country	%	
	Not trafficked	Trafficked
Burundi	37	36
Kenya	59	46
Tanzania	51	39
Uganda	37	38
All	51	41

Isaac and his two younger brothers were raised by their mother in Moshi, Tanzania after their father died and had a very hard childhood. When Isaac was 16 years old, his uncle approached his mother, offering to enrol Isaac in school in Arusha. His mother agreed that he should go with his uncle to obtain an education, but instead of taking him to Arusha, Isaac's uncle brought him to the Mererani mining area, telling Isaac that he is now a man and can earn money quickly by working in the mines. The uncle abandoned him and Isaac had no choice but to work on the mines, where the older mine workers forced him to buy drugs for them and do dangerous work, including going down the mine shafts against his will.*

* Real names have not been used

Orphan-hood: We tested the hypothesis that children who have lost both parents are at increased risk for trafficking by comparing the percentages of trafficked and not trafficked respondents whose parents had both died. In the Kenyan and Tanzanian samples, a higher percentage of trafficked respondents were double orphans as compared to non-trafficked respondents.

**TABLE 18
RESPONDENTS WITH NEITHER PARENT ALIVE**

Country	%	
	Not trafficked	Trafficked
Burundi	41	33
Kenya	15	29
Tanzania	23	31
Uganda	35	32
All	23	31

After Jonathon’s parents died when he was still a child, a man came to him offering a job in Busia, a Ugandan town near the Kenyan border, where he would smuggle fuel into Uganda and sell it for a profit. When Jonathon inquired about the monthly salary, he was told he would be paid 20,000 UGX (10.99 USD) per month, which Jonathon agreed to. After arriving in Busia, Jonathon was brought to an unknown person who demanded that he begin work immediately smuggling fuel across the border. Jonathon worked for six months and never received any money for his labours. After six months, he was able to escape and stayed at the Busia Compassionate Friends Centre where he received counselling and vocational training. This helped him overcome the feelings of hopelessness and headaches, memory problems, episodes of anger and violence, extreme anxiety and depression, and self-harm from which he was suffering.*

* Real names have not been used

Community characteristics

Proximity to urban centres: Individuals in both urban and rural settings appear to be vulnerable to trafficking. But no statistically significant difference between the two groups was found regarding nearness of their home area to a city.

Access to transport: In Kenya, a higher percentage of those trafficked (47 respondents or 28%) lived less than 100 metres from a tarmac road than those who did not (15 respondents or 8%). In Tanzania, more trafficked (42 respondents or 70%) than non-trafficked (330 respondents or 58%) persons lived less than 10 kilometres from a tarmac road. No significant differences in proximity to tarmac roads and the likelihood of being trafficked were found in the Ugandan sample.

6.2 Trafficking experiences

Recruitment

Introduction and relationship of trafficked person to their trafficker: The primary way those trafficked reported meeting their traffickers was on their own: 37 respondents (25%) in Kenya, 52 respondents (47%) in Tanzania, and 48 respondents (30%) in Uganda. Other ways included being introduced by a family member, as reported by 34 respondents (23%) in Kenya, 21 respondents (19%) in Tanzania, and 28 respondents (17%) in Uganda; or being introduced by a friend, as reported by 24 respondents (16%) in Kenya, 18 respondents (16%) in Tanzania, and 31 respondents (19%) in Uganda. Finally, a number of victims reported having been trafficked by family members: 37 respondents (25%) in Kenya, 18 respondents (16%) in Tanzania, and 28 respondents (17%) in Uganda.

Naikun is a Masaai man whose family are pastoralists in Kenya. He was convinced by a family friend who visited his village to go with him to Malindi, Kenya where he would work as a security guard. The family friend told Naikun that the tourists at the hotels in Malindi loved the dress and dances of the Masaai people and it would be easy for him to make extra money in his free time away from his security job. When Naikun arrived, he was told that his job would be to dance at a hotel and that if any of the women wished, he was to have sex with them. He suffered threats and long working hours and was not able to save enough money to travel back home.*

* Real names have not been used

Recruitment methods: A large majority of victims surveyed say that traffickers lured them by making promises. Other respondents said that they were forced or threatened or that they had no choice because their family had made the arrangements.

TABLE 19
HOW PERSON OR ORGANIZATION PERSUADED THEM TO GO

How persuaded	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Made me promises	95	86	94	100
By force or threat of force	2	5	2	0
No choice – family arranged	4	9	3	0
Can't remember	0	1	1	0

In all of the countries the majority of trafficked respondents indicated that traffickers used either promises of jobs and/or promises of jobs with a good salary to persuade them. For the Ugandan sample it is interesting to note that 23 per cent of trafficked persons were persuaded on the basis of promises of food and shelter, perhaps suggesting that some victims in our sample may have been particularly desperate. Promises of education were used by traffickers in Tanzania (9% of trafficked respondents), Kenya (10% of trafficked respondents), and Uganda (6% of trafficked respondents).

TABLE 20
WHAT SORTS OF PROMISES DID THE PERSON INVOLVED IN GETTING YOU TO GO FROM (ORIGIN) TO (DESTINATION) MAKE TO PERSUADE YOU TO GO?

Promises made	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Better life	0	0	1	0
Business	1	3	0	0
Citizenship	0	1	0	0
Education	9	10	6	0
Food and shelter	5	1	23	0
Go home	0	1	0	0
Job	31	34	11	57
Job and education	0	2	1	0
Job and good salary	49	42	52	0
Location	2	4	1	14
Land	0	2	0	0
Marriage	1	0	1	0
Money	0	1	0	0
Other	0	0	2	29
Be taken care of	3	0	3	0

The types of jobs most frequently promised to the trafficked persons in our samples were hospitality work (36% in Tanzania, 19% in Kenya, 15% in Uganda, and 9% in Burundi), service work (21% in Tanzania, 13% in Kenya, 19% in Uganda, and 9% in Burundi), and domestic work (20% in Tanzania, 43% in Kenya, 22% in Uganda, and 64% in Burundi).

TABLE 21
IF YOU WERE PROMISED A JOB, WHAT TYPE OF JOB WERE YOU PROMISED?

Type of job promised	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Manual labour	8	3	14	9
Skilled/semi-skilled/prof	7	6	19	0
Hospitality work	36	19	15	9
Other service work	21	13	19	9
Artist	0	0	1	0
Street work	0	2	1	0
Domestic work	20	43	22	64
Entertainment	0	6	1	0
Prostitution	0	1	5	0
Other informal /illegal work	0	1	3	9
No work	7	7	0	0

A majority of trafficked respondents got the jobs they were promised. This suggests that it is the conditions rather than the type of work that people in our sample were deceived about.

**TABLE 22
GOT JOB PROMISED**

Did you end up getting this job?	%	
	No	Yes
Tanzania	41	59
Kenya	20	80
Uganda	36	64
Burundi	39	62
All	33	67

Salaries victims were promised: Extreme values were removed from the responses given when trafficked persons were asked what their recruiter said their salary at this job would be. The mean for each country was then calculated, as follows: in Tanzania 47.06 USD, in Kenya 69.96 USD, in Uganda 35.68 USD, and in Burundi 29.68 USD.

James was the youngest of six children and was living with his family in Kabale, Uganda when his parents were recruited to work in the agricultural sector in Bugambe, Uganda. James's parents were informed the work would be easy and that they would make enough money to afford their children's school fees. When they arrived, James's parents were required to work in a tea estate where they earned 36,000 UGX (19.75 USD) instead of the 200,000 UGX (109.89 USD) that they were promised. James was also forced to work and suffered from long working hours and limited freedom of choice. James is now 18-years-old and continues to work as a tea picker although he wishes to return to school in the near future.*

* Real names have not been used

Transportation

International vs. internal trafficking: In Tanzania, a very small minority (nine respondents or 7%) of those trafficked were transported outside of their own country. This included Tanzanians who were trafficked to other countries and had returned, as well as foreigners who had been trafficked into Tanzania. Of the internationally trafficked persons surveyed, six stated that they were trafficked outside of Tanzania: two to South Africa, two to Kenya, one to Malawi, and one to an unnamed foreign country. In addition, three of the traffickers interviewed indicated that they had trafficked Tanzanians abroad, to Zambia, the Netherlands, Sri Lanka, and Colombia.

In Kenya a minority of all the predisposed people in our survey (72 respondents or 19%) were not born in Kenya, and 52 respondents (14%) were not Kenyan citizens. A higher percentage of those who were born outside of Kenya (54 respondents or 33%) were trafficked as compared to those who were born inside of Kenya (16 respondents or 8%). Similarly, a higher percentage of those who were not citizens of Kenya (42 respondents or 25%) were trafficked as compared to those who were Kenyan citizens (nine respondents or 5%). Of the Kenyans trafficked abroad, Uganda, the Netherlands, South Africa, Australia, Germany, Thailand, and Italy were mentioned as destination countries. Of the foreigners trafficked into Kenya, Ethiopian, Somalia, Uganda, DRC, Burundi, and Tanzania were mentioned as source countries. One of the Kenyan traffickers interviewed indicated that he trafficked people from Kenya to Rwanda, transiting Uganda.

In Uganda, a large majority of respondents were born in Uganda and were Ugandan citizens. The countries that were mentioned by respondents as places they had been trafficked to included Australia, Japan, Kenya, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, and the United Kingdom. Kenya was also a country of origin for people trafficked into Uganda. One of the Ugandan traffickers interviewed stated that he sometimes trafficked people abroad, but to unspecified locations. Another mentioned trafficking people to Rwanda and Kenya.

Modes of transportation: A large majority of those in our sample who were trafficked reported being transported by public transportation, including by bus, taxi⁷ (in Uganda), and ferry (in Tanzania). A sizeable minority reported having had to walk.

TABLE 23
MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED

What means of transportation were used?	%		
	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda
On foot	35	25	35
Bus	83	86	56
Lorry	18	10	12
Train	0	14	4
Ferry	5	40	1
Aircraft	5	0	10
Private car	6	2	7
Taxi	2	6	74
Other	7	8	12

Travel arrangements: Across all countries the vast majority of trafficked respondents reported that a person or organization had arranged for them to move from one area to another. While nearly all of the trafficked Burundians and Ugandans reported this, there were a sizeable number of trafficked Kenyans (18 respondents or 11% of the sample) and Tanzanians (31 respondents or 23% of the sample) who reported that no person or organization was involved in getting them from one area to another. In some cases the trafficker amassed a large group of people before transporting them together, possibly to reduce the effort, cost and risk of multiple trips. A minority of those trafficked in Kenya (11%) and Tanzania (18%) travelled in a group while a small majority (58%) of those trafficked in Uganda did. The median group size was three, with a majority of the groups between two and eight people.

TABLE 24
**INVOLVEMENT OF PERSON OR ORGANIZATION IN TRANSPORTING
FROM ONE AREA TO ANOTHER**

When the trafficking incident occurred, was a person or organization involved in getting you from one area to another?	%	
	No	Yes
Tanzania	23	77
Kenya	11	89
Uganda	1	99
Burundi	7	93
All	11	89

⁷ Note that in Uganda, a taxi is a form of public transportation (a minibus, also known as a matatu in other parts of Eastern Africa).

Nancy was 13 years old and living at home in the rural area of Busia, Uganda when a woman came to her house asking if anyone would like to come and work in the town of Busia, Uganda as a domestic worker. The woman promised a salary of 35,000 UGX (19.23 USD)/month as well as free accommodation with a good standard of living. Nancy instantly accepted the offer of good employment and living conditions to escape the poor standard of living in her house and to stop being a burden to the rest of her family. The woman took Nancy in her car to the town of Masaka where they picked up four other girls who were all put into a taxi to be transported to Busia, Uganda. Once they arrived in Busia, they were dropped off at a bar by the taxi driver and the owner of the bar told them that they must work as barmaids and provide sexual services to the bar patrons.*

** Real names have not been used*

Exploitations and conditions of work

Activities engaged in at destination-promises versus reality: In our Kenyan sample, many more trafficked persons (120 respondents or 75%) ended up with domestic work than the 54 respondents (43%) who were promised it. In our Tanzanian sample, more trafficked persons (41 respondents or 28%), ended up with domestic work than the 22 respondents (20%) who were promised it. In our Ugandan sample, 32 trafficked respondents (22%) were promised domestic work and 33 (32%) ended up with it. This suggests that in our sample there was a demand for domestic work, but since that work is less desirable, traffickers needed to deceive people into taking it.

Of the trafficked persons in our Kenya sample, only one person (1%) was promised work in prostitution but 39 respondents (24%) ended up in this type of work. In our Tanzanian sample none of the trafficked persons was promised work in prostitution but 29 respondents (20%) did end up working as prostitutes. Of the trafficked persons in our Ugandan sample eight people (5%) were promised work in prostitution but 23 respondents (23%) were led into prostitution. This suggests that in our sample as whole there was a demand for prostitutes and traffickers had to deceive people into taking it because it was less desirable.

Edith, who is originally from Dodoma, Tanzania, went with a woman who came to her house and told her that she could get her a job working as a cook in a hotel on Zanzibar island, where Edith would be paid 50,000 TSH (42.08 USD) per month. The woman paid the fare for the bus and the ferry and when they arrived, Edith found that there was no job and instead she was threatened and forced to work providing sexual and massage service to the tourists on the beaches.*

** Real names have not been used*

Three of the trafficked persons (2%) in our Kenyan sample were promised street work, but 15 (9%) actually ended up in this type of work. None of the trafficked persons in our Tanzanian sample were promised street work, but 13 (9%) ended up in this type of work. This suggests that in our Tanzanian and Kenyan samples there was a demand for street work and that traffickers needed to deceive people into taking this undesirable type of job. Very few people in our Ugandan sample were promised street work or were trafficked into it.

Only one trafficked person (1%) from the Kenyan sample was promised informal/illegal work but eight (5%) ended up in these types of work. None of the trafficked persons from the Tanzanian sample were promised informal/illegal work but 17 of them (12%) ended up having them. This suggests that in our Kenyan and Tanzanian samples there was a demand for informal/illegal work. Also, very few people in our Ugandan sample were promised informal/illegal work or were trafficked into it.

Trafficking does not only supply illicit or informal industries with workers. Work that is or could most easily be regulated also pulls in trafficked labour. Hospitality and other service work are types of regulated work that trafficked respondents were promised but didn't end up getting: in Kenya 40 trafficked respondents (32%) were promised this type of work, but only 21 of them (13%) ended up working in this sector; in Tanzania 62 (57%) were promised, but only 23 (15%) got jobs; and in Uganda 50 (34%) were promised this type of work, but only 15 (15%) ended with a job in this sector.

Likewise for skilled/semi-skilled/professional work: eight (7%) Tanzanian respondents were promised this type of work but only one (1%) person ended up getting it; and 28 (19%) Ugandan respondents were promised this type of work but only three (3%) people ended up getting it. Some types of regulated work including hospitality, other service sector employment, and skilled, semi-skilled and professional work are seen as desirable to the trafficking victims in our sample and were used as lures.

TABLE 25
ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN AT DESTINATION – PROMISE VERSUS REALITY

Activity engaged in at destination	%		%		%	
	Kenya		Tanzania		Uganda	
	Promise	Reality	Promise	Reality	Promise	Reality
Manual labour	3	2	8	10	14	18
Skilled/semi-skilled/professional	6	4	7	1	19	3
Hospitality work	19	10	36	14	15	10
Other service work	13	3	21	1	19	5
Artist	0	0	0	1	1	0
Street work	2	9	0	9	1	4
Domestic work	43	75	20	28	22	32
Entertainment	6	6	0	2	1	0
Prostitution	1	24	0	20	5	23
Other informal /illegal work	1	5	0	12	3	4
Military service	0	1	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Bride	0	1	0	0	0	1
Other	0	16	0	3	n.a.	n.a.
No work	7	0	7	0	n.a.	n.a.

Earnings and finances

Promised versus actual earnings: With the exception of the Burundi sample, a large majority of trafficked respondents did not receive the salary they were promised. In the Uganda sample 91 respondents (95%) claimed this while the numbers were slightly lower in the Tanzanian (61 respondents or 86%) and Kenyan (82 respondents or 85%) samples. Also, a significant minority of trafficking victims were not allowed to keep their earnings at all: 31 respondents (34%) in Kenya, 31 respondents (35%) in Tanzania, and 20 respondents (38%) in Uganda.

In the Kenya and Tanzania surveys this was confirmed by the fact that the average monthly salary that victims reported earning is lower than what they were promised. In Kenya they were promised 5,115 KSH (70.55 USD) but only paid 3,988 KSH (50.01 USD), and in Tanzania they reported earning 36,545 TSH (30.76 USD) which was lower than the 55,907 TSH (47.06 USD) they were promised. These differences are statistically significant and unlikely to be due to chance alone. However, the difference between the average monthly salary that victims in Uganda reported earning, 63,252 UGX (34.75 USD), was only slightly lower than what they were promised 64,945 UGX (35.68 USD). This difference is not statistically significant and may be due to chance. However only 56 respondents reported on salaries they were paid while 116 reported on the salaries they were promised – it is possible that many of those who did not report their earnings were in fact paid nothing or, as will be discussed below, were not allowed to keep their earnings.

Earnings of trafficked persons as compared to the general population: In order to assess exploitative conditions, efforts were made to compare the earnings of trafficked persons who actually received some payment with the earnings of the general population. Zero values were removed, and the resulting median monthly income compared to other known measures of consumption or to poverty line measures. It is important to note that comparisons between income and consumption must be viewed with caution. The findings suggest that trafficking victims may be earning less than the average population:

- In Tanzania, the median income earned by trafficked persons surveyed was 20,000 TSH (16.84 USD) per month. Seventy one per cent earned less than 1 USD/day and 88 per cent earned less than 2 USD/day. A higher proportion of trafficked persons in our survey earned less than 1 USD/day as compared to the 58 per cent of the Tanzanian population living on less than that amount. Similar proportions of trafficked persons surveyed reported earning less than 2 USD/day as compared to the 90 per cent of the Tanzanian population living on less than that amount.
- In Kenya, the median income earned by trafficked persons surveyed was KSH 2,000 (USD 27.59) per month, which is substantially less than the 1997 poverty line of KSH 4,425 (USD 61.03) for urban areas. While there is no way to statistically test how these compare with national statistics, there is a higher proportion of trafficking victims in our survey with incomes below the poverty line (72 or 73%) than the national rate of 50% for urban centers. One caveat: we compared data on income with data on consumption. Assuming an urban bias in our sample, comparisons made above should be viewed very cautiously.
- In Uganda, the median income earned by trafficking victims surveyed is 37,500 UGX (30.74 USD)/month, which is substantially less than the 1 USD/day (equivalent of 54,600 UGX/month) poverty cut-off used for international comparisons. Sixty per cent of those surveyed earned less than 1 USD/day and 93 per cent of those surveyed earned less than 2 USD/day. Furthermore, the mean income for the sample was 63,252 UGX (35.14 USD)/month, almost ¼ of the per capita GDP for 2005 of 227,652 UGX (125.08 USD)/month (World Bank, 2006).

There was no available national level data for Burundi with which comparisons could be made.

Debt incurrence and repayment: Some traffickers use debt as a means to control their victims. Not only can traffickers profit at the expense of their victims through the exploitation of their labour. Some traffickers even require upfront payment from victims or their families for the “service” of securing the job and to cover transportation costs (UNICEF, a). Furthermore, a victim might be “obligated” to pay their trafficker back for costs of travel, accommodation, food, etc. while in the exploitive situation. In some of our samples a minority of respondents paid their traffickers some money in advance: eight people (11%) in Tanzania, and 12 people (10%) in Kenya. In Tanzania, the upfront payments ranged from 4.21 USD to 25.25 USD. In Kenya, most of these payments were between 6.90 USD and 75.86 USD.

Travelling by ferry, bus, and lorry, Simon arrived in Hoima, Uganda to take up a job that he had been promised. He was taken to Bugoma forest and started working as a timber cutter. The man who had recruited Simon had paid him an advance of 100 000 UGX (54.95 USD) as an incentive to take the job. Once on the job, Simon had to endure awful physical conditions and gruelling work to pay off the debt. The trafficker made Simon and other men go into the forests to cut trees and told them not to run away as there are Lord’s Resistance Army rebels in the forest who will kill them.*

* Real names have not been used

TABLE 26
PAYMENT TO RECRUITER

Did you pay the recruiter any money in advance?	%	
	No	Yes
Tanzania	89	11
Kenya	90	10
Uganda	83	17
Burundi	83	17

A minority of trafficked respondents from all four countries reported having to pay debt to their traffickers: 19 respondents (14%) in the Tanzania sample, 17 respondents (10%) in the Kenya sample, 13 respondents (17%) in the Uganda sample, and one respondent in the Burundi sample. In all four countries these debts were for transportation, food, shelter, medical costs, or to pay off other loans, while in Kenya some of those debts were for service fees for the trafficker. Most of the debts were for well under 100 USD, although the size of these debts did range. In the Tanzania sample they were as low as 0.48 USD and as high as 673.40 USD. In Kenya, they ranged from 1.38 USD to 82.76 USD, and in Uganda from 21.98 USD to 164.84 USD.

Servitude

Freedom of movement and choice: In all four of our samples, a majority of trafficked persons reported having their freedom of movement restricted in some way. In Tanzania, 46 (37%) reported having no freedom of movement at all, while the same was reported by 52 (32%) in our Kenyan sample, and 36 (48%) in our Ugandan sample. The majority of trafficked respondents all four samples said their freedom of choice had been limited at some point in the trafficking process: 71 people or 65 per cent in the Tanzania sample, 113 people or 71 per cent in the Kenya sample, and 68 people or 88 per cent in the Uganda sample.

**TABLE 27
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT**

While working for the recruiters / transporters / exploiters, how much freedom of movement were you allowed?	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
None	37	32	48	75
Only when accompanied	18	11	15	0
No restrictions were imposed	46	57	37	25

Hours of work: A majority of trafficked persons in each of our samples said they had to work for an “excessive” number of hours each day: 113 respondents (84%) in the Tanzania sample, 114 respondents (70%) in the Kenya sample, and 65 respondents (88%) in the Uganda sample.

David is now a 17 year-old boy who was trafficked at the age of 12 from his hometown of Gulu, Uganda. He describes his childhood as one “full of poverty” and states that his father was an alcoholic who beat him and his siblings. David’s parents had a volatile relationship and he spent much of his early childhood living on the streets. At the age of 12, a distant relative of David’s took him away from his family and promised that he would receive an education. Once David arrived at the man’s house, the trafficker refused to take him to the local school and told David that since he had to pay David’s father a lot of money that he was to work in return. David was forced to tend the chickens and was not permitted to sleep in the house and had to spend the nights in the chicken house, waking twice to ensure that the chickens were fed and warm enough. If David overslept, the man beat him or would withhold food. As conditions continued to worsen, David began to steal and pickpocket to save enough money to escape the trafficking situation. Once he orchestrated his escape, he went to live with other street children to avoid returning to his family or the house of the trafficker.*

* Real names have not been used

Forced activities and coercion

In Tanzania and Kenya, around half of the trafficking victims sampled reported being forced to do activities against their will: 74 (56%) for Tanzania and 86 (52%) for Kenya. The majority of the Burundi sample also made the same claim, but the percentage of respondents reporting being forced was notably higher in Uganda, at 56 respondents (70%). Threats were the most common type of force used, followed by being compelled to do the activity because the victims had no money to leave. The latter can be considered a type of passive coercion: the trafficking experience may have so stripped victims of resources that they have no choice but to remain exploited. For example, they may not have the money to pay for a trip home or to rent their own place if they are living with their employer. A minority of victims in the Kenya, Tanzanian, and Uganda samples reported the use of physical violence.

Many trafficked respondents claim they were forced into prostitution and domestic work against their will. Furthermore, a number of Kenyan and Ugandan respondents reported having been forced to have sex (not necessarily transactional sex) while a number of Tanzanian respondents reported having been forced to do informal/illegal activities.

**TABLE 28
FORCED ACTIVITIES**

Which activity were you forced to engage in against your will?	%		
	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda
Manual labour	2	5	5
Hospitality work	2	5	1
Other service work	2	3	1
Street work	2	0	0
Domestic work	13	11	9
Entertainment	0	1	0
Prostitution	18	22	8
Other informal/illegal	4	13	1
Military unspecified and combat	0	0	1
Military support	0	0	1
Marry	1	0	1
Other work	3	1	2
Other non-work	1	0	1
Forced sex	9	1	6
Dangerous work	1	1	0

In her hometown of Bugiri in Uganda, Jacinta had a difficult life where unemployment was high and she lived with her mother and five siblings. When a woman whom Jacinta's family knew approached her on her way home from school offering a job doing domestic work in Busia for 23 000 UGX (12.64USD) plus accommodation and board, Jacinta believed it was a good opportunity to earn money and relieve the burden on her family. She travelled with the woman to Busia, Uganda but upon arrival, the woman handed her over to another woman and disappeared. Jacinta was taken to a house and forced to do domestic work for no pay. Soon after her arrival, the man of the house began to sexually abuse her and threatened to kill her if she ever told anyone. After seven months of such brutal treatment, Jacinta managed to escape the trafficking situation.*

* Real names have not been used

7.0 HUMAN TRAFFICKER PROFILING

In order to generate profiles of human traffickers, trafficked persons in each of our samples were asked questions about certain characteristics of their traffickers while a number of traffickers and “proxy” traffickers were identified and surveyed.

7.1 Trafficked person responses

Type of traffickers identified: In Tanzania, trafficked respondents identified family members and friends as recruiters. Employers were also commonly mentioned by respondents as were others’ employees. Employment agencies were mentioned by 20 (14%) of the Tanzanian victims surveyed. In Kenya, family members, friends of the family, and persons living in the victims’ area were identified as recruiters. Again, employers and others’ employees were mentioned, but only two trafficking victims cited employment agencies. In Uganda, the most commonly identified recruiters were employers, family members, friends, and others’ employees. Only three (2%) trafficking victims mentioned employment agencies.

When Jackie was 15 years old, her sister organized for her to move to Nakuru to work as a house help for a wealthy family. The arrangement was that Jackie would receive 200 KSH (2.75 USD) per month and her sister received 500 KSH (6.90 USD) per month to be given to Jackie’s parents who were living in Rift Valley province to save so Jackie could return to school. The working conditions were difficult, the family fought often and shouted at Jackie when she made mistakes. They charged her for everything that she broke and deducted from her meagre wages. Out of her wages, Jackie was expected to buy her own food and to cook her food separately from the rest of the family and she soon realized that her sister was not giving any money to her parents and that the only way out of the exploitative situation was to escape.*

** Real names have not been used*

In two of our samples there were interesting differences between how all respondents, both trafficked and non-trafficked, fared depending on who had offered help to find work. In Tanzania a lower percentage of those trafficked received offers from family (33 respondents or 30% for trafficked and 153 respondents or 58% for non-trafficked) while a higher percentage from friends (66 respondents or 61% for trafficked and 102 respondents or 39% for non-trafficked). In Uganda, however, a lower percentage of those trafficked received offers of help in finding work from friends (64 respondents or 46% for trafficked and 38 respondents of 67% for non-trafficked) but a higher percentage from strangers (34 respondents or 25% for trafficked and 1 respondents or 2% for non-trafficked).

Gender: According to the victims surveyed in our Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda samples, both male and female traffickers operate in those countries. However, male traffickers appear to work together with other men and female traffickers with other women, rather than in mixed groups.

TABLE 29
TRAFFICKER GENDER ACCORDING TO VICTIMS

Were they mainly men, mainly women or mixed?	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Mainly men	38	49	30	25
Mainly women	50	42	55	75
Mixed	13	9	15	0

Number of persons involved in trafficking incident: In Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda very few victims surveyed said they were aware of more than four people being involved in their recruitment, transportation, and “employment”/exploitation. To the victims’ knowledge two people were involved on average.

Occupation: Victims of trafficking were asked what they thought the other main occupation of their trafficker was; their responses were very diverse. In Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda the most frequent response was “owner of a store.” In Tanzania, this was followed by service work, semi-skilled manual, unskilled manual, and foreman/supervisor; in Kenya by unskilled and semi-skilled manual labour; and in Uganda by a series of managerial occupations.

TABLE 30
MAIN OCCUPATION OF TRAFFICKER ACCORDING TO VICTIMS

Thinking about each main person involved, what was their main occupation?	%			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Farmer	7	4	4	78
Unskilled manual labour	9	14	6	0
Semi-skilled manual	12	10	7	0
Skilled manual	4	2	4	0
Foreman/supervisor	9	4	9	11
Service work	15	9	5	0
Clerical/office	3	5	4	0
Semi-skilled non-manual	7	1	4	11
Skilled non-manual	0	7	6	0
Low/mid level manager	1	6	9	0
High level manager	2	2	9	0
Owner of store	23	15	12	0
Mid-level professional	1	4	5	0
High level professional	0	2	2	0
Government employee	1	1	2	0
Mid/high level govt	2	0	0	0
Military	0	3	0	0
Art and intellectual	1	0	0	0
Other	5	11	15	0

7.2 Trafficker and proxy trafficker interviews

In each of the countries, actual traffickers and “proxy” traffickers both were identified and interviewed. While each of the sample sizes is too small to allow us to perform statistical analyses, the information gathered provides interesting insight into trafficking operations in these countries.

Tanzania

Trafficker interviews

Interviews were conducted with four actual traffickers and six “proxy” traffickers. The four traffickers directly interviewed were all male. When asked how long they had been involved in this activity one declined to answer, one stated that he had been involved for one year, another for six years, and one for ten years. Three of them claimed to no longer be involved in trafficking activities, and all four claimed to instead/also be working as legitimate businessmen. All four were Tanzanian citizens, although one was born abroad.

Three of them stated that they had arrest records: one for drug abuse, one for theft and robbery, and one for assault and assisting drug traffickers. The latter stated that he had served two terms in prison for his crimes.

Two claimed that they had received a college or university level education, while the remaining two stated that they had secondary level education.

When asked about their recruitment methods, the first stated that he met his victims on his own or through friends, or he abducted them. The second met his victims on his own or through friends, or through newspaper advertisements. The third recruited his victims through an agent, and the fourth met his victims on his own, through friends, or through introductions by a member of the victim’s family.

The types of promises made to their victims were of good jobs (namely as waiters/waitresses, salespeople, flight attendants, entertainers, plan supervisors, nannies and babysitters, domestic workers, bar staff, and the opportunity to run their own business), improved living conditions, and the chance to earn good money, both in Tanzania and abroad. One of the traffickers promised female victims the opportunity to compete in the Miss Tanzania beauty contest.

One of the traffickers claimed that he had recruited at least ten victims and had abducted three. Another stated that he recruited victims “all the time”, while one stated that he could not remember because the agent was the one doing the recruiting. The final trafficker stated that he had recruited twice. One of the traffickers said that the approximate age of his victims was between 18 and 22 years of age. The second stated 18 to 30 years, the third 14 to 21 years, and the fourth did not answer the question.

With regards to transportation, all four of the traffickers reported that transportation costs were paid either by themselves or, in the case of one trafficker, the agent. All four used buses to transport their victims, two used lorries, two used aircraft, two used trains, one used ships, and one used ferries.

At least two of the traffickers had brought at least some of their victims to other countries. Two traffickers stated that they provided false documents for their victims (one also reported that he himself used invalid documents). Two said that time was spent in transit countries, and the countries specified were Zambia, India, Brazil, and Bolivia.

When asked about the conditions for their victims, all four reported using threats to coerce their victims. Three of the traffickers stated that they allowed their victims to retain only a

portion of their earnings, while the fourth did not answer the question. Three of the four stated that their victims were forced to endure excessive working hours, with one trafficker specifying that victims worked 16 hours a day. The fourth trafficker did not answer the question. Three also said that their victims' freedom of choice was limited. When asked if their victims had to repay a debt to them, two of the four answered yes. One specified an amount of 150,000 TSH (126.26 USD) and the other specified an amount of 40,000 TSH (33.67 USD).

Trafficker B was interviewed in Mwanza. He is 44 years old and married. He was born in a different country and even from his childhood dreamed of being a big time drug dealer and extremely wealthy. He attended college, and has been arrested numerous times for drug trafficking activities. As a trafficker he recruits people through an agent. He promises his victims an opportunity to improve their life by working as a plant manager and earning 594,000 TSH (500 USD) per week. Although he is not involved directly in recruitment, some of the people he has trafficked were abducted. He has trafficked people internationally to Colombia, Sri Lanka and Mexico. Victims are trafficked to Dar es Salaam and from there were either sent to India by sea or to Latin America by air. When arriving at the destination countries they are forced through the use of threats to work very long hours and are only allowed to keep part of their salary. Trafficker B would not tell us the actual amount. Victims had extremely limited freedom of choice and were only allowed to move when accompanied.

Proxy trafficker interviews

In addition to the four actual traffickers, six “proxy” traffickers, or individuals who claimed to have first-hand knowledge of an actual trafficker, were interviewed about the activities of the trafficker they knew. Four of the proxy traffickers were men and two were women.

When asked about the traffickers they knew, four were men and two were women. Of the four male traffickers, three were said to have a primary level education, and one's education level was unknown. Both of the female traffickers were said to have received a secondary level education. The proxy traffickers reported that two of the male traffickers had been arrested at some point, one for drug use and the other for engaging in an “illegal business”. Both were said to have spent time in prison. According to the proxy traffickers, the two men who had been in prison were no longer engaged in trafficking while the remaining four (two men, two women) were still engaged in trafficking at the time of interview. Meanwhile, the proxy traffickers reported that the two women were engaged in trafficking mostly within Tanzania and that they recruited young girls and then forced them to work long hours doing domestic work and work in bars, using threats and physical violence.

Kenya

Trafficker interviews

Interviews were also conducted with two actual traffickers and four “proxy” traffickers. Of the two traffickers directly interviewed, one was male, the other female. When asked how long they had been involved in this activity the woman declined to answer, but the man said 15 months. Both were still involved in trafficking, and held Kenyan citizenship. The man said he also worked as a businessman, while the female trafficker said didn't have a job. Both claim

that they have never been investigated, arrested, or prosecuted by law enforcement, and that they had received a college or university level education.

When asked about their recruitment methods, the male trafficker stated that he meets his victims on his own or through friends. The female trafficker meets hers through newspaper advertisements. The man promises his victims stable jobs with a good salary, as well as a high standard of living. The female trafficker promises her victims a monthly salary of over 5,000 KSH (68.97 USD), free food and accommodation, and Sundays off.

When asked about recruitment, both claimed to have used promises but never abducted a victim. The man said he had recruited victims six times, and the woman declined to answer. The male trafficker usually paid for his victims' transportation, while the female trafficker said they paid for their own transport. Both reported using buses to transport victims, but the man also used lorries. The male trafficker said the average age of his victims was 30 years, while the female placed the average age of her victims at 25.

Also, the male trafficker was involved in international trafficking, at least once. He stated that no documents were used to cross international borders, and that at least one victim had to spend time in transit in Uganda.

When asked about the conditions for their victims, both reported using threats to coerce their victims to do activities against their will. The female trafficker also used physical violence. The male trafficker said that his victims were allowed to keep only a portion of their earnings, while the female trafficker stated that her victims were allowed to retain their earnings. However, both reported that the people they trafficked owed them debts that had to be repaid. The male trafficker charged his victims 40,000 KSH (551.72 USD) for transport and recruitment costs, while the female trafficker would charge her victims 8,000 KSH (110.34 USD) after telling them that they had stolen or broken something. Both also said their victims were forced to endure excessive working hours.

Proxy trafficker interviews

In addition to the four actual traffickers, four "proxy" traffickers were interviewed about the activities of the traffickers they knew.

Three were women while the gender of the fourth was unknown. Two were said to have a secondary level education while the other two a college or university level education. The proxy traffickers also reported that two of the traffickers had never been arrested, that one had been arrested for owning a brothel, and one for engaging in prostitution and being drunk and disorderly. When asked how long they had been involved in trafficking, one was reported to have been involved for five months, one for four months, one for six years, and one for three years. According to the proxy traffickers, three of the traffickers were still engaged in this activity, and one was not.

Trafficker K was not directly interviewed but we know about her experiences through an interview with someone who knows her. The interview took place in Busia, Kenya. Trafficker K comes from a rich family but her living standard changed when her parents passed away.

Currently she works in the commercial sex industry and has been arrested for prostitution. She recruits young boys and girls by meeting them on her own or through friends. To the girls she promises a high salary, 2,000 KSH per month, for working as a house-girl. To the boys she promises to take them to school and pay their school fees. She traffics the children to Uganda by either public transport or private car, crossing the border at Busia. The children use their own documents to cross the border, and other times the officials are bribed. The boys are often sold to the Katozi tribe, which many claim use the boys for sacrifices involving blood and body parts. The girls are sold as house girls, for which she gets 80,000 UGX (43.96 USD) per girl. The girls that are not sold as domestic servants are taken to Kampala where they are sold to brothels and bars. The children are threatened to force them to work and their freedom of movement is restricted.

Uganda

Trafficker interviews

In Uganda, interviews were conducted with nine actual traffickers and three “proxy” traffickers. Of the nine traffickers directly interviewed, six were male and three were female. When asked how long they had been involved in trafficking, answers ranged from just under four to over 11 years. Seven of the nine were still involved in trafficking. Most of the traffickers had other forms of employment, such as school director, factory supervisor, smuggler, and spare-parts dealer. Two of them had previously been arrested. Seven said that they had a secondary level education, while the rest said they had a primary level education.

When asked about their recruitment methods, all of them stated that they were introduced to some of their victims through friends. Seven of the nine said they met their victims on their own, five said they were introduced to their victims through a family member, one met them through word-of-mouth, one met them through internet posting, and five trafficked people they were related to. The traffickers also made a variety of promises to their victims, almost all of which were related to employment, accommodation, and a comfortable life/better life. One of the traffickers promised to find sponsors for the victims’ education. The types of jobs promised included domestic work, work in bars, factory and sales staff, teaching, military service, and working as nanny.

When asked about recruitment, all stated that they had never abducted someone. Some of the traffickers paid the transport costs themselves, while sometimes it was their victims who paid. Two of the traffickers mentioned that the travel costs they paid themselves were reimbursed by those they handed the victims over to. Modes of transport included by foot, public transport, lorry, bus, private care, boda boda⁸, by sea (ferry, boat, and ship), and by air. When asked about the approximate age of their victims, the answers ranged from 13 to 50, with ages in the teen and mid-twenty ranges given more frequently.

When asked about the conditions for their victims, all but one of the traffickers stated that their victims were forced to engage in activities against their will. All but one stated that the victims were forced to endure excessive working hours, and all but one stated that their victims’ freedom

⁸ Bicycle taxi.

of choice was limited. Three stated that victims were not permitted to keep their earnings, four said they were, one said they were only allowed to keep a portion of their earnings, and one did not respond to the question. Three of the nine said that their victims had debts to repay to them. These debts were to be paid for giving them an “employment opportunity”, for money given to the victim’s families, and for transport and meals during transit.

Trafficker U is a 37-year-old woman who comes from a big family of 12 children. She recalls her family was wealthy until her parents divorced and her mother started working in the commercial sex industry in order to send her children to school. Trafficker U managed to reach secondary school. Trafficker U was engaged in trafficking for four years, and says she is not longer trafficking now that she is married. Trafficker U recruited victims by meeting them directly or through knowing their families. She lied to young girls by telling them they would have good jobs, such as a nanny, domestic worker, and salesgirl and receive a good salary, free accommodation, and free food. She told them pretty girls can make a lot of money in Busia, Uganda. The young girls were trafficked to Busia or Kampala using private cars, taxis, and buses. Once in Kampala, the girls were threatened to force them to work, mostly in bars, and were not paid for their services.

Proxy trafficker interviews

In addition to the nine actual traffickers, three “proxy” traffickers were interviewed about the activities of the trafficker they knew.

When asked about the traffickers they knew, two of the traffickers were men and one was a woman. Two were said to have had a secondary level education, and one a primary level education. The proxy traffickers reported that one of the traffickers had been arrested after being mistaken for a thief. All of the three traffickers represented by these proxy traffickers were said to still be engaged in trafficking. One of them was said to have been engaged in trafficking for two years, one for four years, and one for 30 years.

Burundi

Trafficker interviews

Interviews were conducted with two actual traffickers. Both were male. When asked how long they had been involved in trafficking, one stated seven months, the other, one year. When asked if they were still involved in trafficking, one said no and the other did not answer. Both traffickers had other forms of employment; one sold shoes and the other was a cyclist. Neither of them had ever been arrested. Both stated that they had received some formal education; one of them up to form seven, and the other did not specify.

When asked about their recruitment methods, both traffickers stated that they were introduced to their victims through friends and made promises to their victims. One trafficker promised them paying jobs that would allow them to leave the farm. These included jobs as a singer/dancer/entertainer, factory worker, or salesperson. The other promised jobs as a shopkeeper, hairdresser, or housekeeper in a hotel, or education at the secondary school level.

When transporting their victims, both traffickers stated that they paid the transport costs themselves. Both also used buses for transportation.

When asked about the conditions for the people they had trafficked, both stated that they were not permitted to keep their earnings. One said that they were not forced to endure excessive working hours as they worked ten hours a day. But the other said yes, at 13 hours a day. Both stated that their victims had to pay a debt to them. The two also said that the people they had trafficked were only allowed to move about when accompanied. When asked about the approximate age of their victims, one of the traffickers said 15 years, the other said 16 years.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN EASTERN AFRICA

Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi

Trafficker B is a male from a farming community in Burundi, where he lived with four brothers and sisters and had a tough childhood living in poverty and depending on farming. He was educated until the seventh grade. He came to Bujumbura to escape the harsh realities of farm life. He traffics people so he can make enough money to open his own shoe store. He is introduced to people he traffics through friends and promises them a good paying job in the city, such as a shoe seller, hairdresser, and hotel worker. He also tells victims they will be able to go to secondary school in the city. The trafficking route he uses is from rural areas to Bujumbura, mostly via bus. Once in the city, most of his victims, who are all young, around the age of 15, are forced to work as barmaids, dancers, and waitresses. His victims can only move around when accompanied because they owe a debt of Fr 10,000 each for the trafficking “service”.

8.0 HEALTH RISKS FOR TRAFFICKED PERSONS AND IMPACT ON LIFE OPPORTUNITIES

In each country information was gathered from rehabilitation centre staff on the health risks they perceive trafficked persons face at each stage of the trafficking process. In addition, the sub-set of trafficked persons in our survey was asked to provide information on the health symptoms they have experienced.

8.1 Health risks for trafficked persons

When asked, rehabilitation centre staff in all four countries indicated that they believed victims of trafficking are at a high risk of receiving serious injury from beatings and other forms of physical abuse. Staff was asked to share their views, based on their observations, on the health risks faced by trafficking victims at various stages of the trafficking process (recruitment, transit, destination, and return). The following were mentioned:

TABLE 31
HEALTH RISK BY STAGE OF TRAFFICKING, ASSESSED BY REHABILITATION CENTRE STAFF

Stage	Perceived health risk			
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi
Recruitment:	serious beatings, mistreatment, headaches, worms, intestinal infection, insomnia, flu, chest infections, and coughing	substance abuse, drugging, beatings, STIs and unhygienic conditions	rape, STIs, stress, mental health problems, physical torture, beatings, skin rashes, wounds, malaria, HIV/AIDS, diarrhoea, abortions	
Transit:	anxiety, contraction of HIV/STIs, stomach aches, headaches, malaria, typhoid, injuries related to mode of transport (e.g., road travel, travel in cargo vessels, etc.)	beatings, drug use, STIs, infectious diseases, communicable diseases, rape, sodomy, pneumonia, respiratory infections, malaria, road accidents	emotional disturbances, rape, STIs, malaria, nausea, violence, hopelessness, sleeping problems, suffocation, wounds, injury, drug abuse, sexual exploitation	rape, STIs
Destination:	lack of basic needs (e.g., shelter, medical care, and clothing) leading to illness, physical abuse and beatings, sexual abuse and rape, forced drug addiction, HIV and STIs, psychological disorders, overwork, body aches, malaria, skin disease, worms, and anaemia	denial of food, beatings, substance abuse, exposure to STIs including HIV/AIDS, infectious diseases, physical abuse, sexual abuse, violence, mental illness, psychosis, depression, inhumane treatment, physical injuries, anxiety, mental torture, stress, abortion	hopelessness, stomach ache, desperation, rape, violence, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, helplessness, STIs, malaria, unemployment	mistreatment, prostitution
Return:	anxiety, mistreatment, lack of good medical services, flashbacks, psychological problems, low self esteem, HIV/AIDS, and pregnancy	Exposure to STIs and HIV/AIDS, psychotic conditions, depression, inhumane treatment, physical injuries, trauma	trauma, STIs, helplessness, isolation, low self esteem, violence, risky behaviour, stress, depression, HIV/AIDS, stigma	

We also asked the trafficked persons in our survey about health symptoms they suffered. While it is important to understand some of the health symptoms the trafficked may suffer from, our survey did not ask health-related questions of the non-trafficked respondents and, therefore, we cannot assume that these symptoms are in any way associated with trafficking. For Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda the following were the most common symptoms mentioned suffered by the trafficked persons surveyed: head aches, depression, sleeping problems, anger, hopelessness, and flashbacks. Around a quarter of all trafficked respondents reported turning violent. In Tanzania, 19 respondents (19%) reported having sexually transmitted infections, as did 19 Kenyan respondents (12%), 16 Uganda respondents (24%) and one Burundi respondent. High levels of substance abuse were reported by those trafficked in the Kenya sample (33 respondents or 21%) and the Uganda sample (12 respondents or 18%). A high percentage of the Ugandan respondents (12 respondents or 18%) also said they harmed themselves.

TABLE 32
HEALTH CONDITIONS OF RESPONDENTS

Have you yourself experienced any of these symptoms?	%				
	Tanzania	Kenya	Uganda	Burundi	All
Headaches	64	79	71	60	72
Depression	53	58	46	0	52
Sleeping problems	33	53	44	80	46
Anger	47	48	30	70	45
Hopelessness	40	40	32	70	39
Flash backs	24	45	30	0	34
Stomach aches	30	20	36	20	26
Isolation/mistrust	31	25	26	10	26
Violence	21	27	26	0	24
No interest	22	24	21	20	23
STIs	19	12	24	10	17
Substance abuse	7	21	18	10	16
Extreme anxiety	6	23	5	0	14
Palpitations	5	11	15	30	11
Memory problems	9	8	17	10	10
Self harm	7	5	18	0	8
Infectious diseases	13	3	9	0	7
Mental health problems	11	2	12	10	7
Exacerbation of pre-existing conditions	7	1	3	10	3
Returning to abusive family or trafficker	3	4	3	0	3

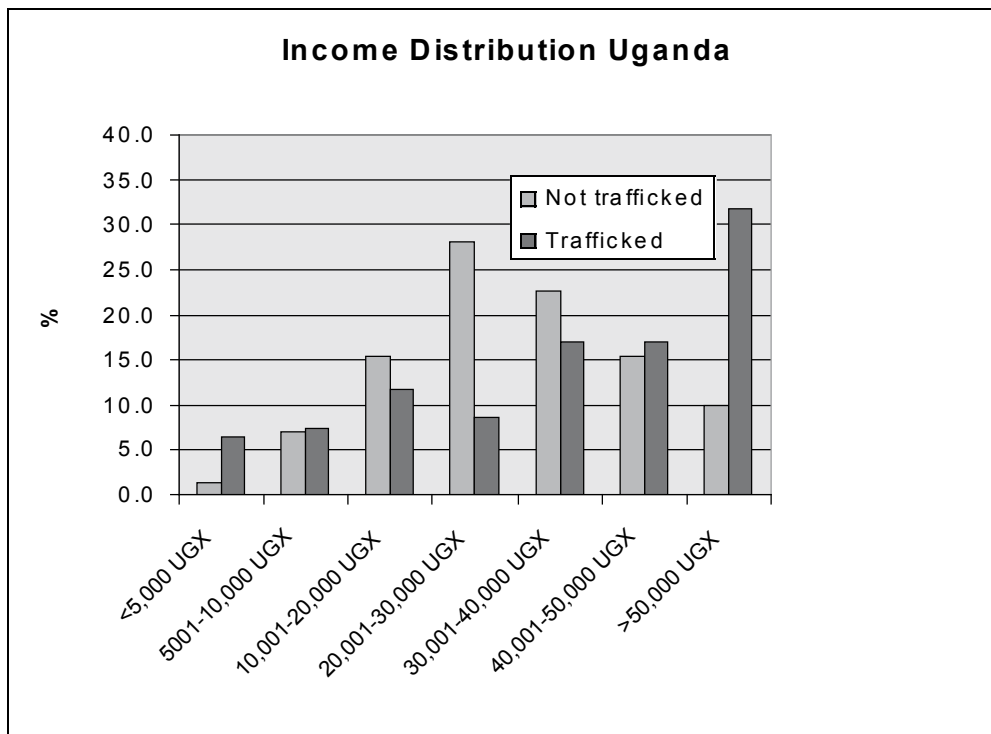
8.2 Impact on life opportunities

Respondents were asked a series of questions related to their current circumstances, and the responses of the trafficked and non-trafficked groups in each of the samples were compared. It is important to note that the time that elapsed between the trafficking experience and the time of interview varied between respondent and, in some cases, was years later. A higher percentage of those trafficked (55 respondents or 33%) than non-trafficked (25 respondents or 13%) in the Kenya sample were not working at the time of interview. Similar findings were seen in the Tanzanian sample, where 12 (9%) of the trafficked respondents as opposed to 18 (3%) of the non-trafficked respondents were not working at the time of the interview. This

difference is significant and therefore unlikely to be due to chance alone. No statistically significant difference was found in the Ugandan sample.

The income level of trafficked and non-trafficked respondents was also compared. The following graph shows the differences found in the Ugandan sample. A higher percentage of those trafficked (30 respondents or 19%) as compared to those not trafficked (seven respondents or 6%) had incomes above 50,000 UGX (27.47 USD). This difference is significant and unlikely to be due to chance alone. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups in the Tanzanian and Kenyan sample.

FIGURE 4
INCOME DISTRIBUTION UGANDA



Respondents were also asked if they had a place of their own that they call home and if not, where they were living. There are no statistically significant differences between the percentage of trafficked and non-trafficked respondents who had a place they call home in the Kenya or Ugandan samples. However, a lower percentage of those trafficked from Tanzania, 51 (36%) as opposed to those not trafficked 491 (61%), do. This difference is significant and therefore unlikely to be due to chance alone.

Across all countries, very few respondents who were trafficked reported having been enrolled in rehabilitation programmes. Only three (4%) respondents from Uganda and none from Burundi had been enrolled. In the Tanzania and Kenya samples these rates were slightly higher, with 14 respondents (10%) and 35 respondents (22%), respectively. The Kenyan number is likely to be high because some of the participants were recruited through referrals from service providers. Respondents were asked about the services provided at the centres they had visited, and most of them responded that outpatient services were provided.

9.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Conclusions

While this research is an important contribution to our knowledge of human trafficking in Eastern Africa, IOM advocates interpreting the findings from our research conservatively due to the significant challenges of conducting research on this topic (discussed in Annex 2 and section 3.2), particularly with regards to sampling.

That being said, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the research confirms that human trafficking is in fact occurring in Eastern Africa. A number of broad factors, such as labour migration, income and employment levels, and personal aspirations were found to be associated with trafficking in one or more of our samples.

Most respondents in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania agreed that human trafficking was happening in their region, although the percentage of people reporting that people in their area knew what trafficking was varied greatly among the four samples. In each country, each research area had a specific profile in terms of respondents' perceptions of the area as a source, transit, and/or destination area.

In one or more of our samples, certain individual, family, and community characteristics were found to be associated with one's likelihood of being trafficked. This included non-residence in one's country of birth or citizenship in the Kenya sample, lower levels of education for women and girls in the Tanzania sample, coming from a family that practices fostering in the Kenya and Tanzania samples, death of one's father (particularly in Kenya and Tanzania), death of both parents in Kenya and Tanzania, and proximity to a tarmac road in the Kenya and Tanzania samples.

The results of our survey indicate certain broad contours of trafficking in the region. Most victims in our sample met their traffickers on their own or through family members and friends. A number of victims were trafficked by members of their own family. Overwhelmingly they were recruited through deceptive means, particularly promises of jobs, good salaries and, to a lesser extent, education. Interestingly, a sizeable minority (23%) of trafficked Ugandans were trafficked on the basis of promises of food and shelter, perhaps indicating that some of the trafficked persons in Uganda were particularly desperate and that traffickers were targeting the vulnerable. As for promised jobs, certain types of jobs were promised more often than others. Promises of domestic, hospitality, and service jointly comprised the majority of job promises made.

While our study was only conducted in East African countries, therefore unlikely to represent the actual proportion of international to domestic trafficking, it would appear that both international and domestic trafficking does occur in each country, although internal trafficking figured most prominently. International trafficking occurred more often in our Kenya sample.

Once at their destination, the victims in our survey were subjected to very poor conditions. With the exception of Burundi the majority did not receive the salaries they were promised. In Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania a significant minority were not allowed to keep any of their earnings at all. Conditions of servitude were observed, with the majority of victims having their freedom of movement and freedom of choice restricted in some way and at some point in the trafficking process. Most worked excessive hours per day, and in the Kenya and Tanzania sample slightly over half were forced to do activities against their will.

Victims identified family members, friends, people living in their area, employers, and employment agencies as their traffickers. It was found that both men and women operate as traffickers, although usually in same-gender groups. Most victims reported that, to their knowledge, there were only small numbers of individuals involved in their trafficking incident. Information from traffickers or proxy traffickers reflect the information provided by victims: they admitted that deception is commonly used, that they used threats to control their victims, and that the people they trafficked faced difficult conditions such as excessive working hours and limited freedom of choice.

9.2 Recommendations

General

- Ensure that all counter-trafficking work takes a gender-sensitive and child-friendly approach and addresses the situations of men as well as children and women. In our sample, while gender roles have a powerful influence over the type of work females and males engage in, they are not absolute.
- Explore possibilities of engaging these sectors in efforts to prevent trafficking. The vast majority of victims in our survey were transported using public means.

General, regional governments

- Ensure universal birth registration and an effective identify registration system. Lack of documentation establishing identity may facilitate trafficking, particularly international trafficking.

To the Ministry(ies) responsible for education

- Incorporate teaching on trafficking in persons into the education curriculum to increase knowledge and awareness amongst children.
- In Tanzania, increase the educational attainment levels of girls and boys by developing a strategy to keep children in school longer. In our sample, a higher percentage of trafficked girls and women had lower levels of education and a lower percentage had higher levels of education. Though we do not know if this is because education is protective or because those who are trafficked are denied educational opportunities, girls' education has been found to be protective in many other contexts.

To the Ministry(ies) responsible for labour, labour migration, and employment

- Promote safe migration (including internal migration) with potential migrants and those from source communities for labour migration by:
 - building capacity to judge accuracy and balance of information from various sources about work and employment conditions in destination areas;
 - sensitizing that deception about the type of job and/or about the conditions of work rather than overt violence and coercion may be used by traffickers to recruit victims;
 - sensitizing that traffickers may work through networks of family and friends in order to gain the trust of potential victims;
 - informing of the risks of migrating to an area without social support networks;

- based on false promises used by traffickers identified in the survey, informing that those promised hospitality, other service work, or education may instead end up doing domestic, street, sex, and other informal/illegal work. In Tanzania and Uganda, false promises of skilled, semi-skilled, and professional work opportunities were also used to lure victims.
- Strengthen the capacity of labour regulation systems to identify and address exploitative labour including the use of trafficked labour.
- Implement employment programming in source communities.
- In Uganda, target prevention programming at communities where unemployment levels are high and where there is known to be high volumes of departing labour migrants. This is based on the association in our Uganda sample between trafficking, labour migration, and unemployment rates in communities.
- In Uganda, pay particular attention to ensuring that community members are able to meet basic needs for food and shelter.
- In Tanzania, implement prevention programming at communities where incomes are low and where there is known to be high volumes of departing labour migrants. This is based on the association in our sample between trafficking, labour migration, and relatively low incomes in communities.
- In Tanzania, pay particular attention to creating higher income employment opportunities rather than solely on reducing unemployment.

To the Ministry(ies) responsible for child welfare

- In Kenya and Tanzania, target prevention programming at orphans and children of single mothers who, as in our sample, are at a higher risk of being trafficked.
- In Kenya and Tanzania, explore mechanisms to promote non-exploitative fostering, perhaps within the context of child labour and child welfare interventions for younger children and safer migration for older adolescents.

To the Ministry(ies) responsible for justice, investigation, and prosecution

- Enact strong, comprehensive, and clear legislation that follows through on international commitments to address trafficking and closes loopholes.
- Work towards harmonizing legislation of countries in the region and ensure that regional agreements trade and migration agreements protect migrants from trafficking.
- Increase the effectiveness of the law enforcement and judicial system through training, implementing anti-corruption measures, and improving the skills of law enforcement officials in order to reduce crime and improve overall security.
- Ensure that law enforcement and the judicial systems do not re-victimize those trafficked, particular those trafficking into criminal or criminalized occupations.
- Build human trafficking awareness and skills amongst law enforcement and judicial officials.
- Ensure that prosecutorial efforts account for:
 - the possibility that trafficking organizations may be small or large;
 - victims may be responsible for arranging their own transportation and public transportation may be used; and
 - trafficking victims may have their freedom of choice and movement restricted by traffickers and employers.

Service providing organizations and the Ministry(ies) responsible for health and social welfare

- Ensure victims services account for our findings that victims:
 - may have their freedom of choice and movement restricted by their traffickers and employers requiring proactive approaches to rescue;
 - may be at a higher risk of being unemployed;
 - may have been sexually assaulted;
 - may have a series of mental and physical health symptoms;
 - may have been threatened or exposed to physical violence;
 - in Kenya, may be foreign nationals;
 - in Tanzania, women and girls may be at a higher risk of having lower levels of education; and
 - may actually be earning on average higher incomes, perhaps because of their engagement in illicit work.
- Ensure that case follow-up is carried out to avoid re-trafficking.

National and international civil society

- Exert donor and civil society pressure in order to increase political will to address human trafficking.

Researchers

- Undertake research on:
 - what makes some individuals, families, and communities resilient to recruitment for trafficking in the face of many risk factors;
 - how victims cope before, during, and after being trafficked and exploited with a view to designing better services and improving interaction between victims and the law enforcement and judicial system;
 - the impact of trafficking on families and communities;
 - victim support services with a view to creating a comprehensive map that can be used to identify gaps, improve coordination, and provide referrals to victims;
 - lessons learned and best practices on victim services based on existing efforts as well as experiences from the region; and
 - international trafficking of Eastern African citizens.

Bibliography

Adepoju, A.

- 2005 “Review of research and data on human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa”, in Laczko, F. and E. Gozdziaik (eds), *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*, IOM, Geneva.

Andrees, B. and M.N.J. van der Linden

- 2005 “Designing trafficking research from a labour market perspective: The ILO experience”, in Laczko, F. and E. Gozdziaik (eds), *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A global Survey*, IOM, Geneva.

Annan, J., C. Blattman, and R. Horton,

- 2006 “The state of youth and youth protection in northern Uganda: Findings from the survey for war affected youth”, AVSI and Unicef Uganda.

Anti-Slavery/ANPPCAN

- 2005 “Report on the Eastern and horn of African conference on human trafficking and forced labour”, *Eastern and Horn of Africa Conference on Human Trafficking and Forced Labour*, Anti-Slavery International and ANPPCAN, Nairobi.

Baráth, A., A.D.V. Lobo, R. Hoxha-Berganovic, P.D. Jaffé, N. Motus, I. Szilárd, et al.

- 2004 *The Mental Health Aspects of Trafficking in Human Beings: A Set of Minimum Standards*, IOM, Budapest.

Belser, P.

- 2005 *Forced Labour and Human Trafficking: Estimating the Profits*, International Labour Office, Geneva.

Bruckert, C. and C. Parent

- 2002 “Trafficking in human beings and organized crime: A literature review”, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Boyatzis, R.E.

- 1998 “Transforming qualitative information”, *Thousand Oaks*, Sage Publications, Inc., California.

ChildInfo

- 2006 Birth registration data (<http://www.childinfo.org/areas/birthregistration/country-data.php>).

Child Rights Advisory, Documentation, and Legal Centre (The CRADLE-Children’s Foundation)

- 2006 “Grand illusions, shattered dreams: Report on the status of human trafficking in Kenya”, The Cradle – The Children’s Foundation, Nairobi.

- Federation of Women Lawyers Kenya (FIDA Kenya)
- 1998 Institutional Gains, Private Losses: FIDA Annual Report on Legal Status of Kenyan Women.
- Fitzgibbon, K.
- 2003 "Modern-day slavery? The scope of trafficking in persons in Africa," *African Security Review*, 12(1).
- Fong, J.
- 2004 *Literature review on trafficking in West and East Africa*, Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, Bangkok.
- Government of Tanzania
- 2000-01 *Integrated Labour Force Survey*, National Bureau of Statistics, Republic of Tanzania.
- 2001 *Draft Tanzania National Plan of Action for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children*, The United Republic of Tanzania Prime Minister's Office, Republic of Tanzania.
- Human Rights Watch
- 2003 "Abducted and abused: Renewed conflict in Northern Uganda", *Human Rights Watch*, New York.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
- 2007 "Global statistics on internally displaced people", Retrieved 23 October, from [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpPages\)/22FB1D4E2B196DAA802570BB005E787C?OpenDocument&count=1000](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpPages)/22FB1D4E2B196DAA802570BB005E787C?OpenDocument&count=1000)
- International Labour Organization (ILO)
- 2001 "Combating trafficking in children for labour exploitation in West and Central Africa: Synthesis report", ILO, Geneva.
- 2006 "Emerging good practices on actions to combat child domestic labour in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia", ILO, Tanzania.
- ILO/Government of Uganda
- 2004a *Child Labour and Cross Border Trade in Uganda*, ILO & Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, Government of Uganda, Uganda.
- 2004b *Report of the Sectoral Study on Child Labour and Commercial Sex Exploitation of Children in Uganda*, ILO & Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, Government of Uganda, Uganda.
- 2004c *Report of the Sectoral Study on Child Labour and the Urban Informal Sector in Uganda*, ILO & Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, Government of Uganda, Uganda.
- 2004d *Report of the Thematic Study on Child Labour and Armed Conflict in Uganda*, ILO & Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, Government of Uganda, Uganda.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM)
- 2004 *IOM Research Manual*, IOM, Geneva.
- Jones, C.S.
- 2006 *The Extent and Effect of Sex Tourism and Sexual Exploitation of children on the Kenyan Coast*, UNICEF and Republic of Kenya, Nairobi.

Kadonya, C., M. Madihi, and S. Mtwana

2002 *Tanzania Child Labour in the Informal Sector: A rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Kamala, E., E. Lusinde, J. Millinga, J. Mwaitula, M.J. Gonza, M.G. Juma, et al.

2001 *Tanzania Children in Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Kangaspunta, K.

2003 "Mapping the inhuman trade: Preliminary findings of the human trafficking database", consultative meeting on Migration and Mobility and How this Movement Affects Women, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Malmö, Sweden.

Kibuga, K.F.

2000 *The Situation of Child Domestic Workers in Tanzania: A Rapid Assessment*, UNICEF, Dar es Salaam.

Komenda, H.

2007 Personal interview, IOM, Nairobi, March.

Laczko, F.

2005 "Introduction", in Laczko, F. and E. Gozdzia (eds), *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*, IOM, Geneva.

Makame, V., G. Mariki, and J. Mwinulla

2001 *Tanzania Child Labour in the Horticulture Sector in Arumeru District: A Rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Masudi, A, A. Ishumi, F. Mbeo, and W. Sambo

2001 *Tanzania Child Labour in Commercial Agriculture – Tobacco: A rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Mwami, J.A., A.J. Sanga and J. Nyoni

2002 *Tanzania Children Labour in Mining: A Rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Nchahaga, G.S.

2002 *Tanzania Children Working in Commercial Agriculture – Coffee: A Rapid Assessment*, ILO-IPEC, Geneva.

Oucho, J.O.

2006 "Migration and refugees in Eastern Africa: A challenge for the East African community", in Cross, C., D. Gelderblom, N. Roux, and J. Mafukidze (eds), *Views on Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa Proceedings of an African Migration Alliance Workshop*, HSRC Press, South Africa.

Pearson, E.

2003 "Study on trafficking in women in East Africa", a situational analysis including current NGO and governmental activities, as well as future opportunities, to address trafficking in women and girls in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Nigeria, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Eschborn, Germany.

**HUMAN
TRAFFICKING
IN EASTERN
AFRICA**

Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi

- Pouwels, R.L.
2001 "Eastern Africa and the Indian ocean to 1800: Reviewing relations in historical perspective," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35(2/3): 385-425.
- Ray, C.
2006 "Modern images of a much older phenomenon: Nigerian prostitutes in Italy," *New African*, November.
- Republic of Kenya,
2001 "The 1998/1999 child labour report", Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi.
2005 "Geographic dimensions of well-being in Kenya", *Who and Where are the Poor? a constituency level profile*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi, Vol. 2.
- Schinina', G. (Ed.)
2004 *Psychosocial Support to Groups of Victims of Human Trafficking in Transit Situations*, Vol. 4, IOM, Geneva.
- Shrivánková, K.
2006 "Trafficking for forced labour – UK country report", Anti-Slavery International, London.
- Somerset, C.
2004 "Cause for concern?", *London Social Services and Child Trafficking*, ECPAT UK, London.
- UNICEF
2003 *Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children, in Africa*, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence.
undated-a *Child Trafficking in Kenya*, Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office, Child Protection Section, unpublished.
undated-b *Child Trafficking in Tanzania*, Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office, Child Protection Section, unpublished.
undated-c *Child Trafficking in Uganda*, Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office, Child Protection Section, unpublished.
- United States Department of State
2004 Trafficking in Persons Report.
2006 Trafficking in Persons Report.
2007 Trafficking in Persons Report.
- World Bank
2006 Table 3.10 – Urbanization, 2005 World Development Indicators (<http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2005/home.htm>).

Challenges with Sampling

Given that it was not feasible to include all people who may be able to provide data relevant to human trafficking in the study, small groups of individuals, or samples, were drawn from the entire populations. Sampling is done with the hope that the characteristics of people in the sample are representative of the characteristics of people in the whole population. With a representative sample, it is expected that the characteristics found in your sample will also be found in the whole population. The best way to achieve this is to make sure everyone in the population has an equal (or at least known) chance of being included in the sample and to choose a big sample.

One of the problems with sampling is that it can be very difficult to draw a sample with which we can be confident is representative of the whole population. When dealing with trafficking these issues are even more relevant due to the sensitive, illegal and dangerous nature of human trafficking and, at times, its organizational complexity (IOM, 2004). Thus, there is a high likelihood of sampling bias. This is for a number of reasons.

First, in trying to draw a sample of traffickers or trafficking victims it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to identify all of the individuals who are part of these populations. This is due to the covert and illegal nature of the activities they are engaged in. Unlike with other professions, no one keeps a list of all the names of traffickers and trafficking victims in a country. Without knowing where all the people in the population are, it is impossible to ensure that every individual has an equal chance of being included in the study.

One way around this problem is to draw a representative sample from the whole population (which we can do by randomly visiting houses throughout the country) expecting that eventually we will meet members of our target population (traffickers and trafficking victims). However, a greater challenge is that we expect that the population of traffickers and trafficking victims is small relative to the entire population. Therefore we would need to visit an enormous number of houses before having enough people involved in trafficking to be able to conduct a research study.⁹

A technique used to overcome this challenge is to sample a population where we expect there would be a high percentage of people involved in trafficking. This population could be defined by profession (i.e. those working in prostitution, agricultural worker, bus driver) or other social status (i.e. orphan) or it could be defined by geographic residence (i.e. a suspected place of origin, transit or destination for human trafficking). However, there are also a number of challenges with this method. First, it is still very difficult to draw a representative sample from these “high-risk” populations: they may also be engaged in illegal activities; they may be highly mobile or hidden away from public view; or they may be homeless (and thus not accessible

⁹ However, except for the problem of non-response, discussed below, this would be a good way to learn what percentage of the population is involved in trafficking.

through household surveys). Also, this type of method relies on making assumptions beforehand (sometimes supported by research, often not) that certain people are more likely to be involved in trafficking than others. Therefore, this method excludes from the population, and thus the sample as well, those involved in trafficking who are not members of these hypothesized “high-risk” groups.

Moreover, with human trafficking, some individuals are easier to access than others. Therefore, these accessible individuals are more likely to be included in the sample. It is very likely that they are different from those individuals who are less accessible. Thus, we cannot assume that what is true for individuals in our “convenience sample” of accessible traffickers and trafficking victims is true for the entire population of traffickers and trafficking victims.

A final challenge is that those involved in trafficking, particularly traffickers, are likely to refuse to take part in research (or lie about being involved in trafficking so that they aren’t included). Again, it is likely that these “non-responders” are different in important ways from individuals in the population who agree to participate. Additionally, even those who agree to be part of the study may refuse to answer certain questions. It is possible that the type of information participants withhold is different (perhaps more horrific, or perhaps viewed by the participant as unimportant) from the types of information participants provide.

Most of the sampling for this project was done using convenience or snowball (also called respondent driven) sampling methods. As the name suggests, convenience samples are drawn by recruiting those who are easiest to contact from the population. Therefore, as discussed above, because these people are easy to find they are probably different in important ways from people who are difficult to find.

Snowball sampling is a particularly helpful method for sampling from “hidden” populations and populations that are small. It relies on referrals – in this case referrals from key informants and those “predisposed” to trafficking – to help recruit participants. As each new participant is located they are then asked to refer researchers to others who are also part of the population. In employing the snowballing technique, the study was able to expand the number of persons interviewed by recruiting future subjects through their acquaintances. It is a good technique for hidden populations.

With both convenience and snowball sampling, some people from the population have more chance of ending up as part of the sample than others, and therefore these methods do not produce a representative sample. For example, there may be bias in the way in which persons were recruited through acquaintances. For these reasons the characteristics of the sampled population cannot be assumed to apply to the entire population.

Data Processing and Analysis

Research assistants and data collection schedule

The data was collected and processed in partnership with Research International. Research International recruited local research assistants who attended a two-day training. The curriculum included information on human trafficking as well as on how to use the study's research instruments. Following the training the research assistants had the opportunity to pilot test the research instruments over a two-day period. The data was collected from late January to late June 2006, as below:

Country	Dates	Length
Tanzania	Late January to early March 2006	40 days
Kenya	Late February to late March, 2006	1 month
Uganda	Mid April to mid May	25 days
Burundi	Late May until late June, 2006	1 month

Ethics and safety

In accordance with the guidelines set forth by the World Health Organization in its 2003 publication "WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women," and with IOM's 2004 edition of its Research Manual, a special effort was made to safeguard the identities of predisposed participants, to ensure their safety, and to see to it that they were not re-traumatized by participating in the research. When interviewing trafficking victims, researchers were instructed to:

- Conduct the interview in a private place, with no one present other than the interviewer and interviewee (unless the interviewee requested the presence of a family member or representative of an NGO providing assistance);
- Take no photographs of the participant;
- Ensure that the participant's identity was not revealed to anyone, including the police;
- Tell the participant from the outset that he or she was free to take a break from the interview, or to cancel the interview altogether, at any time; and
- Be sensitive to the participants' feelings and if necessary adjust the interview to avoid causing them overwhelming distress.

Data processing and analysis

Research International supervised the data processing and entered the quantitative data into Microsoft Excel. The data was then analysed using the statistics software SAS. The alpha level for statistical significance used in the analysis is $p < .05$.

**HUMAN
TRAFFICKING
IN EASTERN
AFRICA**

Research Assessment
and Baseline Information
in Tanzania, Kenya,
Uganda, and Burundi

Qualitative responses were then reviewed. The researcher looked across many of the responses for a single question and grouped together very similar responses into categories. These categories developed from the qualitative data are comparable to the categories developed ahead of time for the closed quantitative questions. With this list of categories in hand the researcher then reviewed all of the data and put each response into one of the categories. The category of the response (or rather the number that stood for each category) was then entered into the same database as the rest of the quantitative data.

Qualitative and quantitative data about particular participants was also used to develop case studies about traffickers and trafficking victims.

Occupational and Service Categories Used in Coding

Regulated/legal work

Manual labour: miner, farm worker, fisherman, craftspeople

Skilled/ semi-skilled/ professional: teacher, manager, factory worker, policeman

Hospitality work: hotels, restaurants, bars, tourism

Other service work: hair stylists, drivers, security guards, shopkeepers

Other legal work non-service industry: artist, intellectual, Miss Tanzania

Unregulated/illegal or semi-legal work

Street work: salespeople, hawkers, traders, shoe shiner, casual worker

Domestic work: nanny, maid, baby-sitter

Entertainment: singer, dancer, DJ

Work in prostitution and commercial sexual exploitation: prostitute, masseuse

Other informal/illegal: drug dealer, beggar

Military

Military – combat and non-specified

Military – support

Military – sexual services

Non-work

Brides

Adoption

Organs

Other

Other work

Other non-work

Forced sex

Dangerous work

No work



IOM International Organization for Migration