

The Ruthless Side of Human Trafficking in Ethiopia: Returnees Recounting Their Experience of Abuse and Exlpoitation in the Arab Countries

Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw Department of sociology, wolaita Sodo University, PO Box 138, Wolaita Sodo, Ethiopia

Kasahun Desyalew Mekonen* Department of sociology, wolaita Sodo University, PO Box 138, Wolaita Sodo, Ethiopia

Abstract

Human trafficking remains a prime global concern due to its multifaceted causes and horrible consequences continue to be experienced by thousands of people including men, women and children ensnared in its web. Many lost their lives and others are living with post traumatic experiences associated with abuse and sufferings they experienced at the hand of their trafficker not only in the place of destination but also all along with illegal border crossings. The main focus of this study was to explore the dark side of human trafficking by examining experience of abuse faced by Ethiopian migrants returned from Arab countries. A cross sectional study design was employed. Survey, in-depth interview, key informant interview and FGDs were data collection tools. The finding of the study reveals that human trafficking from the study area is undertaken within the broader frame work of labor migration. The fact that trafficking is disguised with Voluntary labor migration enables traffickers to trap those individuals who are already motivated to migrate abroad for better paying job. Majority of the respondents (74%) in this study are women and 59 % of victim were between the ages of 19 and 25. The study also uncovers the harrowing effect of human trafficking on the mental, emotional and physical wellbeing of men, women and children ensnared in its web. Victims suffer from a range of physical and psychological health issues stemming from inhumane living conditions, abusive working condition, brutal physical and emotional attacks at the hands of traffickers and general lack of quality health care.

Keywords: human trafficking, abuse, returnees, Ethiopian migrants, Arab countries

1. Introduction

Human trafficking and slavery had existed for long period in history from biblical time through the exploitation of Africa in slave trade era to the contemporary multibillion dollars trafficking business (Broderick, 2005; Lee, 2001). Even though there is no specific time to trace back the emergence of trafficking in human as modern day slavery, it becomes an ever increasing and boundary transcending problem concerning and challenging the world (Selamawit, 2013). Although the exact magnitudes and dimensions of the problem are unknown, available statistics suggest that human trafficking is one of the most serious transnational crimes in the 21st century. According to the U.S Department of State (2010), there are more than twelve million victims of human trafficking worldwide.

In Africa trafficking in human beings has been a flourishing business. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are being trafficked to other parts of the world where they are being forced into all forms of labor, from the most dehumanizing to the deadliest and also in the most unfavorable of conditions with little or no pay (Asefach, 2012). Similarly, Fitzgibbon (2003), in his article entitled Modern-day slavery: The scope of human trafficking in Africa, asserts that the experience of slavery in Africa is not abolished but taking a new and modern form, is victimizing the society. He further explained trafficking as follows:

"...Slavery and bondage are still African realities. Hundreds of thousands of Africans still suffer in silence in slave-like situations of forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation from which they cannot free themselves..." (p 81).

Historically, Ethiopia and the Middle East have been closely connected for long time (Erlich, 1994, 2007). The movements of slaves, soldiers, merchants, traders, laborers, tourists, pilgrims, priests, and scholars have been gone along with the circulations of commodities, money, language, ideas and religion. More recently, labor migration has become one of the most prominent features of the relationship between Ethiopia and the Middle East (Marina de Regt & Medareshaw, 2015). Saudi Arabia is one of the main destination countries for Ethiopian migrants. According to a report by the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat in Nairobi, around 100,000 regular Ethiopian labor migrants moved to Saudi Arabia in 2011 (RMMS, 2014). In the first half of 2012 over 160,000 domestic workers migrated to Saudi Arabia, which was ten times more than the year before. The large majority (96 %) were women. Most Ethiopian women who migrate to Saudi Arabia are unmarried Muslim women who have finished at least some years of secondary education (Fernandez, 2010 as cited in Marina de Regt & Medareshaw, 2015).



Though the exact magnitude and extent of trafficking in Ethiopia has not yet been systematically documented, in 2010 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of FDRE roughly estimated that about 75,000-100,000 people migrate each year in to Sudan, Libya and other nearby Arab countries (USDS, 2010). In the U.S. department of state, 2013 trafficking in person report for Ethiopia, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) reported that licensed Ethiopian oversea agencies received 198,000 application for work in 2012 but estimate that the number represent only 30-40 % of all Ethiopian migrating to the middle east, and that remaining 60-40% are trafficked with the facilitation of illegal brokers. More recently, beginning from November 2013, following the Saudi Arabia's government crackdown on illegal migrants, around 163,000 Ethiopians were deported and it was believed that majority were likely trafficking victims. Many deportees reported returned empty handed and not having repaid debts to those who smuggled them, many, particularly female trafficking victims, were referred to care and rehabilitation centers due to severe traumatization and physical abuses (RMMS, 2014).

There are sufficient evidences (Anchinesh, 2006; Yoseph et al., 2006; PTA, 2011) that indicate Ethiopian men and women in the Middle East are the subject of serious violence and human rights violations. Their journey in the majority of the cases is turning from legally recognized labor migration into a clear case of trafficking. The main purpose of this paper is to explore the ruthless side of human trafficking by examining the experiences of abuse faced by Ethiopian migrants returned from Arab countries specifically those whose origin is from north Wello area of Amhara regional state.

2. Materials and methods

2.1 Study design

This study is cross sectional in its design, in which data about the ruthless side of human trafficking in Ethiopia particularly in North Wollo is collected once at a time. Hence the entire data collection process was completed from February 6, 2013 - march 31, 2013. In an attempt made by the researchers to gather the necessary data, both primary and secondary sources of data were found relevant and used.

2.2 The research setting

The research was conducted in north Wollo administrative zone which is one of the eleven zones of Amhara regional state administration. Based on the 2007 census conducted by central statistical agency of Ethiopia the zone has a total population of 1, 500,303, an increase of 19.4% over the 1994 census, of whom 752,895 is men and 747,408 are women. The population is almost entirely rural and is largely Ethiopian Orthodox Christian, though about one-fifth of its inhabitants are Muslim (CSA, 2007). North Wollo zone is divided into ten rural districts and two town administrations. Specifically the research was undertaken in Hara and Doro Gibir areas.

2.3 Tools of data collection

The data collection instruments used in this study was survey, in-depth interview, key informant interview and focus group discussion (FGD).

2.3.1 Survey

Survey method is used to generate quantitative data regarding the factors that make migrants vulnerable for human trafficking. In this study, the survey data collection method required a self-administered questionnaire and this self-administered questionnaire was developed based on the general themes of the specific objectives of the research. All in all, the questionnaire contained question items on the personal characteristics and living circumstances of returnees and the various forms of abuse they encountered. In this study, the specific aim of employing the survey method was to generate quantitative information which was suitable for descriptive analysis. Hence, the researcher administered 112 questionnaires for returnees selected through purposive and snow ball sampling techniques. Upon completion the researcher collected 100 questionnaires.

2.3.2 In-depth interview

Gozdziac and Bump (2008), asserted that careful sociological studies based on interview with trafficking victims would provide scrupulous data on trafficking victims and their characteristics. In-depth interview allows the researcher digging into a certain issue until the required information is obtained from participants of a research. In this particular study the method is helpful for the researcher to understand the thoughts, feelings and lived experiences of victim returnees. In the context of this study a total of 14 purposively selected returnees 9 female and 5 male were interviewed. Through in-depth interview the researcher uncovered detailed information about the subjective experience of trafficking victims. The interview was conducted in Hara and Doro gibir where the interviewees reside. The depth Interview with returnees helped the researchers to acquire significant information about the structural vulnerability context and personal circumstance returnees went through in their place of origin, before their migration. Equally the entire journey of victim returnees through the process of trafficking and the abuse and exploitation they faced at the place of destination is discovered. The interview is held in the living and working places of returnees as well as in the nearby local cafeteria. Each of the interviews with



returnees has consumed on average 1 hour and 10 minutes.

2.3.3 Key informant interview

This method was quite important for this particular study whereby the well informed members of the community being studied provide the researcher with rich and detailed information on the dynamics of human trafficking. In this study the informants were selected on the base of their knowledge, proximity to the issue, experience and willingness to participate. In the context of this study, key informants were parents of returnees, government officials, local knowledgeable person and local brokers. Interview with those selected key informants helps to generate rich information about the general situation of human trafficking, the development and trend of North Wello zone labor migration to the gulf region. Furthermore, for the purpose of collecting this information, interview guides were designed and employed to track the interview session. A total of thirteen (13) key informants were contacted. The four key informants were parents of returnees who recounted the story of their son and daughter. The other five informants were government officials (chairperson of the office of labor and social affair of North Wello zone, chairperson of north Wello women, youth and child affair, administrator of both Hara and Doro Gibir town and head of police office of the zone). The other two informants were local elders. The rest two key-informants participated in the study were local brokers. Except the interview with parents of returnees, local elder and local broker, the other five interviews were conducted in the office of the informants and each took 50 to 60 minutes. The interview with parents of returnees and local elder was conducted in their own home and took 60 minutes each. Whereas the interview with local broker were conducted at local cafeteria and took 40 minutes each.

2.3.4 Focus group discussion

Focus Group Discussions were employed to generate qualitative data to supplement data obtained through indepth and key-informant interviews. Totally two (2) FGDs were conducted at both Hara and Doro gibir town. The Composition of the discussant groups includes returnees, family members of returnees, government officials and local elders. In order to avoid potential threatening effect on the authenticity of the information gathered through this method, the group has been made to be homogeneous in terms of sex. On the other hand the diversity of the group in terms of their status helped to have deep and broad insight on the issues. All the discussions were held with the help of checklists and guidelines to facilitating the discussion. Key and important question were provided, directed and redirected by the researcher as moderator, so as to smooth the progress of the discussion. The researcher has benefited a lot, from the FGD, in acquiring indispensable information about victim's pre departure vulnerability contexts, the entire process of human trafficking and the abuse and exploitation victims faced at various point during the process of transportations and finally in the place of destination.

2.4 Participant recruitment

The fact that victims of human trafficking are a "hidden group" that are difficult to access due to the clandestine and sensitive nature of trafficking in person and the negative attitude people have toward failed migration experience, restricted the researcher from employing reliable (non-probability) sampling technique. Therefore, in this study, purposive sampling particularly snowball-sampling technique was employed to approach study participants in the study area. Using the information from BoLSA of Worth Wello to get initial contact with returnees, the researcher selected 112 returnees from both town, 56 returnees in each town, using snow ball sampling technique. Similarly 13 key informants and 13 FGD discussants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling technique.

2.5 Data analysis

Data analysis in this study pursued thematic approach. The thematic approach has followed the process of displaying the analyses and findings from both quantitative and qualitative data. Thus, the qualitative data generated from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions was analyzed manually through careful interpretation of meanings and contents, organizing and summarizing in accordance with the issue under investigation. Hence, all the data that was collected using local language-Amharic and it was directly translated into English by the researcher by taking a great care to maintain the originality and clarity of information while translating it into English. In line with this, the researcher makes descriptive presentation of the data in a reflexive manner whilst keeping its original content. Thus, in the data presentation and analysis process, the direct voices of the study subjects are in use. The quantitative data was reduced into descriptive statistics

2.6 Ethical consideration

Ethical clearance letter was obtained from sociology department of Addis Ababa University and a written consent was obtained from women, children and youth affairs office of north Wello zone administration. All the study participants were informed about the purpose of the study and finally their consent was obtained before the actual data collection process started. The information provided by each respondent was kept confidential in



order to safeguard them from different troubles. Above all the researchers had made an attempt to develop a sense of trust and gain the genuine consent of all of the participants of the study including confidentiality of their information.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Socio demographic characteristics of study participants

Table 1: Socio demographic profile of study participants

Variables	Category	Frequency	Percentage	
	Male	24	24.0	
Sex	Female	76	76.0	
	Total	100	100.0	
	< 18	25	25.0	
	19-25	59	59.0	
Age	26-30	9	9.0	
-	>31	7	7.0	
-	Total	100	100.0	
	Primary (1-8)	55	55.0	
	Secondary (9-10)	35	35.0	
Educational status	Preparatory (11-12)	6	6.0	
	Higher education	4	4.0	
	Total	100	100.0	
	Married	40	40.0	
	Unmarried	19	19.0	
Marital status	Divorced	31	31.0	
	Widowed	10	10.0	
	Total	100	100.0	
	Orthodox Christianity	25	25.0	
	Muslim	67	67.0	
Religious affiliation	Protestant	6	6.0	
	Catholic	2	2.0	
	Total	100	100	

Source: own survey (2014)

As indicated in table 1, out of one hundred returnees participated in the study, 76% are female and the remaining 24 % are male. Even though it is not suitable to conclude female are at high level vulnerable than man depending on data obtained through purposive sampling, the information obtained from key informant and north Wollo labor and social affairs office is similar with the survey result regarding the gender dimension of human trafficking in the study area. regarding the age distribution of study participants a large percentage (59 %) of returnees were between the ages of 19 and 25, followed by the age group younger than 18 (25 %), followed by returnees with the age group between 26-30 (9 %) and fewer but significant number migrated after the age of 31 (7%). Around 25 % of the returnees are under the age of 18 indicating the high prevalence of child trafficking in the area.

Concerning the educational status of respondents majority of them (55%) are able to attain primary level (1-8th grade level), followed by 35% of returnee with secondary grade level (9-10 grade level), those who attend preparatory school and college are too few representing only 6% and 5% respectively.

With regard to marital status 40% of the respondents were married before their migration, those who were divorced before migration amounted 31 % followed by 23% and 6% of unmarried and widowed respectively. More than eighty percent of female respondent reported that they were married before their migration, those who were not married amounted less than twenty percent of the female respondents. This figure indicates the existence of early marriage in girls in the area. The religions composition of respondents confirmed that about 67 % are Muslims followed by orthodox Christianity (20%). Those who follow protestant and catholic religion are few but significant each representing 6% of the total respondents.

3.2 Experience of Abuse and exploitation

As USDS (2012); ILO (2010); IOM(2008) clearly put it The main purpose of recruiting and transporting migrant by traffickers is to exploit them by engaging them, for instance, into prostitution, domestic servitude, forced labor, and, in some instances for body organs removal.

The abuse and exploitation of migrants does not start only at the place of destination. Depending on the



migration trajectory used, abuse and exploitation may exist during the process of transportation. According to key informant the illegal route of migration is highly dangerous. Migrant travels through the desert/sea route are exposed to potential abuse by brokers and other gang groups in the route. Majority of victim returnees (9 male and 47 female) that migrate through the desert routes has witnessed that they have been severely abused by different traffickers throughout the process of transportation. For girls and women migrants through the illegal route the abuse and exploitation is even worse. The informant told that the desert brokers usually rape women while they are crossing the border. She further noted:

"...Local brokers who transport girls and women from Hara to afar usually rape women migrants at hotels where they take shelter then the brokers take them to a place in Afar region close to the Djibouti border, and transfer them to another broker who similarly rape and takes them to the border. Once they cross the border, they will be contacted with another broker who snatches the material they had and rape while taking them to the shore where the boats come to take them..."

On the other hand those migrant who used the services of private employment agencies and travel by air plane (31 % of victim returnees) they are not much exposed to abuse and exploitation during transportation. For them exposure to abuse and exploitation come after they reach in the destination countries.

Table 2: experiences of abuse and exploitation*migration trajectory*sex cross tabulation

Migration trajectory			Sex		Total
			male	female	
legal route	Abuse and exploitation	abuse and exploitation only at destination	6	25	31
	Total		6	25	31
		abuse and exploitation only at	9	4	13
illegal route	Abuse and exploitation	abuse and exploitation both at the route and destination	9	47	56
	Total		18	51	69
Total		abuse and exploitation only at destination	15	29	44
	Abuse and exploitation	abuse and exploitation both at the route and destination	9	47	56
	Total		24	76	100

Source: own survey

As previous researches (Emebet 2002; IOM 2011; Asefach 2012; USDS 2012 and Selamawit 2013) indicates physical and sexual assault, withholding and/or denial of salary, sleep deprivation, confinement, insult and belittlement are the most prevalent form of abuse and exploitation faced by Ethiopians victims of human trafficking in the gulf region.

By looking at the working and living condition of migrant at their destination point, below is a discussion of the various form of abuse and exploitation migrant worker in the gulf state faced. The discussion is based on the information obtained from the direct mouth of returnees who had a lived experience and selected key informants. In this study, all the mistreatment, abuse and exploitation migrant workers faced at the place of destination are broadly classified in to two categories. The first is labor exploitation and the second physical, emotional and sexual abuse.

3.2.1 Labor exploitation

Several previous trafficking researches (Atsedewoin and Tsehay, 2000; Yoseph et al, 2006; IOM, 2008; USDS, 2013; PTA, 2011; Asefach, 2012; Selamawit, 2013) shown that labor exploitation is common among Ethiopian men, women, and child victim of trafficking in the gulf region.

According to Atsedewoin and Tsehay (2000) most Ethiopian migrant traveled either through formal or informal route reach in the gulf region without employment contract. Even in the case when employment contract is signed in Ethiopia before leaving since the contract is in Arabic language migrants knowledge of the term and conditions of their employment, which is based on what they heard from the broker at home is in many case untrue. In this regard Head of North Wollo *BoLSA* expressed that:

"...Most of migrant in the study area, particularly those migrated through the desert/sea route doesn't have employment contract. It is after they reach in the destination countries that contract is made between employer and the broker that received them. Thus once the migrant entered their employer home they fall under the full control of them and they will face abusive and exploitative working and living condition..."

According to the study by (Emebet 2002) Employment contracts often is in favor of the employer and it



constitute burdensome terms and conditions for the employee, which indirectly made employees at full control of their employer. Employment contract often suppress the basic right of employees like restriction of movements and heavy and unrealistic obligations to be fulfilled by the employee in case of termination

Returnees reported that long working hours, unbearable workload, restricted movement, and inability to change employers, denial of wages, salary deduction and irregular payment of wages as their common experience at their places of work. Women returnees participated in FGD avowed that they were often expected to work extremely long hours, with sometimes only few hours sleep no breaks during the day. Regarding this a returnee from Saudi Arabia had something to say about her daily routine:

"...My employer had large family and I was expected to do all the house work. Every day I Wake up before the sun rise first to start work and do all the domestic chores- washing clothes and floors, dusting and washing carpets, making beds, and looking after the children- until midnight without rest. When relatives and gusts came home I was expected to work more. Let alone day rest, I never got enough time to sleep. I go to bed in the midnight sometimes even late and wake up early in the morning..."

Denial of day-off from work and Restriction of movement is not only the experiences of female domestic workers, men migrants working in the construction site and keeping cattle and other jobs are also under the same oppression, abuse and exploitation. A male returnee from Saudi Arabia expresses his experiences as camel keeper as follow:

"...At the first moment of my entry to Saudi Arabia a broker that received us took me and my three friends and contact as with a men who own restaurant, who is to be our employer. The men told us the job we are required for. Two of my friends were told to stay with him at the restaurant. Me and one of my friends were told to go with the men in the rural area where he rear camels. We were ordered to keep camel there. When I work as camel keeper for nine months in the desert I never got any day offwork, I was supposed to do the same monotonous task of feeding and keeping the camels each and every day. Until the time I escaped my employer getting rest day and meeting my friends was only a daydream..."

Beside the extended working hours and heavy work load, deduction of salary and expelling from home with total denial of salary is also reported to be common experience of migrants in the country of destination.

A 25 years old returnee from Saudi explained her exploitation as follow:

"...All I got was nothing but suffering. No money, no property. I was exploited for a year and four months working hard for greedy employers for nothing. That cursed Delala who received me at my arrival made me serve for two employers for nothing. At the first home I worked for five months with no payment. At the fifth month when I asked my salary my employer, very unpleasant person, she refused to pay me then I left. Two weak later the broker contacted me with another employer. In the second house after two months of my employment when I asked my salary the employer told me that my salary for the first three months belongs to the broker for his service. Later, after three months when I asked him to pay my salary, he always says: 'I will give you all your money when you are ready to go home'. I didn't believe him but since I had no money or place to go I prefered to stay there. However, finally he let me go with empty hand..."

Some employers withhold employee's salary as a mechanism to keep them working. By continuously promising that they will give them their salary employer used to keep their victim from running away. 27 years old returnee from Jeddah avowed how his employer systematically holds him to work for a year. He witnessed that;

"...At the end of my third month employments I asked him to give me my money but he told me that he will give me when I finished six months. After six months when I asked him stressing that I want to send it back to my family he again told me that I will get my whole salary for the year at the end. Though I didn't believe him I stayed with him hoping to collect my whole deposited money. However at the end of the year he gave me only my six months payment..."

Thus, the evidence in this study reveals beside working day and night without rest for long period of time returnees experienced a deduction of wage and even a total denial of the whole salary by their employers.

3.2.2 Psychological and Sexual Abuse

Ethiopian men and women trafficked to the gulf suffer from recurrent physical and emotional abuse by employers (Emebet 2002; Asefach 2012 and Selamawit 2013). The most common forms of physical abuse are beatings and corporal punishment inflicted by the female and male employers, although abuse by agents and the police has also been reported (Yoseph et al, 2006).

According to returnees, employers usually intimidate and physically beaten them as punishment for minor mistakes. Women victim returnees participated in FGD tells that women domestic workers were beaten and/or insulted and experienced being shouted at or had been pressured to work harder by employers or family members of the employers. Victim returnee who had worked for two years as house maid in UAE explained that she was constantly mourned and beaten by her female employer:



"...I had worked in two houses but there was no one who was good to me, who even showed me good face. The first house was worst. The wife was so savage, I had worked hard for five months but she always shouted at me, she never thanks me even once. When things were not the way she want it she used to beat me harshly with anger and brutality. One day she had burned my hand with boiled water. Even the two little daughters, they were nasty, fierce toward me. May be their vicious mother made them to be so..."

Men victim returnee participated in FGD describe that physical attack like beating with and without object, physical deprivation like food and sleep deprivation, physical restrain and withholding of medical or other essential care are the most common and frequent abuse they faced. Emotional abuse is the most common and humiliating type of the abuses for women domestic workers (Yoseph et al, 2006). According to key informant ¹emotional abuse is common among women domestic workers. Employer usually scorns and insults their servant in order to make them more powerless so that they become more docile. Women returnees participated in FGD mentioned intimidation and threat, blackmail about authorities and legal status, lies and deception and isolation as techniques by which their employer abused them.

Table 3: cross tabulation of sex by type of psychological abuse

Sex * Type of	Type of Psychological Abuse			
Psychological abuse Cross tabulation	Intimidation and Threat	Lies, deception and Blackmail about authorities & legal status	Isolation and/or social restriction	Total
Male	6	13	5	24
Female	39	11	26	76
Total	45	24	31	100

As clearly indicated in table 2, (10) 45% of the respondents witnessed that they were threaten and intimidated by their employer. Isolation and restriction of movement is also another way employers frequently used to psychological manipulate their victim as witnessed by 31% of the respondents. The remaining 24% of the respondent identified lies, deception and blackmail about authorities and legal status as frequent mechanism by which their employers abused them. According to women returnee participated in FGD the usual perpetrators of emotional abuse are female employers although there are times that other members of the family including children participate in ridicule and belittlement. Sexual violence at the hands of male employers and/or their relatives or friends is a relatively common experience for adolescent girls. The most common forms of sexual abuse on housemaids are verbal sexual harassment and sexual contact.

4. CONCLUSION

This paper examined human trafficking associated abuse by thoroughly analyzing the information gathered from various stake holders'-victim returnees, law enforcing agents, government officials and knowledgeable elder at the local communities. The study was conducted in one of well-known place of origin of trafficking victim-North Wollo- where huge numbers of victim returnees are found. By focusing on the lived experiences of victim returnees the study draw the overall dynamics of human trafficking in Hara and Doro-gibir town of north Wollo. The evidence reveals that human trafficking from the study area is undertaken within the broader frame work of labor migration. The fact that trafficking is disguised with Voluntary labor migration enables traffickers to trap those individuals who are already motivated to migrate abroad for better paying job.

Majority of the respondents (74%) in this study are women. The relative value given to females and males in a community, and relations between females and males is a decisive force in influencing the practice of human trafficking in the area. From a total of one hundred respondents participated in the survey, large percentages (59 percent) of victim were between the ages of 19 and 25. The study also uncovers the harrowing effect of human trafficking on the mental, emotional and physical wellbeing of men, women and children ensnared in its web. Victims suffer from an array of physical and psychological health issues stemming from inhumane living conditions, abusive working condition, brutal physical and emotional attacks at the hands of traffickers and general lack of quality health care.

As per the study, the effect of human trafficking on the victim is severe and long-lasting that continues to affect them even after they managed to the trafficking position. After coming back home, victims are experiencing as equal pain as they once suffer when they were under their proprietor's control due to the psychological trauma of abuse and exploitation that hunt them still now. The psychological ill health victim returnee faced is found to be aggravated by the absence of support from the family and also lack of well-organized support from formal organization



Competing interests

Authors declare no competing interests among them.

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