SEX TRAFFICKING *in the* GOLD MINING AREAS *of* KÉDOUGOU, SENEGAL

A Mixed-Methods Study Estimating Baseline Prevalence and Identifying Perceived Gaps in Prevention, Prosecution, and Protection Response

Center on Human Trafficking Research & Outreach
APRIES African Programming & Research Initiative to End Slavery
University of Georgia
University of Liverpool

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AEMO	Action Educative en Milieu Ouvert
APRIES	African Programming & Research Initiative to End Slavery
CAPI	Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing
CDPE	Departmental Child Protection Committee
CNERS	Comité National d'Ethique pour la Recherche en Santé
CRJ	Conseil Régional de la Jeunesse (Regional Youth Council)
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DCDS	Departmental Community Development Service
DCPC	Departmental Child Protection Committee
DoS	Department of State
DSAS	Department of Social Action
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCS	Forced Commercial Sex
FCSN	Forced Commercial Sex Now
FFC	Force, Fraud, or Coercion
FFCN	Force, Fraud, or Coercion Now
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GFEMS	Global Fund to End Modern Slavery
IDI	In-depth Interview
ILAB	Bureau of International Labor Affairs
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KII	Key Informant Interview
KEOH	Kedougou Encadrement Orientation et Développement Humain

KII	Key Informant Interview
NCFTIP	National Council for the Fight against Trafficking in Persons
NGO	Non-government Organizations
OLR	Overseas Labour Recruitment
PRIF	Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum
RDS	Respondent Driven Sampling
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UGA	University of Georgia
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

DEFINITIONS*

At-Risk of Trafficking

Possessing personal/demographic characteristics that have been identified as placing one at risk for trafficking and/or living in a community with characteristics identified as increasing residents' trafficking risk.

Coercion

"A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; (B) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process." (as referenced in the DoS [Department of State] Terms and Definitions, pg. 22: Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), section 103, amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102).

Commercial Sex Act

"any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person" (as referenced in the DoS Terms and Definitions, pg. 22: TVPA, section 103, amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102).

Debt bondage

"the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (TVPA, section 103, amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102).

Forced labor

"labor obtained by any of the following methods: recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (DoS Terms and Definitions, pg. 21). Note, the "force, fraud, or coercion" requirement does not have to be met for persons under the age of 18 in order for the activity to be defined as trafficking.

Human Trafficking

"the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. Under the TVPA and consistent with the UN (United Nations) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (Palermo Protocol), individuals may be trafficking victims regardless of whether they once consented, participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked, were transported into the exploitative situation, or were simply born into a state of servitude. Despite a term that seems to connote movement, at the heart of the phenomenon of trafficking in persons are the many forms of enslavement, not the activities involved in international transportation." (DoS Award Stipulations, pp 8-9).

Involuntary servitude

"includes a condition of servitude induced by means of—(A) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if the person did not enter into or continue in such condition, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or (B) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process" (TVPA, section 103, amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102).

Sex trafficking

"the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act" (TVPA, section 103 (8), amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102).

Severe forms of sex trafficking

"sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age" (TVPA, section 103(9)).

Survivor of Human Trafficking

An individual who previously experienced human trafficking, as defined in this document, but is not currently a trafficking victim.

Victim of Human Trafficking

An individual who is currently experiencing human trafficking, as defined in this document.

Child Trafficking Definitions

At-Risk of Child Trafficking

A person under the age of 18 who meets the definition of at-risk, as defined in this document.

Child

A person under the age of 18 (Trade and Development Act of 2000; ILO [International Labor Organization] C. 182; UN Convention on the Rights of the Child).).

Child Domestic Worker

"children who work in third-party private households under an employment arrangement. Child domestic workers engage in various tasks that include cleaning, cooking, gardening, collecting water, and caring for the children and the elderly. Child domestic workers sometimes have live-in arrangements, whereby they live in their employer's household and work in exchange for room, board, and sometimes education." (Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), 2017 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, p. 93).

Children's Hazardous Unpaid Household Services

"the domestic and personal services a child performs within the child's own household, under the following conditions: (a) for long hours; (b) in an unhealthy environment, including equipment or heavy loads; or (c) in dangerous locations." (ILAB, 2017 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, p. 96).

Children's Hazardous Work

"'work which, by its very nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children"… "is colloquially referred to as 'hazardous work.'" (ILAB, 2017 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, p. 94, drawn from Article 3(d) of ILO C. 182).).

Child Labor Trafficking

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of a child for the purpose of labor exploitation.

Child Sex Trafficking

The recruitment, transportation transfer, harboring, or receipt of a child for the purposes of a commercial sex act. Forms of child sex trafficking include prostitution, "production, promotion, and distribution of pornography involving children and the use of children in sex shows (public or private)." (ILAB, 2017 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, p. 94, as drawn from the definition on CSEC [Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children] in the 1996 Declaration and Agenda for Action of the First World Congress Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children).).

Child Trafficking

"the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article [means set forth in Article 1, subparagraph (a) of the Palermo Protocol: "the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."]. Thus, the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of a person under the age of 18 for any form of exploitative labor or commercial sex act is considered child trafficking.

Kinship Care

a child living/staying under the care of a member of his/her extended family or with friends of the family known to the child, whether formal or informal in nature.

Light Work

"National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13-15 years of age on light work which is – (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programs approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received." (ILAB, 2017 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, p. 95; directly quoted from ILO C. 138, Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. Under Article 7(1) of the Convention).

Minimum Age for Work

the legal age at which a child is permitted to enter into work. Legal age varies by country. The minimum age for work is 15 in Senegal (Government of Senegal, Code du travail 1997, article L. 145).).

Survivor of Child Trafficking

An individual who previously experienced child trafficking, as defined in this document, but is not currently a trafficking victim.

Victim of Child Trafficking

An individual who is currently experiencing child trafficking, as defined in this document.

**These definitions are given to clarify their usage in the text and are not intended to be legal definitions in the Senegal context unless otherwise indicated.*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a global crime that affects every country, taking on a myriad of forms, including child labor, forced labor, debt bondage, and commercial sexual exploitation. Empirical research on sex trafficking is lacking but crucial to developing evidence-based policies (Cockbain & Kleemans, 2019). The Center on Human Trafficking Research & Outreach's African Programming & Research Initiative to End Slavery (APRIES) is an international consortium of anti-slavery researchers and policy advocates from the University of Georgia (UGA) and the University of Liverpool who seek to reduce the prevalence of human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa.

APRIES contracted Kantar Public to conduct research to estimate the prevalence of sex trafficking among young women aged 18-30 who are engaged in commercial sex in Senegal's Kédougou gold mining region at baseline (2021) and endline (2024) and to evaluate changes over time resulting from grantee work to address service and policy gaps in prevention, prosecution, and protection.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the research is to establish a methodologically rigorous baseline prevalence estimate of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments that can serve as a benchmark for evaluating the extent to which anti-human trafficking programming and policies have effectively reduced prevalence among women. The study aims to estimate the prevalence of sex trafficking among women engaged in commercial sex aged 18-30. Secondarily, the research will assess perceived service and policy gaps to inform interventions.

The study focuses on severe forms of sex trafficking as defined by the U.S. Department of State (DoS), which is "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age" (Trafficking Victims Protection Act [TVPA], section 103(9)). Data collection for the study was carried out in October–December 2021.

METHODOLOGY

The study draws on qualitative and quantitative data utilizing a sequential mixed-methods design[1]. Qualitative interviews were conducted with a sample of 140 respondents, including women who were experiencing sex trafficking as well as sex trafficking survivors aged 18-30 years and their parents/caregivers, service providers, policy makers, academics, and other key informants, such as community leaders, village chiefs, health workers, and community health workers. The quantitative survey used a respondent driven sampling (RDS) approach. The final survey sample comprised 561 women aged 18-30 years who were engaged in commercial sex (375 in Saraya department, 186 in Kédougou department).

We treated Saraya and Kédougou departments as separate networks for sampling and weighting purposes. The two datasets were combined for analysis. We derived the RDS weights using the RDS-II approach in RDS Analyst software, which draws on the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme (Heckathorn, 1997, 2002).

The qualitative interviews targeted victims of sex trafficking, whereas the quantitative survey targeted individuals engaged in commercial sex.

None of the respondents reported that their age was under 18 however, several key informants suggested that it is a common practice for young women who are engaged in commercial sex to incorrectly report their age as over 18 so that they are legally able to work.

FINDINGS

1. What are the profiles, characteristics, and scope of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas have a number of characteristics that promote exploitative practices towards women, particularly sex trafficking. Key informants and opinion leaders characterized mining towns in this region as hyper-masculine—with large populations of young male workers and social norms and beliefs that promote and condone abuse of women.

Based on the quantitative results, most victims of sex trafficking came from Nigeria (68%) followed by Senegal (13%), Mali (12%) and other countries (8%). Most victims of sex trafficking have been to school, with nearly half having attended secondary school or higher (48%). Sixty-four percent of sex trafficking victims reported experiencing at least one detrimental living condition before engaging in commercial sex. Over half (55%) of sex trafficking victims experienced domestic abuse, though only 9% reported being a victim of sexual violence in childhood.

Although no survivors in this study reported their age to be under 18, the community stakeholders (i.e., community health workers, community workers, coordinators of local NGOs, etc.) we interviewed indicated that many of the women experiencing sex trafficking may be minors who claim to be 18 or older. Respondents also described that recruiters would forge travel documents for minors to make them appear to have reached the legal age for commercial sex once they arrive in Senegal.

We found that young women were more often deceived than coerced into a trafficking situation, especially through false promises having to do with job opportunities and then being forced to repay debts related to travel and living expenses.

For example, many survivors and victims who were interviewed reported that they were

[1] *The study started with qualitative data collection first. The preliminary findings from the qualitative interviews were then used to inform the quantitative instrument and sampling approach.*

promised employment, such as catering, hotel services, and hairdressing in destination areas in Africa (Senegal, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire) or outside Africa (France, Dubai, etc.), however, when they arrived in Senegal they were informed that they would actually be engaged in commercial sex. This finding was also supported by the survey results which found that 40% of sex trafficking victims felt they experienced lies or false promises.

Among sex trafficking victims who were lied to, the top lies and/or false promises were related to work and living conditions, including the location of their job (52%), work conditions (50%), identity of real employer (46%), and housing/living arrangements (46%). This pattern was the same in both Kédougou and Saraya departments.

Once in a trafficking situation, respondents reported experiences with emotional, psychological, and social manipulation to ensure that they stayed in their situation. Few sex trafficking victims reported facing threat of isolation (5%), threat of exclusion from future work opportunities (8%), or actual physical harm (9%). Fifteen percent reported having their ID papers confiscated by a trafficker.

1.1 What is the prevalence of sex trafficking among young women engaged in commercial sex (ages 18-30 years) in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

The prevalence of sex trafficking was determined through responses to the quantitative survey. Sex trafficking is defined by commercial sex acts induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age. Overall, nearly one in five (19%) individuals engaged in commercial sex throughout the Kédougou region—which is our study region and consists of Kédougou department and Saraya department—are estimated to be victims of sex trafficking. Sex trafficking is more common in Kédougou department (30% of individuals) compared to Saraya department (13% of individuals). Given that the total population of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the Kédougou region mining communities is about 1,500, it is estimated that there are approximately 300 current victims of sex trafficking among this group.

1.2 What are the community and societal drivers of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Key informant interviews highlighted a number of factors at the community and societal levels driving vulnerability to sex trafficking. Broadly, these can be separated into economic, socio-cultural, and policy factors.

Economic drivers were highlighted in both qualitative and quantitative research. Interviewees noted that unstable and impoverished living situations, as well as lack of employment opportunities in their home countries, drove women to seek potentially dangerous jobs. Socially, the lack of a security net, in terms of a support system of family and friends, as well as means of livelihood—both in the home country and in the receiving communities—made women vulnerable to ongoing abuse. Respondents also noted that ineffective law enforcement and corruption in transit countries enable trafficking. Among victims of sex trafficking, there were some differences in risk factors for women who experienced sex trafficking in particular. These women were more likely to be Senegalese and much more likely to be a childhood victim of sexual violence, as well as having witnessed abuse in the household as a child. Other risk factors included having gone hungry as a child, being aware of others engaging in commercial sex, and living in a household with alcohol consumption.

1.3 What are the individual vulnerability factors for sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Factors similar to those that operated at the community and societal level played a role in increasing individual vulnerability to sex trafficking, including economic, familial, and social factors such as lack of food, dropping out of school, unemployment, or caring for a sick relative. Respondents shared that economic deprivation—both current and during childhood—was a strong driver of sex trafficking. Going hungry was found to be a predictor of being a victim of sex trafficking, even when adjusting for other factors. Individuals engaged in commercial sex had 2.1× higher odds of being a victim of sex trafficking if they had frequent childhood experiences of going hungry compared to those with no such experience. Findings from the qualitative interviews further indicate that recruitment into sex trafficking uses/leverages survivors' and victims' experiences of deprivation. For example, victims reporting that they were solicited based on promises of professional jobs in fields such as hairdressing, catering, hotel work, trading, etc. Girls and women already involved in commercial sex were solicited by couriers to work in other areas. This relocation incurred debt that then had to be paid off.

Survey results indicate that being a victim of sexual violence in childhood is a strong predictor of being a victim of sex trafficking, with an odds ratio of 8.8 as compared to those with no such experience, adjusting for other factors. Qualitative work reinforced this—the lack of a social network, both in the home country and in the receiving communities, makes women vulnerable to ongoing abuse. At the institutional and governmental level, lack of training and funding for services and agents dedicated to the prevention of human trafficking, minimal border control, and a dearth of effective reporting mechanisms were all cited by respondents as challenges that hinder effective responses to trafficking.

Lack of other employment was the main reason why individuals engaged in and remained in commercial sex: 89% of individuals who attempted to quit (38% overall) reported "terrible lack of money, impossible to find other work." It should be noted, though, that this figure was based on individuals currently engaged in commercial sex, meaning that women who had successfully left commercial sex were not included.

1.4 What are the individual and community resilience factors in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Sex trafficking victims and survivors we interviewed in both the qualitative and quantitative components largely said they relied solely on themselves to leave sex trafficking, although some forms of support were also mentioned. In the qualitative interviews, women mentioned several strategies for coping with trafficking while it is happening: thinking about family, focusing on a time they will be able to leave their situation, trying to earn enough money to leave, thinking about a child left behind with their parents, and drawing on religious faith. The quantitative results point to moderately high levels of resilience, including relatively high levels of social support and feelings of being in control of some aspects of one's life. Over three-fourths of women (78%) reported having at least one type of social support. Half of individuals engaged in commercial sex (50%) said they had family who were willing to help them make decisions, and just over half said they had a special person in their life who cared about their feelings and/or someone who was a source of comfort. However, nearly one-tenth (8%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex reported that they had suicidal thoughts all the time, and about one-fifth (22%) felt their life was over and they might as well end it all most or a good part of the time. Furthermore, over one-tenth (12%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex were thinking of a plan to take their own life and about different ways to kill themselves.

2. What are the perceived service and policy gaps for addressing sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas with respect to prevention, prosecution, and protection?

Suggestions to improve the prevention of sex trafficking included promoting awareness of the law among government officials (national and regional levels); training and funding services and agents dedicated to the implementation of human trafficking

prevention; improving border control; creating an effective reporting mechanism; and raising awareness on how to prevent, recognize, and combat sex trafficking. Respondents noted that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are well placed to manage most of these activities.
In terms of improving protection for victims, respondents noted that there is currently a strong focus on legal protection, but that it is also important to provide holistic services, including psychological care, income-generation training, and facilities and services for rehabilitation of victims. It was also noted in interviews that social protection of victims is not provided for in the law—a notable gap. Victims and survivors also noted that alternative livelihoods training is a key factor for a sustainable exit from sex trafficking. A promising avenue for programming would be to support women to find sustainable, alternative ways to provide for themselves in the long-term.

Prosecution was seen as an avenue to address sex trafficking; however, legal action was seen by respondents as more reactive than preventative. Moreover, key informants shared that most prosecution seems to be focused on preventing minors from being trafficked, with less focus on adult victims. This is complicated by the fact that minors often have forged documents that falsely identify them as adults, resulting in the perpetrators getting away with lesser sentences.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings from this mixed-methods study point to several concrete and evidence-informed recommendations. The following recommendations have been organized by key take-away. Based on these take-aways, recommendations are at the policy, funder and service provision levels are provided below.

Sex trafficking is common in the mining sites sampled for this study. Overall, nearly one in five women engaged in commercial sex were victims of sex trafficking. This reality calls for a strong and coordinated response at multiple levels. While acknowledging the relatively high levels of sex trafficking across the board, it is also important to note that levels of sex trafficking can vary from site to site. Identification of "hotspots" may be an effective way to target limited resources to areas of special need.

One concerning finding from this study was victims' overwhelming lack of awareness of any type of support services available in mining towns. Community leaders occasionally mentioned activities they undertake to support victims of trafficking (reporting, facilitating return to home country), but victims themselves often were not aware of any of these activities. Survivors

interviewed mentioned that they did not know of any organization or group acting at the community level to fight sex trafficking, even though sex trafficking is widely acknowledged as a problem in the gold mining areas.
This reality speaks to the importance of linking advocates and survivors with those working on anti-trafficking efforts to ensure programming is responsive and tailored to the needs of those at-risk of or experiencing trafficking.

The findings regarding lack of awareness are especially concerning since victims expressed they have high interest in escaping their circumstances, and high motivation to do so. A significant portion of the victims interviewed stated they would be willing to interact with stakeholders in the fight against sex trafficking. A key barrier to accessing programs is lack of knowledge about available resources. However, victims and survivors also stated that it is important for them to fully understand the choices, risks, barriers, and options available through the existing services so they can make informed decisions.

Ignorance in the community about the forced nature of sex trafficking (versus voluntary commercial sex) can be a barrier to an effective response. The fact that commercial sex in mining towns is both widespread and legal can lead to key national and community stakeholders assuming that women are in these situations voluntarily. This makes it less likely that services will be offered and targeted to women in a sex trafficking situation.

Achieving financial stability was seen as the most viable path out of sex trafficking. Paying off one's debt was described as the best, and commonly the only, way to escape trafficking. Once one's debt was paid, survivors noted that threats of blackmail or violence were relatively uncommon—eliminating the financial "obligation" was indeed an effective path to freedom. However, even after paying off debt, women frequently had to continue engaging in commercial sex as a "bridge" to help them achieve the financial security to enter into a job they actually wanted to perform.

Victims seem to be most vulnerable when traffickers still have control of their identification documents and are telling them they must repay "debt" in order to leave the trafficking situation. At this time women are under high levels of control by a trafficker and often face restrictions in their contact with other women, their movement, and/or their communication. Victims may, however, have access to cell phones, which could provide a pathway for some degree of independence.

The legal system was identified as a key, and sometimes the only, potential access point for services, yet victims often said that their expectations for help from police officers and others in the legal system were disappointed. This is especially concerning since women

often turn to the legal system as a last resort, to escape especially violent or coercive environments. However, data from the study suggests that these complaints tend to be unsuccessful due to lack of knowledge about how to handle cases.

POLICY MAKERS

- Policy makers must acknowledge that sex trafficking is a pressing and pervasive problem in mining towns and strengthen policies and action plans to respond to this reality.
- The current Senegalese law has adopted a definition of trafficking that revolves around the transportation, transfer, accommodation, and movement of victims from the country of origin to the country of destination. Women who have not been transported across an international border (Senegalese women) may not enjoy equal protection under the law. Policy makers should consider amending Senegalese law to acknowledge and address sex trafficking within its own borders.
- Participants in the research cited poor or little border control as a barrier to identifying and combatting human trafficking; providing support for improved monitoring at borders could serve as a deterrent.
- Creation of a national referral pathway for victims and survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) could provide important information to all women affected by these issues, including survivors and victims of trafficking, on where to seek assistance and what services are available through different referral points.

FUNDERS

- Funders should recognize the need for long-term, holistic programming that incudes awareness campaigns coupled with targeted training of key actors (such as judges, police officers, medical providers, and other service providers).
- Support for evidence-based and coordinated responses that help stakeholders across multiple sectors harmonize their efforts is needed.
- Financial support and livelihood interventions must be woven into programming.
- Programs should be funded that center on the voices of advocates and activists who can ensure that programming reflects the needs of victims and survivors.
- Programs should be co-created with local communities to ensure they reach the populations that need them most.

LEGAL SYSTEM

- The legal system is a key entry point for victims and survivors to seek help, but lack of training and awareness means that women are often disappointed by the response they receive when seeking help through this avenue.
- It is important for police and other community stakeholders to improve training on identification of the signs of sex trafficking, and on potential interventions.
- Providing a group of dedicated officers with additional training on sexual exploitation and abuse, trafficking, and psychological support of victims and survivors should also be considered.
- Training of judges and magistrates can help ensure that cases with a trafficking component are prosecuted under the applicable laws.
- Prosecution of recruiters, transporters, traffickers, and other perpetrators can be a deterrent to continued sex trafficking.

SERVICE PROVIDERS

- Supporting women to achieve financial stability is seen by victims and survivors as a key pathway out of sex trafficking. This can include helping women establish a stable income through vocational training, training in small business practices, and support from saving and loans groups.
- Alternative livelihoods training is a key to a sustainable exit from sex trafficking. Often, respondents had to wait years to escape sex trafficking, using commercial sex as an interim measure toward finally being able to work in the professions they had been told they would work in when first recruited. Women commonly cited retail and hairdressing as desirable professions. Victims and survivors have preferences and skills relevant to which income-generating activities they would like to engage in. Support for the financing of these economic activities is one of the best ways to enable victims/survivors to become autonomous and to move away from sex trafficking.
- Services must be interconnected and holistic. Referral pathways between medical, legal, economic, and psychosocial services will help ensure that victims and survivors can access the full range of services they need.
- All services should clearly communicate with victims and survivors about the choices, risks, barriers, and options available through that service, and should manage expectations around the options available. As noted above, an important avenue for future programming could entail substantively involving advocates and survivors in the development, design, and provision of services.
- Lack of training for services and agents dedicated to the implementation of human trafficking prevention efforts was also identified as a key gap.

LIMITATIONS

- Prevalence is based on self-reported victimization: It is possible that respondents misreported some experiences and facts about themselves, including age, because they did not want to reveal the actual facts. Hence, the prevalence of sex trafficking may be underestimated.
- Lack of comparison group in the research and evaluation design: The design for this study is a pre- and post-prevalence assessment with no comparison group. This means that any changes in prevalence observed between the baseline and endline cannot be fully attributed to the APRIES program interventions, since changes could also result from other factors outside of the intervention.[2]
- Lack of convergence: The convergence plots of the RDS data show that age group and educational attainment, and country of origin for Kédougou department, do not appear to have reached convergence, though it was reached for other relevant indicators (language, network size, and victim status of sex trafficking). The lack of convergence for some of the indicators means the adjusted estimates may not be independent of the initial seeds.
- Weighting approach: The weights were derived using RDS-II, drawing on the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme. Weights are based on the self-reported network size, which may be prone to recall bias and varying interpretations among respondents. This means individual weights may be either under- or overestimated.
- The lack of population-level data of the number of individuals engaged in commercial sex at the department level meant the sample is not adjusted for the relative size of Saraya and Kédougou departments.

Presentation of overall estimates: The main findings are presented based on aggregated data for the two departments. Given the different profiles of individuals engaged in commercial sex in Saraya and Kédougou departments, as well as the lack of convergence of age and educational attainment, it could be argued that department-level analysis would be preferential over analysis using aggregated data. That approach would, however, reduce estimator efficiency. The results presented in the main findings sections primarily show aggregated results. We have included all the estimates by department, as well as the 95% confidence intervals, in Annex 1.

[2] *For example, we anticipate that the COVID-19 pandemic might have disrupted sex trafficking at baseline.*

STUDY OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a global crime that affects every country, taking on a myriad of forms, including child labor, forced labor, debt bondage, and commercial sexual exploitation. Under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and consistent with the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (Palermo Protocol), human trafficking is defined by three elements: acts, means, and purpose (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 2000):

> **Acts:** recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, receipt, patronizing, or soliciting
>
> **Means:** force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, or the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability
>
> **Purpose:** exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, or servitude.

Individuals may be trafficking victims regardless of whether they once consented, participated in a crime as a direct result of being trafficked, were transported into the exploitative situation, or were simply born into a state of servitude (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 2000).

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), globally, nearly two-thirds of detected victims of human trafficking are female (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2020). The same report notes that women and girls are more likely to be trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, whereas men and boys are more likely to be trafficked for forced labor. In Sub-Saharan Africa, sex trafficking most often affects women and girls from vulnerable communities affected by poverty, socio-political instability, gender discrimination, and historical tolerance of gender-based violence (GBV) (Brown, 2010).

The U.S. Department of State (DoS) 2020 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report for Senegal, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations, have revealed evidence of sex trafficking in the Southeastern gold mining region of Kédougou (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020). Artisanal gold miners reportedly believe that "dirtying themselves" by consuming alcohol and soliciting prostitutes will bring good luck in their mining activities (Guilbert, 2017). Sex trafficking in Kédougou is believed to be both internal and transnational, with victims coming from within Senegal as well as from the neighboring countries of Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Mali, and Burkina Faso (Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2020). However, evidence to date has been largely anecdotal, limiting efforts to understand the problem's true scale and nature.

According to a 2019 study by the Artisanal Gold Council (2019), there are 97 artisanal gold mine sites in the Kédougou region, most of which are in the Saraya department, with the remaining located in the Kédougou department (Figure 1). An estimated 25,119 people work to produce approximately 3 tonnes of gold per year in these mining sites.

Empirical research on sex trafficking is lacking but crucial to developing evidence-based policies (Cockbain & Kleemans, 2019). APRIES—through funding from the U.S. DoS TIP Office—aims to estimate and reduce the prevalence of trafficking in three West African countries: Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Senegal.

To this end, APRIES has contracted Mantle to conduct research to estimate the prevalence of sex trafficking among women ages 18-30 who are engaged in commercial sex in Senegal's Kédougou gold mining region at baseline (2021) and endline (2024) and to evaluate changes over time resulting from grantee work to address service and policy gaps in prevention, prosecution, and protection.

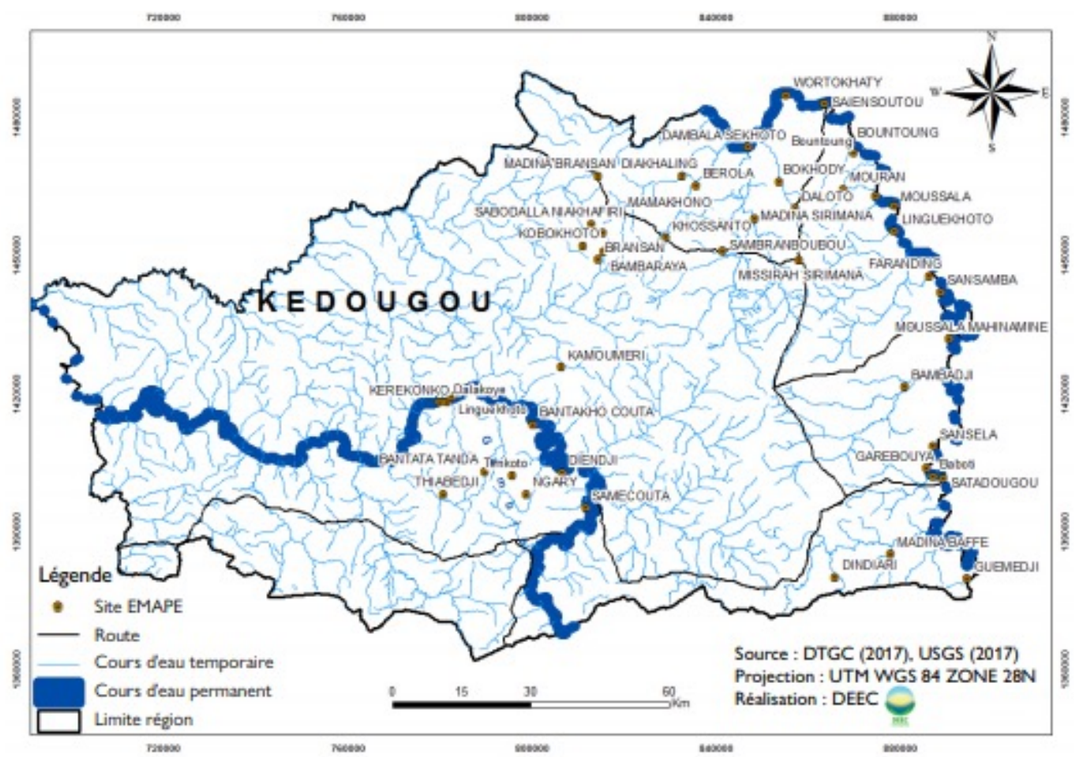


Figure 1: Map of artisanal and small-scale mining sites in Kédougou region

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

The main objective of the research is to establish a methodologically rigorous baseline prevalence estimate of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments that can serve as a benchmark for evaluating the extent to which anti-human trafficking programs and policies have effectively reduced prevalence among women aged 18-30 years. Secondarily, the research will assess the perceived service and policy gaps to inform APRIES subgrantee interventions.

The study focuses on severe forms of sex trafficking as defined by the U.S. DoS, which is defined as "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age" (TVPA, section 103(9)).

Data collection for the study was carried out in October–December 2021 (see full details on the qualitative and quantitative fieldwork in section 2.3).

2.1 STUDY POPULATION

In order to estimate prevalence (i.e., the proportion of a base population experiencing a condition at a given time and location), it is necessary to define the base population and the target population.

Base population: In the context of this study, the base population is defined as women aged 18-30 engaging in commercial sex and living in mining communities in Kédougou region at the time of the baseline survey.

Target population: The target population is female sex trafficking victims aged 18-30 living in mining communities in Kédougou region, i.e., in Kédougou and Saraya departments.

Definition of individuals engaged in commercial sex: Individuals engaged in commercial sex are defined as per the commercial sex act, i.e., those who engage in "any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person" (as referenced in the DoS Terms and Definitions, pg. 22: TVPA, section 103, amended as 22 U.S.C. 7102). For this study, a woman engaged in commercial sex is defined as someone who has exchanged vaginal or anal sex for money or goods in the past 12 months.

Severe sex trafficking victims: The study focuses on females who are currently victims of severe sex trafficking, according to the definition in TVPA, section 103(9).

2.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Specifically, the baseline study aimed to answer the following research questions, which Mantle and APRIES jointly developed:

1. What are the profiles, characteristics, and scope of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments gold mining areas? (Qualitative and quantitative)

1.1 What is the prevalence of sex trafficking among young women engaged in commercial sex (ages 18-30 years) in Saraya department and Kédougou department gold mining areas? (Quantitative)

1.2 What are the community and societal drivers of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments? (Qualitative and quantitative)

1.3 What are the individual vulnerability factors for sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments? (Qualitative and quantitative)

1.4 What are the individual and community resilience factors in Saraya and Kédougou departments? (Qualitative and quantitative)

2. What are the perceived service and policy gaps for addressing sex trafficking in the gold mining areas of Saraya and Kédougou departments with respect to Prevention, Prosecution, and Protection? (Qualitative)

2.3 METHODOLOGY

To answer the research questions, the study drew on qualitative and quantitative data utilizing a sequential mixed-methods design[3]. Qualitative methods were used to understand the context and dynamics of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou departments, investigate service and policy gaps, and inform the quantitative sampling approach. A quantitative survey was used to empirically estimate the scale of sex trafficking in the region at baseline, which will serve as a comparison point for tracking changes in prevalence at endline. In the sections that follow, we discuss in further detail the quantitative and qualitative methods employed at baseline.

The key findings section (Section 3) of this report draws on results from both methods to outline learnings about sex trafficking in this region, organized by theme.

2.3.1 QUANTITATIVE METHODS

The prevalence of sex trafficking is estimated through a quantitative survey that measured self-reported victimization in the last 12 months among the base population of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex living in Kédougou region mining communities.

The quantitative survey uses a respondent driven sampling (RDS) approach and provides weighted point estimates of characteristics and indicators of interest in the base population of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the given mining communities, the overall number of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the surveyed area, and the number of trafficked victims.

These estimates are used to derive the prevalence rate of victims of sex trafficking among the base population. All the results presented in the quantitative findings sections are weighted for the RDS sampling approach (see details below).

Quantitative instrument

The baseline quantitative instrument[4] was developed based on a review of the relevant literature on sex trafficking globally and in the Kédougou regional context. It was also based on previous work conducted by the Prevalence Reduction Innovation Forum (PRIF) and Kantar Public's Principal Investigator's work in other similar mining locations in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. The instrument captures data on the demographic characteristics of sex trafficking victims and assesses the key social characteristics correlated with victimization, such as poverty, disability, suicidality, family structure, and intimate partner violence. The survey also uses validated psychometric scales to assess self-efficacy, individual resilience, and community resilience. Table 1 contains the questionnaire items used to assess whether a respondent is currently a victim of sex trafficking. As the study is most interested in calculating the current prevalence estimate, the focus of the baseline was on measuring victimization within the last 12 months.

[3] *The study started with qualitative data collection first. The preliminary findings from the qualitative interviews were then used to inform the quantitative instrument and sampling approach.*

[4] *See Annex 1 for the baseline quantitative instrument.*

Definition of Severe Forms of Sex Trafficking	Relevant Questions in the Quantitative Survey Questionnaire	Serial Numbers of the Relevant Questions in the Quantitative Survey Questionnaire	Element of Definition
The 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) Definition: **Section (8) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS–The term `severe forms of trafficking in persons' means–** **(A) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.**	The following items from the **"Recruitment into Sex Trafficking"** section, ever and in the past 12-months.	**Q041-Q042** **Q050-Q053**	**Force, fraud, or coercion happened within the past 12 months**
	Any item from the **"Employment Practices and Debt"** section, ever and in the past 12-months.	**Q057-Q064**	**Fraud or coercion happened within the past 12 months**
	Any item from the **"Coercion and Control"** section, ever and in the past 12-months.	**Q065-Q081** **Q148-Q149**	**Fraud or coercion happened within the past 12 months**
	Any item from the "Freedom of Movement" section, ever and in the past 12-months.	**Q089-Q099**	**Fraud or coercion happened within the past 12 months**

Table 1: Questionnaire items used to measure the prevalence of sex trafficking currently, i.e., happened in the past 12 months. Refer to Annex 2 for the quantitative survey questionnaire and the serial numbers of the questions (for the second and third columns).

Sampling

Human trafficking victims, including victims of sex trafficking, are a hard-to-reach population. Victims of trafficking often face high levels of disenfranchisement, abuse, and control. Because trafficking is a crime, victims are often unwilling to come forward due to stigma or fear of reprisal, while others may be unaware that they have been victimized. Additionally, trafficking victims may represent a relatively small proportion of the general population and may exhibit relatively high clustering tendencies. Consequently, human trafficking victims are difficult to study using standard probability-based sampling methods.

To obtain a representative sample of a hard-to-reach population researchers have developed network-based sampling approaches, most notably RDS (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). RDS commonly refers to a strategy that combines a snowball sampling approach with mathematical modeling, drawing on first-order Markov chain theories, to construct weights that reflect individuals' chances of selection for the sample. Under certain assumptions it is an approach that can produce broadly representative data for rare or hard-to-reach populations, although the level of precision achieved has varied across previous studies (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004).

It is worth noting that alternatives to RDS, such as the Vincent Link-Tracing method (Vincent & Thompson, 2017), require randomly selected seeds, which was not feasible for this study given the lack of a sampling frame or other ways of randomly selecting the initial respondents. Other approaches to sampling hard-to-reach populations, such as snowball sampling, may not protect the confidentiality of the respondent's identities, nor provide representative results, and were therefore deemed not appropriate for this study. Consequently, Kantar Public considered RDS to be the most appropriate strategy. Kantar Public used RDS Analyst software for the analysis to weight the sample using the appropriate method for the RDS sampling approach (using the Volz-Heckathorn) approach to derive the RDS weights). See Annex 5 for full details of the RDS approach employed at baseline, including weighting (Heckathorn, 1997, 2002).

Sample size and level of precision

The target sample size achieved was 561 completed interviews. This number was based on consideration of other similar studies, such as the Global Fund to End Modern Slavery (GFEMS) Kenya Prevalence Estimation and Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice Research Studies, and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) and Overseas Labor Recruitment (OLR) studies carried out by NORC at the University of Chicago, mentioned above, and on the desired level of precision, as well as a pragmatic approach to what was deemed achievable given the hard-to-reach nature of the population.[5]

Based on the general formula for calculating sample size (n) for a prevalence estimate (in this context, the proportion of victims of sex trafficking among all individuals engaged in commercial sex in the given region) and the assumptions outlined below, the formula yielded an estimate of 277 respondents per department, equating to 554 respondents in total. Note that P=0.5 will give the most conservative sample size required to meet the desired level of precision.

$$n = D\frac{Z_{1-\alpha}^2 P(1-P)}{d^2}$$

n = Sample size required

D = Design effect (assumed to be 2) (Salganik, 2006)

Z_{1-a} = The z score for the desired confidence level (assumed to be 1.96 for 95% confidence)

P = Expected proportion (assumed to be 10% for the prevalence estimate of victims of sex trafficking based on the formative assessment)

d = precision (assumed to be 3.5%, which we considered reasonable in the context of an achievable sample size in practice)

The RDS approach assumes that respondents are connected through a single network. The study covered two departments in the Kédougou region, i.e., Saraya and Kédougou, so we decided to treat these departments as separate study regions. Kantar Public, therefore, split the sample by department for initial seed selection and weighting.

Based on the assumption that each respondent would refer an average of 1.4 new respondents and that there would be 10 waves of recruitment (long recruitment chains are required in RDS to reach equilibrium of the estimators), we needed an initial seed sample of 6 respondents, split equally into 3 seeds per department. Our assumptions were founded on the expectation that RDS would work well and would generate a sufficient number of waves to overcome any seed dependency.

Details on the weighting approach are provided further in this section.

[5] *We also considered the total population size of young women in the Kédougou region, using census-based population projections that show that there are about 17,000 young women aged 15-24 in the region (the original age band we considered, and which we used to request population estimates from the census bureau). Since our final base population was women engaged in commercial sex rather than all young women, and our formative assessment suggested most individuals engaged in commercial sex are migrants, census data was not used to inform our final study design and sample size.*

Fieldwork

Mantle recruited a team of all-female interviewers for this project, given that the respondents were female and based on the highly sensitive interview topic. Moreover, we recruited interviewers who were very independent, skilled, and experienced in social topics and vulnerable populations. Interviewers were recruited based on the following process:

Candidates' CVs were requested and received from the Kantar Public data collection supplier, the NGO la Lumière, or directly from recommended candidates.

From among the CVs received, an initial selection of 25 female candidates was considered based on the following qualifications:

1. Recent quantitative and qualitative research Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) data collection experience in Kédougou region in general and in communities in the departments of Kédougou and Saraya in particular, to assess the candidates' level of familiarity with the key tasks and knowledge of the research sites.

2. Recent experience working with NGOs in the same communities, to get an idea of the candidates' knowledge in terms of organization and procedures for deploying investigation teams and approaching targets.

Each of the 25 candidates was interviewed, and 10 interviewers were selected based on their ability to work independently and their availability to work for a period of 3 months (November 2021–January 2022) and to travel out of their residential towns for 1–2 weeks.

At the end of recruitment process, the interviewers selected had proven relevant work experience in the Kédougou region with a focus on various subjects and targets such as child abuse, women's rights, awareness of children's rights, out-of-school children, HIV/AIDS, and reproductive health.

The quantitative training took place in Kédougou department between November 10 and 14, 2021. The 10 interviewers (all female, with a minimum of a bachelor's degree and 3 years of experience in data collection on various social and marketing topics) received training on the purpose of the study and the quantitative methodology, including the survey and sampling approach, research ethics, informed consent, safeguarding, mandatory reporting, and recognizing respondent distress.[6] Following the classroom training, interviewers conducted one-on-one pilot interviews on November 15, 2021, to test the instruments, sampling, and interview protocols and procedures.

Because of the sensitivity of the topic of the study, a significant component of the training was dedicated to training the interviewers to manage the distress of the participants. This included initiating discussions with the participants to reassure them of the support that could be provided to them.

In addition, they were to provide participants with the contacts of the Departmental Child Protection Committee (CDPE) and the call center of the NGO La Lumière, the entities in the region that deal with cases of distress among women and children. If a participant mentioned suicidal thoughts during an interview, the interviewer was instructed to take the woman's phone number, call her back the same day to inquire about her condition, and then share her contact with the CDPE services, with the participant's consent.

The quantitative data collection took place between November 17 and December 29, 2021, and 561 interviews were completed. Interviews took place in sites that local women engaged in commercial sex considered most comfortable and confidential. The following types of sites were selected for the survey in the various mining areas covered:

- Health facilities like hospitals and health centers were selected at the suggestion of midwives and community health workers because individuals engaged in commercial sex have their weekly medical check-ups there.

- Usual meeting places for individuals engaged in commercial sex, such as bars and restaurants, were selected at the suggestion of representatives of these individuals, local NGOs, and community health workers. These sites were selected when the local health facilities were unavailable or non-existent in a mining area.

The quantitative interviews were mainly conducted in French and English[7]. Interviews were conducted using Nfield, Kantar Public's proprietary computer-assisted personal interviewing software, on Android tablets. To ensure fidelity to the study protocols and data quality standards, interviewers were closely monitored by trained supervisors. After interviews were completed, data was uploaded daily to the server, and further quality checks were conducted.

Achieved sample

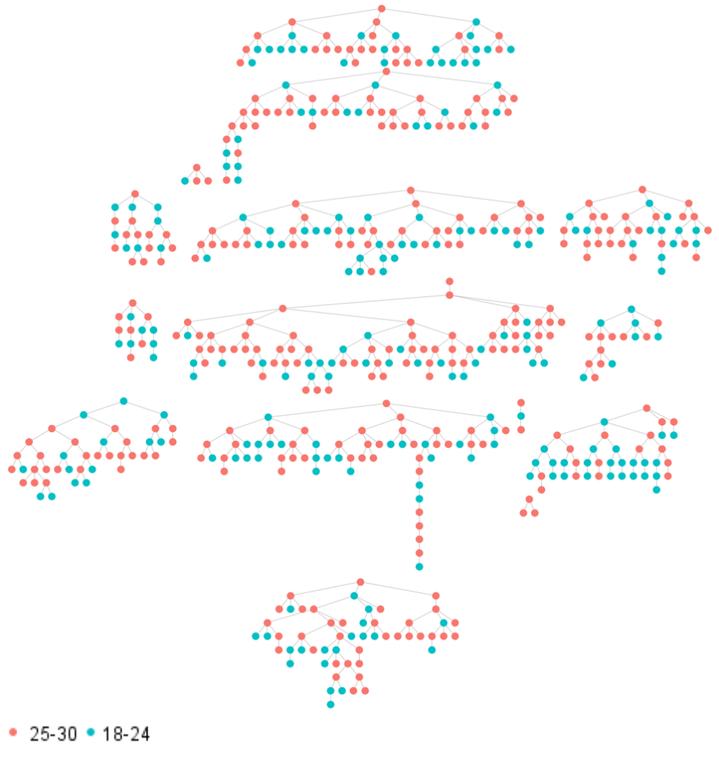
The final achieved sample comprised 561 respondents (375 in Saraya department, 186 in Kédougou department). We started data collection through the recruitment of six seed respondents. During data collection, however, several seeds dried up. We therefore recruited additional seeds to continue data collection. In total, we recruited nine additional seeds. Figure 2_{a-c} show the recruitment trees, i.e., the seeds and linkages among the respondents in the achieved sample by age group, country of origin, and victim status of sex trafficking. As shown, the final sample is based on 15 seeds, and recruitment chains ranged between one and 12 waves. Furthermore, the recruitment trees show how the initial seeds represent different demographic characteristics and the clustering of certain characteristics among particular networks, country of origin in particular.

[6] *See Annex 4 for the qualitative training agenda.*

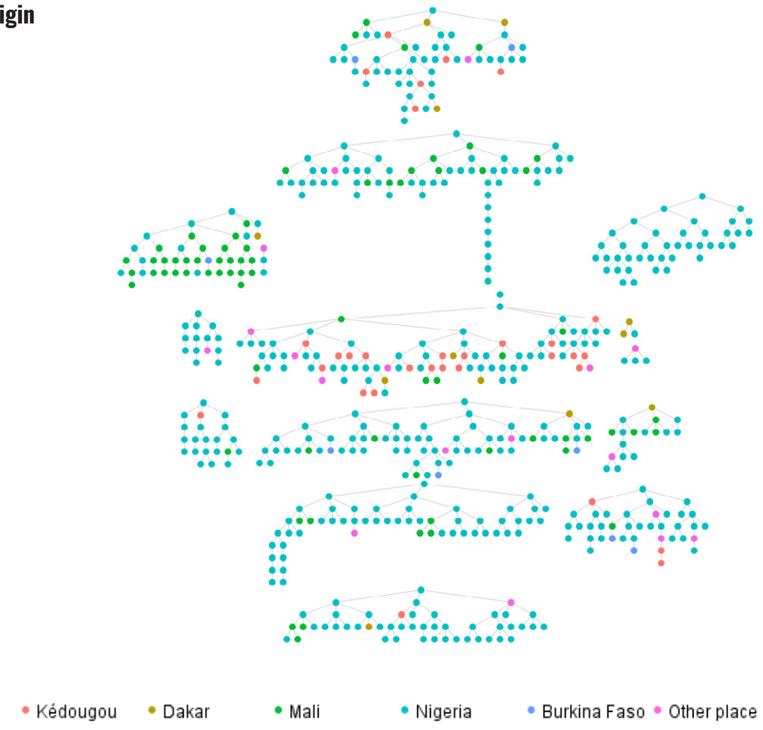
[7] *For interviews in English, the enumerators were supported by local translators.*

Figure 2: Recruitment tree showing the initial seeds and linkages among the respondents in the achieved sample

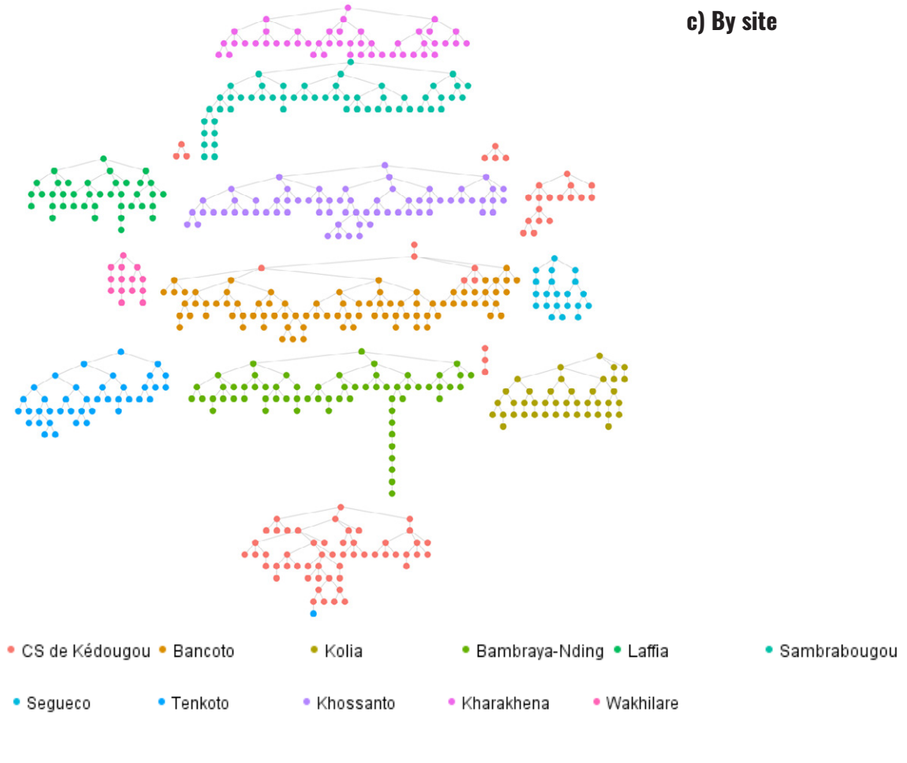
a) By age



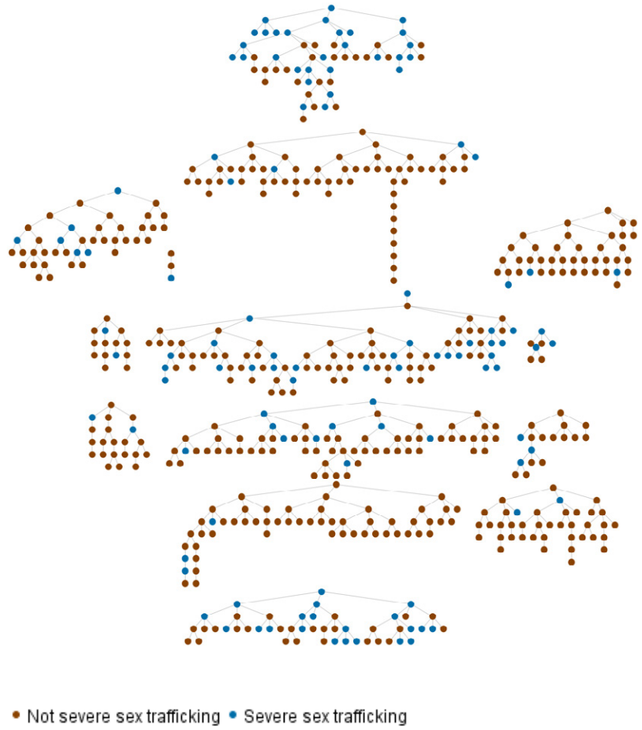
b) By country of origin



c) By site



d) By victimhood of sex trafficking



Profile of seeds

The 15 seeds were mainly Nigerian (11 respondents), followed by Senegalese (four respondents). The initial mix of nationalities was used to ensure that the subsequent interviews were not confined to a single community of individuals engaged in commercial sex. In terms of age, 13 seeds were aged 25-30, and two were aged under 25. This was also used to ensure that there was a mix of different communities of those engaged in commercial sex, though the age representation was more limited than nationality.

Convergence

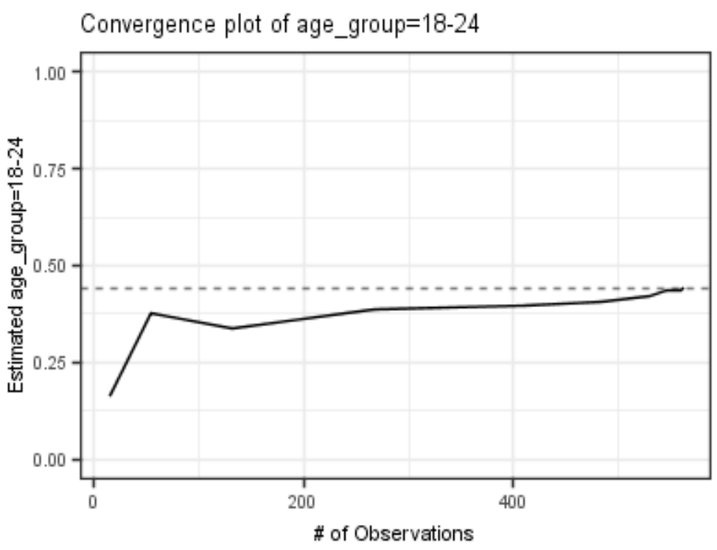
An important means of assessing potential bias in an RDS sample is based on the concept of "convergence." Specifically, convergence occurs when the sample is independent of the seeds based on the final adjusted estimate (Gile et al., 2015). In order to reduce or mitigate an important potential bias, it is therefore necessary that the sample reaches beyond the point of convergence.

In order to assess convergence, we derived convergence plots using RDS Analyst software. We examined convergence for each department separately, and also for the full sample. For simplicity, the plots for the full sample are shown below. Similar results were observed for each department, with the exception of country of origin. Figure 3a-f show selected demographics of the respondents in the full sample and how the adjusted estimates change as the sample increases. For age and education, it can be seen that as the estimates level off with increasing sample size, convergence is only achieved at the very end of sampling, indicating that the sample may have bottlenecks, or that a larger sample size or more recruitment waves may have been needed.

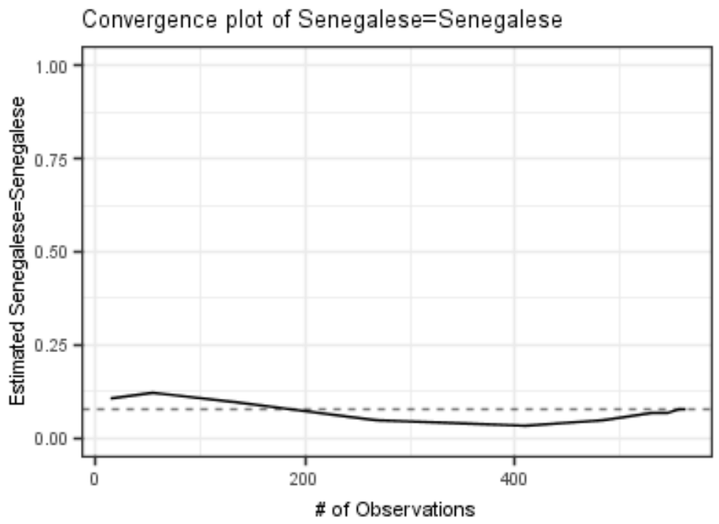
This also applies to country of origin for Kédougou department but not for Saraya department. For language and network size, convergence appears to have been reached early, as the solid lines rest closely on the dotted line for most of the sampling. For victimhood of sex trafficking, convergence appears to have been reached approximately halfway through the sampling (for both departments).

Figure 3: Convergence plots for selected demographics

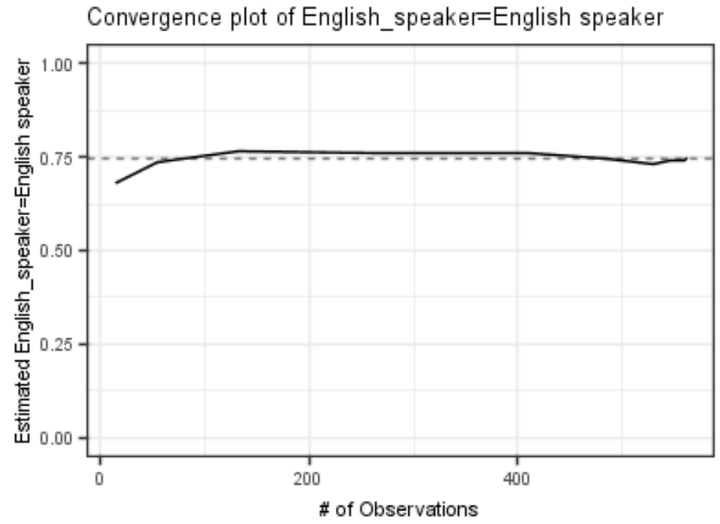
a) By age group

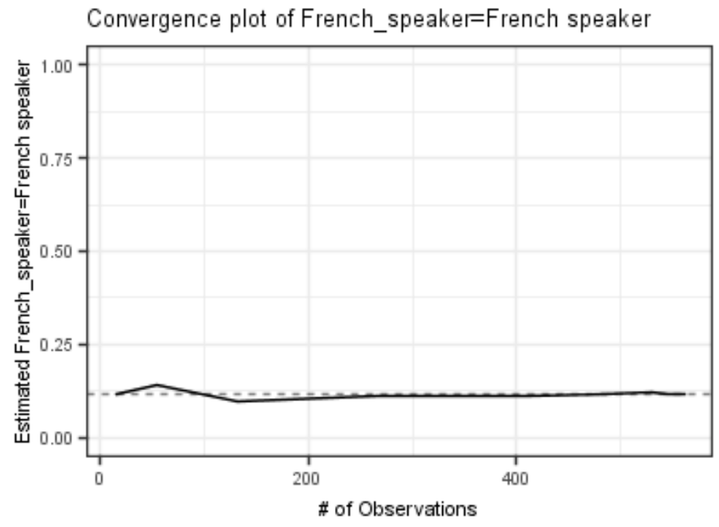


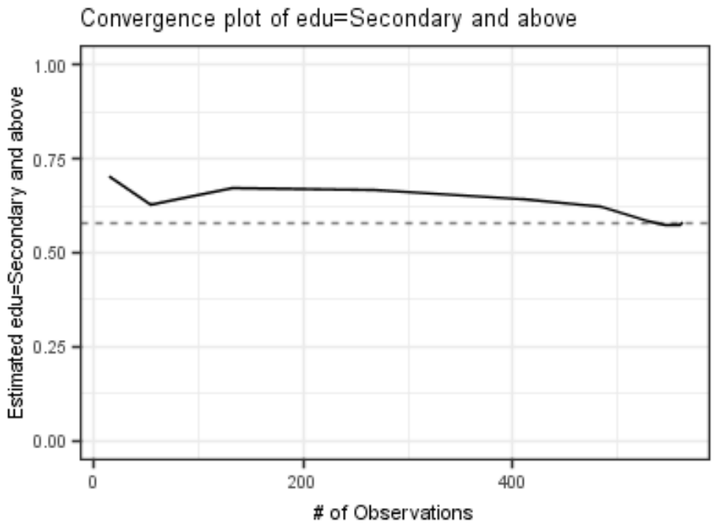
b) By country of origin



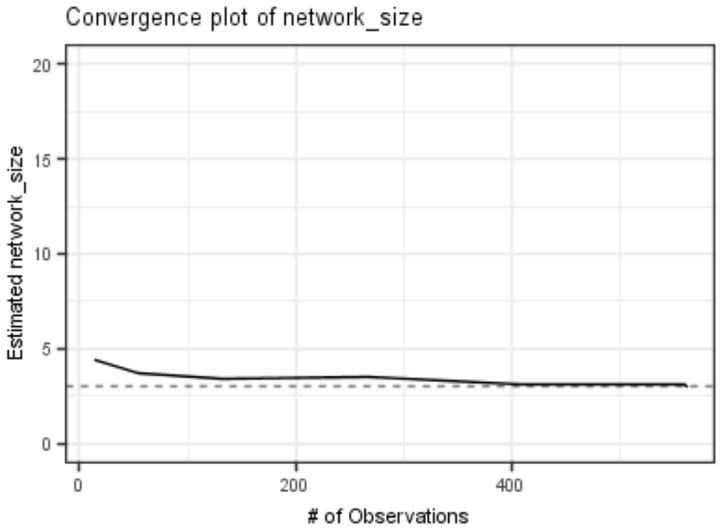
c) By language



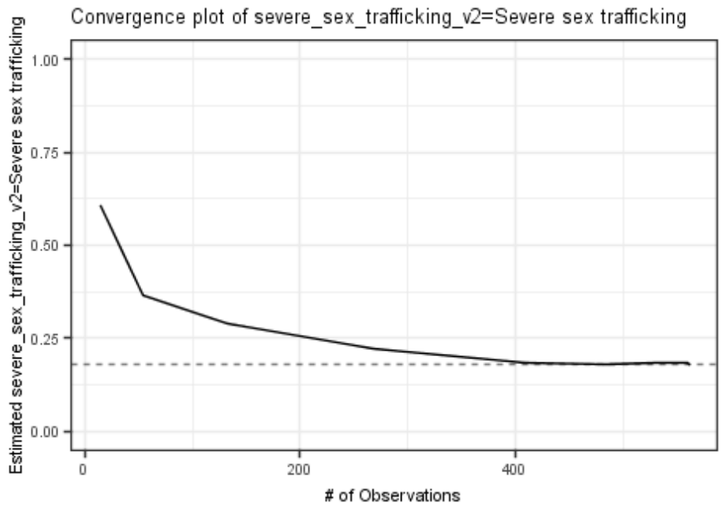




d) By educational attainment



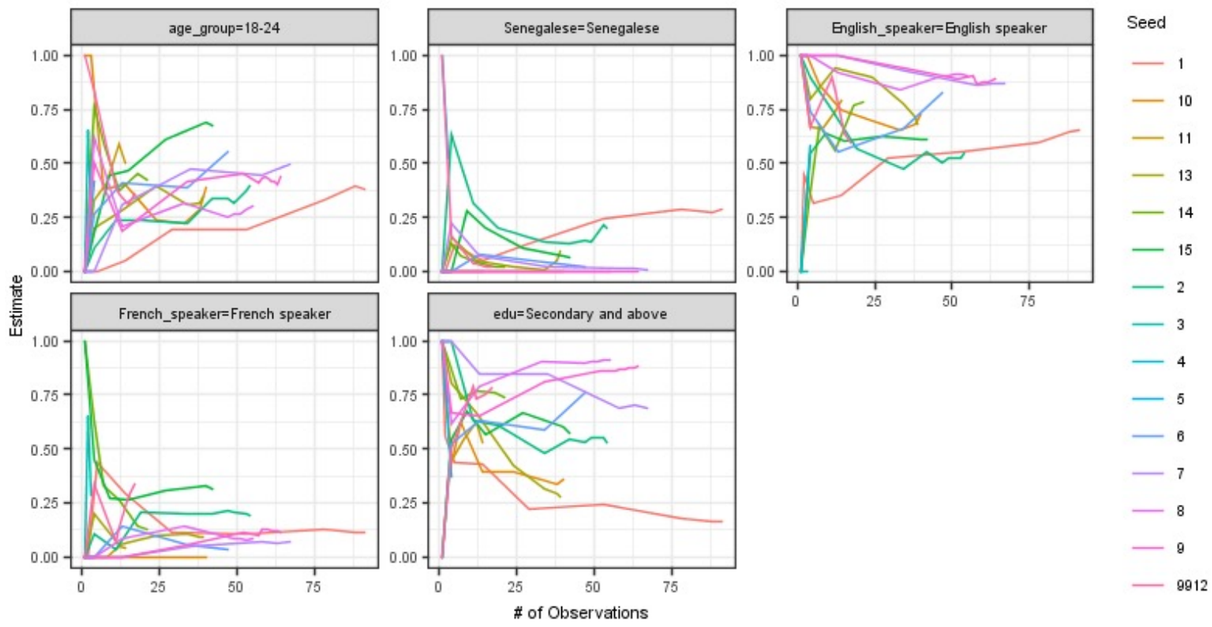
e) By network size



f) By victimhood of sex trafficking

In order to assess whether the population contained distinct sub-communities that could bias the RDS estimate, we derived the bottleneck plots below using RDS Analyst software (Figure 4). Each line of the bottleneck plots tracks an estimate of a characteristics of the population based on one of the seeds. The bottleneck plot tracking the estimates of the prevalence of age group shows that the estimates all converged towards about 50%, meaning there is no evidence of divided sub-communities of different age groups. Similar results are seen in the estimates of Senegalese, English speaker, and French speaker. However, the bottleneck plot tracking the estimate of the prevalence of educational level shows the estimates stabilized at different points depending on where the seeds originated.

Figure 4: Bottleneck plots for selected demographics

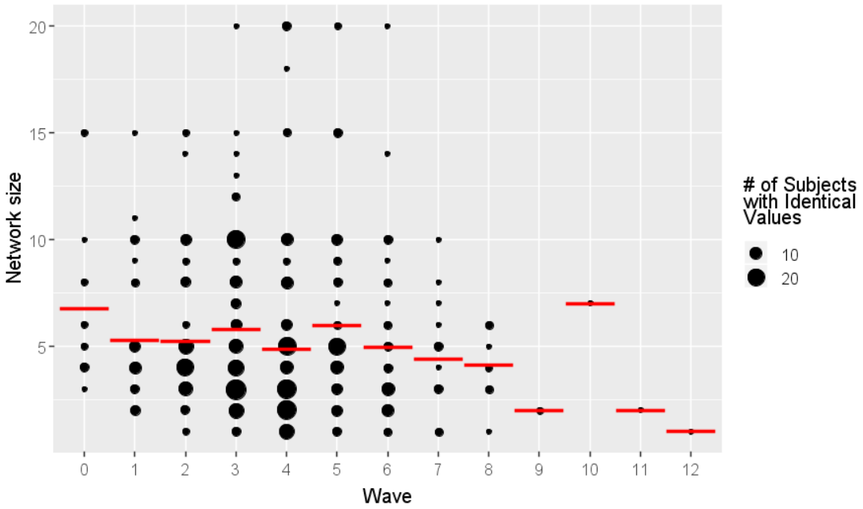


Network size

Respondents' network size is used for weighting purposes in the RDS approach. As mentioned above, the weighting procedure applied, i.e., the Volz-Heckathorn approach, implies that weights are inversely proportional to the self-reported network sizes.

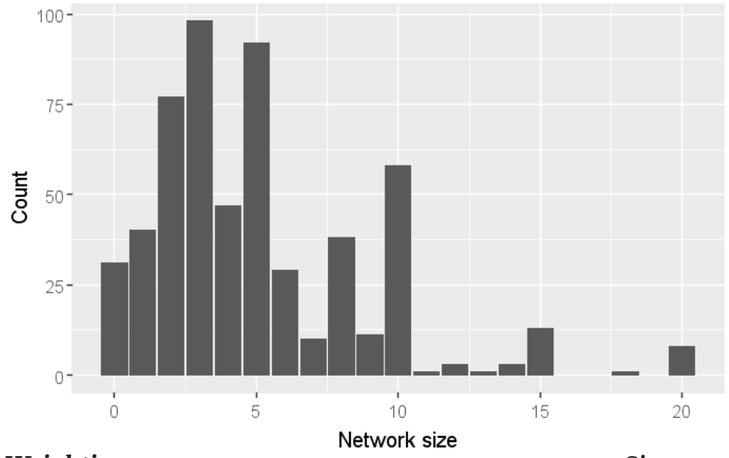
Figure 5 shows the unweighted network size by wave (note that this differs from Figure 3e above). It can be seen that respondents' network size ranges between 1 and 20. As shown above in Figure 3e, convergence appears to occur for network size early on in the sampling.

Figure 5: Network size by wave (unweighted)



The solid red lines through the network size are the mean of all network sizes for each wave.

Figure 6: Histogram of network size (unweighted)



Weighting

We derived the weighting using the RDS-II approach in RDS Analyst software, which draws on the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme. The Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme is based on inclusion probabilities for members of the sample, which are based on reported network sizes.

It treats the sampling process as a random walk through the network of the target population. In other words, the Volz-Heckathorn (RDS-II) estimator only relies on recruitment matrix and self-reported network size.

Since we treated Kédougou and Saraya departments as separate networks for sampling purposes, we also weighted the achieved sample for each department separately. We then combined the two samples at the analysis stage. Specifically, the weights were derived using RDS Analyst software, and then the separate datasets for each department were exported to SPSS and merged using that software. The merged dataset was then imported back into RDS Analyst.

As mentioned above, the achieved samples for the respective departments are n=375 for Saraya and n=186 for Kédougou. The weighted sample reflects the relative sample size for the two departments. We did not weight the sample for the respective population of individuals engaged in commercial sex in each department, due to lack of such population-level data. Since this is the first study targeting individuals engaged in commercial sex in the region, there is a paucity of other data sources estimating the total number of these individuals in the given areas, including relevant census data.

For this reason, we made the assumption that the relative size of the achieved sample in the respective department reflects the relative size of the populations. This is discussed further in the limitations section (section 2.5).

The weights were scaled so that the total weighted sample equated to the total unweighted sample. This was done by multiplying the weighting factors by the ratio (unweighted n / weighted n). Specifically, the values used to scale the weights were 375/591=0.63 for Saraya and 186/283=0.66 for Kédougou. The histograms of the scaled weights are shown in Figure 7, Figure 8, and Figure 9.

Figure 7: Histogram of sample weights for Saraya

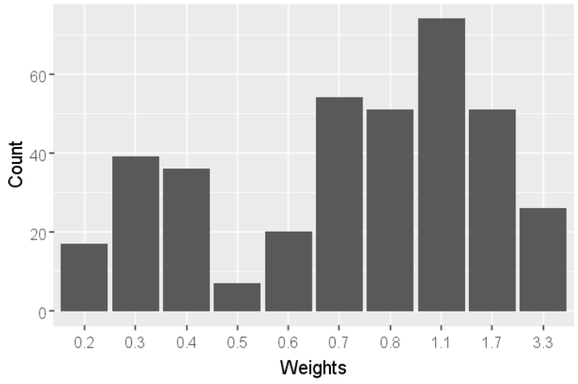


Figure 8: Histogram of sample weights for Kédougou

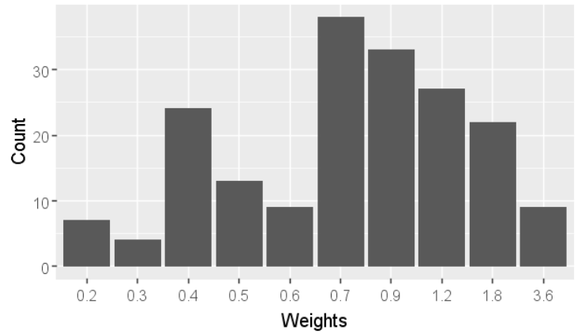
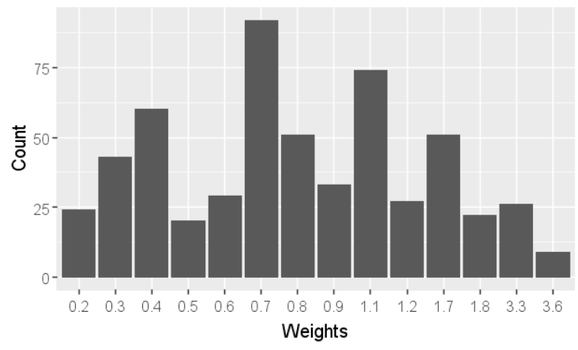


Figure 9: Histogram of sample weights



All the quantitative results are weighted estimates based on the approach described above.

Data analysis

All the diagnostics of the data (recruitment trees, bottleneck, and convergence plots), univariate analysis, contingency tables, and regression analysis was conducted using RDS Analyst. We used R to export the contingency tables generated in RDS Analyst. All estimates presented in this report are based on weighted data (see section above). As mentioned above, the weights were scaled so that the weighted sample equates to the unweighted sample. All estimates, by department and overall, and the associated 95% confidence intervals, are shown in Annex 1.

Our baseline prevalence estimate for sex trafficking in Kédougou was the ratio of identified female sex trafficking victims at the time of our baseline as a proportion of the target and base populations.

- The numerator is the total number of women identified as victims of sex trafficking within the past 12 months, as operationalized by our questionnaire.
- The base (denominator) is a) the total number of women engaged in commercial sex in the age range and b) the total population of women in our specified age range (18–30 years) engaged in commercial sex in the given mining communities overall.

Subgroup analysis based on age, department, and migration status, among other factors, was performed during the analysis phase. Results disaggregated by these factors are presented in the Key Findings section (Section 3) when there are meaningful and statistically significant differences between subgroups. The sections on employment practices, support networks, and leaving commercial sex also present results, overall and by victim status (victims of sex trafficking vs. non-victims), and by department and age, within each victim group.

A bootstrapping approach was applied for estimating the uncertainty of the estimator. All estimates by department and overall, including the 95% confidence intervals, are presented in the Annex 1.

In addition to the prevalence estimates, the analysis also explored predictors of sex trafficking using regression analysis. Weighted data was also used for that analysis.

2.3.1 QUALITATIVE METHODS

At baseline, the qualitative study explored the context, dynamics, and vulnerability factors linked to sex trafficking, along with service and policy gaps, through in-depth interviews (IDIs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). Qualitative interviews were conducted with a sample of 140 respondents, including women experiencing sex trafficking, trafficking survivors and their parents/caregivers, service providers, policy makers, academics, and other key informants, such as local administration agents, community workers, and healthcare providers.

Recruitment selection

At the national level, interviews with government and NGO representatives in Dakar focused mainly on the policy and institutional context. At the regional and local levels, local leaders[9], civil society organizations (CSOs), and community health workers who serve and interact with victims of trafficking and individuals engaged in commercial sex were interviewed to understand the local dynamics of sex trafficking, characteristics of perpetrators, and service and policy gaps.

Informants at the national level were identified with the help of the APRIES team in Senegal and the USA, such as the Ministry of Mines and the Gender Unit of the Ministry of Health. At the regional level, local actors (e.g., NGO La Lumière and the Departmental Child Protection Committee [DCPC]) provided inputs on the types of CSOs, opinion leaders, and community health workers the study should target.

Finally, those who were currently experiencing sex trafficking, survivors of sex trafficking, and parents of sex trafficking survivors were interviewed to provide perspective on vulnerability factors, victim experiences, resilience factors, and the impact of sex trafficking on individuals, households, and communities. In each locality, the first survivor or parent was introduced to us by an intermediary responsible for representing each foreign nationality/community (Burkinabe, Nigerians, Malians, etc.) in interactions between the community and public services.

Subsequently, the others were referred to us by the survivors without directly putting us in contact with them. Our research assistants then contacted them, introduced themselves, and explained the purpose of the visit, and, if they agreed to be interviewed, an interview was set up. The screening criteria used to identify victims experiencing sex trafficking, survivors of trafficking, and parents of survivors is presented in Annex 8.

Table 2 summarizes the interviews by stakeholder and type of interview.

Table 2: Qualitative interviews

Stakeholder type	Type of interviews	Number of interviews	Gender	
			Male	Female
National				
National level	KIIs	3	1	2
Regional				
CSOs		10	10	—
Opinion leaders		27	20	7
Healthcare providers		19	8	11
Local				
Victims		32	—	32
Survivors		36	—	36
Parents of survivors		13	7	6
Total		**140**		

[9] *Local leaders are those who help their community by providing support through their work. They are also able to influence people in their respective communities. They include village chiefs, religious leaders, community workers, and community health workers.*

Qualitative guides

We developed interview guides tailored to each stakeholder type listed in Table 2. Table 3 presents the themes and sub-themes covered in these interview guides.[10] All interview guides were translated into French.

Table 3: Themes covered in the interview guides

Themes	Sub-themes
Profiles, characteristics, and scope of sex trafficking in Kédougou	• Characteristics of trafficking hotspots • Points of recruitment and methods of recruitment • Characteristics of perpetrators and intermediaries • Processes and transactions • Victim experiences (trafficking and post-trafficking) • Social networks among victims • Ability of victims to move freely, participate in an interview, and receive an incentive; willingness to refer others in their network using a coupon • Impacts of trafficking on individuals, households, and communities • Community and societal drivers • Individual vulnerability factors • Subgroups most vulnerable • Resilience factors—individual, family, community
Policy and institutional context in Kédougou and nationally	• Policies and laws to prevent and mitigate TIP (3 Ps: Prevention, Prosecution, Protection) • Actors involved: police, judiciary, social/child protection agencies, NGOs/CSOs, etc. • Policies and laws that indirectly affect TIP • Current enforcement of laws and implementation of policies • Service gaps and policy gaps • Capacity of systems and actors

[10] *See Annex 2 for the interview discussion guides used at baseline.*

Fieldwork

Qualitative training took place in Kédougou department between October 4 and 7, 2021. All interviewers had at least three years' experience conducting data collection in the Kédougou region. They had prior experience conducting similar studies for the NGO La Lumière to collect trafficked individuals and organize their return to their home country. For the qualitative work, both male and female interviewers were trained. A total of 10 interviewers (four male and six female) received training on the purpose of the study. Female interviewers conducted interviews with female victims and survivors. Male interviewers conducted interviews with other key informants and subject matter experts. For the parent interviews, female and male interviewers interviewed female and male respondents, respectively.

The qualitative training focused on the qualitative methodology, including instrument guides and sampling approach, research ethics, informed consent, safeguarding, mandatory reporting, and recognizing respondent distress.[11] Following the classroom training, on October 8, 2021, interviewers conducted three pilot interviews with three female sex trafficking victims living in Kédougou to test the instruments, sampling, and interview protocols and procedures.

For qualitative data collection 135 out of 140 interviews were completed between October 9 and December 12, 2021, and the remaining five were completed in January–February 2022. All interviews were conducted in French, English,[12] and/or local languages (e.g., Malinke, Wolof). All interviews were conducted in a private space that was convenient for the respondent.

The qualitative interviews were audio-recorded provided consent was given by the respondent. Each interviewee received 5,000 CFA (~7 USD) to compensate them for their time.

To ensure fidelity to the study protocols and data quality standards, interviewers were closely monitored by trained supervisors through accompaniments and review of audio recordings. The Qualitative Lead also remained in the field for at least the first week of fieldwork to provide quality assurance oversight and to observe each interviewer's performance in an interview setting.

To ensure data security and confidentiality, we provided the research assistants access to a folder on Kantar's secure platform for sharing transcripts and audio recordings. The interviews lasted 30–60 minutes.

We were not able to follow up on any of the victims of trafficking, since none of them wished to have protective services alerted, as they wished to avoid reprisals from the traffickers. In addition, one of the conditions of the victims was that we do not record their contact information, to avoid their being tracked following the study.

Data analysis

After completing the qualitative data collection, a thematic codebook was developed to code the qualitative data. The codebook was structured to link to each research question to facilitate the baseline data analysis. All 140 transcripts were coded by one qualitative researcher using Atlas.ti.

Four deductive codebooks were developed based on the interview guides and on the themes addressed by the data collection tools. When the transcripts were received, relevant codes from the discussions with the various participants were added to create the final versions shown in Annex 9 of this report. One person was in charge of data analysis. The codebooks developed were as follows:

1. Sex trafficking in gold mining areas in Kedougou_Senegal_ Institutional actors and civil society organizations - Code List. : 174 codes.

[11] *See Annex 4 for the qualitative training agenda.*
[12] *For interviews in English, the moderators were supported by local translators.*

2. Sex trafficking in gold mining areas in Kedougou_Senegal _Local leaders - Code List. : 156 codes.

3. Sex trafficking in gold mining areas in Kedougou_Senegal _Parents of survivors - Code List. : 107 codes.

4. Sex trafficking in gold mining areas in Kedougou_Senegal _Victims and survivors of sex trafficking - Code List. : 168 codes.

Sample codes

Résilience_Sortie de la situation de traite_Manière_Arrêt : relating to the determinants of exit from trafficking, how survivors were able to exit the trafficking situation.

ProfilRep_Souhait de vivre ailleurs_Oui_Où: relating to the desire to leave Kédougou for another region of Senegal or another country.

The transcripts were uploaded to Atlas.ti. into the folder provided. Once the codes were created, the transcripts were processed, and the relevant quotations were taken from the discussions.

2.4 DATA MANAGEMENT AND HANDLING

Quantitative data management involved the following steps:

- **Synchronization, data transmission, and downloading:** Interviewers uploaded completed surveys to the server after every field day by synchronizing their tablets. All tablets were loaded with SIM cards and data bundles to enable data transmission via mobile service provider networks. In the event of network failure, interviewers were advised to store the data and synchronize when there was an internet connection available. Interviewers had no access to data that was already on the server. All tablets were password-protected to ensure no one other than the interviewer could access the data, and to limit access if the tablet was lost or stolen.
- **Data cleaning and analysis:** Once the data was downloaded, it was de-identified. Personal identifying information was stored separately. The data cleaning and analysis was conducted on the anonymized data.

Qualitative data management involved the following steps:

- **Recording of interviews:** All qualitative interviews were audio-recorded, provided consent was obtained from the participant. As part of the informed consent process, participants were notified of the intention to record the interview/discussions, the reasons for recording, and the rules around data confidentiality, and were asked for their consent. If a respondent did not consent to be recorded, the interviewer took notes during the interview. Of the 140 people interviewed, 8 (5 victims and 3 survivors) refused to be recorded.
- **Transcription of interviews:** All recorded interviews were transcribed into French. All transcripts were de-identified by removing any personal identifying information before conducting analysis.

2.5 LIMITATIONS

- **Prevalence based on self-reported victimization:** The survey sought to capture victimization through a number of questionnaire items that relied on sensitive and nuanced questions to gather data that was as truthful as possible. That said, it is possible that respondents misreported some experiences and facts about themselves, including age, because they did not want to reveal the actual facts. Hence, the prevalence estimate of sex trafficking may be underestimated. It is also possible, but less likely, that respondents over-reported experiences linked to sex trafficking, which would result in an overestimate of prevalence.
- **Lack of comparison group in the research and evaluation design:** The design for this study is a pre- and post-prevalence assessment with no comparison group. This means that any changes in prevalence observed between the baseline and endline cannot be fully attributed to the APRIES program interventions, since such changes could also result from other factors outside of the intervention.[13] It will not be possible to determine whether this is the case. This means that any decrease in prevalence cannot be conclusively attributed to the interventions. The process evaluation will seek to uncover how the interventions contributed to any changes in prevalence between baseline and endline.
- **Lack of convergence:** The convergence plots of the RDS survey data show that age group and educational attainment do not appear to have reached convergence, though it was reached for other relevant indicators (country of origin, language, network size, and victim status of sex trafficking). The lack of convergence for two of the indicators means the adjusted estimates may not be independent of the initial seeds. In other words, we should exert caution when drawing inferences about the base population, as opposed to interpreting the results as reflecting the achieved sample.
- **Weighting approach:** The weights were derived using RDS-II, drawing on the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme. Weights are based on the self-reported network size, which may be prone to recall bias and varying interpretations among respondents. This means individual weights may be either under- or overestimated. The lack of population-level data on the number of individuals engaged in commercial sex at the department level means the sample is not adjusted for the relative sizes of Saraya and Kédougou departments. We have assumed that the achieved sample distribution for the two departments reflects the true population distribution, which may or may not be the case in reality. Given the different population profiles of the two departments, most notably in terms of age and education, it is possible the aggregated results do not reflect the true population.
- **Presentation of overall estimates:** The main findings are presented based on aggregated data for the two departments. Given the different profiles of individuals engaged in commercial sex in Saraya and Kédougou departments, as well as the lack of convergence of age and educational attainment, it could be argued that department-level analysis would be beneficial. That approach would, however, reduce estimator efficiency. The results presented in the Key Findings sections (Section 3) therefore primarily show aggregated results, though notable and statistically significant ($p<0.05$) differences between the two departments are also highlighted. To complement these results, we have included all the estimates by department, as well as the 95% confidence intervals, in Annex 1.

2.6 RESEARCH ETHICS

The Kantar Public team adheres to international standards of research ethics, including the principles of "do no harm," informed consent, strict confidentiality and privacy, protection and duty of care, fairness and respect, and practical benefit. Before conducting the survey, the fieldwork methodology protocol, questionnaires, and informed consent documentation were submitted to Comité National d'Ethique pour la Recherche en Santé (CNERS) in Dakar, Senegal. Following CNERS's approval in Senegal, APRIES submitted to the institutional review board (IRB) at UGA for further approval of the study. Once IRB approval was sought in collaboration with the APRIES team, Kantar Public sought all necessary government approvals at the national, regional, and local levels prior to conducting the baseline data collection.

[13] *For example, we anticipate that the COVID-19 pandemic might have disrupted sex trafficking at baseline.*

2.7 CHALLENGES AND MITIGATIONS

Table 4 outlines the challenges and the mitigation approaches applied during the baseline study.

Table 4: Challenges and mitigations

Challenges	Mitigation
Need to Identify a sufficient set of initial seeds, which is critical to the approach for prevalence estimation given the sensitive nature of the research topic and the fact that that this is a rare and hidden population	We worked closely with local NGOs who communicate with victims. They helped us identify the initial seeds.
Gaining cooperation from initial seeds and subsequent waves	Incentives for participating in the interviews and providing referrals helped compensate respondents for time shared with us. We also set up interviews at sites where respondents felt most comfortable.
Difficulty obtaining IRB permission to interview individuals under the age of 18 without parental consent	Our IRB application explained the importance of this population to our research and why parental consent was not feasible. We provided the IRB with insights from the qualitative study to support our request. Subsequently, the IRB approval was granted by CNERS (Comité National d'Ethique pour la Recherche en Santé) for one year. The authorization will be extended upon presentation to the ethics committee of the progress of the study and the activities that remain to be implemented.

KEY FINDINGS

3.1 DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section, we present the demographic profile of the participants in the qualitative interviews (Section 3.1.1) and respondents in the quantitative survey (Section 3.1.2).

It is worth noting that the participants in the qualitative interviews were victims and survivors of sex trafficking, whereas the respondents to the quantitative survey were women engaged in commercial sex more broadly (but also including sex trafficking victims). Consequently, the qualitative and quantitative analyses presented below represent two partly different target groups, which should be considered when interpreting the results.

Further note that for the quantitative indicators, we analyze differences between the two departments (Kédougou and Saraya) and by age. In terms of age, we split the sample into two groups (18-24 and 25-30), based on what is commonly considered youth in Senegal (age <25). Differences between the two groups are reported when there is a meaningful and statistically significant difference at the 5% level, unless otherwise stated.

Moreover, in the sections on employment practices, support networks, and leaving commercial sex, we also present the results by victim status (victims of sex trafficking vs. non-victims). All the estimates and the 95% confidence intervals are shown in Annex 1.

Profile of qualitative respondents

Victims and survivors

Kantar Public interviewed 32 victims and 36 survivors of sex trafficking for the qualitative IDIs. "Victims" refers to individuals who were currently being sex trafficked at the time of the interview, while "survivors" refers to individuals who had experienced sex trafficking in the past.

Age

Most of the sex trafficking victims who participated in the qualitative component of the study were aged between 19 and 24 (Table 5).

"Most of the girls who work here are minors. There are even students who have been brought here during the vacations, making them believe that they will come to work and leave to prepare for the school year."

–Victim, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

The community stakeholders (i.e., community health workers, community workers, coordinators of local NGOs, etc.) we interviewed indicated that many of the girls trafficked were minors and tended not to report their actual age in their identity documents.

"I know that there are many minors, because in the activities we carry out, with an NGO called AWA, we identify young girls who have professional cards, but you know that these kids are not adults."

–Regional Youth Organization, Kédougou

Most survivors were older relative to the victims. About two-thirds of the survivors were aged between 25 and 30 (Table 5). Qualitative interviews found that survivors tend to be older because the transition out occurs once they have been in the business for a while, become familiar with the environment and the perpetrators of trafficking, and have paid off their debts. Interviews with opinion leaders and some victims and survivors indicated that victims are recruited into sex trafficking at a very young age, sometimes as little as 12 years old.

"They are too young, most of them are not of age. In our country, the majority is 18 years old but I see some of them [individuals engaged in commercial sex] are even 15 years old and others are even younger."

–Prefect of Saraya

"These girls are 13, 16 or 18 years old"

–Parent of survivor, Kédougou

Table 5: Ages of victims and survivors who participated in qualitative interviews

Age	Victims	Survivors	Total
Under 18	0	1	1
19-24	19	11	30
25-30	13	24	37
Total	32	36	68

Nationality

Most of the victims and survivors we interviewed in the qualitative interviews were Nigerian. Other participants came from Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali (Table 6). Among the Senegalese girls and women interviewed, two were from Kédougou, while the remainder came from other regions in Senegal (Dakar and Diourbel).

While most qualitative victim and survivor respondents were Nigerian, it is essential to consider that the qualitative sampling adopted a snowball approach to generate leads for the interviews. Such recruitment procedures, whose advantages are perceptible in the context of studies involving complex target groups, nevertheless have limits. They can produce a "lock-in"[14] effect and restrict the diversity of respondents (Bué, 2010).

[14] *This is a methodological bias in qualitative research, where a researcher must interview a majority of social actors who are largely linked together in networks, and then becomes dependent on these networks to produce data.*

Therefore, they can result in the over- or under-representation of certain groups. However, interviews with local opinion leaders and government stakeholders indicated that Nigerian citizens were heavily involved in commerical sex and sex trafficking in the region.

"It is not only Nigerian women but there are also Senegalese, Malians, Burkinabe, even [women from] all across Africa."

–Survivor, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

Table 6: Nationality of victims and survivors who participated in qualitative interviews

Nationality	Victims	Survivors	Total
Nigeria	29	29	58
Senegal	1	5	6
Others (Burkina, Ghana, Guinea, Mali)	2	2	4
Total	**32**	**36**	**68**

Education

Most victims and survivors interviewed had achieved or completed some level of secondary or high school level education (Table 7). Only a small proportion reported they had never attended school. Financial barriers were cited as the key reason why some participants could not complete school or continue attending school. Other barriers to completing education included engaging in economic activity to support family, staying home to care for sick family members, or early pregnancy. Some students also faced language barriers in the host country of residence, while others reported not being familiar with the area of study selected at university.[15] The quantitative results support these findings, showing a relatively high level of education and similar stated reasons for seeking work in mining towns.

Table 7: Level of education of victims and survivors who participated in qualitative interviews

Education level	Victims	Survivors	Total
Never attended school	5	3	8
Attended school	27	33	60
Primary school	6	8	14
Secondary school	11	17	28
High school	6	5	11
University	1	2	3
Vocational training	1	0	1
Education level not specified	2	1	3
Total	**32**	**36**	**68**

Table 8: Occupation of victims and survivors who participated in qualitative interviews

Occupation	Victims	Survivors	Total
Commercial sex	30	11	41
Mining	0	1	1
Saleswoman in retail	0	5	5
Hairdresser	0	2	2
Candy and fruit seller	0	1	1
Tailor	0	1	1
Restaurant and bar	0	8	8
More than one job	2	2	4
Unemployed	0	3	3
Not specified	0	2	2
Total	**32**	**36**	**68**

Occupation

All victims interviewed were engaged in commercial sex as their primary source of income. Two out of the 32 were also engaged in a second job, such as working at bars or nightclubs (Table 8). Almost a third of the survivors were still involved in commercial sex, even though they were no longer in a trafficking situation. Others held various occupations such as working in retail, restaurants, bars, etc. Very few were unemployed.

Place of residence

The majority of the qualitative respondents resided in Saraya department and came from Tenkoto, Kolia, Kharakhéna, Sambarambougou, Mouran, and Khossanto (Table 9). Those in Kédougou department came mainly from Kédougou city and Bantaco. The distribution of respondents by locality was influenced by the presence of sex trafficking activities and the willingness of victims and survivors to participate in the study.

Childhood-related risk factors

About two-fifths (29 out of 68) of participants reported growing up with both parents, while about one-fifth (16 out of 68) were raised by a single parent. The remaining (23 out of 68) did not provide information on their family situation while growing up (Table 10).

Table 9: Place of residence of victims and survivors who participated in qualitative interviews

Place of residence	Victims	Survivors	Total
Saraya department	28	26	54
Sambarambougou	5	5	10
Tenkoto	8	2	10
Kolia	4	6	10
Mouran	4	4	8
Kharakhéna	2	5	7
Khossanto	5	4	9
Kédougou department	4	10	14
Kédougou city	2	5	7
Bantaco	2	5	7
Total	**32**	**36**	**68**

Table 10: Family situation of victims and survivors when growing up who participated in qualitative interviews

Family situation when growing up	Victims	Survivors	Total
Both parents	14	15	29
One parent	8	8	16
No information provided	10	13	23
Total	**32**	**36**	**68**

Interviews with victims and survivors indicated that the death of a parent often resulted in increased economic insecurity that was a precursor to experiences of trafficking. Qualitative data shows that socio-economic vulnerability is one of the criteria recruiters use to identify girls to target (see 3.4 methods of recruitment).

Almost two-thirds of participants declared living in precarious conditions before being trafficked (not enough food for all members of the household, no income, with some victims and survivors also reporting having sick parents to take care of), despite the

[15] *Students' majors are assigned by universities, and are not based on what the student wants to study. Students make their choice of field of study (i.e., history, statistics, psychology, etc.), but some have been turned down and assigned to another option they did not prefer. This is a reason for them [victims and survivors] to drop out of school.*

[16] *We replaced Samécouta in Kédougou Department by Tenkoto in Saraya Department because during data collection we found out there were very few or no individuals engaged in commercial sex in Samécouta.*

presence of at least one parent. At the time of the interviews, some participants were single mothers with dependent children themselves, working to support their families back home.

"When my father died, my mother asked us to go to our paternal aunt's marital home. When we arrived, a man was living there who often called me, gave me money, and then proposed to have sex with him, and it became a repetition until the pregnancy followed. Then he denied paternity when I told him he was the father of my child. When my aunt discovered what happened, she sent me out of the house, and I went to a friend's house. He later asked for my forgiveness and offered to marry me, we got back together and had a second child, but he was still cheating on me without marrying me. When I came of age, I understood his game and asked him to leave me. I wanted to start my life again."

–Survivor, Kolia, Saraya

The IDI data shows that more than half of the victims and survivors (n=20 victims, 20 survivors) lived in families with precarious living conditions. Of those victims and survivors who went to school, 43 of 56 reported that they did not finish due to lack of financial means. A relatively high proportion of participants' were orphans (n=5 victims, 2 survivors) or were children of single parents (n=2 victims, 5 survivors). Other less frequent, but notable, factors of socio-economic vulnerability include the influence of a family member who was already engaged in commercial sex (n=1 victim), a victim of childhood sexual abuse (n=1 survivor), and a survivor who was a victim of early marriage.

COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS

At the community level, we interviewed 58 stakeholders involved in the health sector (19), community development sector and local administration (27), CSOs (10), and the institutional level (2).

Health sector: We interviewed 19 health personnel and community workers (Table 11) who provide healthcare services to individuals engaged in commercial sex and sex trafficking victims and other health promotion services related to sexual reproductive health.

Table 11: Health sector interview breakdown of those who participated in qualitative interviews

Stakeholder types	Saraya	Kédougou	Total
Doctor	1	1	2
Head nurse	1	1	2
Assistant head nurse	1	–	1
Nurse	3	1	4
Birth attendant	3	1	4
Community health worker	3	1	4
Bajenu Gox ("The community aunt")[17]	1	1	2
Total	**13**	**6**	**19**

Community development sector: We conducted a total of 15 interviews with different community development actors such as religious leaders (imams and pastors), leaders of youth organizations, and traditional communicators (Table 12). These stakeholders create income-generating activities to empower women, which is particularly important for girls and women who have limited professional opportunities, exposing their households to socio-economic vulnerabilities.

[17] *These are women volunteer health workers who help other women to attend their prenatal visits, attend the immunization schedule for their children, and facilitate discussions on mother and child health. They are involved in all health issues that affect women.*

Table 12: Community development sector interview breakdown of those who participated in qualitative interviews

Stakeholder types	Saraya	Kédougou	Total
Religious leaders	3	2	5
Youth organizations	2	0	2
Traditional communicator	0	1	1
Bajenu Gox	0	3	3
Chiefs of "dioura"	3	1	4
Total	**8**	**7**	**15**

Local administration: We conducted 12 interviews with six village/neighborhood chiefs (five in Saraya and one in Kédougou) and six local security chiefs, or "Tomboulouman" (five in Saraya and one in Kédougou) who represent local administration (Table 13). These individuals are mainly involved in the administrative management of their respective localities, including conflict management (e.g., security issues between victims and clients). The village/ neighborhood chiefs are also involved in the organization, operation, and security of traditional gold mining areas locally called "dioura" in the Kédougou region. They are supplemented by other stakeholders such as the Tomboulouman chiefs, the administrators of the "dioura."

Table 13: Local administration interview breakdown of those who participated in qualitative interviews

Local administration	Saraya	Kédougou	Total
Village/ neighborhood chiefs	5	1	6
Local security chiefs "Tomboulouman"	5	1	6
Total	**10**	**2**	**12**

Local administrative and community development stakeholders play a key role in sex trafficking prevention activities in the Kédougou region. Because of their position as local leaders, these stakeholders are involved in various community-based interventions dealing with social protection of children (promotion of education, prevention of early marriage and pregnancy, child abuse and child labor prevention, etc.) and GBV. Many local administrative and community development stakeholders report facing difficulties working with victims of sex trafficking in the region due to language barriers, as most of the victims and perpetrators of sex trafficking are foreign nationals. Hence, local administrative and community development stakeholders work in these areas with local legal authorities and local (NGO La Lumière) and international (International Organization for Migration [IOM]) structures and organizations.

Civil society organizations and institutional actors

We conducted 10 interviews with local NGOs and other civil society stakeholders at the regional level and two with stakeholders at the national level.

At the national level, these included:

- Ministry of Mines and Geology
- Gender Unit of the Ministry of Health

At the regional level, these included:

- Kédougou Encadrement Orientation et Développement Humain (KEOH)
- Action Educative en Milieu Ouvert (AEMO), the regional administrative entity of the Ministry of Justice that deals with children in trouble with the law
- Regional Youth Council, a regional entity of the Ministry of Youth
- Saraya Departmental Youth Council

- Kédougou Departmental Council for Child Protection, the regional branch of the Ministry of Health's Social Action Department
- Saraya Departmental Council for Child Protection, the regional branch of the Ministry of Health's Social Action Department
- Prefect of Saraya
- La Lumiere NGO
- Departmental Community Development Service (DCDS) of Kédougou, the regional entity of the Ministry of Community Development
- President of the Youth of Saraya

These organizations are engaged in the following areas:

- Community-related aspects (monitoring and alert systems)
- Social protection of children (promotion of education, and prevention of early marriages and pregnancies, child abuse, child labor, etc.)
- Fight against GBV, in collaboration with local legal authorities

Parents/guardians of victims and survivors

Recruitment of parents/guardians was difficult, since most of the victims and survivors were foreign nationals whose parents/guardians did not reside in Senegal. Consequently, we also targeted other individuals who had close or social relationships with the victims and survivors based on proximity and frequent interactions. In most cases, this included people who live in the villages where sex trafficking occurs and who voluntarily decide to support these girls and women given the challenging situations they are experiencing. This also includes people who manage businesses that victims of trafficking frequent, such as bars, hotels/inns, restaurants, etc. We conducted 13 interviews (four in Kédougou, nine in Saraya) with parents and other people who we refer to as "parents" in this study but who could be other types of supporters of the survivors. Those interviewed included three parents, two sisters of survivors, and eight supporters who are considered as "parents" by the survivors in the given localities. These supporters have lived with the survivors for at least 1 year in the data collection areas.

"At the bar, we make friends with [these] women, and when they have problems, they tell me. We realized that given their situation if we were to distance ourselves from them as others do, it would be even more difficult for these girls."

–Local guardian/caretaker of a victim, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

Respondents reported providing psychosocial support in response to violence experienced by the victims and survivors, financial support for victims to get out of the trafficking situation, or even referrals to support structures in the fight against sex trafficking. These individuals are also sometimes involved in reporting cases of trafficking to judicial authorities in cases of victims who call on their support.

"I know many girls who are under my care who needed help. I have them stay with me and help them get out of their situations through organizations like the International Organization for Migration (IOM). I always have girls who are victims of sex trafficking under my guardianship, and right now, there is a girl I am helping return to Nigeria. Often, they are the ones who call me because if you help someone and they see someone else in trouble, they give them my number, and they call me to ask for help. Often, if I report it to the NGO The Light, they call IOM and do their best to help the girl go back to Nigeria. Sometimes I call the AEMO, sometimes I even involve the police, sometimes I even call the community to help me pay for the ticket for them to go home. I call them every time I have a girl under my care who is a victim of sex trafficking. I can count more than 25 girls."

–Local guardian/caretaker of a victim, Kédougou

Some respondents (three out of 13) interviewed were legal guardians of people who experienced sex trafficking. Although the processes for identifying these foster families are not well specified, stakeholders such as CDPE and AEMO describe that victims who have reported or surrendered to legal authorities are placed under these persons' guardianship by the gendarmerie, because they don't know anyone other than the traffickers who brought them to that locality. This is done with the intention of protecting them from the traffickers. In particular, interviews with the CDPE indicate that the gendarmerie interacts with specific persons in the community to take care of rescued victims while organizing their return to their country of origin.

PROFILE OF QUANTITATIVE RESPONDENTS

The profile of the survey respondents is shown below, based on the weighted data using the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme for RDS. The demographic profile of women engaged in commercial sex broadly reflects that of the qualitative findings. That said, for the analysis that follows, it is worth noting that the target groups for the qualitative and quantitative components differ: the qualitative interviews focused on victims and survivors of sex trafficking, as well as individuals with knowledge of trafficking dynamics. It is also worth noting that the recruitment and analysis for the quantitative and qualitative samples differed, with the qualitative interviews being based on simple snowball sampling whereas the quantitative analysis is based on RDS.

The quantitative survey targeted any women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the given communities, and therefore should represent the network of this population. Although we intended to recruit young women who were under 18 years old to participate in the study, no respondent in the final achieved sample reported that their age was under 18.

Age

In total, 561 women who engaged in commercial sex participated in the quantitative survey. The youngest participant in the survey reported being 18 years old, and the oldest was 30 (the upper age limit for study eligibility). Several key informants reported that some women engaging in commercial sex were younger than 18 but stated they were older in order to participate or because the age of consent in Senegal is 18. It is impossible to verify whether participants may have misstated their age. Based on the survey findings, slightly over half of individuals engaged in commercial sex (56%) were aged between 25 and 30 years old, and 44% were aged 18 to 24 years (Table 14).

Nationality, religion, and marital status

Similar to the qualitative participants, most individuals engaged in commercial sex were born in Nigeria (73%), while 13% were from Mali and 8% were from Senegal. Six percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex were originally from Kédougou and 2% were from Dakar (Table 14).

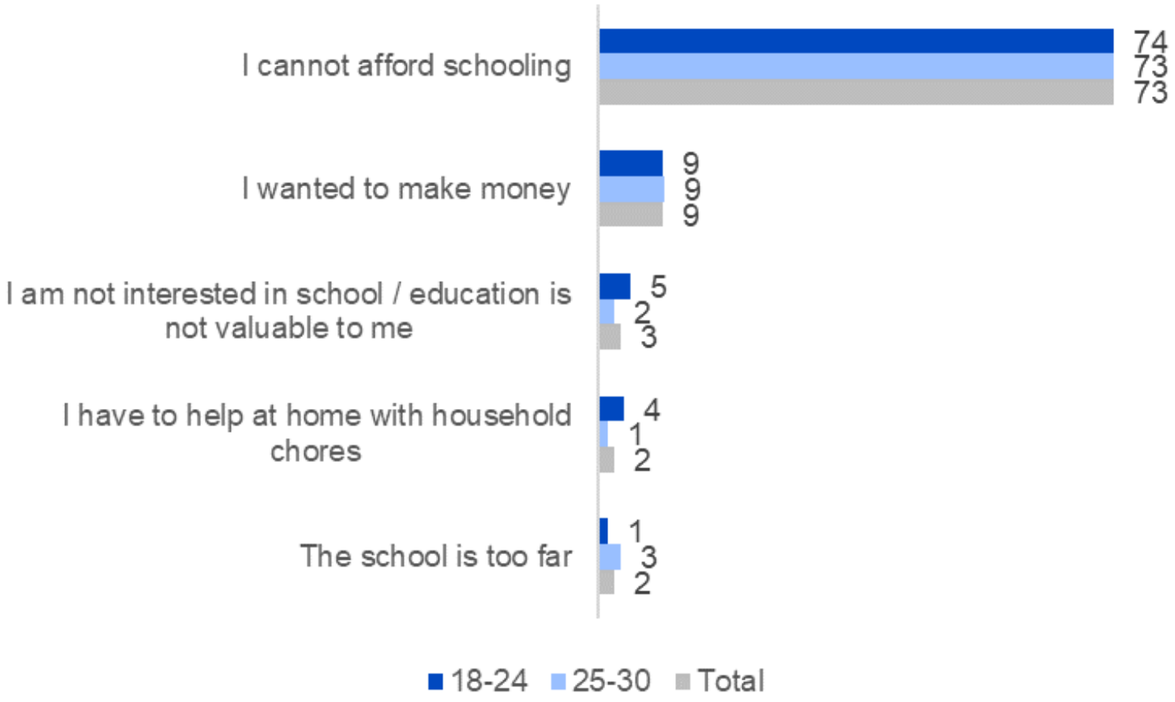
Most individuals engaged in commercial sex were Christian (89%), with the remainder being Muslim (11%). Most individuals engaged in commercial sex were single (87%) or divorced (6%), and most had at least one child (72%) (Table 14).

Education

The majority of individuals engaged in commercial sex (57%) had completed high school or a higher level of schooling, and 62% reported having basic literacy. Seventy-four percent stated they were not currently enrolled at school. Individuals engaged in commercial sex were asked about the main reason why they were not at school, although many of them were no longer of standard school age. The most common reason for not being in school, irrespective of age group, was the inability to afford it (73-74% across age groups), suggesting that many individuals engaged in commercial sex would have liked to further pursue education. Nine percent of individuals across both age groups were not enrolled due to wanting to make money (Figure 10).

Table 15 presents all reasons cited for not being enrolled in school. Figure 10 presents the top five reasons cited.

Figure 10: Top five reasons for not being enrolled at school by age group (%)



Weighted base: Respondents not currently enrolled in school (n=311).
Note: Only the top five reasons are shown (%, single response), meaning the figures do not add up to 100%

Childhood living conditions

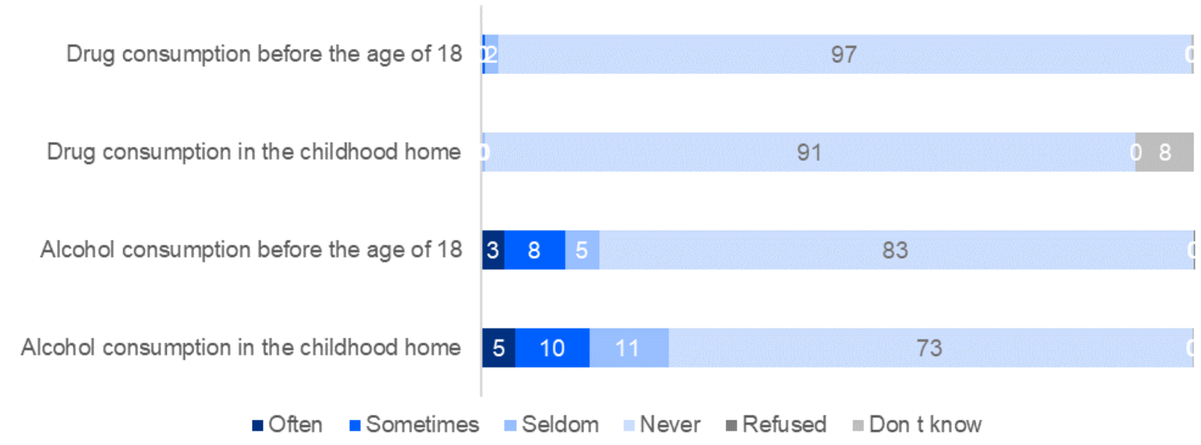
The majority of individuals engaged in commercial sex (64%) grew up with both biological parents, while 24% grew up with one biological parent. The remainder generally grew up with other relatives (11%). Four percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex had been placed in a foster home or institutional care at some point in their childhood (Table 14).

Almost half of individuals engaged in commercial sex (46%) reported going hungry at least sometimes when growing up, and 10% overall reported going hungry "often" or "very often." Most individuals engaged in commercial sex (83%) reported that their living conditions were the same or better than other households in the neighborhood, suggesting few felt worse off than their peers.

Most individuals engaged in commercial sex were not exposed to frequent alcohol or drug consumption in their childhood home, nor did they generally consume drugs or alcohol themselves before age 18. Fifteen percent reported that alcohol was often or sometimes consumed in their childhood home, and 12% reported sometimes or often consuming alcohol themselves (with most of these reporting "sometimes" on both of these indicators). Drug use was generally rare: virtually no one reported growing up among drug use, and only 2% reported ever having tried drugs. No one reported frequently using drugs as a teenager or when younger (Figure 11).

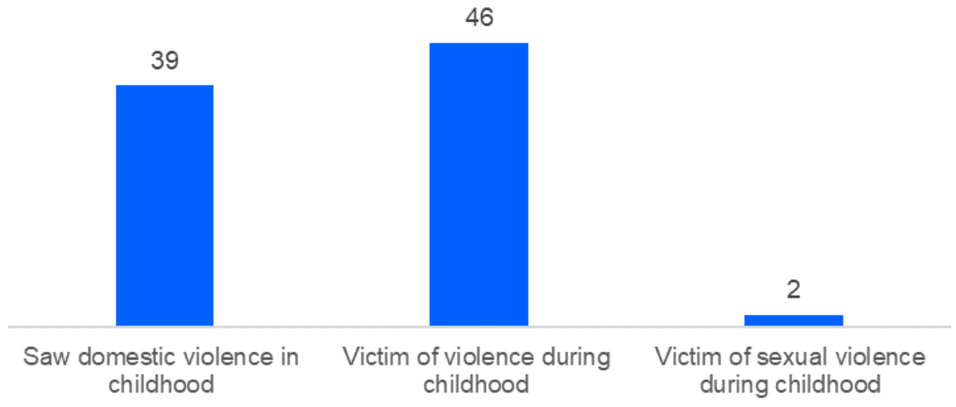
In contrast, those interviewed commonly reported experiencing domestic abuse when growing up. Nearly half (46%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex indicated that someone in their household physically abused them during their childhood, and 39% witnessed people in their household physically abuse other family members. Thirty-four percent reported both seeing and experiencing domestic abuse. However, few individuals engaged in commercial sex (2%) were victims of sexual violence during their childhood (Figure 12).

Figure 11: Alcohol and drug consumption (%)



Weighted base: Total (N=561).

Figure 12: Violence in childhood (%)



Weighted base: Saw domestic violence: N=561; Victim of violence: N=561; Victim of sexual violence: N=561.

Awareness of commercial sex

Survey respondents were further asked about their awareness of "any other individuals" engaging in commercial sex when they were younger. Most were generally unaware of commercial sex when growing up and before they themselves engaged in commercial sex: 20% were aware of any type of sex in exchange for goods, services, shelter, clothing, money, and/or financial gain from other person(s), and a broadly similar share was aware of sex in exchange for money (17%) and sex in exchange for goods, services, shelter, or clothing (15%). Fewer women were aware of sex in exchange for financial gain (6%). Almost all individuals engaged in commercial sex who were aware of any type of commercial sex when growing up knew of it from their village (72-77%) and/or neighborhood (49-66%) rather than from their own household (2-3%) (Figure 13).

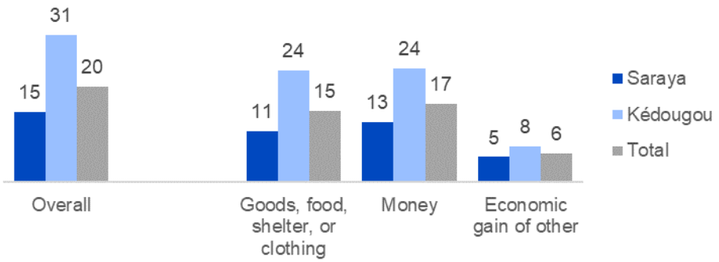


Figure 13: Childhood awareness of commercial sex (sex in exchange for goods, etc., money, or other economic gain) by department (%)

Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561

Living conditions prior to engaging in commercial sex

Slightly over half of respondents (54%) experienced one or more detrimental living conditions before engaging in commercial sex. Thirty-five percent experienced two or more and 22% experienced three or more detrimental living conditions (data not shown in Figure 14). The most common experience was living and sleeping in overcrowded rooms (31%), followed by insufficient food (31%) and sleeping in dangerous conditions (21%). Fifteen percent reported having nowhere to sleep or sleeping on the floor (Figure 14).

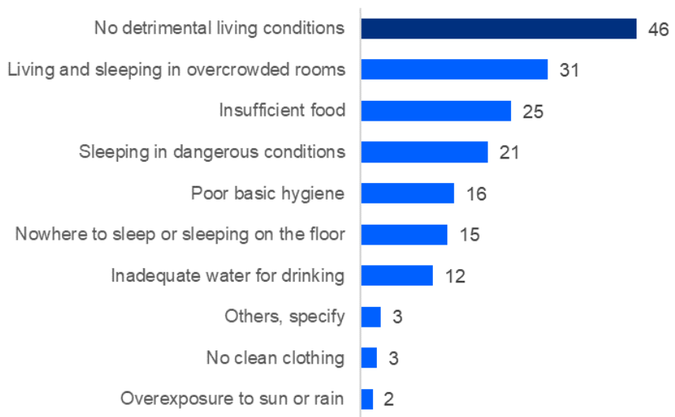


Figure 14: Living conditions before engaging in commercial sex (%, multiple response)

Weighted base: Total (N=561).

Table 14: Profile of women engaged in commercial sex

		Weighted count	Weighted % (95% CI)
Age	18-24	246	43.9 (40.1, 48)
	25-30	315	56.1 (51.7, 60.4)
Place of origin	Senegal	45	8 (5.9, 10.3)
	Kédougou	34	6 (4.1, 8)
	Dakar	11	2.1 (1.1, 3.2)
	Nigeria	412	73.5 (69.9, 77.4)
	Mali	75	13.3 (10.5, 16)
	Burkina Faso	13	2.3 (1.1, 3.6)
	Other place	16	2.8 (1.6, 4.3)
Education	Below secondary	240	42.7 (38.3, 46.9)
	Secondary and above	321	57.3 (52.9, 61.1)
Religion	Islam	62	11 (8.2, 13.6)
	Christian (Orthodox, Protestant, Catholic, etc.)	499	88.9 (86.1, 91.4)
Primary language	Igbo	167	29.9 (26.2, 33.5)
	Yoruba	138	24.5 (20.9, 27.8)
	Edo	95	16.9 (13.9, 20.1)
	Ogbia	50	8.9 (6.6, 11.2)
	Efik	43	7.7 (5.5, 10)
	Other	68	12.2 (9.5, 15)
Marital status	Single	488	87.1 (84.1, 90)
	Divorced—not remarried	32	5.7 (3.9, 7.8)
	Married	18	3.3 (1.8, 4.8)
	Widowed—not remarried	12	2.1 (1.1, 3.6)
	Separated	7	1.2 (0.4, 2.1)
	Cohabiting or living with a partner	3	0.5 (0, 1.1)
Have children	Have at least one child	404	71.9 (68.1, 75.8)
Literacy	Basic literacy	350	62.4 (58.3, 66.3)
Who lived with when growing up	Both biological parents	357	63.8 (59.7, 67.7)
	One biological parent	134	23.7 (20.1, 27.3)
	Other family members	63	11.2 (8.9, 13.9)
	As a domestic worker	5	0.9 (0.2, 1.6)
Foster home/ institutional care	Being placed in foster home/institutional care during childhood	23	4 (2.5, 5.8)

Table 15: Top 5 reasons for not being enrolled in school (%, multiple response)

	18-24	25-30	Total
	Weighted % (95% CI)	**Weighted % (95% CI)**	**Weighted % (95% CI)**
I cannot afford schooling	73.5 (66.7, 80.1)	73.3 (67.8, 78.2)	73.4 (69, 77.5)
I wanted to make money	9.2 (4.9, 13.9)	9.4 (5.7, 13.3)	9.4 (6.7, 12.3)
I am not interested in school / education is not valuable to me	4.7 (1.8, 8.2)	2.4 (0.8, 4.4)	3.3 (1.7, 5.1)
I have to help at home with household chores	3.8 (1.2, 7.1)	1.5 (0.4, 3.4)	2.5 (1.2, 4.1)
The school is too far	1.4 (0, 3.3)	3.3 (1.2, 5.9)	2.5 (1.2, 4.1)

Note: Total: n=419; age 18-24: n=179; age 25-30: n=240

3.2 PREVALENCE OF SEX TRAFFICKING

Qualitative, subjective perceptions of sex trafficking prevalence were explored among the IDI participants and the quantitative survey respondents. As stated above, the qualitative study interviewed victims and survivors of sex trafficking (among other stakeholders), whereas the survey targeted any woman engaged in commercial sex in the given age range, including trafficked women. Therefore, the results presented in the following sections do not all necessarily reflect the views of the same population.

Qualitative findings

Among the qualitative interview participants, respondents understood sex trafficking as an illicit activity involving the exploitation of human beings and forcing them to engage in commercial sex. Aggregating information shared by various victims and survivors, reports indicated that sex trafficking involves five key actors: the recruiter, the smuggler, the trafficker, the victim, and the client.

"The word trafficking, if I understand it correctly, it's like something illegal. So, in my opinion, it's an activity that people do that is not legal according to the law."

—Community health worker, Bantaco, Kédougou

Before delving into the perceived prevalence, it is worth noting the structure of sex trafficking networks. From interviews with victims and survivors, we learned that traffickers are the last level of organized networks that start with recruiters and smugglers, described in the following sections. As for the victims, they are often female and underage, according to stakeholders, and are recruited either voluntarily or by force. Finally, the clients are the users of the services offered by the individuals engaged in commercial sex.

According to the qualitative interviews, the general perception among local communities that women from other countries are in Kédougou only to voluntarily trade sex is mistaken. Victims and survivors assert that many women are forced to engage in commercial sex. They note that sex trafficking is widespread in the area and is a concern for a large category of vulnerable women who are subjected to abuse of trust.

For most of the girls and women involved in sex trafficking in the Kédougou region, recruitment was carried out through promises of professional jobs in fields such as hairdressing, catering, hotel businesses, trading, etc., and to destinations both within and outside of Africa. These young women were then forced into commercial sex when they arrived at the locations.

"Most of the [individuals engaged in commercial sex] are women between the ages of 16 and 24, and most of them come from Nigeria. Only gold mining encourages people to move to the gold areas. In these villages, one can earn a lot of money."

–Tomboulouman, Chief, Mouran, Saraya

KEY ACTORS IN SEX TRAFFICKING

"Let me tell you something. All the women here, everyone thinks they are just prostitutes; that's not true. There are women who came from abroad, the people who brought them here didn't tell them the truth. They promised them work and once here, they were forced into prostitution. And the problem is, they have no support in this country who can help them. The transporters force them into prostitution to give them money. The problem is that there is poverty in Africa. You finish your studies, and you can't find a job. I went to university for four years, and I didn't get a job."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Samarambougou, Saraya

Qualitative interviews indicate that the presence of gold mining activities attracts many immigrants of different nationalities to a region that borders several countries. Key informants described that sex trafficking activities are thought to be most prevalent in Sambaranbougou, Tenkoto, Bantaco, Khossanto, Karakhéna, Mouran, Kolia, Diyabougou, Samécouta, Moussala, and Bambaraya, all of which have traditional gold mining sites locally called "diouras." There is generally significant circulation of money at these sites. Additionally, gold mining remains a male-dominated sector, with perceptions related to impurity such as that of "to find gold you have to be soiled." The desperation to find gold facilitates these beliefs, which respondents view as fueling sex trafficking.

"In the Kédougou region, I can tell you that if you look at the large gold mining sites like Mouran, whether in Kharakhéna or Sambaranbougou or Bantaco … in these villages, sex trafficking is more prevalent."

–Key informant, Mouran, Saraya

"In the sites, there are many men, and most do not bring their wives. The men cannot stay without having sex. Many of them will also have money, because in the 'diouras' there are people who have a lot of money."

–Local administration, Kharakhena, Saraya

Quantitative findings

Prevalence estimates of sex trafficking based on the weighted quantitative survey data using the Volz-Heckathorn weighting scheme for RDS were derived based on the definition outlined in Section 2.2.1, which states that sex trafficking is a commercial sex act induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age. Based on this definition and the data collected in the quantitative survey, 19% (n=457) of individuals engaged in commercial sex in the Kédougou region are victims of sex trafficking. The most common driver of sex trafficking is force, fraud or coercion, which 16% (n=90) of respondents overall reported in the Kédougou region.

Sex trafficking is more common in the Kédougou department (30%, n=55) compared to the Saraya department (13%, n=49) (p<0.00) (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Prevalence of sex trafficking by department (%)

N=561.

The proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who are victims of sex trafficking is similar across the two age groups (20%, n=62 among 25-30-year-olds; 17%, n=41 under 25-year-olds).

Estimating the total size of the target population and the number of victims

Based on assumptions about the sampling approach in RDS, specifically that individuals are recruited without replacement and with probability proportional to their network degree, it is possible to estimate the size of the target population using Successive Sampling–population size estimation, which is a Bayesian approach where successive sampling is assumed (Handcock et al. 2014, 2015). The percentiles of the posterior distribution are provided in Table 16. As we lacked prior information for individuals engaged in commercial sex in Kédougou region, a prior mode of twice the sample size was used in the model, which is the default setting in RDS Analyst when no prior information about the population size is specified. In order to test the robustness of the estimate, we further tried the prior mode as 900, 1000, 1200, 1300, and 2000. Those results were similar to those yielded by using twice the sample size, with the median for those values ranging between 1382 and 1588.

Using such estimation techniques, the median of the posterior estimates suggests that the total population of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the Kédougou region is about 1,500 (Table 16). Combined with the estimate above of sex trafficking (19%), we can derive that there are about 280 current female victims of sex trafficking aged 18-30 in the Kédougou region mining communities.

The demographic profile of victims of sex trafficking differed somewhat from that of individuals engaged in commercial sex who were not victims. In this section we also include the number of individuals in the sample as well as the percentage.

A slightly larger proportion of victims than non-victims were Senegalese (13% [n=13] vs. 7% [n=32], respectively, p=0.01) (Table 17). Victims were also marginally more likely to be older (60% of victims were aged 25-30 (n=62), compared to 55% of non-victims (n=253), p=1).

A large majority of both victims and non-victims were single (85% [n=88] vs. 87% [n=400], respectively, p=0.69).

The results show that certain risk factors are associated with becoming a victim of sex trafficking. Most notably, a much larger proportion of women who were victims of sexual violence in childhood were victims of sex trafficking compared to non-victims of sexual violence (69% [n=14] vs. 17% [n=547], respectively, p=0.01). Awareness of other individuals engaging in commercial or transactional sex[18] is a further risk factor for becoming a victim of sex trafficking.

For example, 34% (n=29) of those who were aware of sex in exchange for goods or food (n=84) were victims of sex trafficking, compared to 16% of those who did not have such awareness (n=477), p<0.00). Similar trends are seen for awareness of sex in exchange for financial gain or money. Having frequently gone hungry in childhood is another factor associated with becoming a victim of sex trafficking (33% (n=57) among those who often/sometimes went hungry vs. 17% (n=504) among those who did not, p<0.00).

There is a less notable difference in the proportion of women engaging in commercial sex who are sex trafficking victims when comparing women who were victims of domestic violence and/or observed other members of the household being physically abused with those who did not have such experiences: 22% of women who were victims of domestic violence were also victims of sex trafficking (n=255) vs. 15% of women who were not victims of domestic violence (n=306), p=0.03).

In contrast, there was no notable difference in the proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who were victims of sex trafficking by educational attainment, growing up without two biological parents, or alcohol consumption before age 18 (Figure 16).

[18] *Respondents were asked about awareness of 'any other individual' engaging in commercial sex. In a subsequent question, respondents were asked whether these individual(s) were in the respondent's household, village, or community.*

Table 16: Population size estimation of individuals engaged in commercial sex in the Kédougou region

	Mean	Median	Mode	25%	75%	90%	2.5%	97.5%
Prior	3618	2400	1122	1432	4568	8270	781	13160
Posterior	1569	1488	1378	1284	1771	2101	985	2651

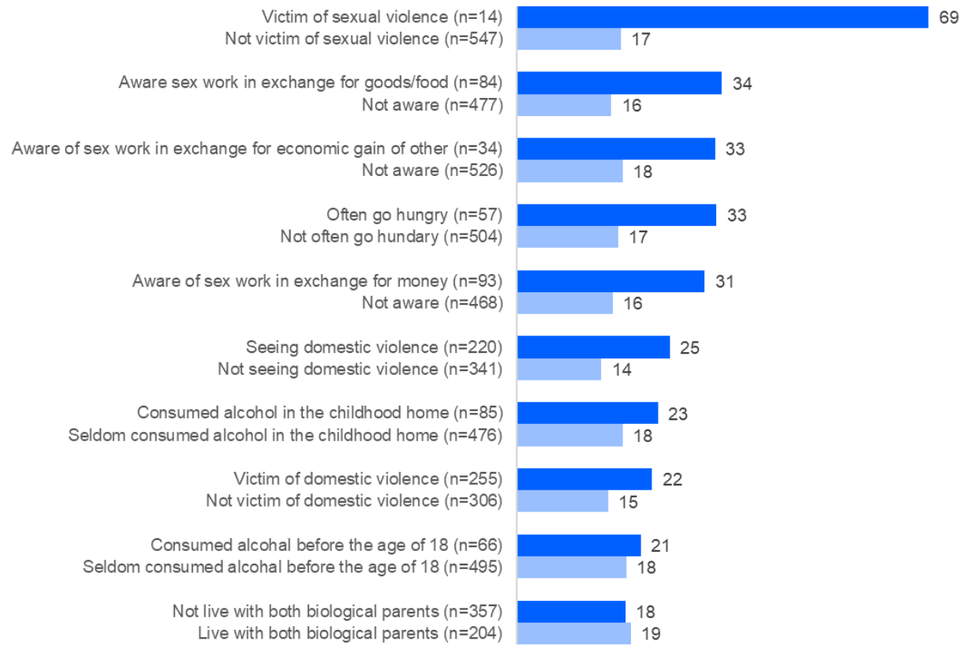
Profile of victims of sex trafficking

Table 17: Demographics of the victims of sex trafficking

		Victims of sex trafficking (n=104) %(n)	Non-victims (n=457) %(n)
Age (%)	18-24	40(41)	45(204)
	25-30	60(62)	55(253)
Place of origin (%)	Senegal	%(n)	7(32)
	Kédougou	9(9)	5(25)
	Dakar	4(4)	2(8)
	Nigeria	68(70)	75(342)
	Mali	12(13)	14(62)
	Burkina Faso	1(1)	3(12)
	Other place	7(7)	2(9)
Marital status (%)	Single	85(88)	87(400)
	Divorced—not re-married	9(9)	5(23)
	Married	1(1)	4(17)
	Widowed—not re-married	2(2)	2(10)
	Separated	3(3)	1(4)
	Cohabiting or living with a partner	0(0)	1(3)
Have children (%)	Have at least one child	68(70)	73(333)

Risk factors associated with being a victim of sex trafficking

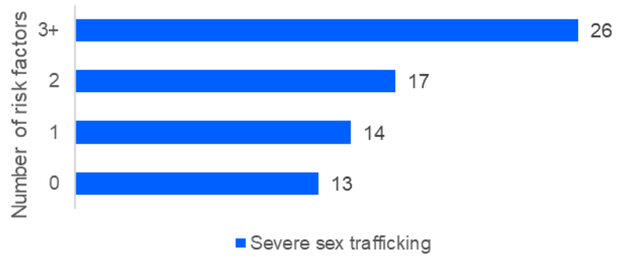
Figure 16: Proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who are victims of sex trafficking by risk factor (%)



Out of the 10 childhood risk factors that respondents were asked about (listed in Figure 16), 42% (n=238) experienced one or two risk factors, 36% (n=200) experienced three or more risk factors, and 22% (n=123) experienced none of them.

There is a clear association between the number of risk factors and being a victim of sex trafficking: among individuals engaged in commercial sex who experienced three or more childhood risk factors, 26% (n=52) were victims of sex trafficking, whereas 13% (n=16) of individuals engaged in commercial sex with none of the specified risk factors were victims of sex trafficking. However, most individuals engaged in commercial sex who experienced multiple risk factors were not victims of sex trafficking (Figure 17).

Figure 17: Sex trafficking by number of risk factors in childhood (% who are victims)



Weighted base: 3+ risk factors: n=199; 2 risk factors: n=109; 1 risk factor: n=130; 0 risk factors: n=123.

Victims of sex trafficking experienced more risk factors in childhood compared to other individuals engaged in commercial sex: 50% (n=52) of victims of sex trafficking experienced at least three risk factors vs. 32% (n=148) of individuals engaged in commercial sex who were not victims. Therefore, while many individuals engaged in commercial sex faced three or more risk factors, there was a higher proportion of these women among those who were victims of sex trafficking.

To determine which factors are associated with being a victim of sex trafficking while adjusting for other factors, logistic regression analysis was carried out with the dependent variable being victimhood (1) / no victimhood (0), using forward stepwise selection. The variables that were tested in the regression model and the adjusted coefficients are shown in Table 18a (final model) and Table 18b (excluded variables).

The results show that among the risk factors tested in the model, being a victim of sexual violence and often going hungry in childhood are the two statistically significant predictors of being a victim of sex trafficking ($p<0.1$), controlling for the other factors. Being a victim of sexual violence in childhood increases the odds ratio of becoming a victim of sex trafficking by a factor of 8.8, whereas very often/often going hungry in childhood increases the odds ratio of becoming a victim of sex trafficking by a factor of 2.1. The other factors, such as being a victim of domestic violence or being aware of commercial sex, are not statistically significant at the 5% level once the other factors are taken into account. Moreover, age group and nationality are not statistically significant at the 5% level. Additionally, the interaction effect between the variables "Saw domestic violence" and "Experience of domestic violence" was also tested in the model, but not found to be statistically significant at the 5% level. Other interaction effects were not tested.

The Adjusted R2 value (Adjusted R2=0.038) suggests the model has low explanatory power, which may be expected given that many factors not captured in the data are also likely to play a role.

Table 18: Logistic regression model: Variables tested and final model

a. Final model

Dependent variable: victim of sex trafficking (1=Yes, 0=No)	Odds ratio	Std. Error	t-value	P-value	Sig.
(Intercept)	0.1911	0.1398	-11.840	0.0000	***
Experience of sexual violence (yes)	8.8445	0.6622	3.292	0.0011	**
Food condition in childhood: Very often/ often went hungry	2.1054	0.3402	2.188	0.0291	*

*Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1*
Model diagnostics: R2=0.041, Adjusted R2=0.038, Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test: p<0.000 (indicating poor fit)

b. Variables tested in the logistic regression model, which were not statistically significant at the 5% level (excluded from the final model)

Variable
Growing up with one biological parent/Other (yes)
Saw domestic violence (yes)
Aware of commercial sex in exchange for goods/foods (yes)
Aware of commercial sex in exchange for money (yes)
Aware of commercial sex in exchange for economic gain of other (yes)
Alcohol consumption in childhood home: Often/sometimes
Alcohol consumption before age 18: Often/sometimes
Saw domestic violence (yes) * Experience of domestic violence (yes)
Age group (18-24 and 25-30)
Nationality (Senegalese, Nigerian, Other)

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRAFFICKING HOTSPOTS

The findings in this section come from the qualitative interviews.

Based on observations by the research team, as well as the interviews with victims and survivors, in addition to gold mining, economic activity in gold mining areas revolves around food catering, hairdressing, bars, and prostitution. In this context, opinion leaders, e.g., village chiefs and Tomboulouman chiefs (local security guardians) describe that adolescent boys often drop out of school to become involved in gold mining, while adolescent girls often voluntarily turn to engaging in commercial sex in the absence of other job opportunities to improve their living conditions. The qualitative findings suggest that poverty led some married women to secretly engage in commercial sex in these areas.

"In general, things are linked to each other because poverty can lead to many practices. You can't turn a blind eye to that. If your neighbor's children are in the gold mining sites and, by chance, they have succeeded, you want your children to succeed at all costs, even if it means taking them out of school. When these children drop out of school, and girls are the victims, they will use the power of charm to get into these areas. After that, they are covered with gifts, what will they do, especially when they are poor? Their being poor can be the basis of all this, especially if they want to get out of poverty quickly and no other way out has been found than to go into this gold mining and clandestine prostitution, which is unregulated, they will do it. ... In any case, I want to sound the alarm, because whatever one may say, it is starting to grow, because many drop out of school ... in the families the children all go to this gold mining because they want to succeed quickly. ... Seeing that our young girls are being exploited in this system to dramatic results. Very early on, they get involved in things that even adults don't think to get involved in."

–Pastor, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"The contributing factor is vulnerability ... when there is poverty, the person cannot stay at home, she will go and find something to survive."

–Community worker, Kédougou

Key informants including stakeholders, victims, and survivors reported that gold mining in its traditional form is also associated with a set of magico-religious beliefs in these locations, including that of the relationship between gold and "impurity."

Some shared that defilement is desired by the mine workers because it is believed by them to attract good luck. By defilement, they mainly mean having sex with various partners, especially when they are young, and thus having a better chance of finding gold. This misconception is associated with the hiring of individuals engaged in commercial sex. Other magico-religious conceptions relate to charlatans who claim to have the ability to cast spells and drive a person mad. As soon as victims of trafficking arrive in Kédougou, they are made to swear before these charlatans that they will not run away or else they will go crazy.

"There is also a lot of information coming from charlatans or fetishists who push people to defile themselves. Moreover, this is what leads them to resort to disordered sexuality to obtain gold."

–Local leader, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"Traditional gold mining goes hand in hand with sex trafficking. It seems that practically you have to be defiled in any case to have the chance to find gold, that's something that's in their [mine workers'] subconscious. They strongly believe in this, that's why these sex trafficking practices continue."

–Local leader, regional level, Kédougou

The traditional gold mining areas, or diouras, are described as very insecure areas by key informants, victims, and survivors. Because of the large amounts of money that flow through these areas, criminal acts such as robberies, attacks, and other forms of aggression are very common, despite the community security mechanisms developed by the Tombouloumans.[19] In this environment, victims of sex trafficking therefore risk being exposed to violence, with several victims and survivors reporting experiences of physical aggression and robbery.

Individuals engaged in commercial sex report that violence is sometimes perpetrated on them by their clients. Victims may be physically assaulted by clients who refuse to pay them. Victims often live in houses of poor quality, which makes them vulnerable. For example, their houses are often made of straw—a construction called "niafa,"[20] to designate an unimportant place, an occasional dormitory—which can easily be burnt if they have a conflict with a client. More substantial housing leads to better security but also requires more means.

"In the mining villages it is even more dangerous, because there are people who lose their lives because of [commercial sex]. At the same time, in these places you don't have the phone number of the gendarmerie, the police, they can kill you because no one will save your life"

–Victim, 26 years old, Kédougou

[19] *These are local security leaders, appointed by community members. They communicate with the security forces, informing them of outbreaks of tension and other types of insecurity that occur in their areas.*

[20] *Makeshift huts where they work.*

"There was a fire once. All my clothes, all my stuff was burnt, and nothing came out, even my phone. And there, I built a hard room because, before the fire, I had a straw room. There was an old man who lived here, and I had entrusted him with more than 2 million CFA. After the fire, I came to ask the old man for my money, but he didn't give it to me. ... There were two successive fires, and each time I asked for my money, and the old man didn't give me anything. I understood that he used my money for his needs and never paid me. He left the village, and I heard that he died."

–Victim, 28 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"There are many gangsters who disturb peace in Kédougou. There are thieves who enter our houses. There are people who have killed someone here. Even on the road, there are many accidents."

–Survivor, 25 years old, Kédougou

"With the clients, we have problems, and often they beat us when they refuse to pay us because they say they have not ejaculated. Sometimes they are aggressive. It hurts, but we can't fight them. If we go to the police, they don't find him there. He runs away. ... People like that, you don't want to have problems with them. If it's in Bantaco village, they will set fire to your room to kill you ... because room are "niafa;" it's not hard. Even in Kharakhena, it's the same. When you come back to sleep, they will burn the house ... because it is built with straw, so it catches fire quickly."

–Victim, 25 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

3.4 RECRUITMENT INTO SEX TRAFFICKING

Qualitative findings

Deceptive recruitment and voluntary engagement in commercial sex

Based on the qualitative data, we can discern two profiles of victims and survivors of sex trafficking: victims of organized sex trafficking networks, and women who were involved in commercial sex due to poverty and lack of opportunity. For the latter category, the extent to which their engagement is voluntary is debatable, since victims and survivors involved reported that even if they knew they were coming to Senegal to engage in commercial sex, they did not know that they were going to do so under restrictive conditions such as confiscation of identification documents, incurring debt they had to pay back in full before they could be free, the restriction of contact with other women under the trafficker's responsibility, and the restriction of telephone calls to prevent the women from running away to work for themselves. It is important to distinguish between the two profiles before proceeding with the analysis.

Victims of sex trafficking (n=44)

Among respondents interviewed for this study, 44 were survivors and victims who had experienced recruitment into sex trafficking through an intermediary who had promised them employment in the destination area.

"When I left my country, I told my mom I was going to do hairdressing because that's what my employer told me. What he told me was different from what I am doing now."

–Victim, 23 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

"There was a woman who brought us back from Nigeria. She said that there was a lot of work in Kédougou. We took the bus to the border, and then we took motorcycles to get to the "dioura." It's

only when you arrive that you know you're going to be doing prostitution. When night falls, she tells you to go and look for clients. On my first day, I cried a lot because I had a client. I told the lady that I don't want this job, but she told me that if I leave, she will kill me."

–Victim, 20 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

In Kédougou, it was noted by victims, survivors, and other stakeholders alike that individuals engaged in commercial sex are often Nigerian nationals. While other nationalities are also involved, they are not mentioned when local leaders talk about commercial sex in the region. Moreover, most of the experiences reported by Nigerian victims and survivors mention this deception of jobs promised upon arrival in Senegal.

"Yes, it [sex trafficking] exists, but I have not heard of Burkinabes, but rather Nigerian women who have been brought here and forced into commercial sex. And very often, they are told that there are companies recruiting in Senegal. Moreover, we find students who have been asked to come and work during the vacations to prepare for the school year. These girls arrived in Senegal and realized that all these promises were lies, and if they did not do the work they were asked to do, they were sometimes beaten by the traffickers. They also never come out and say that they have problems. It is only by approaching them that we manage to identify the problems they have."

–Community health worker, Tenkoto, Saraya

"When I was in Nigeria, I saw my friends working in Senegal, Mali, Burkina who have a lot of money. I thought they were doing an honorable job to earn money. So I talked to one of them and told her that I wanted to travel too. She put me in touch with a female trafficker who brought me here to Senegal. She gave me a box of condoms and a flashlight to [engage in commercial sex]. That day I cried a lot. She had taken all my papers, and there was nothing I could do but stay and do the work she had asked me to do."

–Victim, 25 years old, Kédougou

Forced engagement in commercial sex due to structural poverty (n=24)

Within this category of respondents, some subgroups can be identified:

Girls/women who decided to engage in commercial sex due to lack of employment opportunities (n=13): This group was composed of girls/women who arrived in Kédougou with a different employment aspiration and ended up in commercial sex due to a lack of employment opportunities. Victims and survivors in this category reported that they were influenced by the image of success conveyed by girls/women returning to their home communities, though, to preserve their own image within the community, these returnees did not always tell the girls/women about the kinds of activities they were engaged in.

Once in Kédougou, these girls/women often experienced challenges in accessing employment, including language barriers, if engaged in certain types of activities like housekeeping. In such situations, commercial sex becomes the alternative out of a need to survive. Some of our interviews with victims and survivors illustrated how some girls thought they could have the same material possessions that their neighbors working in Senegal had when they came back to their country of origin on vacation (smartphones, wigs, clothes). By wanting to come to work in Senegal, they found themselves involved in prostitution after finding no other employment opportunities.

"I came here because of my friends who came back to the village with clothes and phones. I wanted to have the same things as them, that's why I came here. That's what got me into this situation. One of them told me that she works in a restaurant and that she earns a lot of money. I knew she had left because of a woman who had come to the village. When I met a woman who told me about working in a store in Dubai, I was so excited. If I knew..."

–Victim, 26 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"[Commercial sex] is not good. I don't like it, but since I didn't have any money, I did not have another opportunity to earn money, that's why I did this job. I wanted to survive, have money to eat and send money to my parents to take care of my child."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Kharakhena, Saraya

"I have a child, my father could feed me, but he was not happy that I had a child. When we prepare food at home, if I am there, I can eat, but if I go out, [neither] my child nor I will eat. If I get sick, or my child, I take care of the expenses, and this is what pushed me to leave the family home and come to the gold mining sites to look for money, and I ended up in the sex trade."

–Victim, 26 years old, Kolia, Saraya

Victims and survivors who were attracted by the profits generated by commercial sex (n=11): Women in this category were aware and informed of the types of activities they would be engaged in upon arrival in Kédougou. For members of this category, the socio-economic vulnerability of their family in the country of origin largely explains their decision to engage in commercial sex to support the family. In addition, there is a lack of professional opportunities in the locality of origin. This combination of unfavorable circumstances is, for the victims and survivors of trafficking, the driver of earning money through commercial sex.

"My husband died, leaving me alone with my baby. I am tired. If I don't do this job, my baby and my mom will have nothing to live on. I come from a family of eight children, and all seven of them are dead, as is my father."

–Victim, 29 years old, Bantaco, Saraya

It is important to distinguish these individuals who were aware of their entry into commercial sex from those who are engaged in a structured system of trafficking involving intermediaries who organized their transportation to Kédougou. Unlike the victims whose trust is abused and who are often minors when they arrive in Kédougou (6 of the victims and 8 of the survivors were minors when they engaged into sex trafficking), these individuals who have decided to engage in commercial sex by their own account are adults.

It is true, however, that both groups—victims and survivors of sex trafficking as well as women voluntarily engaged in commercial sex—reported experiencing economic conditions (i.e., lack of employment opportunities) and social conditions (i.e., the weakening of social ties) that contributed to their involvement in commercial sex. Even if this second group is not exploited by a third party, some women may still consider themselves as being "trafficked" because of the conditions of socio-economic vulnerability in which they live. These victims and survivors mentioned that they were not "forced" to engage in commercial sex in order to survive, but in Kédougou, they had to live under the responsibility of someone in order to avoid conflicts with the traffickers who owned or ran most of the bars and living areas ("niafa") in order to be able to find lodging and/or frequent the bars in search of clients.

Victims and survivors reported that looking for accommodation is not without consequences, because it leads women who have voluntarily decided to work in commercial sex into a situation of trafficking. As soon as they stay in the niafas, they are obliged to submit to the rules imposed by the chief of the place, i.e., the restriction of telephone calls, the confiscation of identification documents, and the surveillance of movements in the village to limit the risks of escape.

"The people who house us scare us, they intimidate us by saying: you have to work and give money 1,000,000 or 1,500,000 CFA. You work in prostitution to pay this amount so that you are free. Then you can work for yourself."

–Victim, 22 years old, Sambarambougou, Saraya

"Ah I didn't start working here, I did it long before. I wanted to come to Senegal because I was told that it is better paid here. I took the bus to come to Kédougou, I went through Mali. When I arrived, I had to find a place to stay. ... I had to stay in a niafa to hang out with the people in the bar, but she was watching me, took my papers. It's too hard here."

–Victim, 25 years old, Tenkoto, Saraya

Processes of recruitment into sex trafficking
Respondents shared that recruitment is organized by the traffickers and consists of two approaches. The first consists of targeting girls/women aged 12 and over[21]. with whom the couriers[22] may or may not have ties, and offering them employment in destination areas in Africa (Senegal, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire) or outside Africa (France, Dubai, etc.).

[21] *According to victims, survivors, and some stakeholders, the younger victims are believed to be more attractive to clients.*
[22] *Couriers work for traffickers; they are only responsible for transporting the victims from their country of origin to Kédougou. They are also considered as traffickers since they are part of the transaction.*

In some cases, the couriers manipulate their victims by asking them not to inform their families, who may oppose their plans, so as not to hinder the success of the trip. In practice, these girls/women and their families are victims of abuse of trust by the couriers insofar as the professional activities proposed and those that actually exist are very different.

"The woman who brought me here knows my aunt and uncle. She went to tell my aunt that there is a store in Dubai to sell clothes. I couldn't imagine that this was the kind of work she came to get me for. ... This work is not worthy of me ... unfortunately, I was tricked, and I am left to my own devices, so I am forced to do it. I have never done such a job in Nigeria. All I knew how to do was braid. I am not a child, and yet this woman got me easily (crying)."

–Victim, 25 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"The lady (courier) had asked me to come and help her with some housework in her house and that she would pay me 30,000 FCFA per month. I accepted. And when I came, and she told me that it is [commercial sex] that I have to do, I was very angry because she lied to me, even though I know her well. Someone who is close to you and knows you is the person who will kill you without you knowing it. The lady threatened to take me to the marabouts to hurt me. As a result, I was forced to accept to [engage in commercial sex]."

–Victim, 23 years old, Bantaco, Kédougou

"It was a woman that I met on the road; she asked me first my name I answered her. Then she asked me if I wanted to travel? I told her yes, she told me that she had a great restaurant in Senegal. However, my parents should not know about this; otherwise, they will not give me their agreement. When I agreed, she got my travel papers back and let me know that I had to reimburse her for the transportation she had paid for me. It was a lose-lose situation because she doesn't even have a restaurant here. The case is that I have to do what others do to get by because I have to give her money back."

–Victim, 23 years old, Tenkoto, Kédougou

Victims and survivors we interviewed shared that young girls and women often accept the (false) employment opportunities offered to them by couriers, who generally target girls/women in vulnerable situations. As mentioned above, job opportunities such as catering, hotel services, and hairdressing are frequently used as bait to gain the trust of parents and victims. It is only upon arrival at their destination that they are informed that they will actually be engaged in commercial sex. In addition, couriers may commit to pre-finance the cost of the trip as well as the accommodation costs (clothing, lodging, food, etc.), estimated to be between 1 and 2 million CFA francs.

However, victims are then asked to reimburse traffickers for these expenses with the income they earn. Data from the interviews suggests that it can often take a year for the victim to pay back the money for transportation, depending on the gold mining activity in the area. Key informants also shared that in more active mining areas, when there are more men, individuals engaged in commercial sex have many clients and can therefore pay the money back quicker. Hence, victims often move with their managers from one locality to another depending on the intensity of gold mining activity.

"She had taken me to Nigeria, she told me that I had to go and work in Mali in a bar, once in Mali, she asked me to work in order to pay her back 1,500,000 CFA francs. When I was in Nigeria, I was poor, as she told me that she wanted to help me that's why I accepted to come, but I didn't know that it was to do this job."

–Victim, 26 years old, Tenkoto, Kédougou

"When I finished my third year of university, I wanted to work, but I had trouble finding a job in Nigeria. It was afterward that I was told to come here and work with white people. That's why I decided to come here, but unfortunately, when I came here, I was forced to [engage in commercial sex]. ... When I left Nigeria after my graduation to come here, I was told that I had to pay a million for my freedom and that I had to [engage in commercial sex] to pay for my transportation money, my food, and my care. Then I started doing [commercial sex]. Even though I didn't want to, I didn't have anything, and I didn't know anyone who could help me ... they told me to [engage in commercial sex] by force, and if I didn't do it, I wouldn't eat or sleep, and no one could house me. That's why I started doing this."

–Survivor, 24 years old, Kédougou

Victims and survivors shared that a second approach recruiters use is to identify very poor girls/women and propose opportunities for commercial sex.

Without any hope of alternative work, some victims agree to be recruited by couriers who arrange for them to be transported to destination areas where they will work for a period of time in order to reimburse the courier's expenses.

"She [the courier] told me she's going to travel, I said yes, I'll follow you. She told

me that she was looking for [individuals engaged in commercial sex]. I said, okay, there is no problem, I am looking for money."

–Survivor, 24 years old, Mouran, Saraya

"There are some who know even before they leave their countries of the job they will do here, and yet they come anyway."

–Victim, 28 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"The [commercial sex], I was doing it because of the living conditions and I had no one to help me, and I'm not going to steal. I was forced to do this so that I could have something to eat and send money to my parents."

–Victim, 22 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

Characteristics of recruiters and intermediaries

Interview data suggests that sex trafficking activities are organized by various actors playing their respective roles. First, there are the recruiters who identify girls/women and enlist them according to the approaches described above.

Qualitative interviews with some key informants showed that recruiters are often former victims, who, after leaving the trafficking situation, engage in the same occupation sector they have mastered the mechanics of.

They therefore go to villages to identify girls/women with typical profiles: those living in challenging social conditions, who have dropped out of school, with precarious financial conditions in their households, divorced, with children, who are vulnerable from a general point of view, and who are easy to attract with a promise of employment.

"These are the people, they are from the same country because all the victims I spoke with are Nigerian and they come to explain their problems to us, and usually it is their Nigerian peers who are also former victims who make them do this work."

–Health worker, Head Nurse, Kharakhéna, Saraya

Second, there is the role of recruiters who are pre-positioned in various cities where a transaction is organized between recruiters to move victims to their destination. This is a transaction from recruiter to recruiter, from one location to another: When the recruiter arrives at point A, he leaves the [trafficked] recruits with another recruiter who will take them to location B and leave them with someone else, until they arrive in Kédougou.

The qualitative study findings are not very explicit on the modalities of these transactions, as they do not involve the stakeholders we interviewed. However, when looking at victims' and survivors' experiences, it is possible to understand that transactions link recruiters to the persons respondents called "representatives" or "employers," who are actually traffickers who put the victims to work in the exploitation zones.

"When our father passed away, my mother was all alone with us, with no job, and we had no food to eat, and over there in Nigeria, it's not easy to find a job. So, I stopped studying because I am the older child, then I told one of my friends that I wanted to work to see if he could help me find a job to help my family. He told me that here in Senegal, there are companies that work in gold mining, and if I come, I will prepare food for them, and they will pay me. So, I accepted and left the country, very happy. Then I went with him to Cotonou. There he told me that he had to go back to Nigeria but that I could go on with another guy he had introduced me to in Cotonou and that he would help me when I got to Senegal. I said okay, then I continued with the guy. He took me to Burkina, and then we arrived in Dakar. Then he left me with a woman, and it was this woman who brought me here to Kolia and told me that I owed her money, and I had to do [commercial sex] to pay her, and then I would be free to do what I wanted."

–Survivor, 23 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"When my father married his second wife, he abandoned my family. He didn't give us anything to eat, and it was then that I decided to leave Nigeria to come to Senegal and find a job to support my family. That's when I told a friend who lived next door to us named Z., who offered to help me come here and find a job. Then he put me in the car going to Lagos and called the guy who traffics in people named O., in Cotonou, and gave him my number. The latter came to pick me up in Lagos, in the middle of the bush, to take me to Cotonou. He put me in a car and took me to Mali. I was with another girl in the vehicle. When we arrived in Burkina Faso, they put us up in a hotel, but they had problems with the police. They negotiated until they let us go, and we went to Mali. When we arrived in Mali, we were handed over to another guy. We stayed with him for three days, and then we were put in a car to take us to Senegal. Here we found a lady in a village I don't know, and she took us directly to Dakar. There we ate and washed, and she took us to Juha again. It was there that she forced us to prostitute ourselves."

–Survivor, 18 years old, Kédougou

"The woman who took me from Nigeria did not bring me directly to Senegal. When I arrived in Cotonou, she sold me to someone else. It is this person who brought me to Senegal, and I work for her. To claim my freedom, I will have to pay her back 1,500,000 CFA."

–Victim, 25 years old, Kolia, Saraya

Another prominent category of actors are the traffickers—also called "bosses" or "representatives" by the victims and survivors of sex trafficking interviewed—who organize the commercial sex business at the local level. Mostly women, these actors are in charge during the period of trafficking (the time during which the victim has to work to pay back the expenses incurred for food, housing, clothing, etc.). The traffickers are also in charge of guaranteeing the safety of the victims, as they become their "families" in the destination areas.

Itineraries and processes

Victims and survivors describe that, the couriers use various land routes, depending on the country of origin, to transport the victims. The "rabatteurs" (couriers) make victims travel from point to point, often navigating complex multi-country journeys and changing hands several times before they get to their destination.

If we look at the itinerary of the Nigerian victims who we spoke with, the trip to Kédougou is organized by people positioned at the crossing points. From Nigeria to Kédougou, we can identify two main routes:

- Itinerary 1: Lagos (Nigeria) – Cotonou (Benin) – Lomé (Togo) – Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) – Bamako (Mali) – Kédougou (Senegal)
- Itinerary 2: Lagos (Nigeria) – Niamey (Niger) – Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) – Bamako (Mali) – Kédougou (Senegal)

Respondents describe that at each stop, recruiters are responsible for moving the victims from one town to another, using ruses to make them travel clandestinely. For minors, for example, travel documents are forged to make them appear to have reached the legal age for commercial sex once they arrive in Senegal, and to falsely indicate a family link with the courier to justify the movement of minors. Respondents reported that the forging of travel documents often happens in Mali. Smugglers are involved at the document forgery stage with the complicity of people described by the victims and survivors as judicial authorities or members of the police.

"Someone told me that there is work here and I told him to help me come. We went to Cotonou, and I stayed there for three days. Then he left me with someone else who called a woman who took me to Burkina, then to Mali, and finally, to Senegal. I don't know this woman who, in turn, left me with another woman in Mouran and it was there that I was told that I had to [engage in commercial sex]."

–Victim, 24 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"I know a network of [individuals engaged in commercial sex] who are foreigners, and I know that they are very, very well organized, and even we (CRJ) have difficulty identifying them because it is a network that is very powerful. I even know a multinational criminal network, they come from Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali."

–Civil Society, Regional organization, Kédougou

Some respondents reported that their stopover at Mali was where they began to engage in commercial sex to prepare them for the "job." For others, it is only at the final destination that they are informed of the type of activity they have to perform. This often happens in the commune of Djidian, located in the region of Kayes (Mali) at a distance of 394.7 km, or about 8 hours and 30 minutes of travel by car, from the region of Kédougou (Senegal). Like Kédougou, the commune of Djidian is described in the literature (Sissoko et al., 2019) as a gold-bearing area and, therefore, conducive to sex trafficking activities. Victims and survivors described it as a transit point between the areas of origin of trafficking victims and certain destinations such as the Kédougou region.

In addition, transactions between couriers and traffickers in Kédougou take place at the commune of Djidian. Victims and survivors reported that they feel like they are sold like slaves to "employers" and pay back their debit with sexual exploitation.

"Most of the Nigerian girls brought to Senegal come from Djidian (Mali). They are housed there, and if you need their services, you go there to buy girls. That's how the trafficking is done. Not everyone travels to Nigeria to look for the girls. They are already in Djidian. For example, if I have some money, I can go to Nigeria to buy 20 girls and bring them to Djidian. If I have a client, he gives me the money, which can be between 400,000 and 500,000 CFA for each girl. I sell him the girl. As soon as I sell him the girl, he becomes the new boss, and he can do with her what he wants or take her where he wants. She will work for him until she pays his money. They are minors who are sold. But I don't know more, and I only hear that there is a corner, Djidian, where they drop off the girls from Nigeria. That's where people go to buy the girls with their money to come to Senegal. Now, you can buy a girl for 500,000 francs and ask to be reimbursed for 1,500,000 francs. This money, it's the buyer who sets the amount he wants, that's how it happens."

–Parent of survivor, Kolia, Saraya

Some survivors interviewed reported that in order to keep them compliant, the couriers use various means of repression and threats to force the victims to cooperate with being trafficked, such as using charlatans who claim to have mystical abilities to cast spells and curses, as described earlier. According to those interviewed, these charlatans work for traffickers and are used to scare victims into believing that they will be driven crazy if they do not comply with the traffickers' demands, intimidating the girls into promising to satisfy the courier's demands.

"As soon as you arrive here, you can't go back, because they take you to a marabout [a person who is believed to have special magical capabilities with the ability to cast spells] and you give your word that in case of betrayal once you arrive at your destination you will lose your life or go crazy. Therefore, you are obliged to do what they ask of you, because you have already given your word to this marabout."

–Victim, 29 years old Sambaranbougou, Saraya

Some survivors reported that in addition to using charlatans, traffickers also used their connections with authorities, such as the police, to intimidate, threaten, and coerce women into sex trafficking situations.

"Y. and I took the bus to travel to Kédougou. We were accompanied with a woman. One day, I argued with her [the lady] because she told me that I had been sold. I was shocked by these words because I did not understand how a human being could be sold. Following these events, the lady called the police and clearly mentioned that Y had sold me to X. Out of anger, I told her that since I had been sold to her, she would not expect to be paid back. She called the Malian police again and the policeman said that until I pay my debt to the lady, I will not move."

–Victim, 29 years old, Bantaco, Saraya

"I had a store in Nigeria where I sold cosmetics until one day a woman came up to me and asked me if I would like to travel to a white country to take care of their children and water the flowers. I told her I was interested. I then found myself in Mali with other girls, and as soon as we arrived, when I saw the motorcycles, I told my boss that I wanted to go back home to Nigeria because I am a widow, and I left a baby there with my old mother. To intimidate me, she called in the police, and I told them that I did not do this type of work in Nigeria. For almost three days, the policemen came to watch me and threatened me with imprisonment. Since I did not know the way back home, I finally agreed to go."

–Victim, 29 years old, Bantaco, Saraya

Quantitative findings

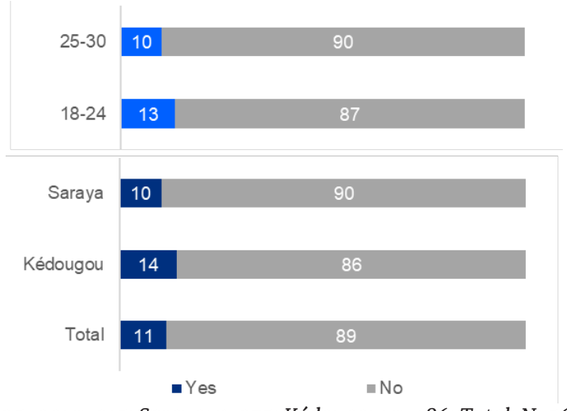
This section describes the experience of recruitment into commercial sex as depicted in the responses to the quantitative survey. The results are presented by department and age group where there are meaningful and statistically significant differences. The results are further disaggregated by victim status (victims of sex trafficking vs. non-victims) where relevant. Note that being a victim of lies and false promises is one of the criteria for classification as a victim of sex trafficking. For some indicators discussed below, the results are therefore only shown overall and among victims of sex trafficking, since, by definition, no woman who was a victim of lies and deception would be considered a non-victim.

Deceptive recruitment

In line with the qualitative findings described above, young women were more often deceived than coerced into commercial sex. However, based on the quantitative results, most individuals engaged in commercial sex had experienced neither deception nor coercion, making them "voluntary entrants" (although the voluntary nature of this work is debatable). Specifically, 11% of individuals engaged in commercial sex felt that their job turned out to be completely different from what they were led to believe (Figure 18). Over one-third (35%) of sex trafficking victims felt that their job turned out to be completely different from what they were led to believe, while few (6%) non-victims felt so (Figure 19).

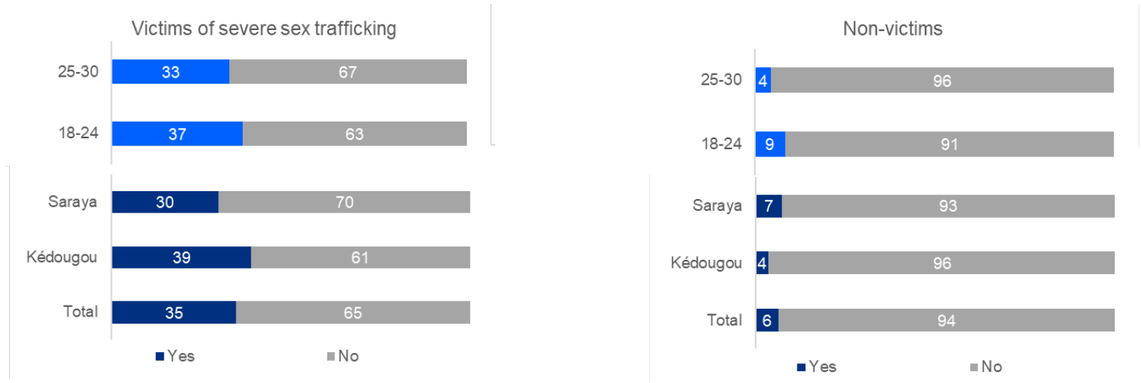
Overall, few individuals engaged in commercial sex (7%) felt they were victims of lies or false promises regarding aspects such as their working conditions, content or legality of relevant contracts, housing and living conditions, legal documentation or acquisition of legal status, location or employer, compensation/benefits and promise of marriage/love. Being a victim of lies or false promises relating to commercial sex was notably more common among the individuals in Kédougou department than those in Saraya department (15% vs. 4%, respectively, p<0.00). Furthermore, 9% of the individuals in Kédougou department felt lied to in their current job, whereas the equivalent figure was 3% in Saraya department (Figure 20). Among sex trafficking victims, 40% felt they were victims of lies or false promises. Lies and false promises were more commonly reported in Kédougou (50%) than in Saraya (28%) department, but this difference was not statistically significant (p=0.28) (Figure 21). Among sex trafficking victims who were lied to, the top lies and/or false promises were related to work and living conditions, including the location of their job (52%), work conditions (50%), identity of real employer (46%), and housing/living arrangements (46%). This pattern was the same in both Kédougou and Saraya departments (Figure 22).

Figure 18: Job turned out to be completely different from what woman was led to believe by age group and department, overall (%)



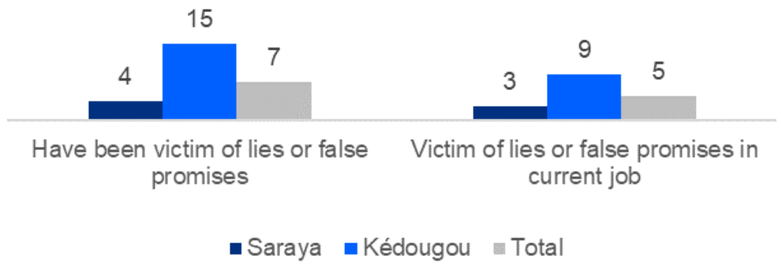
Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 19: Job turned out to be completely different from what woman was led to believe by age group and department, by victim status (%)



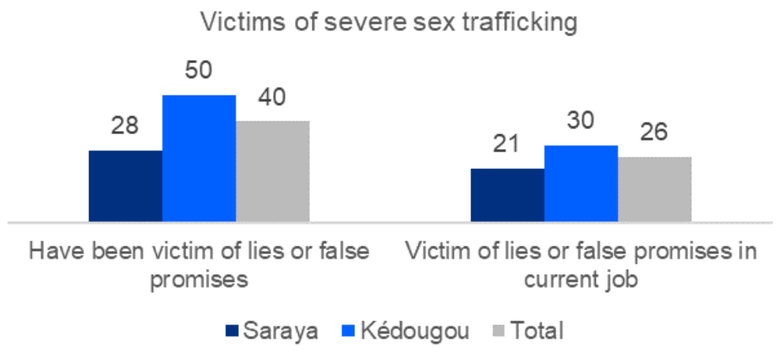
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Figure 20: Victim of lies or false promises by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

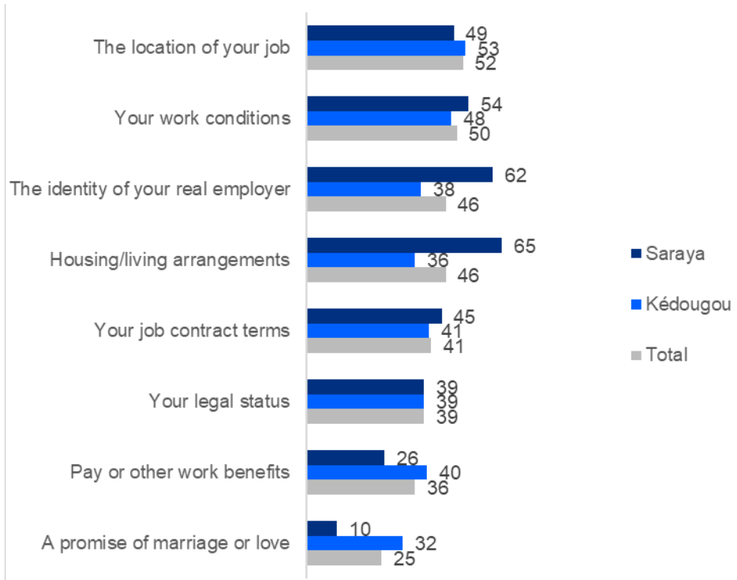
Figure 21: Victim of lies or false promises by department, victims of sex trafficking (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104).

Note that being a victim of lies or false promises is one of the criteria in the definition used to classify women as victims of sex trafficking; therefore there are no equivalent results to show for non-victims.

Figure 22: Types of lies and false promises made to individuals engaged in commercial sex who have ever been victims of lies, by department (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=14; Kédougou: n=27; Total: n=41.
Note small base numbers—by definition victims of sex trafficking

Coercive recruitment (abduction, confinement during the recruitment process)

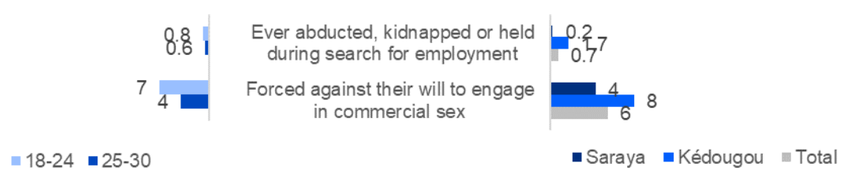
In terms of coercive recruitment, very few individuals engaged in commercial sex (0.7%) reported ever having been abducted, kidnapped, or held while searching for or engaging in commercial sex. A larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou than in Saraya department felt coerced or forced against their will to engage in commercial sex (8% vs. 4%, respectively, p=0.04, Figure 23).

Among sex trafficking victims, few (2%) had ever being abused, kidnapped, or held while searching for or engaging in commercial sex.

However, nearly one-third (30%) felt coerced or forced against their will to engage in commercial sex. A much larger proportion of younger victims of sex trafficking, aged 18-24, felt coerced or forced compared to those in the higher age group, although this difference is not statistically significant (41% vs. 23%, respectively, p=0.57) (Figure 24).

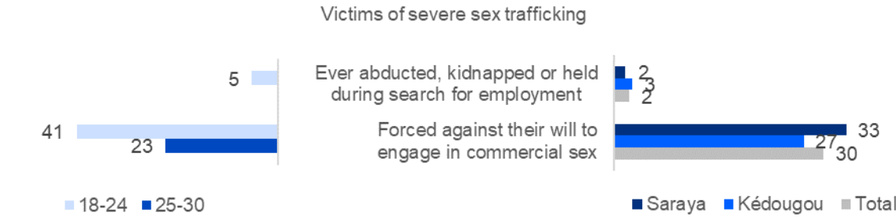
As above, coercive recruitment means these women are, by definition, classified as victims of sex trafficking; therefore there are no equivalent results to show for non-victims.

Figure 23: Coercive recruitment into commercial sex by age and department, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 24: Coercive recruitment into commercial sex by age and department, victims of sex trafficking (%)

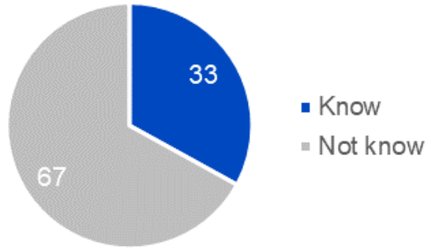


Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104).

Note that being a victim of coercive recruitment is one of the criteria that classes victims as victims of sex trafficking based on the definition used; therefore there are no equivalent results to show for non-victims.

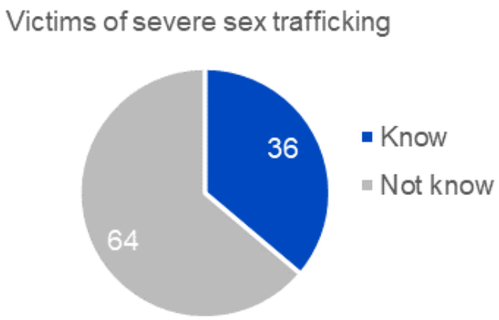
Five percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex indicated that they had ever been transported to a different location from where they normally live and work to engage in commercial sex activities. Most of these women (67%) did not know they were going to be transported somewhere else for the purpose of commercial sex. It should be noted, however, that the weighted base number of transported women is very small (n=27) (Figure 25). Among the sex trafficking victims who had been transported to a different location from where they normally live and work to engage in commercial sex, 64% did not know they were going to be transported to somewhere else (Figure 26).

Figure 25: Awareness of transportation to different locations for commercial sex, overall (%)



Weighted base: Individuals engaged in commercial sex who have been transported to different locations for commercial sex (n=27).

Figure 26: Awareness of transportation to different locations for commercial sex, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking who have been transported to different locations for commercial sex (n=24).

While transportation to a different location is not by definition a criterion for being a victim of sex trafficking, very few non-victims (n=3) reported being aware that they would be transported to a different location for commercial sex.

Paid recruitment

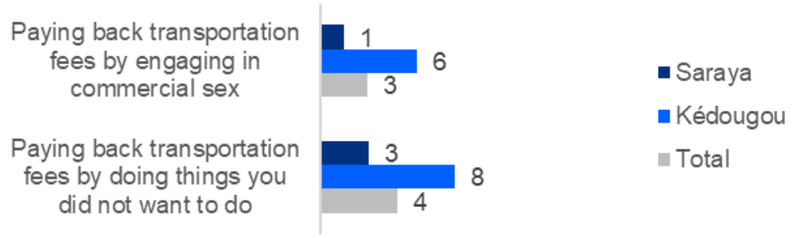
Study respondents were further asked whether they had ever made any efforts to repay a person who provided them with transportation (or gave them money to pay for transportation) to engage in commercial sex. Three percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex reported they had ever done so, with a greater proportion in Kédougou department than in Saraya department (6% vs. 1%, respectively, p<0.00).

A similar proportion reported they had been asked to do things they did not want to do in order to repay transportation costs (4% overall, 8% in Kédougou, 3% in Saraya departments, p<0.00) (Figure 27).

As might be expected, a larger proportion of sex trafficking victims reported they were asked to pay back transportation fees by engaging in commercial sex compared to non-victims (13% vs. 0.3%, respectively, p<0.00) or had done things they did not want to do (20% vs. 1%, respectively, p<0.00) (Figure 28).

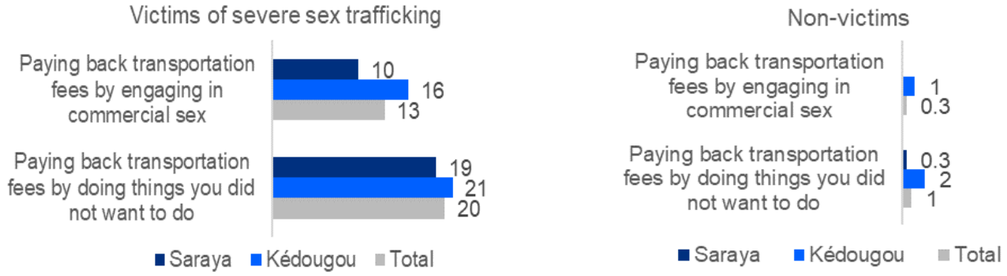
Among individuals engaged in commercial who had paid back transportation fees by engaging in commercial sex (n=20), 66% had ever been required to repay other expenses incurred, such as for meals, clothing, accommodation, etc.

Figure 27: Paid back recruitment fee by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 28: Paid back recruitment fee by department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

3.5 EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND PENALTIES QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

As mentioned above, in the areas where sex trafficking takes place, respondents reported that victims are often under the control of actors who organize trafficking activities in villages. The traffickers take care of the victims' housing, clothing, and food, and any security issues that may arise between them and their clients. Sex trafficking victims work in two ways: some receive clients at home on a daily basis, and others live with regular partners who pay them monthly.

"Victims live with their leaders or representatives, whether Nigerian or Ghanaian. They have their representatives who are next to the village, in the Niafa (hut). If you go there, you pay for sex, and you go back to satisfy your libido."

–Opinion Leader, Sambarambougou, Saraya

During the period they are trafficked, victims work on behalf of their bosses to reimburse the expenses incurred to transport them, as well as for their accommodations, clothing, meals, etc. These expenses are estimated to total 1 or 2 million CFA, a sum defined by the trafficker and imposed on the victim without any form of consent. In addition, some victims and survivors of trafficking shared experiences in which the victims may be subject to an overestimation of the expenses, with indirect costs added by the traffickers, thereby extending the debt once the original sum to be paid is reached. This means that the victim has eaten, slept, worn new clothes during the period of repayment of the debt, which creates a new debt to pay. Under these conditions, the duration of the trafficking depends on the victim's ability to repay the expenses declared by the trafficker.

"*It was too hard. I traveled to Kédougou for a week. When I arrived, I saw a girl, and I didn't know anything about her at that time. This girl took me to the village. And when I arrived in the village, I was staying in a hut. Then another woman took me from there and took me away. She told me that I had to [engage in commercial sex], so I said that I didn't like it. She told me to look around, that all the girls around me were [engaging in commercial sex acts]. I have to do it to pay her money back, and in 2 or 3 months I will have paid for everything, and I will be free. At that time, she refused to tell me how much I owed her, and I stayed there almost six months working for her. Even if I break something, I have to pay. There are many problems, that's why I was tired, she beat me, pinched me."*

–Survivor, 24 years, Kolia, Saraya

"The people who bring us in scare us. They intimidate us by saying, you have to work and pay me back my 1,000,000 or 1,500,000. You have to work as a prostitute to pay this amount so that you can be free. Then you can work for yourself if you return to Nigeria or if you want to stay in Senegal. Otherwise, if you don't pay, you will be taken to a witch doctor to spoil your future."

–Victim, 22 years, Sambarangougou, Saraya

The duration of trafficking for each victim is also influenced by the flow of gold mining activity, as this is the sector that provides most of the clients. Local leaders and regional officials reported that this explains the migratory movements of sex trafficking victims in reaction to the opportunities that develop around gold mining areas.

We found that sex trafficking exposes victims to very precarious living conditions. Many are subjected to multiple forms of violence, which we describe further below, including documented cases of undesired pregnancy among minors. However, violent experiences can sometimes lead victims to turn to legal authorities, something they're less likely to do otherwise. Data from the study suggests that these complaints tend to be unsuccessful due to corrupt practices between traffickers and some individuals described as belonging to the security services.

Furthermore, to better avoid the possibility of such complaints, the traffickers may decide to transfer the victim to another trafficking area where they will continue the activity and continue to pay back the money owed.

"I know many girls who are victims. The day before yesterday, they brought a girl. She got sick. She couldn't work anymore; she was pregnant without knowing it. She is a minor; she doesn't even know who is responsible for her pregnancy. She even went to the gendarmerie, but the case was not pursued ... they moved her to another village. She is hidden in another village. She will probably have to continue working and send the money to her boss. That's how it is."

–Parent of survivor, Kolia, Saraya

Repayment of debt is the key to freedom. If a victim manages to collect enough money, she can pay back her courier and may become free. Survivors who were interviewed indicated that the exit from trafficking is effective from the date at which the victim has fully repaid the amount owed to the trafficker and has been declared free by them.

Thereafter, the victim who has been trafficked may decide at that point to continue engaging in commercial sex, return home, change residence, or even take up another activity on her own without the persons who subjected her to trafficking having any control over her. This explains the fact that all the victims we interviewed who had already paid back their debt felt safe from their traffickers and had become autonomous in their lives.

"My boss is fine with it. I reimbursed him the money for the transportation. After that, nothing linked us, when we meet, we say hello, until he returned to Nigeria."

–Survivor, 28 years old, Tenkoto, Saraya

"I have been out of trafficking for six years now. I paid all the money I owed my boss so I could get out of the sex trade. Since I paid my debt, I now feel safe from the people who exploited me."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Tenkoto, Saraya

"I paid 1,500,000 CFA. ... Now that I am free, I would like to return to my country."

–Survivor 29 years old, Bantaco, Saraya

Quantitative findings

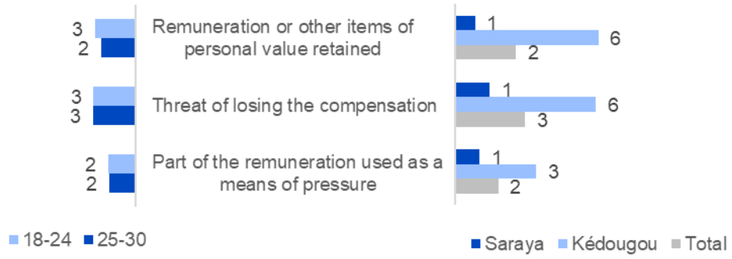
Survey respondents were asked about employment practices, means of pressure, and financial gain on the part of the employer. In terms of financial exploitation, 9% of individuals engaged in commercial sex had ever felt that their employer or another broker had derived economic benefit from commercial sex. Financial exploitation was more common in Kédougou department than in Saraya department (15% vs. 6%, respectively, $p<0.00$).

Two percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex indicated that their employer had ever withheld their compensation or personal items to prevent them from leaving. In Kédougou department, a larger proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex mentioned their employer had exerted such pressure compared to Saraya department (6% vs. 1%, respectively, $p<0.00$). Three percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex had been threatened with a loss of compensation if they decided to leave.

Furthermore, 2% of these individuals had some or all of their compensation withheld as a guarantee to prevent them from leaving (Figure 29).

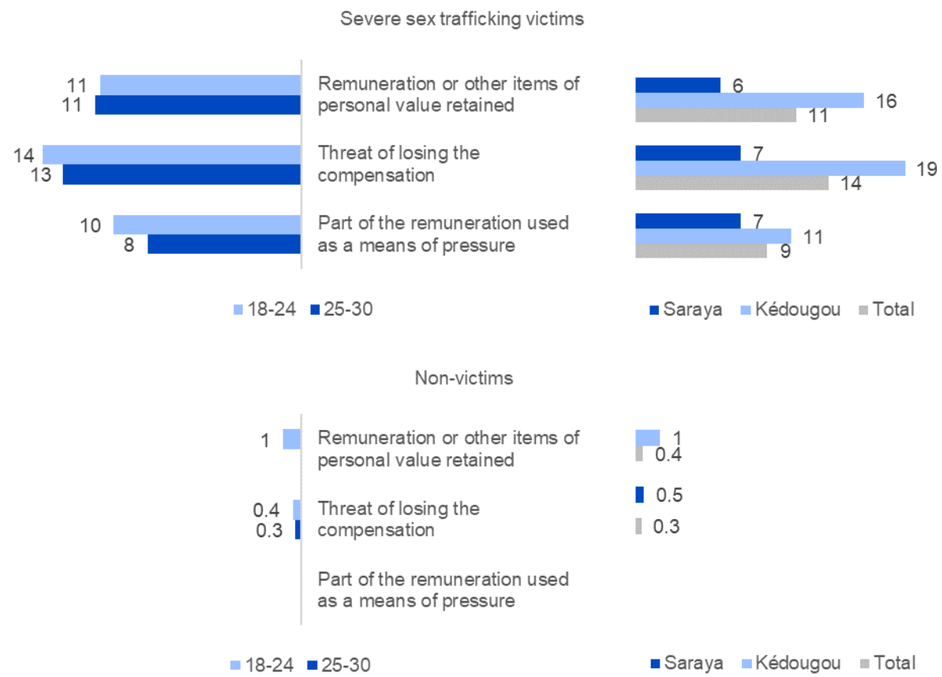
Among the sex trafficking victims, 11% reported that their employer had ever withheld their compensation or personal items to prevent them from leaving. Additionally, 14% had been threatened with a loss of compensation if they decided to quit, while 9% had some or all of their compensation withheld as a guarantee to prevent them from leaving. In contrast, very few non-victims (<1%) reported that their employer had retained remuneration or personal items or threatened them with loss of compensation. However, 6% had experienced having part of their remuneration used as a means of pressure (Figure 30).

Figure 29: Withheld pay, promised compensation, and benefits to prevent leaving by age and department, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 30: Withheld pay, promised compensation, and benefits to prevent leaving by age and department, by victim status (%)

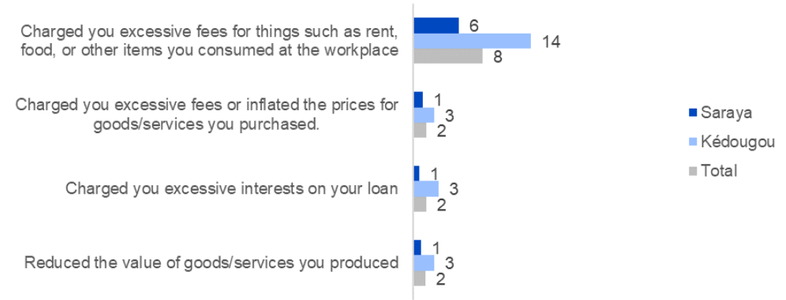


Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Eight percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall were charged excessive fees for things such as rent, food, or other items they consumed in the workplace. Two percent reported their employer charged excessive fees for goods/services, charged excessive interest on their loan, or reduced the value of goods/services they produced. A consistently larger proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex in Kédougou department reported these forms of exploitation compared to Saraya department (Figure 31).

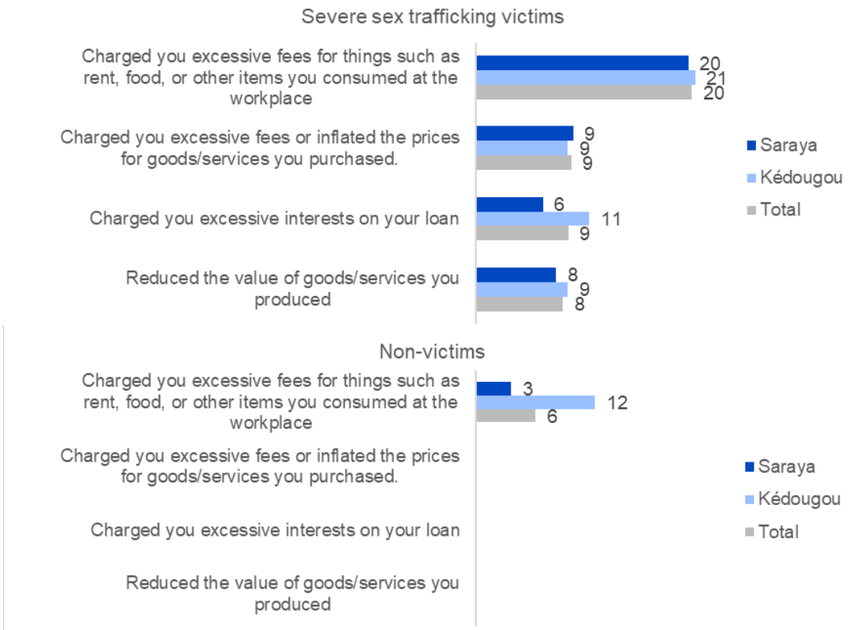
Among the sex trafficking victims, 20% were charged excessive fees for things such as rent, food, or other items they consumed in the workplace. Nearly one-tenth reported their employer charged excessive fees for goods/services (9%), charged excessive interest on their loan (9%), or reduced the value of goods/services they purchased (8%). Among non-victims, 6% had been charged excessive fees for things such as rent, food, or other items consumed at the workplace, but none reported other excessive fees or interest (Figure 32).

Figure 31: Ways in which employers exploited individuals engaged in commercial sex by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 32: Ways in which employers exploited individuals engaged in commercial sex by department, by victim status (%)



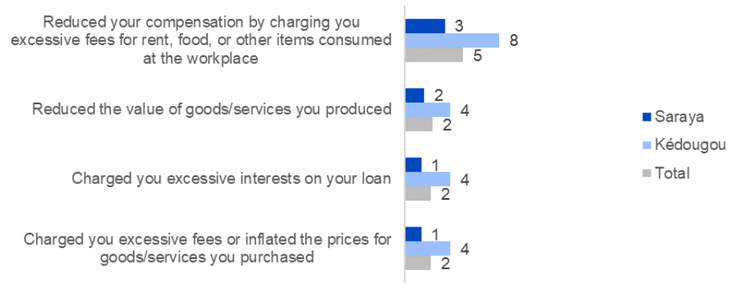
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Imposition of debt

Survey respondents were further asked about changes regarding their debt agreements with their employer and/or broker, including those made without consent. Five percent of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall reported having had their compensation reduced by being charged excessive fees for rent or other items consumed at the workplace. A larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou department reported reduced compensation compared to Saraya department (8% vs. 3% respectively, p=0.01). Fewer individuals engaged in commercial sex overall indicated they had had the value of goods/services reduced (2%), been charged excessive interest on their loan (2%), or been charged excessive fees for goods or services (2%) (Figure 33).

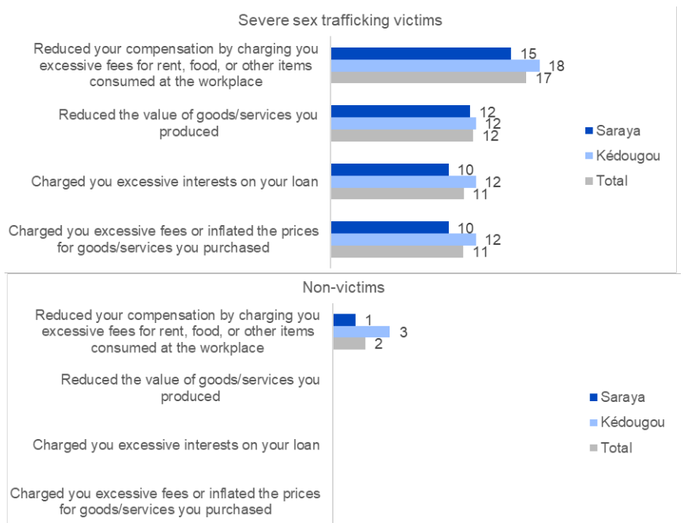
Among the sex trafficking victims, 17% indicated their compensation was reduced by being charged excessive fees for rent or other items consumed at the workplace. Over one-tenth reported that they had had the value of goods/services that they produced reduced (12%), been charged excessive interest on their loan (11%), or been charged excessive fees for goods or services (11%). Few non-victims had had these types of experiences (Figure 34).

Figure 33: Employers imposed debt without consent by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 34: Employers imposed debt without consent by department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Consideration of self as sex slave

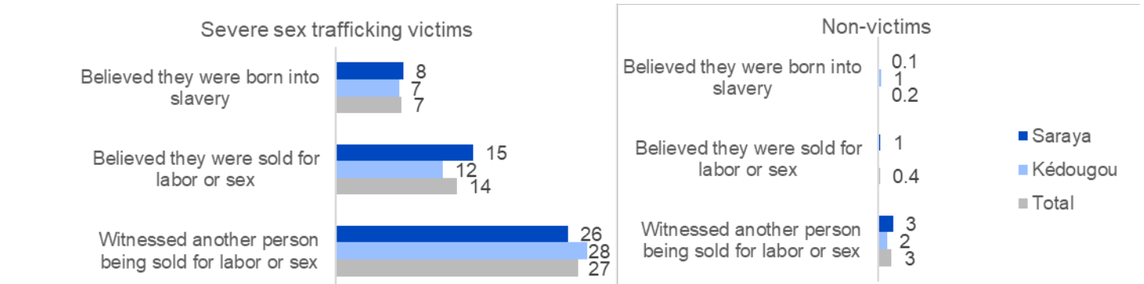
Survey respondents were asked whether they believed they had been sold for labor or sex, and 2% of individuals engaged in commercial sex answered affirmatively. There was no notable or statistically significant difference between Kédougou and Saraya departments (4% vs. 2%, respectively, p=0.23) (Figure 35).

Among victims of sex trafficking, 14% believed they had been sold for labor or sex. This proportion was similar in Saraya and Kédougou departments (15% vs. 12%, respectively, p=0.76). Among non-victims the equivalent figure was 0.4% (Figure 36).

Figure 35: Self-consideration as a sex slave by department, overall (%)

Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 36: Self-consideration as a sex slave by department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

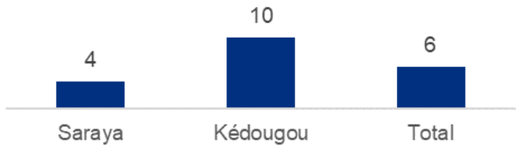
Made to work or engage in commercial sex to repay outstanding debt or wage advance

In terms of spending earned money, 6% of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall had been made to perform sex acts to pay off any outstanding debt or wage advance.

A larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou department had ever paid off an outstanding debt using money earned from commercial sex compared to Saraya department (10% vs. 4%, p=0.02) (Figure 37).

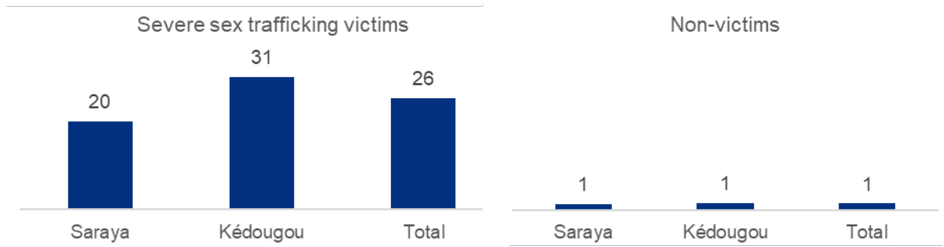
Over a quarter (26%) of sex trafficking victims had had this type of experience. Few non-victims (1%) reported this type of experience (Figure 38).

Figure 37: Paid off debt through sexual activity by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 38: Paid off debt through sexual activity by department, by victim status (%)

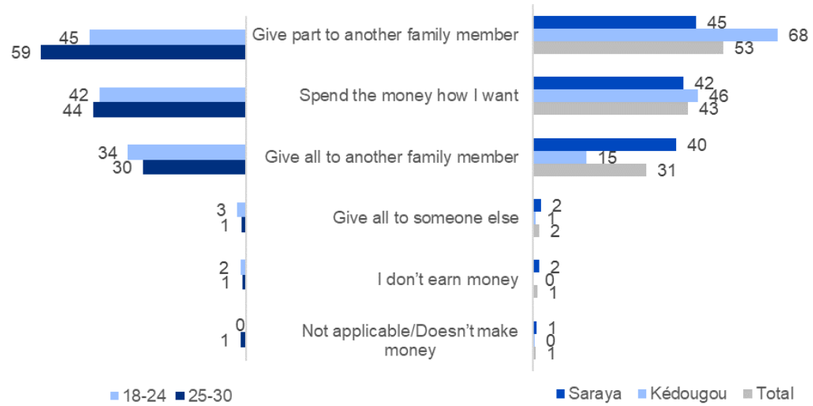


Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Survey respondents were asked how they spent the money they earned. Over half of individuals engaged in commercial sex reported giving some of their earned money to another family member (52%), followed by spending the money how they wanted (43%). Furthermore, almost a third (32%) gave all their earned money to another family member. A notably larger proportion of individuals in Saraya department reported giving all their earned money to family compared to Kédougou department (40% vs. 15% respectively, p<0.00) (Figure 39).

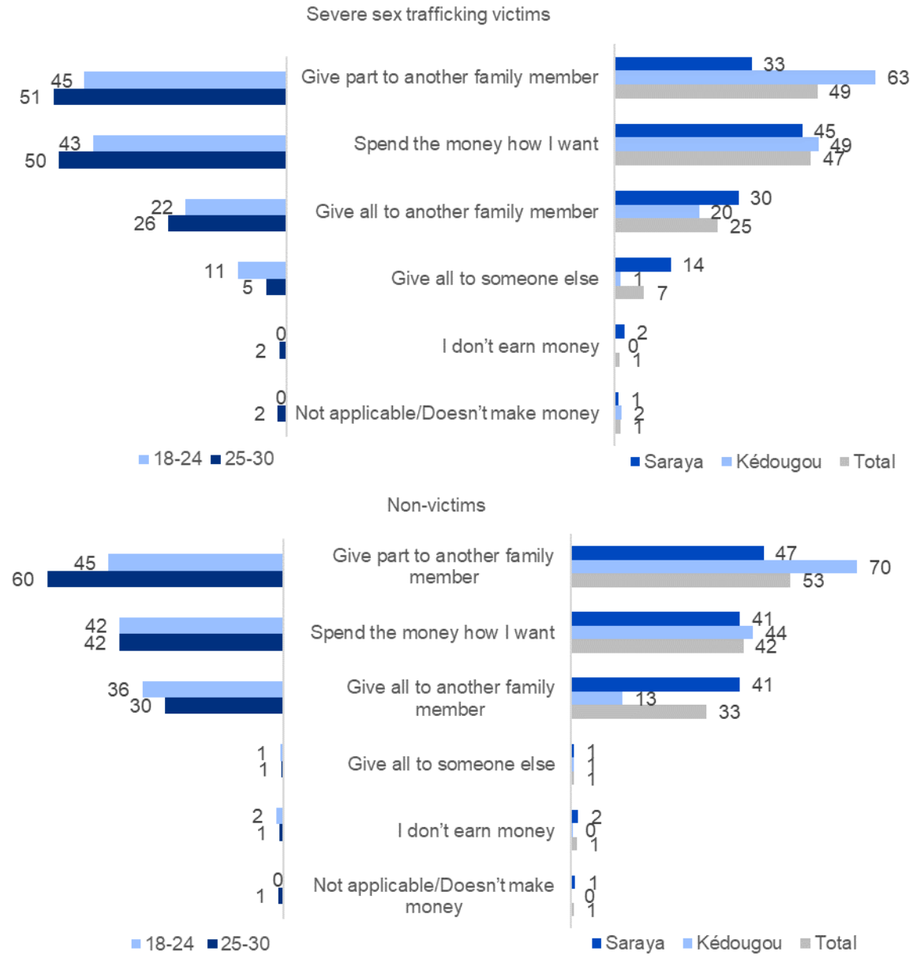
The top three ways of spending the money earned were the same for sex trafficking victims and non-victims. Nearly half reported giving some of their earned money to another family member (49% vs. 53% respectively, p=0.04), followed by spending the money how they wanted (47% vs. 42% respectively, p=0.97), and by giving all their earned money to another family member (25% vs. 33% respectively, p=0.35) (Figure 40).

Figure 39: Spending of earned money by age and department, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 40: Spending of earned money by age and department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

3.6 FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Qualitative findings

Victims often do not have freedom of movement and interaction during the period when they must pay their debt to the person who brought them to Kédougou. During this period, the length of which depends on the duration of the repayment of the debt, the victims are under the exclusive control of the trafficker, who oversees their food and accommodations while managing the income from their commercial sex activities.

Victims indicated that when they were new to commercial sex, their dependence on traffickers was increased by the new environment of residence, not knowing anyone else, and the lifestyle that they were forced to adopt, as they were still in shock from the acts to be performed, i.e., engaging in commercial sex. These factors give the traffickers leverage to ensure the victims do not consider returning to their country of origin.

"I [engage in commercial sex] and I don't like this, because the conditions [I operate in] are not good. When I arrived here it was difficult, I didn't know anyone, my ID papers were confiscated by the boss [trafficker], I had no choice, I stayed to work. If I have money I will go back to Nigeria."

–Victim, 23 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

Our analysis revealed that one of the couriers' strategies is to limit the interactions between victims to reduce the development of ties or a social safety net. Almost half of the victims and survivors we interviewed qualitatively lived alone under the supervision of the trafficker, while several others lived with other victims or with people they had no relationship with, as can be seen in Table 19. A small portion of the respondents said that they lived in a common-law relationship or with a sibling or someone known to them who similarly engaged in commercial sex.

Table 19: Living arrangements of victims who participated in qualitative interviews

Living arrangements	# of victims
Alone	15
With other victims	4
With other people with whom they had no relationship	4
In a common-law relationship	2
With other family members (sisters) or people of the same origin	2
With the trafficker	1
Not documented	4

In addition, our findings indicate that the low level of interaction between victims and survivors, and between victims and community members, also contributes to the limited movement of victims. For example, among the 68 participants in the qualitative component of the study (victims and survivors), half reported not knowing any girls who had been trafficked.

The other half reported knowing a few victims because they had traveled together to Senegal by the same courier, interacted in commercial sex activities by frequenting the same places (bars, restaurants, hotels, etc.), or lived in the same house.

"I got to know some of the girls when I arrived here because we were doing the same job. But we didn't talk together."

–Victim, 20 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

"When I arrived, she (the trafficker) asked me not to talk with anyone because people are not good. So I always stayed in my room."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Bantaco, Kédougou

Respondents reported that traffickers also use a variety of techniques to dissuade victims from fleeing, including the following:

- Victims are confined and physically abused on their arrival, without being able to move around freely.

"The three of us were locked up together in the same house in Mbacké (Diourbel), and we were not allowed to leave. Once we arrived in Juha (Kédougou), the lady forced us to [engage in commercial sex], and I said that I could not do that work, but the lady answered that if I did not prostitute myself, she wouldn't let me manage to go back to Nigeria. How can I get money to go back if I don't do this job, but I really didn't want to do this job. In those days, I used to cry a lot when I was forced to have sex with men every night. We were beaten if we refused and we were not allowed to leave the house, it was very difficult for us to accept to live like that all our lives."

–Survivor, 18 years old, Kédougou

"I know there are a lot of girls who do this work and don't leave the house. They stay here (in the house) 24 hours a day. Clients call to make appointments. We don't go to nightclubs."

–Victim, 26 years old, Kédougou

- Victims' identification documents and travel documents are confiscated to limit their attempts to escape. However, victims do have access to their cell phones, which are used primarily as a tool for making appointments with clients.

- Traffickers use charlatans to threaten victims with spells if they try to escape, promising that they will go mad or die of a disease undetectable by medical professionals if they do so. Examples of mentally ill women living in the locality or well known for their history are brought up as arguments to scare the victims.

"They take you to a charlatan who makes you promise that if you betray them, you will lose your life or go mad. Therefore, you are forced to do what they ask of you."

–Victim, 29 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"There are some who are threatened to be taken to the marabouts if they say anything."

–Survivor, 23 years old, Kolia, Saraya

- The gendarmerie (a police station force) regularly raids the sites where commercial sex takes place. They work with community workers who point out potential sexual exploiters, the people who make women work against their will. If the police informers observe links between victims and other people in the community, these people can also be suspected to be partners in the trafficker's activity, and can themselves be arrested for sex trafficking. This makes most people avoid interactions with victims. While the data collection teams were in Mouran, their activities had to be interrupted because a woman accused of kidnapping women for prostitution was arrested along with seven girls, who were later released.

"Some girls, when I came to them, they thought that the police will come and arrest them."

–Survivor, 22 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

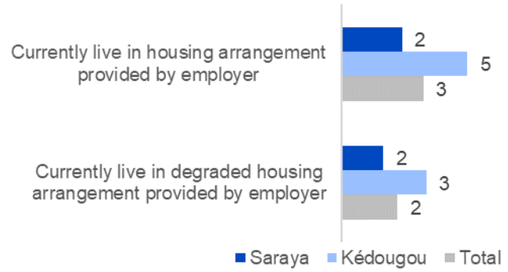
Quantitative findings

Living conditions

Survey respondents were asked if they lived in the house provided by the employer and were not allowed to live elsewhere. Few respondents (3%) currently lived in this kind of housing arrangement. Additionally, 2% of respondents reported that the living arrangement provided by the employer was unclean, unsanitary, or overcrowded (Figure 41).

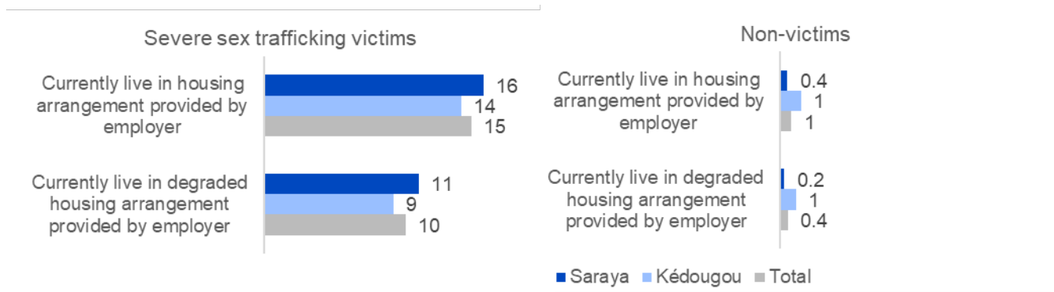
Among sex trafficking victims, 15% lived in housing arrangements provided by the employer and were not allowed to live elsewhere. This proportion was broadly similar in Kédougou and Saraya departments (14–16%). Furthermore, 10% of sex trafficking victims lived in unclean, unsanitary, or over-crowded housing provided by employer. This is compared to 1% of non-victims (Figure 421).

Figure 41: Living conditions by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 42: Living conditions by department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Control over the personal life of individuals engaged in commercial sex

Based on the quantitative survey, Figure 43 shows the threats and actions that individuals engaged in commercial sex had experienced over the past 12 months. Four percent overall felt that they could not escape the control of their employer because of threats. A larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou department reported this to be the case compared to Saraya department (7% vs. 3%, respectively, p=0.00). The most commonly reported threats were isolation from peers (1.8%), exclusion from future work opportunities (1.8%), and actual physical harm (also 1.7%). A larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou department had experienced actual physical harm compared to Saraya department (4% vs. 0.4% respectively, p=0.00).

Among sex trafficking victims, 15% felt they could not escape the control of their employer because of threats. A larger proportion of sex trafficking victims in Kédougou department reported this compared to Saraya department, although this difference was not statistically significant (21% vs. 9%, respectively, p=0.20). Few (2%) non-victims reported this to be the case (Figure 44).

Figure 43: Threats and actions from the employer by department, overall (%)

Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 44: Threats and actions from the employer by department, by victim status (%)

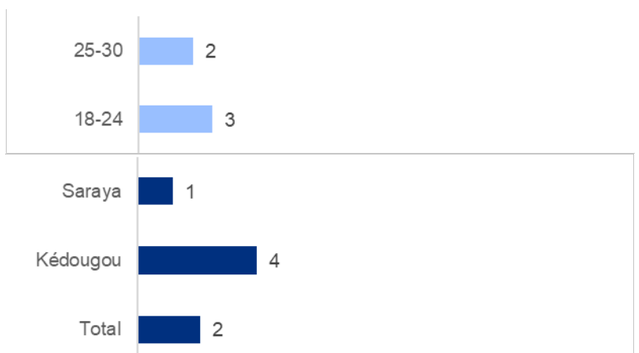
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Transfer of control over the personal life of individuals engaged in commercial sex

Few individuals engaged in commercial sex overall (2%) indicated that someone had ever been able to transfer control of any part of their personal life to someone else. A slightly larger proportion of individuals in Kédougou department reported this to be the case compared to Saraya department, although the difference was not statistically significant at the 5% level (4% vs. 1%, respectively, p=0.06) (Figure 45).

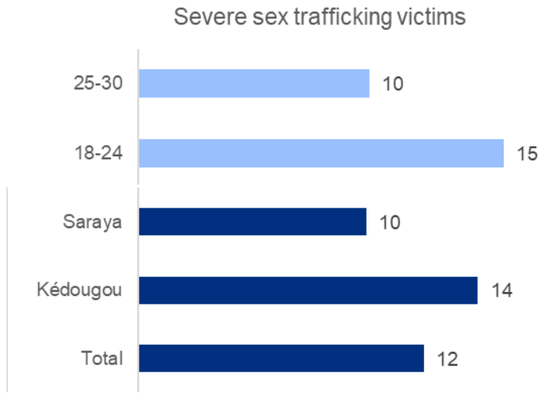
Among sex trafficking victims, 12% reported that someone had ever been able to transfer control of any part of their personal life to someone else. There was no statistically significant difference in this regard sex trafficking victims in Kédougou department compared to Saraya department (14% vs. 10%, respectively, p=0.66) (Figure 46). Note that while loss of control over personal life is not a criterium for classification as a victim of sex trafficking, there were no women engaging in commercial sex who reported having experienced loss of control over personal life.

Figure 45: Loss of control over personal life, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 46: Loss of control over personal life, victims of sex trafficking (%)



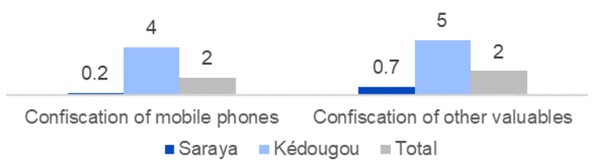
Weighted base: Sex trafficking victims (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104).

Confiscation of mobile phones or other valuables

In terms of controlling property, few individuals engaged in commercial sex overall had experienced their employer confiscating their mobile phone (1%), though twice as many reported having other valuable items confiscated (2%). This practice was more common in Kédougou department than in Saraya department (mobile phone: 4% vs. 0.2% respectively, p=0.01; other valuable items: 5% vs. 0.7% respectively, p=0.01) (Figure 47).

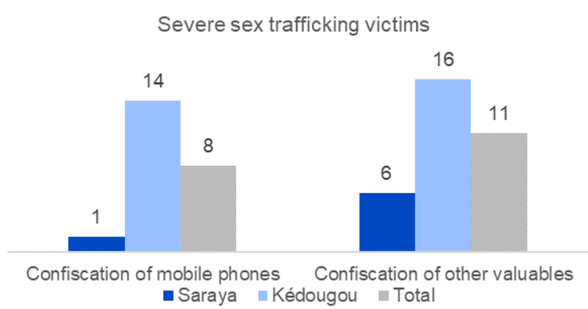
Among sex trafficking victims, 8% had experienced their employer confiscating their mobile phone, while 11% reported their employer had confiscated other valuable items. This experience was more commonly reported in Kédougou department than in Saraya department, though the difference was not statistically significant (mobile phone: 14% vs. 1% respectively, p=0.20) or other valuable items (16% vs. 6% respectively, p=0.45) (Figure 48). There were no non-victims who reported confiscation of valuables.

Figure 47: Employer confiscating valuables by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 48: Employer confiscating valuables by department, victims of sex trafficking (%)

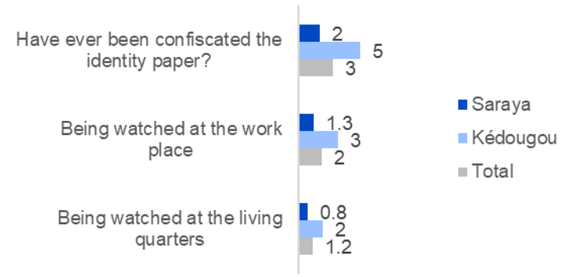


Weighted base: Sex trafficking victims (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104).

Individuals engaged in commercial sex were further asked about their experience of being surveilled and losing freedom of movement or communication channels. Three percent of these individuals overall had ever had their identity papers, such as passports or work permits, confiscated. In terms of surveillance, few individuals reported being watched constantly at the places where they engaged in commercial sex activities (2%) or at their living quarters (1.2%) (Figure 49). Furthermore, few individuals overall (2%) had ever experienced limitations on their movement and channels of communication (Figure 51).

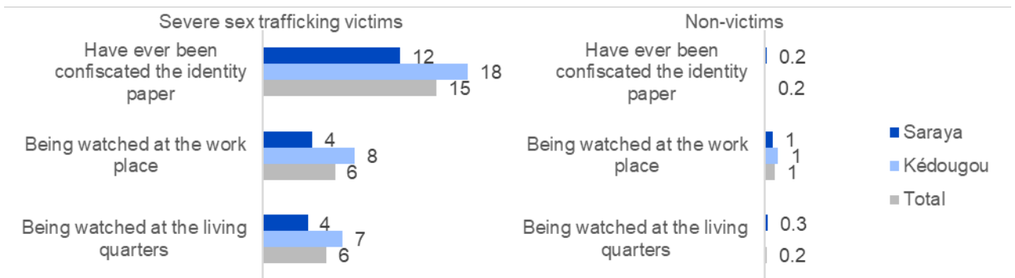
Among victims of sex trafficking, 15% had ever had their identity papers confiscated. In terms of surveillance, 6% reported being watched constantly at their place of work or at their living quarters (Figure 50) and another 6% reported limitations on their movement and channels of communication. Very few non-victims (0.2%) reported employers confiscating identity papers, and only 1% reported being watched at work (Figure 52). By definition, no non-victims had experienced loss of freedom of movement.

Figure 49: Experienced employer confiscating identification papers and employer surveillance by department, overall (%)



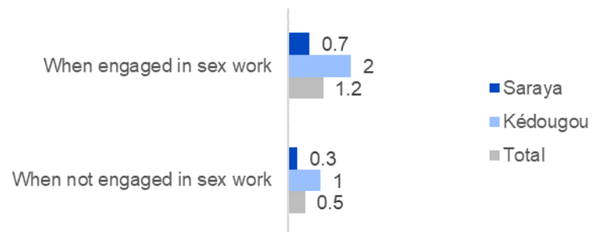
Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 50: Experienced employer confiscating identification papers and employer surveillance by department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Figure 51: No freedom of movement (being locked up) during commercial sex acts and at other times by department, overall (%)



Weighted base: Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 52: No freedom of movement (being locked up) during commercial sex acts and at other times by department, victims of sex trafficking (%)

Weighted base: Sex trafficking victims (Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104).

Note that loss of freedom of movement is one of the criteria that classifies women as victims of sex trafficking based on the definition used; therefore there are therefore no equivalent results to show for non-victims.

3.7 VIOLENCE AND THREATS OF VIOLENCE BY INTIMATE PARTNERS

Qualitative findings

Victims and survivors of sex trafficking report being subjected to two different forms of violence in their interactions with their clients:

- **Emotional and psychological violence:** Victims and survivors interviewed describe commercial sex as a degrading activity that causes a loss of self-esteem. They report being victims of dehumanizing behaviors and attitudes from men who use them for their services. They are also further stigmatized by those who have a negative opinion of their activities. Of the 68 victims and survivors interviewed, 62 had a negative assessment of commercial sex, because it is prohibited by Christianity and Islam. Six of those interviewed had a positive opinion of commercial sex. This positive perception is related to the income it generates.

"I made the decision to live with the guy, but I can't take it anymore because of the sexual conditions he imposes on me. All night he's on me, so I sell myself. It's as if having sex with this Malian guy is against my will. He often blackmails me, saying that if I leave him, he will tell people that I am a prostitute. That is why I still live with him. I don't want a scandal, and I don't want my parents to know about this, because my father will be angry if he hears that I came here to prostitute myself and that I don't work."

–Victim, 26 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"There are many adolescent girls who are trafficked. Sometimes they come here crying and tell me about the work they have to do. You really know that a good Muslim should not do this kind of work. It is not good."

–Survivor, 19 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"It's not a good activity, it's not good because God doesn't like it."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"For example, in what I do, I often see people who hurt me, and I just cry. Frequently, the people who come to us (our clients) call us to insult us and say 'prostitute'"

–Victim, 25 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

- **Physical violence**: Victims/survivors of sex trafficking also reported being physically abused by clients. Some described clients being demanding in terms of services and sometimes refusing

to pay because they have not been satisfied. Exposure to violence is more acute among the category of girls/women who engage in the activity clandestinely[23] and who, because of their status as women engaging in commercial sex, prefer to endure the violent practices of their partners rather than face the risk of being reported to the legal authorities by their clients.

"In our work, there are good people. There are also bad people. Sometimes there are men who ask to perform certain sexual positions. If you refuse, they will take out knives. Others give you money, and then they take it back and refuse to pay."

–Victim, 22 years old, Sambarangougou, Saraya

"We put our lives in danger because, in this job, the people we meet are not good. And because of this job, people don't respect us, and you will see someone who will say anything about you. Those who are bad are more numerous in Kédougou. They are mean people who treat women badly. We have clients who treat us like animals. Look at my finger; it was a client who hurt me. He stole my iPhone. Look at my mouth; it's not healed yet. It's the same client who did that to me. I haven't worked for two months. The guy came to meet me, we talked for a while, and we agreed that he was going to pay me 3,000 francs per pass. We got back; maybe he had taken some medicine, and the time was up, and I was tired. The guy insisted and pinned me to the bed, and I called for help, and the guy hit me and left with my phone, an iPhone. We went to the police to make a statement, and so far, nothing has happened. We haven't seen the guy since."

–Victim, 26 years old, Kédougou

[23] *'Clandestine' commercial sex is when an individual is engaged in commercial sex without going through the process of registering with legal services and health services through the Senegalese government for a monthly medical check-up.*

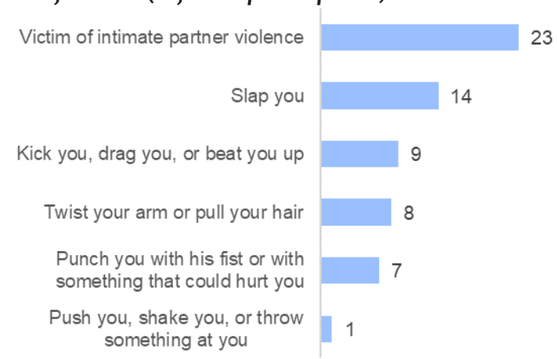
Quantitative findings

Intimate partner violence

Individuals engaged in commercial sex who were married, cohabiting, or divorced were asked whether they had ever experienced any form of physical violence by past or present intimate partner(s). Over a fifth of these individuals overall reported having been a victim of any form of intimate partner violence (23%). The most common form of violence was slapping (14%), followed by other types of violence (1–9%) (Figure 53).

One-third of sex trafficking victims (33%, 5 out of 15 victims; note the small base number) reported having been victims of any form of intimate partner violence. The most common form of violence reported among this group was kicking, dragging, or beating (20%, 3 out of 15 victims), followed by slapping (13%, 2 out of 15 victims). Among non-victims, 19% reported having experienced any form of violence by intimate partner(s), with slapping being the most common form (16%) (Figure 54).

Figure 53: Intimate partner violence, overall (%, multiple response)



Weighted base: Respondents who were not single (n=72).

Figure 54: Intimate partner violence, by victim status (%, multiple response)

Weighted base: Sex trafficking victims who were not single (n=15); non-victims who were not single (n=57).

3.8 RESILIENCE

Qualitative findings

In the qualitative component of the study, questions about resilience were addressed only to survivors.

Individual resilience

When asked if victims received any help to assist them in overcoming the challenges they faced in commercial sex or trafficking situation (lack of freedom of movement, being forced to engage in commercial sex, paying off debts, etc.), the most common responses were "*never*," "*no one helped me*," and "*I did it on my own*." The survivors we interviewed mostly maintained that they relied solely on themselves to leave sex trafficking. Among the factors mentioned that helped them withstand the tough times when they were forced into commercial sex were things such as thinking about family, the time they will leave sex trafficking, and earning enough money to be able to save; reuniting with a child they left behind with their parents; and hoping that God will forgive them if they leave commercial sex to have a "new life."

"Nobody helped me… I decided to give up this activity because it is not good. God doesn't like it."

–Survivor, 29 years old, Bantaco, Kédougou

"I managed to get out of it by myself. There is no one even up to now who is helping me. Now, even with the new store that I opened, there is no man who funded me. There is not a man who has given me 50,000 CFA ($85). I can only count on myself."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"Earning money helped me. … When I started the business, I started keeping money, little by little until I had an amount that could help me start my clothes retail business."

–Survivor, 27 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"In Nigeria, I have a 2-year-old child. It is very difficult for me to know that he is far away, but I manage little by little to send money to my parents, who keep him. Now I really want to go back to Nigeria. I think about my child."

–Survivor, 22 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

Regular clients who became boyfriends: Boyfriends can be valuable support for sex trafficking victims. Regular clients sometimes go on to become boyfriends, as was mentioned by 15 of 36 survivors interviewed. These men become someone who survivors can rely on to fulfill needs such as food and comfort when they have worries. A boyfriend may also encourage the woman to leave commercial sex and find a job and can serve as a shield against traffickers when the woman decides to do so.

"My boyfriend encouraged me to leave prostitution he was my client. He told me to stop the work because it's not good and then I stopped."

–Survivor, 25 years old, Kédougou

"My boyfriend asked me to move in with him. I used to talk to him about my problems. Now I live with him. Nobody dares to force me to go into prostitution. My boyfriend protects me."

–Survivor, 24 years old, Kédougou

Psychosocial support from family members: As we indicated above (Section 3.6 Freedom of movement), in order to limit the victims' movements and force them to stay in the assigned accommodation, traffickers confiscate the victims' identification documents, but they allow them to keep their phones.

For those who have been honest with friends or family members about their status as victims of sex trafficking, phones provide them a means of sharing their worries with these supports.

"My friend helped me, we discussed (my situation) on the phone, and she helped me."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Mouran, Saraya

"I was talking on the phone with my family: my mom, my little brother, and my big sister. I myself have talked to my mom about the problems I have here."

–Survivor, 23 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

"I have someone to talk to. When I have problems, I can talk to him."

–Survivor, 28 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"I quit last year. It was when I was 15 that I was trafficked to work in commercial sex. I stopped when I realized that they were exploiting me because I thought I was doing a good thing because they were giving me money. I was a child, but when I started to understand, I preferred to stop. I took my courage to tell my older sister. She alerted the gendarmerie, so it was my older sister who got me out of this situation, and I started to do my business. The trafficker was arrested and stayed in jail for six months. Since he got out of jail, he doesn't approach me anymore. Now I sell bananas and peanuts."

–Survivor, 25 years old, Kharakhena, Saraya

Community resilience

At the community level, representatives of the different nationalities living in the gold mining areas, community surveillance groups, and community workers help to show victims of sex trafficking that they can get assistance if they need it and can report their status as victims of trafficking and the abuse they are subjected to by their traffickers.

"For each site, there is a Tombouloumans. I am the tombouloumas of Karakhéna. In Diyabougou, there is another Tombouloumans, just like in Bantaco, in Sambarabougou, in Vélingara, and everywhere. We are in many sites, but the roles are not the same. At each site, you will find Tombouloumans. In one of the sites, we have proposed Tombouloumans as security guards because in the "dioura," there are many nationalities. For example, in Kharakhéna, we can find up to 10 or even 11 different nationalities. There are Burkinabe, Nigerians, Ivorians, Guineans, Senegalese, Congolese, etc. This is the role of the Tombouloumans. We sometimes intervene in sex trafficking as security agents. We are on all fronts to guarantee the security of the communities, especially since the gendarmerie alone cannot handle everything. As a Senegalese citizen and security agent at the same time, I intervene whenever there is a problem with [individuals engaged in commercial sex] in the "niafas."

–Community worker and Tombouloumans, Kharakhéna, Saraya

"We can denounce them (traffickers), but they [victims] are afraid. Denunciation is what is needed; as they talk to me, they (victims) must talk to others like you [the moderator] who come to talk about it to get out of it."

–Survivor, 25 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

Quantitative findings

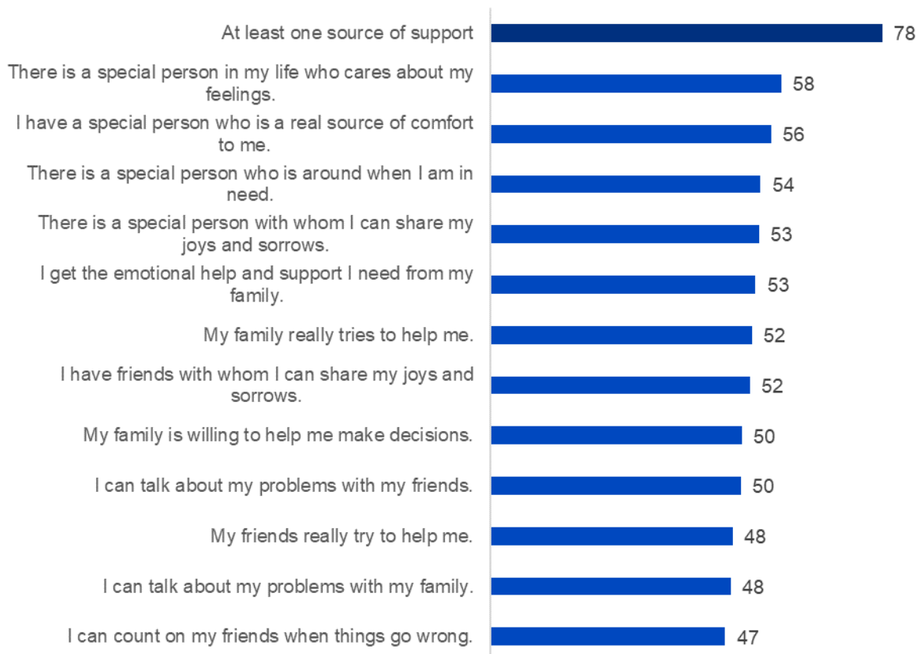
Individuals engaged in commercial sex who participated in the survey were asked about their support networks, self-efficacy, suicidal thoughts, and actions.

Support networks

In terms of moral support and support networks, 78% of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall reported having at least one type of support. The most common form of support was having a special person in their life who cared about their feelings (58%) and/or was a source of comfort (56%). Half of individuals engaged in commercial sex (50%) said they had family who were willing to help them make decisions, while less than half said they could count on their friends when things go wrong (47%) (Figure 55). Seventy-eight percent of sex trafficking victims and non-victims reported having at least one type of support.

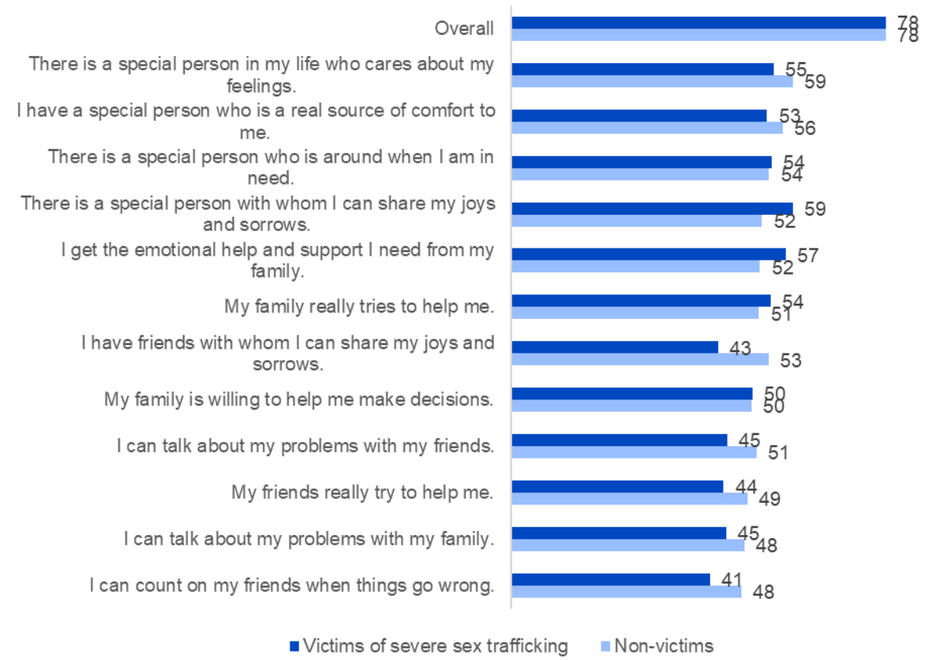
The most common form of support among sex trafficking victims was emotional help and support from their family (59%), while the most common form of support reported by non-victims was having a special person in their life who cared about their feelings (59%)(Figure 56).

Figure 55: Presence of support network, overall (%)



Weighted base: Total (N=561).

Figure 56: Presence of support network, by victim status (%)

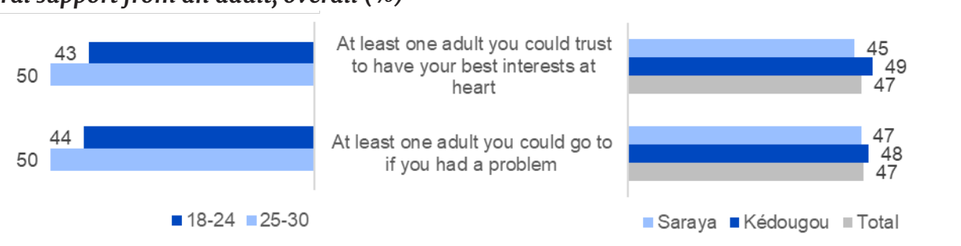


Weighted base: Sex trafficking victims (n=104); non-victims (n=457).

Slightly less than half of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall (47%) felt they had at least one adult they could trust to have their best interest at heart. The same proportion reported they had at least one adult they could go to if they had a problem. Individuals in the older age category were slightly more likely to report they had at least one adult they could trust and/or go to (50% among 25-30-year-olds, vs. 43-44% among 18-24-year-olds, p=0.02, p=0.02) (Figure 57).

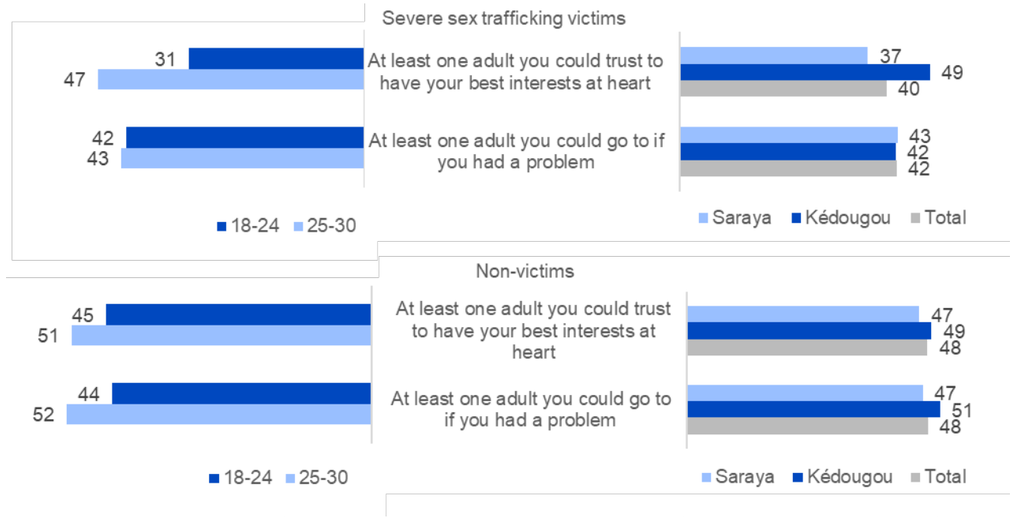
A broadly similar proportion of sex trafficking victims and non-victims felt they have at least one adult they could trust to have their best interests at heart (40% vs. 48%, respectively, p=0.48). A similar pattern was also observed with respect to having at least one adult they could go to if they had a problem (sex trafficking victims: 42% vs. non-victims: 48%, p=0.75) (Figure 58).

Figure 57: Moral support from an adult, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 58: Moral support from an adult, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Suicidal thoughts and actions

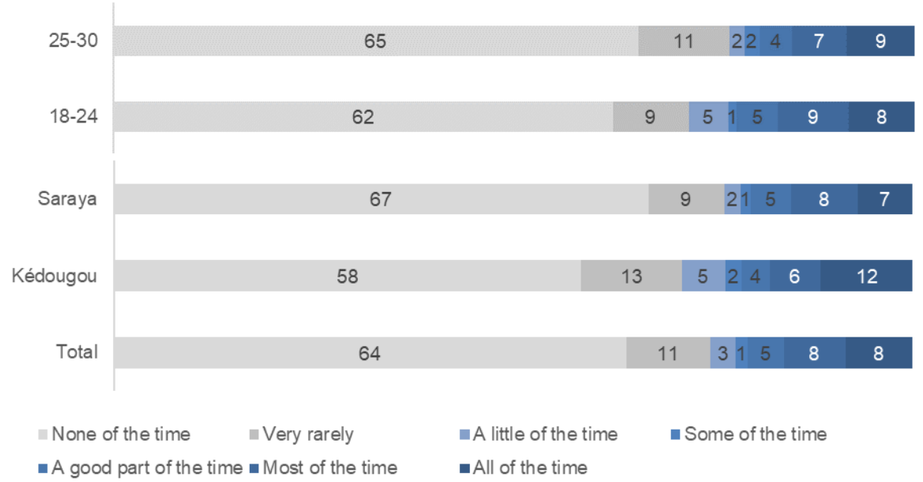
Survey respondents were asked about current feelings and thoughts about ending their life. Nearly one-tenth (8%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall reported that they had suicidal thoughts all of the time. About a fifth (21%) felt their life was over and they might as well end it all/most/a good part of the time. Furthermore, over one-tenth were thinking of a plan to take their own life (12%) and thinking about different ways to kill themselves (12%) (Figure 61).

The proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who had suicidal thoughts all of the time was broadly similar in Kédougou department (12%) and Saraya department (7%). There was no notable difference between the two age groups (8-9%) (Figure 59).

A slightly larger proportion of non-victims (10%) had had suicidal thoughts all of the time compared to sex trafficking victims (3%), but this difference was not statistically significant (p=0.18) (Figure 60).

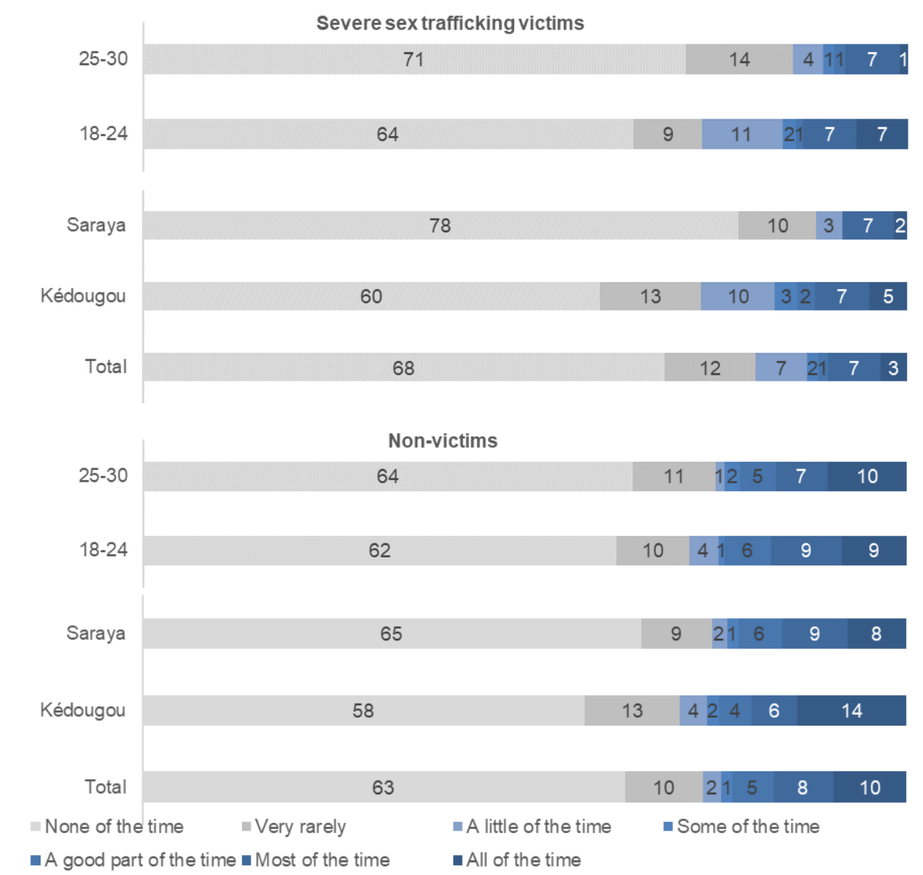
There was, however, a difference in the proportion who felt their life was over and they might as well end it all/most/a good part of the time. Perhaps counterintuitively, 23% of non-victims and 11% of victims of sex trafficking (p=0.02) (Figure 62) reported feeling this way. It is not clear what is causing the higher prevalence of suicidal thoughts among non-victims than among sex trafficking victims, but it is possible that a perceived lack of possible alternative ways of life contributes to such suicidal thoughts.

Figure 59: Frequency of suicidal thoughts, overall (%)



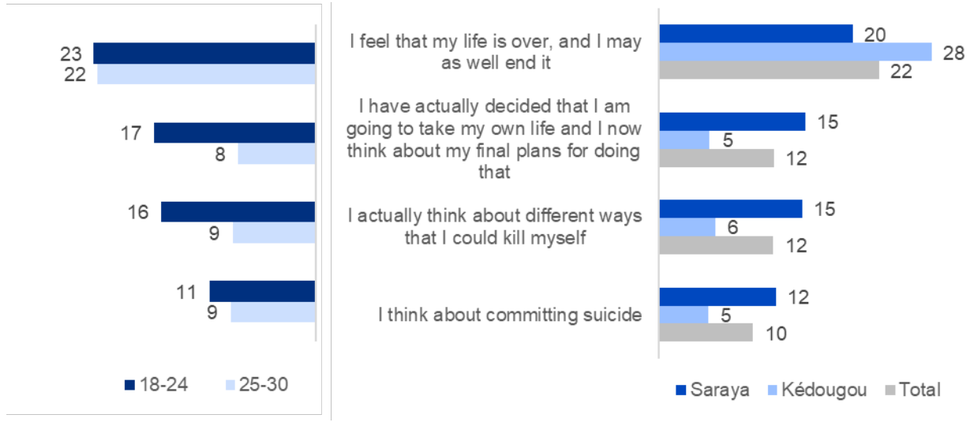
Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561.

Figure 60: Frequency of suicidal thoughts, by victim status (%)



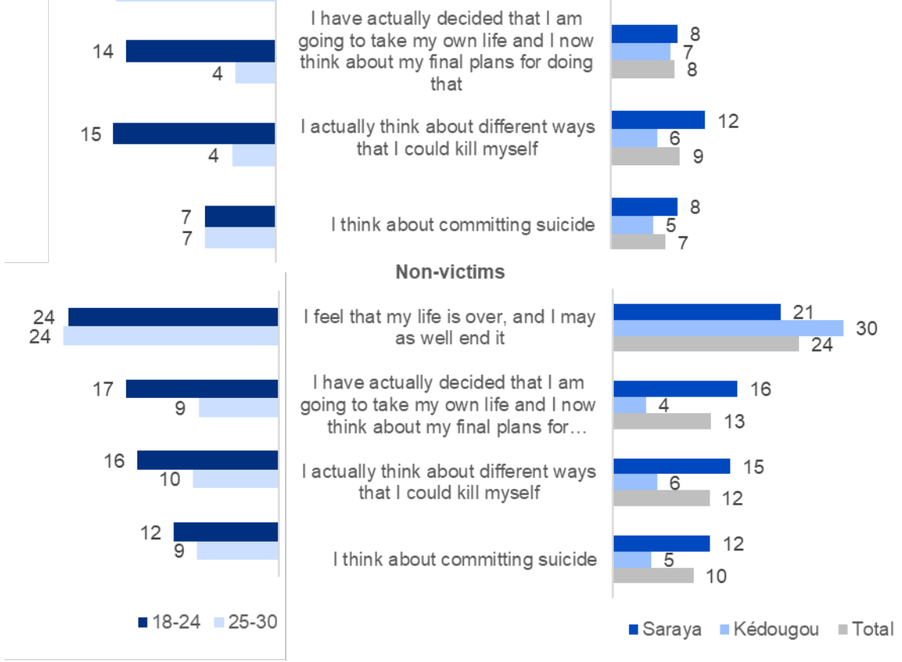
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Figure 61: Suicidal thoughts, overall (%)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: N=561

Figure 62: Suicidal thoughts, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Self-efficacy

Individuals engaged in commercial sex were further asked about self-efficacy based on a number of different indicators. We report on these separate indicators and on the overall score in this section.

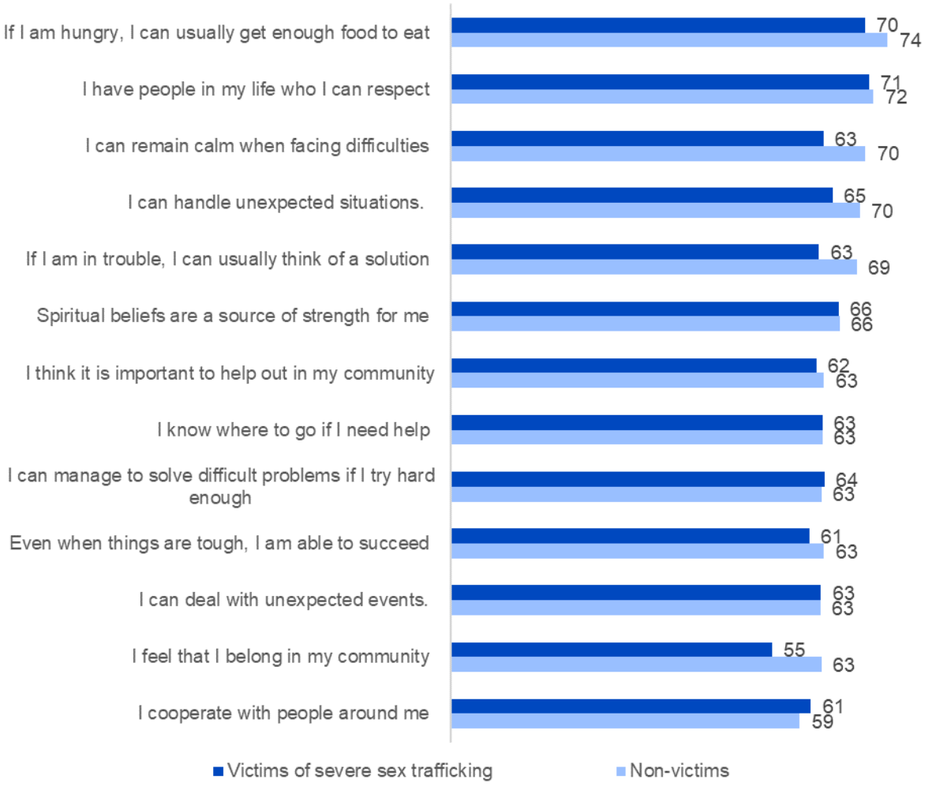
The majority of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall provided an affirmative response on the various indicators capturing self-efficacy. Most commonly, individuals said they can usually get enough food to eat if they are hungry (73%), they have people in their life they respect (72%), they can remain calm when facing difficulties (69%), and they can handle unexpected situations (also 69%). The least commonly reported indicator was cooperating with people around them (59%) (Figure 63).

Among sex trafficking victims, the top three responses were: they have people in their life they respect (71%), they can usually get enough food to eat if they are hungry (70%), and their spiritual beliefs serve as a source of strength (66%). The top three responses among non-victims were generally similar: they can usually get enough food to eat if they are hungry (74%), they have people in their life they respect (72%), they can remain calm when facing difficulties (70%), and they can handle unexpected situations (also 70%). The differences between victims of sex trafficking and non-victims were not statistically significant. For example the largest observed difference was feeling they belong to the community (55% vs. 63%, respectively, p=0.50) (Figure 64).

Figure 63: Self-efficacy, overall (%)

Weighted base: Total: N=561.

Figure 64: Self-efficacy, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (n=104); non-victims (n=457).

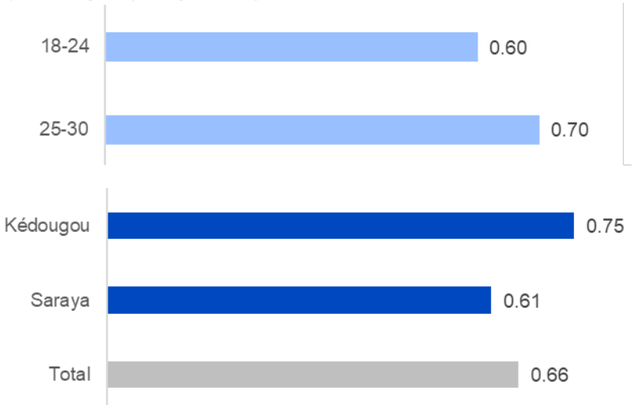
The self-efficacy score is defined as the total number of affirmative answers over the number of self-efficacy-related questions. The score ranges between 0 and 1, with a larger score representing higher self-efficacy.

The average score overall was 0.66. The self-efficacy score was generally higher among the older age group (age 25-30: 0.70 vs. age 18-24: 0.60, p<0.00).

Respondents in Kédougou department (0.75) had a higher average self-efficacy score compared to Saraya department (0.66) (p<0.00) (Figure 65).

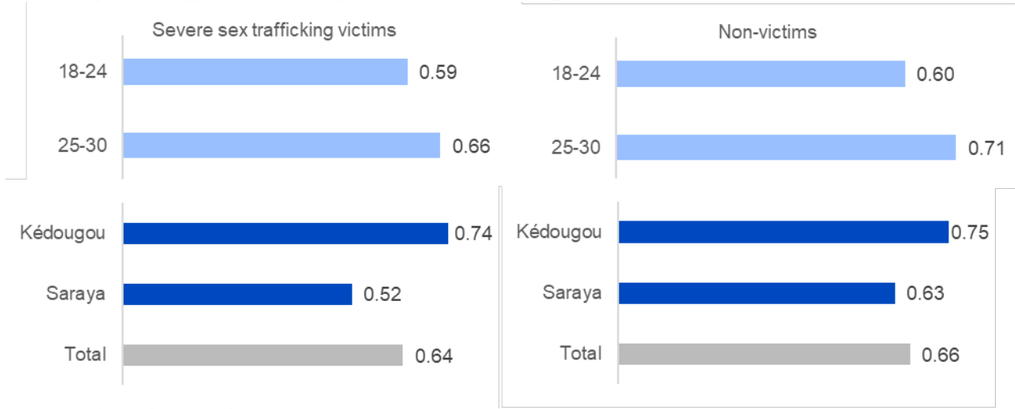
The average self-efficacy score was similar among non-victims (0.66) and victims of sex trafficking (0.64) (p=0.13) (Figure 66).

Figure 65: Average self-efficacy score per group, (range 0~1)



Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=375; Kédougou: n=186; Total: n=561.

Figure 66: Average self-efficacy score by victim status, (range 0-1),



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

In terms of community resilience, around half of individuals engaged in commercial sex overall reported affirmatively on the various indicators.

Most commonly, respondents said that people in their community help each other (58%), they discuss issues to improve the community (56%), and they feel like they belong to the community (55%).

The least commonly reported indicator was trusting the community leaders (45%) (Figure 67).

Among sex trafficking victims, the top three community resilience indicators were: people in their community help each other (57%), people in their community work together to improve the community (56%), and they discuss issues to improve the community (55%).

The top three community resilience indicators reported by non-victims were the same as those for individuals engaged in commercial sex overall: people in their community help each other (58%), they discuss issues to improve the community (57%), and they feel like they belong to the community (56%). Moreover, a consistently smaller proportion of victims of sex trafficking agreed with the various statements compared to non-victims, though these differences were not statistically significant: For example, the proportion who agreed that people in their community felt they belonged in the community was 48% among victims of sex trafficking vs. 56% among non-victims (p=0.71) (Figure 68).

Figure 67: Community resilience, overall (%)

Weighted base: Total: n=561.

Figure 68: Community resilience, by victim status (%)

Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (n=104); non-victims (n=457).

3.9 LEAVING SEX TRAFFICKING

Qualitative findings

Community activities that local leaders mentioned that are aimed at supporting victims, such as reporting trafficking or occasionally facilitating the return of victims to their home country, are not very visible to the victims themselves. Survivors interviewed mentioned that they did not know of any organization or group acting at the community level to fight sex trafficking, even though the phenomenon is well known in the gold mining areas. In their statements, victims of trafficking expressed that they are in a vulnerable situation that makes it impossible for many of them to develop resilience strategies and leave trafficking.

"Prostitution is not good; you always lose out, and there are negative consequences. You won't have a home, maybe not even children, you won't be attractive anymore, and you can get diseases. You will always be a loser, and you will grow old."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

Some survivors do, however, deploy various individual resilience strategies to get out of a trafficking situation.

The first and most frequently mentioned way out of trafficking is to pay off the debt to the trafficker in order to gain freedom. Our interviews with survivors of sex trafficking revealed that many of them continued to engage in commercial sex to meet their basic needs for a time even after leaving a trafficking situation. During this transitional period, engaging in commercial sex on their own account provides some survivors the means to retrain for other income-generating activities in order to stay out of sex trafficking, while others ultimately decide to return to their place of origin. We noted that survivors often turned to the same occupations that had attracted them to Kédougou in the first place—catering, hairdressing, sewing, or retailing consumer products.

"I have been out of sexual exploitation for three years now. I have completely paid back the debt to my boss, the 1,500,000CFA ($2,500). Before I left [commercial sex], I had already saved 200,000 CFA ($340), which allowed me to open my own business. I noticed that no one had opened a Nigerian restaurant, and I thought that if I opened a restaurant here, it could work. And gradually, people are coming to the restaurant and eating. I prepare Nigerian food, and it works well.

"I have a boyfriend; I live with him. Thanks to his presence by my side, nobody dares to come and force me to go into prostitution. He protects me. I'm not going to do this job anymore because I'm the one who did everything to get out of there. I'm not going back."

–Survivor, 24 years old, Kédougou

The second most frequently mentioned way of exiting trafficking is for victims to seek help from people around them. As mentioned in discussing the first strategy, victims need to prepare for their exit from trafficking by securing employment that will ensure their survival and allow them to avoid re-entering the trafficking situation. In some cases, they receive help from friends. The excerpt that follows recounts one individual's experience of breaking away from sex trafficking upon receiving help from a friend back home. The survivor told the friend her story, and the friend sent her money to start a retail business.

"I told her my problem and that I want to leave the job, because of this job nobody wants to talk with you. The clients can do whatever they want with you. My friend provided me support and told me that [commercial sex] is not good and that since I completed the payment owed to my boss, I must leave him. Then she gave me 300,000 CFA ($500) to start my business."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Mouran, Saraya

In exceptional cases, the exit strategy has been to threaten to report the trafficker to the police or to simply leave outright regardless of the risks involved. However, this approach was uncommon among the victims. Some victims take advantage of the presence of administrative and legal authorities in their locality when violence occurs in bars or brothels to approach them and declare themselves victims of sex trafficking.

"I made my own decision, knowing that I am not a teenager anymore and that it was time to end this situation with the help of my friend. My strategy was to threaten my boss to go and file a complaint against him with the police if he ever tried to come back to me. The gendarmes came to the village of Sambarambougou to chase away the prostitutes and their bosses. They couldn't catch the ladies (bosses), they caught us (victims), and during the night, they caught the ladies. Afterward, they came to ask us if it was these women who brought us here, and we answered: no, it was not them. And the gendarmerie asked us again if it was the lady who made us work, we answered: yes. We were afraid to report her at first. We told the gendarme that it was the lady who brought us and we had to work to pay her back 1,500,000 francs. The gendarmerie put an end to this situation by imprisoning her. That's how I got my freedom back. We wanted a job, and she forced us to [engage in commercial sex]. We started it the same day we arrived to pay back the money. The gendarmes asked us if we wanted to return to our countries. We answered: yes. But since I still don't have enough money to pay for my trip, I sell items to get by."

–Survivor, 19 years old, Kolia, Saraya

A final exit strategy that survivors described was to run away from trafficking areas. This approach was rare, however, because of the coercive conditions in which most victims live. Also, for Nigerian women, the language barrier dissuades them from attempting this, as they can only speak English, and not the local Senegalese languages or French.

"Outreach activities can be difficult with community workers who do not speak the language of most [individuals engaged in commercial sex] in the area; they often speak English.

M: They [community workers] cannot communicate with English speakers?

A: No, Nigerian women are largely represented in the mining areas, but no community worker speaks English, for most of them anyway; some just get by."

–NGO Manager

"I ran away to live in Kédougou (city). I was with my sister, who convinced me that we could find work in Senegal. Once in Kédougou, we realized that we were going to work in the sex trade. I refused because, on the way here, I was not told that. I told her that she knows that [commercial sex] is not good. Since my arrival, I started to collect money discreetly to be able to flee. I came to settle in town (Kédougou). I opened my store. This is a better job for me."

–Survivor, 25 years old, Kédougou

The findings of our study show that a significant portion of victims would be willing to cooperate with stakeholders in the fight against sex trafficking if they were informed about what the outcome of these interactions would be and whether the results would meet their expectations. Most of the victims have a very difficult time living with the trafficking situation, particularly because it exposes them to various forms of violence. Finding a way out is one of their greatest goals. In concrete terms, the interview respondents indicated that victims would be willing to participate in any activity that could lead to a way out of the trafficking situation but also to a means of accessing income-generating activities based on their current skills—hairdressing, catering, cleaning agents—or to the possibility of repatriation to their country of origin. However, none of them wanted to return home without the security of gainful employment that would prevent them from falling back into the economic vulnerability that originally led them into forced commercial sex.

"I want to go back home, and others would like to do another job so you could help them."

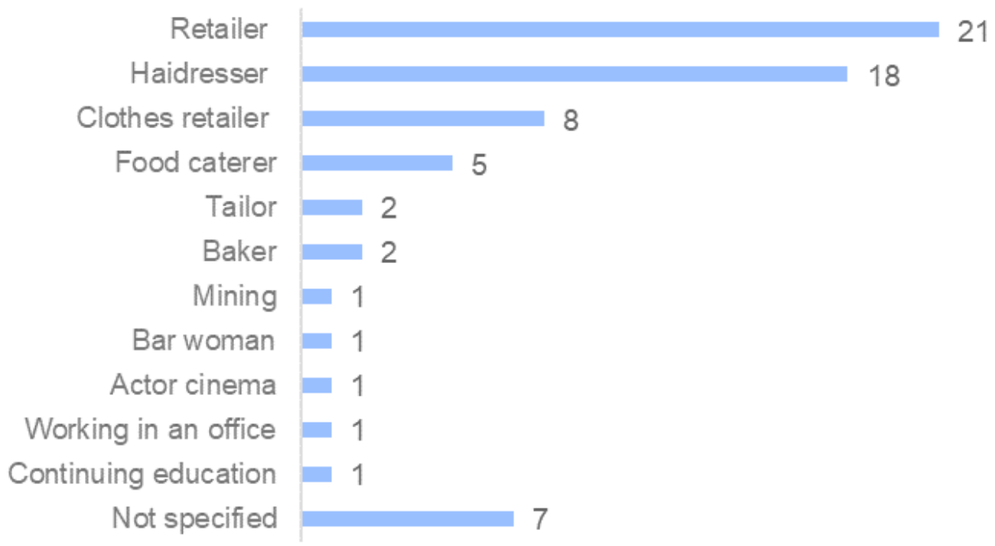
–Victim, 19 years old, Kolia, Saraya

"They were brought here by force to make them do this work. This study is in their interest because many of them tell me their problems: how they ended up here in Senegal, saying that they work for a woman who brought them to Senegal to force them into prostitution. I have been in this situation, and I realized that it was not profitable or beneficial and that is what motivated me to quit."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

Figure 69 presents the various occupational preferences of the victims and survivors interviewed as part of the qualitative study. Most of them already have the skills that they would like their future business activity to focus on.

Figure 69: Number of victims and survivors of sex trafficking by occupational preference



"People must help girls to find a decent job, because I know many girls who not only have diplomas, but also experience in hairdressing, restaurants where they could work."

–Survivor, 24 years old, Kédougou

"I would like to work in a hair salon as a hairdresser."

–Victim, 18 years old, Kédougou

"If I had money, I would go and do business in my country, for example retail, sell clothes ... and at the same time, look after my little brothers."

–Victim, 22 years old, Bantaco, Kédougou

In our study we found that for survivors, exit strategies from sex trafficking are most often limited by the victims' financial capabilities. Almost all the income earned from commercial sex is returned to the trafficker, with only a small portion kept by the victim for her food and personal needs, which delays the process of leaving trafficking.

"I live with my sister and other women I didn't know before I moved here. They consider me as their elder sister. I come to their aid by taking them in to get them out of the hands of their bosses. They have come to confide in me so that I can help them, advise them, and protect them. They come to me with their problems.

For example, when they work ([commercial sex] on behalf of their bosses), they are given 1,000 CFA ($1.70) a day to eat. They don't manage to eat well, because all the money they get from [commercial sex] is taken by the boss and she gives you 1000 CFA to use for the day. So they come to my house, if I cook, I give them food; if they need other things, they ask me, I help them; it's like that. They come to discuss with me to find a solution to get out of this situation, how to escape."

–Parent of survivor, Kolia, Saraya

As we reported when describing survivors' profiles, 11 of them, roughly 30%, continued in commercial sex even after they were no longer trafficked, which by their account they do to survive.

"Most of these girls (victims), they don't like this job, but if they leave it, they won't have any other work to do to eat. If they don't work, their families back home won't eat. There are some who left school to come here. There are some who had children and left them in their home country. I got my diploma; I didn't have a job, and I was a prostitute for a while."

–Survivor, 26 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"Prostitution, I was doing it because of my difficult living conditions. I had no one to help me, and I was not going to steal. I was forced to do this so that I could have something to eat and send money to my parents."

–Victim, 22 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

Quantitative findings

Among the individuals engaged in commercial sex who participated in the survey, 38% overall reported they had ever attempted to quit. A broadly similar proportion of older sex trafficking victims, aged 25-30, had ever attempted to quit compared to younger victims, aged 18-24 (40% vs. 35%, respectively, p=0.42) (Figure 70). Moreover, a slightly larger proportion of sex trafficking victims reported they had ever attempted to quit compared to non-victims, though this difference was not statistically significant (45% vs. 36%, respectively, p=0.26) (Figure 71).

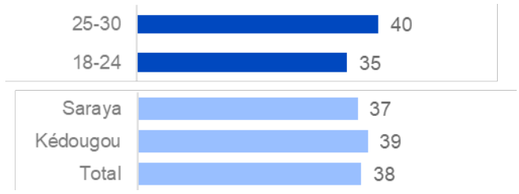
Among those who had attempted to quit commercial sex, 60% overall said they had faced repercussions (Figure 72). The most commonly reported repercussion was "terrible lack of money, impossible to find other work" (89%). Other repercussions such as blackmail (5%), threats of violence (3%), and actual violence (1%) were much less common (Figure 74).

While the proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who had tried to quit was similar in both departments (37-39%, Figure 72), experiences differed between those who did try to quit and those who did not.

A larger proportion of individuals experienced repercussions and/or constraints when trying to leave commercial sex in Saraya department compared to Kédougou department (68% vs. 44%, p=0.00), and a lack of money and work was a more common reason in Saraya than in Kédougou department (95% vs. 72%, respectively, p=0.00). In contrast, blackmail, threats of violence, and actual violence were notably more common in Kédougou than in Saraya department (Kédougou: 4-16% vs. Saraya: 0-2%).

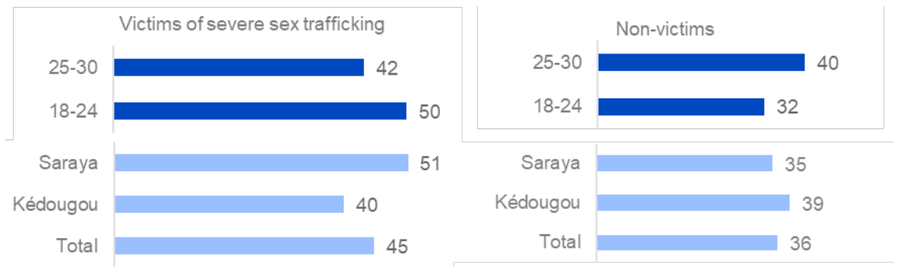
Among those who had attempted to quit, a larger proportion of non-victims reported they had faced repercussions compared to sex trafficking victims (69% vs. 28%, respectively, p=0.00) (Figure 73). The most commonly reported repercussion among both sex trafficking victims and non-victims who had faced any repercussions was "terrible lack of money, impossible to find other work" (victims: 8 out of 13 respondents, non-victims: 92%) (Figure 75). Note the base number for sex trafficking victims who faced repercussions is small, and the results should therefore be treated with caution.

Figure 70: Attempting to quit commercial sex by age group and department, overall (%)



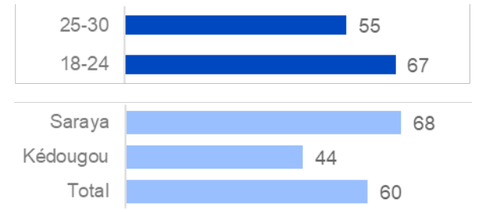
Weighted base: 18-24: n=246; 25-30: n=315; Saraya: n=379; Kédougou: n=182; Total: n=561.

Figure 71: Attempting to quit commercial sex by age group and department, by victim status (%)



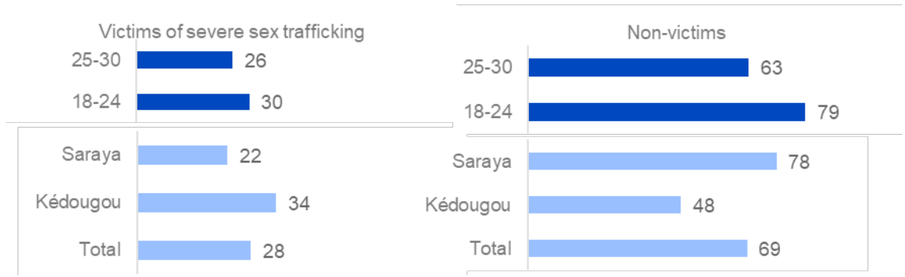
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=41; 25-30: n=62; Saraya: n=49; Kédougou: n=55; Total: n=104); non-victims (18-24: n=204; 25-30: n=253; Saraya: n=326; Kédougou: n=131; Total: n=457).

Figure 72: Faced any repercussions and/or constraints when trying to leave commercial sex by age group and department, overall (%)



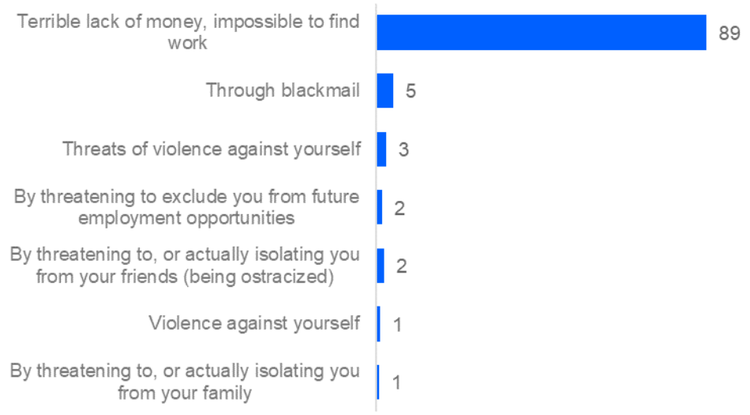
Weighted base: 18-24: n=86; 25-30: n=127; Saraya: n=140; Kédougou: n=73; Total: n=213.

Figure 73: Faced any repercussions and/or constraints when trying to leave commercial sex by age group and department, by victim status (%)



Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking (18-24: n=21; 25-30: n=26; Saraya: n=25; Kédougou: n=22; Total: n=47); non-victims (18-24: n=65; 25-30: n=100; Saraya: n=115; Kédougou: n=51; Total: n=166).

Figure 74: Repercussions, overall (%, multiple response)



Weighted base: Respondents who faced repercussions: n=128.

Figure 75: Repercussions, by victim status

Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking who faced repercussions (n=13); non-victims who faced repercussions (n=166).

Among the individuals engaged in commercial sex who had attempted to quit, 37% overall reported they had actually succeeded (Figure 76). It should be noted, however, that the eligibility criteria for the survey was having engaged in commercial sex within the past 12 months.

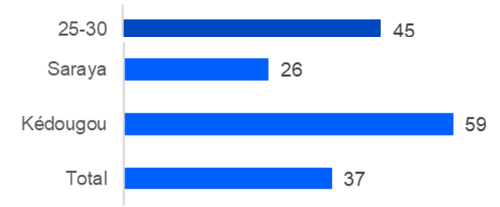
The sample therefore excluded girls and women who had left commercials sex more than 12 months ago, meaning that it is likely skewed towards those who had a harder time leaving commercial sex. The most common reason for resuming commercial sex activities was failing to find employment (88% overall), followed by a need to make money for oneself (18%) (Figure 78).

A larger proportion of sex trafficking victims had successfully left commercial sex compared to non-victims (51% vs. 34%, respectively, p=0.00) (Figure 77). The most common reason for resuming commercial sex activities among both sex trafficking victims (92%, 22 out of 24) and non-victims (86%, 48 out of 56) was failing to find other employment (Figure 79).

Among the individuals engaged in commercial sex who felt they lacked the freedom to leave this activity, the most common reasons reported were "I make my living from [commercial sex]" (26%) and "fear of blackmail" (25%) (Figure 80).

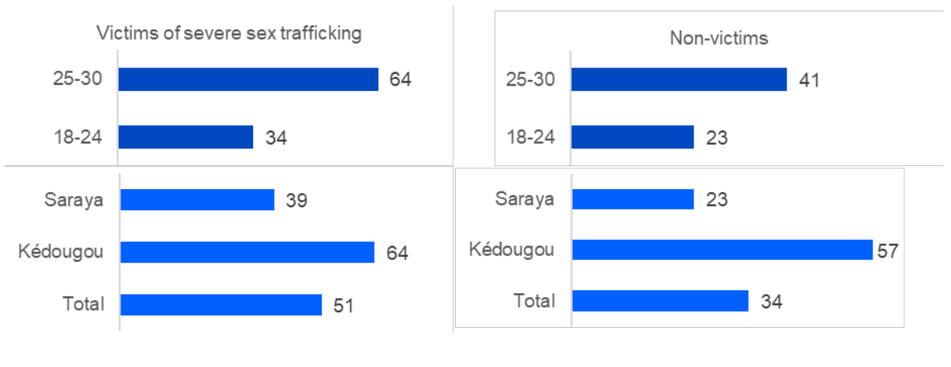
The most common reason for inability to leave the current situation reported by sex trafficking victims was "fear of blackmail" (3 out of 7 respondents), while the most common reason reported by non-victims was "fear of exclusion from future employment opportunities" (28%) (Figure 81).

Figure 76: Successfully left commercial sex in the past by age group and department, overall (%)



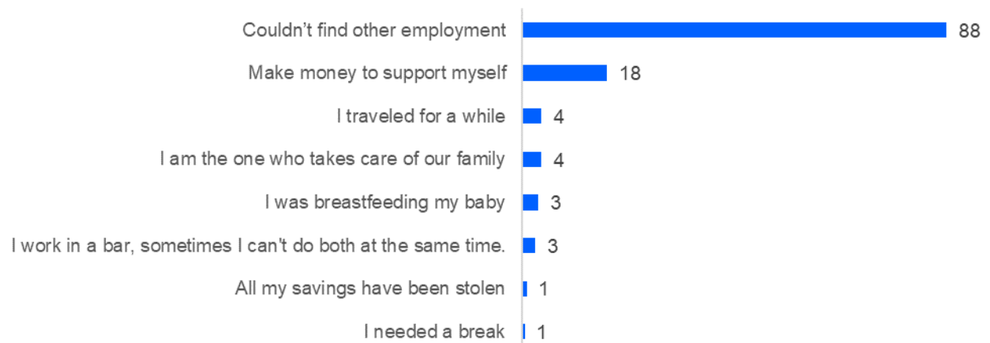
Weighted base: Respondents who tried to leave their current situation engaging in commercial sex: n=213; 18-24: n=86, 25-30: n=127; Saraya: n=140, Kédougou: n=73.

Figure 77: Successfully left commercial sex in the past by age group and department, by victim status (%)



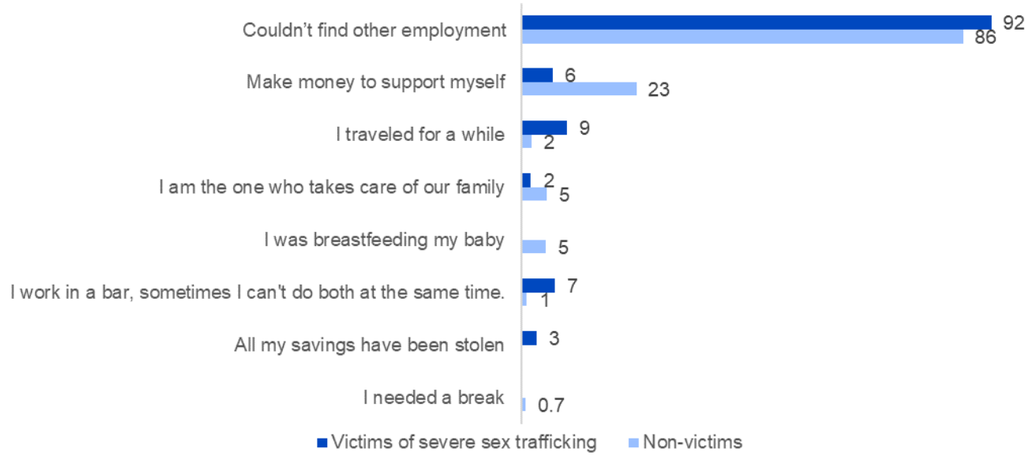
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking who tried to leave their current situation engaging in commercial sex (n=47; 18-24: n=21; 25-30: n=26; Saraya: n=25; Kédougou: n=22); Non-victims who tried to leave their current situation engaged in commercial sex (n=166; 18-24: n=65; 25-30: n=100; Saraya: n=115; Kédougou: n=51).

Figure 78: Reason for resuming commercial sex, overall (%, multiple response)



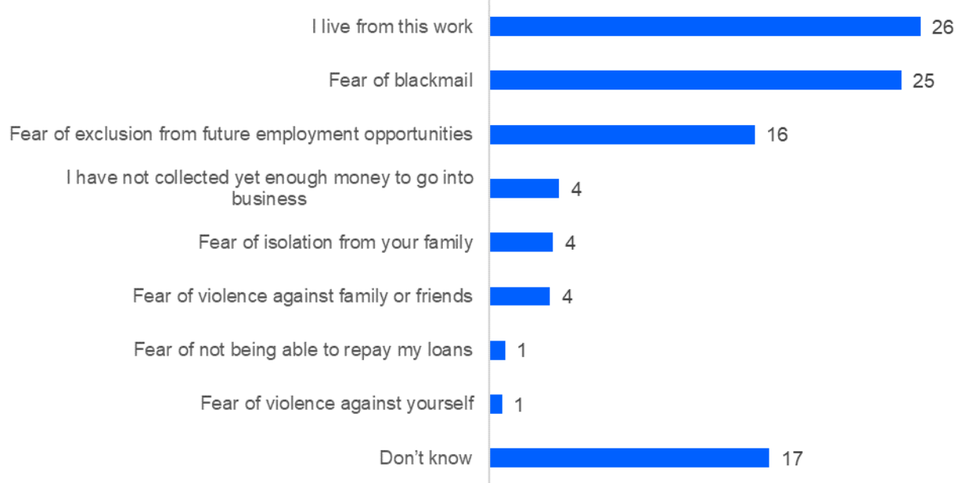
Weighted base: Respondents who successfully left commercial sex: n=80.

Figure 79: Reason for resuming commercial sex, by victim status (%, multiple response)



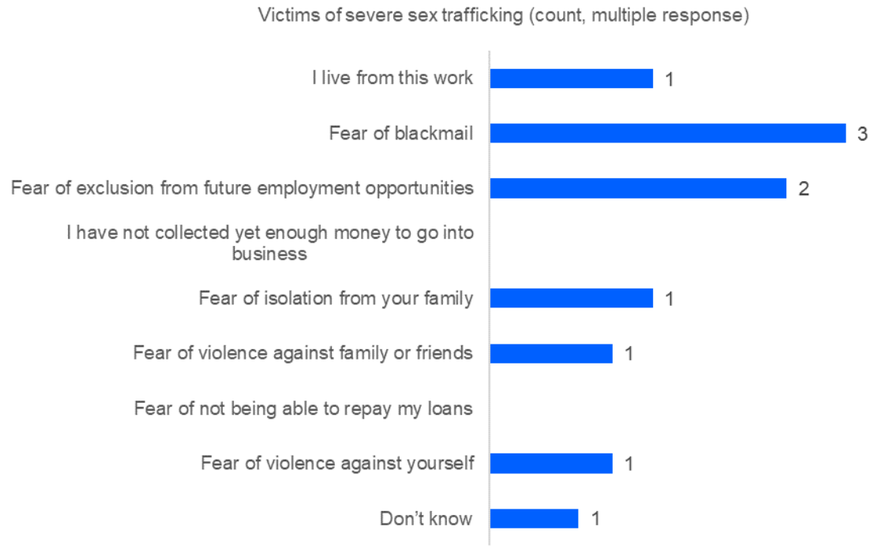
Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking who successfully left commercial sex (n=24); non-victims who successfully left commercial sex (n=56).

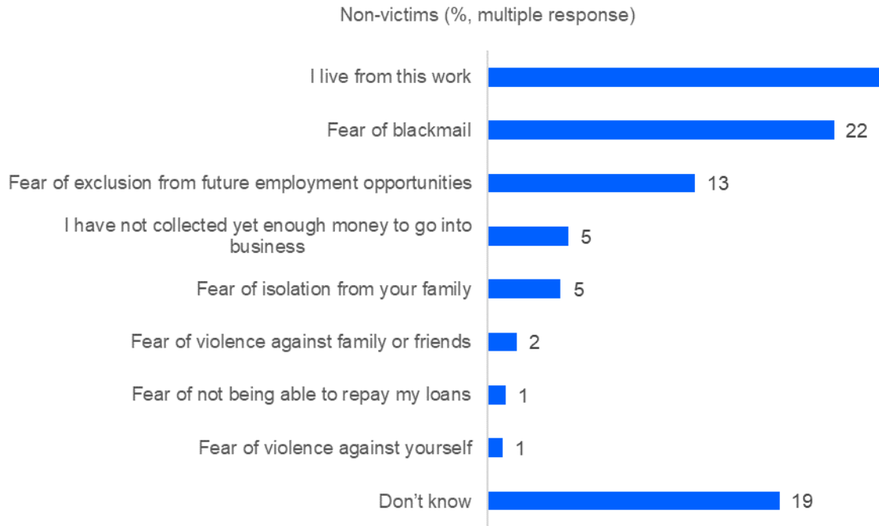
Figure 80: Reason for inability to leave current employment situation, overall (%, multiple response)



Weighted base: Respondents who felt they cannot leave current employment situation: n=43.

Figure 81: Reason for inability to leave current employment situation, by victim status





Weighted base: Victims of sex trafficking who felt they cannot leave current employment situation: n=7; non-victims who felt they cannot leave current employment situation: n=35.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM SURVIVORS AND VICTIMS

In qualitative interviews, noting the constraints they face in trying to leave sex trafficking, victims and survivors expressed a set of recommendations that reflect their expectations of the institutions or actors who would like to promote policies to fight sex trafficking. Because of their vulnerability in their places of origin, and also in the destinations where they are exploited, the victims/survivors of sex trafficking consider it essential that these institutions or stakeholders be involved in the development of employment policies, in particular through support for income-generating activities, in order to reduce the poverty that exposes these girls/women to the risk of sex trafficking. Given that most of the victims have professional preferences and skills, support for the financing of these economic activities is, for them, one of the best ways to enable victims/survivors of trafficking to become autonomous and move away from the situation. Moreover, some of them call upon the political authorities of their country of origin to improve employment policies to curb wrongful emigration and its associated risks, including human trafficking.

"If we manage to get financing, we could work and earn a decent living."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

"They have to help victims get out of this situation. They should organize meetings to give financial aid because most of the girls do not like this work. It's their hard living conditions that push them into it. They (the people who should come to help the victims of trafficking) should come here to Sambarambougou, hold meetings, exchange with [individuals engaged in commercial sex]. They must do this to help them get out of this."

–Survivor, 29 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"Others want to stay and work, do some trading, but they don't have any money. So if they can help us with just a little bit of money, that would be good."

–Victim, 22 years old, Khossanto, Saraya

"The President will have to consider taking action for us who have no mother or father. All he has to do is to help us stay in our country (of origin) to work because we left it to do this work. There are Nigerians who died while looking for money. Have mercy on us and help us to work. Many parents curse their children because of money. If we had money in Nigeria, we would never leave it for Senegal."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Kolia, Saraya

However, some of the respondents warned against giving money directly to victims/survivors to support the development of income-generating activities, as the money could potentially be used for other non-priority activities.

"If you give them money, they will use it to satisfy their needs and then after the money is spent, they will go back to doing their usual work."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

"You can give someone money today, and they use it the same day. So it's better to help them find a job. … There is no better way for these girls to get out of this situation."

–Survivor, 30 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

A second request from the victims/survivors interviewed concerns facilitation of the return and accompaniment to the country of origin for those who wish to do so.

"If I have money, I will go back to Nigeria and do business and sell clothes...I would like to find a job so that I can have funds to do business and go back home."

–Victim, 20 years old, Bantaco, Kédougou

Community leaders and stakeholders report that support mechanisms developed by the IOM in partnership with the NGO La Lumière included organizing for the return of sex trafficking victims to their countries of origin from 2015 to 2017. This program consisted of identifying victims of sexual exploitation or trafficking in Kédougou, accompanying them, and helping them return to their families through retraining projects in their native countries. However, victims suggested that these processes should be more formalized and accompanied by socio-professional reintegration policies in the places of origin.

"There are women who love this work. Even if you give them 1,000,000 CFA to return, they will not move because they will say they are working for themselves. On the other hand, there are others who really want to go back. Some girls want to return if they have the means. They will go and do business in the country; they will not think of coming here anymore. The government has the means. It can help all these girls to return."

–Survivor, 28 years old, Kharakhéna, Saraya

A final recommendation from victims and survivors to institutions and actors in the fight against sex trafficking is to develop mechanisms to apprehend the networks of people who organize, control, and operate trafficking activities. According to them, an effective enforcement system should make it possible to deter the people who exploit girls all along the circuit, from the countries of origin to Kédougou.

"You can go to the gendarmerie and explain your problem that there are people who forced me to come here. The gendarmes will say ok. They will give you transport to return to the country."

–Survivor, 28 years old, Tenkoto, Saraya

3.10 IMPACTS OF TRAFFICKING ON INDIVIDUALS, HOUSEHOLDS, AND COMMUNITIES

The impacts of sex trafficking in the Kédougou region can be assessed at different levels, as discussed in the sections that follow.

COMMUNITY AND SOCIETAL DRIVERS

Traditional gold mining in the villages in the region entails significant immigration of males who come from different countries in the West Africa subregion and who often travel without their families. The presence of this population of foreign males is perceived as a risk in relation to violence and sexual abuse of girls/women in the villages. The presence of individuals engaged in commercial sex is seen by some community leaders as a way to limit the risk of sexual assault on other women in the village. This explains to some extent the low involvement at the community level in the fight against this phenomenon.

"We do not prohibit this practice for people over 18, but if they are under 18 and are victims of sex trafficking, as soon as we are informed, we report these cases to the gendarmerie. For those who are of age, we must let them work because there are many people around. For married women, if there are more men, they will be interested in them, which is why we want the [individuals engaged in commercial sex] to stay in this area. They sort of fix us up."

–Local administration, Kharakhena, Saraya

"Well, in my opinion, now it is a bit serious. And, if the government does not intervene, the situation will get worse. We, who live in these areas, can say that this is a necessary harm. When you calculate the number of men who used to come here to mine for gold, it's a bit difficult. If it wasn't for these girls, the men would inevitably satisfy their desires with minors, i.e., pedophilia, or with married women, i.e., adultery."

–Local leader, Mouran, Saraya

INDIVIDUAL VULNERABILITY FACTORS

At the individual level, sex trafficking exposes victims to physical and emotional violence. The effects leave such a mark that victims often continue practicing commercial sex even after they have repaid the trafficker and left the trafficking situation. Some are forced to remain in the activity to survive, and some even become actors in trafficking.

"They continue because they have become addicted to the job."

–Key informant, regional level

"Next door to me there is a bar. I don't know if it's a restaurant, but it's owned by a Nigerian woman and I'm sure she's a trafficker. I learned that she [engaged in commercial sex], but she gave up. She lives in this house, and we see women in her house at late hours, during night, young girls almost all naked and I am sure that they are minors who come from Nigeria."

–Key informant, regional level, Kédougou

Key informants reported impacts on health such as exposure to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), as well as undesired pregnancies among minors that lead to induced abortions that constitute a significant risk to their sexual and reproductive health.

"They are numerous in this sector, and most of them are victims because these people do not know many things about life, and they suffer early, undesired pregnancies and even abortions. Sometimes it can affect their lives when they contract diseases. In any case, we have known people in the past who have contracted diseases in the mining sector."

–Local leader, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

Low household income levels, coupled with the absence of any other industry besides mining, were also reported as contributing to the development of sex trafficking. Key informants indicated that among indigenous individuals engaged in commercial sex, who are often not in a trafficking situation, the activity is performed clandestinely, which amplifies the risks in terms of sexual and reproductive health because they are not regularly monitored at the health center. Unlike those who practice commercial sex "officially" and have a health card that allows them to be monitored, girls/women in clandestine situations are very vulnerable and at-risk of early and/or unwanted pregnancies as well as STDs/STIs.

"Some of them do it for lack of means. For example, there are married girls who have been abandoned by their husbands and who end up as prostitutes. Often, this is what pushes them to do this to feed their families."

–Community health worker, Tenkoto, Saraya

"The other side is also the influence of other girls. In the village, there are girls who get pregnant early; unfortunately, they do not use family planning. And often these are early pregnancies and undesired pregnancies and even STIs."

–Health worker, Sambaranbougou, Saraya

3.11 POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT IN KÉDOUGOU AND NATIONALLY

This section is based on a comprehensive policy review and on interviews with key informants, as well as sex trafficking survivors and victims.

To protect human rights, Senegal has ratified the Palermo Protocol and other complementary African charters:

- The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981).
- The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990).
- The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women.
- The Declaration and Validation of the Regional Action Plan on Trafficking in Persons of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which, in essence, recommends the establishment of a legal framework and the development of a national policy to fight against trafficking in persons.

LAW No. 2005-06 of May 10, 2005, on the fight against trafficking in persons and similar practices and the protection of victims.

At the national level, Senegal enacted the May 10, 2005, law on the fight against trafficking in persons and similar practices and the protection of victims. This law aims to offer women, in particular, the guarantee of protection. According to legislation, the following is considered to be trafficking in persons: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons by threat or use of violence, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of authority or a position of vulnerability or by offering or accepting payment of benefits to obtain the consent of a person having authority over another person for the purpose of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, or servitude.

The offense is also committed when the recruitment, transport, transfer, accommodation, or reception concerns a minor, even if none of the means listed in the previous paragraph are used.

This offense is punishable by imprisonment of 5 to 10 years and a fine of 5 to 20 million francs.

This law is essentially based on the outlines of the Palermo Protocol, in addition addressing the issue of begging within the law.

This definition of trafficking, which revolves around transportation, transfer, accommodation, or movement from one region/location to another within the same country, or from the country of origin to the country of destination, strongly implies the passage from one country to another, a "crossing of borders."

Therefore, it is likely to marginalize women who are victims of various forms of trafficking within the country (such as women forced into prostitution) (Bop, 2013).

In these cases, even if trafficking is proven, the Senegalese legal system may consider sexual exploitation as a crime, pedophilia, sexual violence, kidnapping, and abduction of vulnerable persons and try the perpetrators under the Senegalese penal code. It can also try such cases under the Labor Code, which prohibits economic exploitation (Bop, 2005).

Commercial sex is central to the discussion of sex trafficking. Prostitution has been legal in Senegal since February 1, 1966. Legislation on

prostitution made commercial sex subject to registration in the health file, the possession of a health booklet, and medical visits every two weeks, and set the legal age of prostitution at 21.

This law has not changed since 1966. Prostitution is legal, but it is still punished to combat trafficking.

Prostitution is regulated in Senegal, but the activity is carried out in an inappropriate setting. Indeed, the repression of trafficking provided for in articles 323 and 325 of the Penal Code prevents the prostitute from carrying out her activity in hotels, houses, etc. The individual can only carry out her activity in the street, but the regulations prevent her from doing so by providing for two types of offenses. The first is a common-law offense related to public indecency. The second is the criminalization of prostitution through solicitation.

In Senegal, any person who wishes to engage in prostitution must be registered in the health and social file, be of legal age, and present an identity card, or a passport for foreigners. The law states that registration is voluntary. Once registered, a health card is issued to the prostitute. She is subject to other obligations such as gynecological medical check-ups every two weeks and presentation of the health booklet when questioned by the police or the gendarmerie.

Regarding sanctions, a registered prostitute can be prosecuted for soliciting on the public highway, failure to present a health card when stopped by the police or gendarmerie, or failure to meet the required schedule for medical examinations.

The Penal Code differentiates between two types of solicitation. "Active" solicitation is defined as being committed by those who, by gesture, word, writing, or by any other means, publicly solicit persons of either sex with a view to provoking them to debauchery. "Passive" solicitation is defined as an attitude on the public highway likely to provoke debauchery (Bop, 2013).

Our findings indicate that repression remains the primary way victims of sex trafficking experience "support" from the State services.

Survivors and victims shared that when arrested, some who want to break the link with their traffickers take the opportunity to tell their story. At that point, protection actions are initiated, ranging from the cancellation of the debt to be paid to the organization to return of the victim to their country or locality of origin.

"The gendarmerie put an end to this situation by imprisoning her (my trafficker); that's how I got my freedom back."

–Survivor, 29 years old, Kolia, Saraya

However, key informants indicated that the absence of a legal protection framework for victims of trafficking explains the failure to deal with all the cases reported to regional services and local NGOs.

"In Senegal, this sector (sex trafficking victims' protection) is challenging to work on. It is not organized because we do not have a national strategy that allows us to say, 'this is what we need to do,' unlike child protection which has a national strategy. We don't have a national anti-trafficking strategy. When we have a case, we try to deal with it by initiating a legal process until we arrest the perpetrators. There is nothing else.

"In any case, the mechanism we have, allows us to solve many things. Generally, for trafficking cases, it is only in case of rape and so on where the procedures are stopped. This is because of parental negotiations and cultural constraints, just to say that the procedures are not completed. So, we have noticed that this mechanism that is currently in place allows us to get [the women] out of it, but it would be better if we had a national strategy and if there were focal points in all the structures, that would be much easier."

–Civil society NGO, Kédougou

POLICIES AND LAWS THAT INDIRECTLY AFFECT TIP

The child protection strategy and its dedicated framework in the Kédougou region, the CDPE, is supportive of the protection of victims of trafficking, although there are obvious limitations because this mechanism is in place only for minors.

The National Child Protection Strategy

Senegal has had a national child protection strategy since December 2013 (UNICEF, 2013). The strategy is based on two fundamental objectives: establishing an integrated national system and promoting positive behavior change. The strategy is informed by the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and other conventions that concern both children and women, to which the State of Senegal is a signatory.

Senegal is also developing a protection policy that aims to reduce the exposure of children to certain practices (female genital mutilation, trafficking, child marriage, etc.) that violate children's rights (UNICEF, 2015). These policies are translated into legal provisions that prohibit, for example, the marriage of children under the age of 18 for boys and 16 for girls, and that promote the prohibition of female circumcision and other practices that are harmful to the physical and emotional development of children. The strategy is based on three pillars:

- Prevention, which refers to a set of institutional and community mechanisms that make it possible to anticipate children's exposure to the various factors mentioned above.
- Care for child victims of violence. This care is organized based on schemes that allow for efficient responses. We can thus distinguish the health scheme, which groups together the different stakeholders whose intervention is oriented towards healthcare. A second scheme concerns legal action, with a group of stakeholders relevant to that area.
- The promotion of, and accompaniment during, the social reintegration of victims.

An inter-ministerial council chaired by the Prime Minister at the national level[24] coordinates the strategy. There is also a framework called the national secretariat, which brings together all the ministries in charge of a specific child protection issue: the Ministry of Youth, the Ministry of Women, the Ministry of Health and Social Action with the Department of Social Action (DSAS); the Ministry of Justice with the Department of Supervised Education; etc. Finally, there are the commissions whose operation is described in the national document, validated in 2018, that specifies the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder (UNICEF, 2016).

On prevention, for example, the General Department of Social Action is responsible for coordinating various efforts. The organization of care has been entrusted to the AEMO (open educational action).

[24] *Due to changes in the government, including the abolition of the position of Prime Minister, the Secretary General of the Presidency of the Republic coordinates the national child protection strategy. (ref. http://www.mdgsl.com/documentsmdg/snpe-senegal.pdf)*

However, the Social Action Department interacts with all the services and stakeholders involved in prevention (Ministry of Health and Social Action, n.d.).

This entity must also work with all the services and actors involved in care. Thus, it plays the role of providing referrals and directs cases to the relevant stakeholders according to the requests it receives. Such an approach is in line with the paradigm of integrated governance, which takes into account both the autonomy and the interdependence of the stakeholders involved in child protection in Senegal.

"This is the role of the CDPE. For example, when I receive a case, and I see that it is no longer a vulnerability case; it is a case of a child in danger, in conflict with the law, I refer it to the AEMO. If it's a case that needs medical care quickly, I make the referral to the head of the regional health facility, and from that moment, if it's a case where we need a medical certificate quickly, we call the prefect who reports the case to the police or the gendarmerie and sends a request to the doctor who quickly delivers a medical certificate. Especially for cases of rape and sexual abuse, the system is set up for the care, and the CDPE accompanies the health district and AMEO to support the child. At the same time that we provide medical care, we also follow up on the legal aspect so that the perpetrator can be quickly arrested."

–Key informant, regional level, Kédougou

STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED: POLICE, JUDICIARY, SOCIAL/CHILD PROJECTION AGENCIES, NGOS/CSOS

Institutional stakeholders

The **CDPE** is a framework for coordinating and harmonizing all interventions at the departmental level regarding child protection. The CDPE was established in 2013 following Senegal's adoption of the national child protection strategy in December of that year. This strategy is based on two fundamental objectives: establishing a national system with integrity and promoting positive behavior change towards children.

The **Action Éducative en Milieu Ouvert (AEMO)** is a service of the Ministry of Justice, specifically the Direction de l'Éducation Surveillée de la Protection Sociale (Ministère De La Justice Du Sénégal, n.d.), which is the technical entity of the Ministry of Justice responsible for child protection. It operates at the regional level and does not currently have a branch at the departmental level. This entity's mission is to prevent juvenile delinquency and school dropout by developing awareness activities and providing educational assistance for extremely vulnerable minors. A second aspect of its intervention concerns the legal care of children who are victims of violence or delinquency. Even though its intervention is officially on the scale of the whole Kédougou region, we observe that due to resource constraints (logistical, HR, financial), the AEMO only develops actions in the departments of Kédougou, Salémata, and Saraya and is less concerned with the peripheral areas of the region. The target of the AEMO is children, i.e., any person under 18 years of age according to Senegalese legislation. In particular cases, the AEMO can intervene with children of higher age, between 19 and 22 years old, who request its services. Even though it has a mandate to promote and carry out interventions to protect children, the AEMO service in Kédougou does not have a department or structure that deals with sex trafficking, despite the prevalence of minors being victims of the phenomenon.

The **Departmental Community Development Service (DCDS)** is the regional entity of the Ministry of Community Development, whose role is to promote social equity and reduce socio-economic vulnerability factors, particularly in remote localities (https://devcommunautaire.gouv.sn/). The service supports community development initiatives with a specific focus on women's empowerment through training, provision of equipment (such as mills, agricultural processing tools, etc.), and supervision. DCDS supports female associations. It is also interested in reducing the infrastructure gap by advocating with public authorities and promoting social policies (e.g., family grants for the poor, medical care for the elderly). However, the DCDS does not have specific interventions related to sex trafficking. Although its primary area of intervention remains the department of Kédougou, the service is extending its interventions to Saraya and Salémata due to the lack of personnel in these departments.

The **Regional Youth Council** is the regional division of the National Youth Council of the Ministry of Youth (https://jeunesse.gouv.sn/), whose objective is to defend and promote youth rights. Its main mission is to implement all policies and projects for youth. According to Article 3 of the Statute of the Youth, the council is the interlocutor of the government, partners, and NGOs on interventions directed towards youth. The council has a significant network in the Kédougou region, which allows it to play the role of intermediary between these various actors (public authorities, civil society, etc.) while advocating for young people. Because of its cross-cutting position, the council is involved at the local level in supporting interventions with a community aspect, such as those addressing sexual violence and abuse, through the promotion of human rights, environmental issues, local development through agricultural policies, and security, because of the region's crossroads position. It is important to specify that the youth council, whatever its scale of intervention (national, regional, departmental), does not have specific activities to fight against sex trafficking. However, local initiatives on prevention activities in gold mining sites are often implemented with the support of certain NGOs to reduce children's exposure to the various risks associated with living in these areas.

Non-governmental organizations

Key informants report that the NGOs in the region are mainly involved in raising awareness about violence against girls/women. They work in collaboration with the government services centered around the CDPE, which coordinates the actions of the services and NGOs in the area of child protection, even though the persons under their care may be over 18 years old.

"The NGOs work with institutional actors because everything they do is part of the CDPE program. They also raise awareness against sex trafficking. They have set up village committees for girls/women protection, committees at the department, commune, and district levels. They raise awareness; they denounce. They also take care of the victims because there are minors who come from other countries; if they denounce the perpetrators to the NGO facilitators, they can pass on the complaints to the gendarmerie for handling these cases. Some NGOs work with institutional stakeholders in the region to organize the return of victims/survivors of trafficking to their country of origin. They work on the integration of young people who drop out of school, whether they are boys or girls, and reintegrate them into the school system or vocational training. They bring support to poor families."

–Civil society, local organization, Saraya

The association **Kédougou Encadrement Orientation et Développement Humain (KEOH)** is an education association created in September 1999 (https://beta.associationkeoh.org).

Its creation stems from the will of its founding members to respond to the need for an organized framework capable of implementing the philosophy of decentralization through the promotion of development based on community entrepreneurship. KEOH intervenes in the field of health by promoting the community health of populations through education and training in the techniques of preventing transmission of HIV and also in the integrated management of child and maternal illnesses. Regarding education, KEOH is involved in improving the quality of the educational environment in order to encourage more children, especially girls, to attend school and complete their education. KEOH also works in the area of food security by helping consolidate and protect family farms by providing them with the resources they need to be independent in terms of water, seeds, and inputs.

Regarding sex trafficking, KEOH has a focus on dealing with the exploitation of girls in gold mining areas. They intervene through facilitators and community workers. KEOH's intervention consists of two parts:

- **Prevention:** The NGO interacts with the network of gold miners through the chiefs or Tombouloumans (community security chiefs) to fight against the presence of children in gold mining sites, which exposes them to various risks of exploitation (child labor, commercial sex, etc.).

- **Accompaniment**: KEOH is involved in the care and social reintegration of victims of sex trafficking by facilitating their return to their places of origin.

CURRENT ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES

The law on human trafficking was passed in Senegal in 2005, but there is no law designed specifically for sex trafficking.

"I must admit that I am not very familiar with the national policy on trafficking because I do not know the policies that have been put in place, honestly. I know about the national child protection strategy, and I intend to find out more about this policy [the one about TIP] because if it has been put in place in Dakar and trafficking is taking place in Kédougou; solutions must be found. An evaluation, a diagnosis, and in-depth research on this issue must be done. I have never attended a workshop or shared baseline research on this issue. It is necessary to have the reference to make action plans to fight against this phenomenon, but what is the starting point, because this issue is more present at the level of gold mining areas. And it is in Bantaco, Saraya, and Kédougou that we must invest more in this sense."

–Key informant, regional level, Kédougou

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and Peacebuilding, whose mandate is to address human trafficking, has been established, but this institution has very limited financial and human resources and does not work in synergy with other ministries (Women, Justice, Interior) (Bop, 2013). It has not yet developed programs to fight trafficking and smuggling of persons.

There is also the National Council for the Fight against Trafficking in Persons (NCFTIP; https://www.cnltp.org/) set up by decree in 2020, whose intervention priorities are:

- Female genital mutilation
- Exploitation of children for sexual purposes
- Sexual violence against girls
- Sexual harassment
- Pedophilia
- Indecent assault
- Early marriage
- Incitement to debauchery
- Prostitution
- Abduction of minors
- Corruption of minors
- Kidnapping
- Forced marriage
- Sex tourism
- Rape

SERVICE GAPS AND POLICY GAPS

Prevention

Legislation addressing trafficking in persons exists (Law No. 2005-06 of May 10, 2005, on the fight against trafficking in persons and similar practices and the protection of victims), but stakeholders on the ground and those at the central level spread across the various ministries (Ministry of Mines, Ministry of Health, and Social Action Gender Unit) are not aware of the law.

In the Kédougou region, the decentralized government services are not directly involved in prevention, but rather in providing care for victims (health district) and in repression or imprisonment of traffickers (gendarmerie, courthouse). Our research found that stakeholders in the region are focused on offenses such as early marriage.

"Trafficking means you can steal a person, take her somewhere else, you do something for your benefit or get something out of them, in a way if I can say 'selling a person', it's sex trafficking. But do people see it as trafficking? I'm trying to put it in the context of our work. If I take specifically the case of forced marriage, it's trafficking, because if parents take their daughter for an 'early marriage or forced marriage,' sometimes she doesn't want or love her suitor, or she loves another … you force her. Or early on, you take your daughter knowing that she is not conscious or that she is obliged to obey you because you are her parents, you give her in marriage and sometimes it is in exchange for money to solve your [the parents'] problems. … We discovered sex trafficking in the mining areas during supervision, and it was within the framework of a joint mission of the Ministry of Health, an integrated mission where we discovered that it exists because it was a head nurse who was near the Falémé River, who told us that he had been there for a number of years, and he had seen some people who came to frequent there, and he told us that there were many foreigners in this area: Nigerians, Ghanaians, which surprised us."

–Key informant, Ministry of Health and Social Action

NGOs manage most of the prevention activities in the area. They are the main stakeholders involved in raising awareness of sex trafficking, but their interventions remain limited because those in the gold mining areas affected by sex trafficking are often of different nationalities, and only speak their native language, making it difficult to communicate effectively with them.

"We have a focal point that deals with gender and children's rights. This is a specific issue of the exploitation of young girls in the gold mining sites but

also works with facilitators and relays on issues related to sexual exploitation."

–Civil society NGO, Kédougou

In addition, the following gaps were identified by the study participants.

Language barriers are a challenge for local NGO facilitators who speak mostly in the local language or French, which prevents them from interacting effectively with much of the English-speaking community residing in the gold mining areas.

The porous nature of the borders means that there are always new residents in the gold mining sites. The flow of newcomers to the sites means that the work of raising awareness has to be repeated continually.

"To fight against sex trafficking, we must first strengthen the borders; these [traffickers and victims] are people who do not officially pass through the roads. When you look at the Kédougou region, at the border there is a post at Guémédjé, and there is also a post at Moussala, there is one at Kolia, and between Moussala and Kolia there are how many kilometers? That's 50 km of bush, so people can go anywhere. From Kolia to Wansangara is 40 km, from Wanssangara to Saeinsoutou is 15 km. So from there to Kégnékégnébanding, there is no police station and people pass through there. From Kégnékégnébanding to Sonkounkou down to Bransan, there is no police station, you see? The borders must be reinforced."

–Civil society NGO, Kédougou

Awareness is not focused on sex trafficking, but rather on commercial sex, sexually transmitted infections, and the integration of individuals engaged in commercial sex into other professions. This naturally reduces the focus on preventing or combating sex trafficking.

"We work on prevention and support; prevention in terms of awareness, surveillance through the network of miners' associations and through our focal points; and support for victims in terms of recovery and reintegration." – Civil society NGO, Kédougou
"In general, the victims of trafficking are foreigners. They are the most affected. They come from the sub-region. It is difficult to communicate with all these people when you don't know their languages."

–Local leader, Saraya

Prevention is hampered by the lack of a reporting mechanism that would allow suspected sex trafficking to be referred to the appropriate agencies.

Although some trafficking cases are reported, there is no standard mechanism known to the community at large to monitor and report suspected sex trafficking.

"Unfortunately, we don't work directly on sex trafficking. That's the truth. We don't work with victims of trafficking either. I say unfortunately because we may not have the tools to work with them because they are a very sensitive target. There is also the aspect of confidentiality related to the treatment of trafficking cases. It is more the NGOs that work on this. I am in contact with the social action department [CDPE], which informs me of the activities, but that's where it ends."

–Key informant, Departmental civil servant

"All organizations should be involved. Even the parent who is next door should be involved because there is no guarantee that tomorrow his child will not be trafficked. We must discourage it because our children are not immune."

–Key informant, Departmental civil servant[25]

Some stakeholders consider the law and its sanctions to be adequate, but the involvement of government services in prevention is limited due to the lack of a framework for prevention and a lack of effective knowledge of the law and the types of services it provides.

Protection

Six of the 17 articles of the Trafficking in Persons Act deal with protection, but the legislation focuses on legal protection and does not mention the psychological and social protection of the victims of trafficking (Bop, 2013). In general, the 2005 law is more concerned with the repression of traffickers than with the protection of victims, with 11 of the law's 17 articles dealing with sanctions incurred by traffickers, as opposed to the six relating to the protection of victims and witnesses.

Below are the articles related to protection:

Law No. 2005-06 of May 10, 2005, on the fight against trafficking in persons and similar practices and the protection of victims

Chapter IV. Protection of victims and witnesses

Art. 12. Regardless of any contrary provision, the victims of the offenses provided for in this law may not be prosecuted or convicted.

The provisions of the preceding paragraph shall not apply to a person of full age who knowingly contributes to the commission of the offense.

Art. 13. The persons who denounce to the competent authority the criminal acts

referred to in the present law before the consumption of the offense can benefit from the absolute apology.

Art. 14. In order to protect the identity and privacy of victims and witnesses, trial courts may order that the proceedings be held in camera.
The trial court may exempt victims or witnesses from appearing at the hearing.

Art. 15. Once the public prosecution for the offenses referred to in this law has been initiated, no victim may be removed from the national territory until a final decision has been reached on the public prosecution and the civil action.

Victims of the offenses referred to in this law may apply to remain in Senegal on a temporary or permanent basis, with a resident or refugee status in accordance with the laws in force.

Art. 16. Victims of the offenses referred to in this law who are particularly vulnerable or minors shall be assisted before the investigating and trial courts by a lawyer of their choice or appointed by the court.

Art. 17. For the purpose of civil action, the Public Prosecutor's Office may request that minor victims who have no known legal representative or who do not present guarantees for the protection of the rights and welfare of the child be placed under legal guardianship.

The appointed guardian or administrator shall defend the interests of the victim as a responsible person.

The associations or public services that provide care for the victims may, at their request or ex officio, represent them in court.

[25] *The head of the territorial administration at the departmental level*

According to Bop (2013), an adult victim who seeks protection must provide proof that she has been a victim; otherwise, she risks penal sanctions just as the traffickers do. However, even if she provides this proof, she can only do so when the trafficking situation has ended, and this is also when the police start investigating and arresting the traffickers. It is worth mentioning that many underage victims of trafficking are arrested and tried as adults because the age on their ID cards falsely indicates they are an adult, which is another challenge in protecting victims.

"The issue is that when you look at them [victims], you automatically know that they are children but unfortunately, when you look at their ID, they are adults. And here the disadvantage is that the judge applies the maximum sentence because they are judged as adults."

–Key informant, regional level, Kédougou

Trafficking in adults is punishable by imprisonment for 5 to 10 years and a fine of 5 to 20 million CFA. It is a criminal offense punishable by 10 to 30 years imprisonment when committed under aggravating circumstances. The maximum penalty is imposed when the offense is committed against a minor or by an ascendant or a person with authority over the victim.

—Senegalese Penal Code

The law focuses mainly on legal protection, neglecting social protection, including psychological care and rehabilitation of victims. No decree has been issued to detail the social protection measures granted to victims. There is a lack of facilities for protection of victims, such as foster homes, which hinders the investigation and prosecution of trafficking in persons and related practices because it may allow traffickers to dissuade victims from filing complaints. At this point, one wonders about the psychological state and motivation of a trafficking survivor who must provide evidence of her victimhood ˆonce her ordeal has ended" (Bop, 2013). Some stakeholders reported that there is a lack of psychological support for survivors and victims of sex trafficking, and as a result, survivors may stay away from protective services for fear of retribution by traffickers and of having to relive the hardships experienced during the trafficking period (as some survivors pointed out, too).

"Generally, at the legal level, they [victims of sex trafficking] are supported because the traffickers can be arrested; sometimes they [victims of sex trafficking] are victims of injustice, sometimes they [victims of sex trafficking] are not listened to, which makes them people who deserve special support, psychological monitoring. Maybe if there was this kind of support, survivors would be better off."

–Civil society NGO, Kédougou

"We must ensure that they [victims] are protected because this is an environment where silence is mandatory. There are certain truths that they cannot tell because they risk their own lives or that of their parents. They must be guaranteed safety. They must be protected. It is also necessary that reconversion policies are initiated because a woman who has been doing this job for almost ten years if you tell her to give up, what else is she going to do? You should not tell her to give up without offering her something else. Otherwise, she risks falling back into commercial sex. They need a viable reconversion, for example, training income-generating activities, but in any case, she should not be left to her own devices. They also need psychological support, which is necessary because they are sometimes distressed, they have lost all their bearings, all their values, it is quite complicated, especially since it is a very hard job and sometimes, they are forced to use certain drugs to be able to work. This leads to physiological and psychological after-effects. There too, psychological care is necessary. It is a problem that must be treated, it is appalling gender-based violence, and we must do everything possible to eradicate it."

–Prefect, Saraya

Prosecution

One of the main criticisms (Bop, 2013) of the 2005 anti-trafficking law is that it is essentially oriented towards the imprisonment of the perpetrators of trafficking while setting aside the social and psychological protection of the victims.

Senegal's human protection law enacted in 2005 includes 17 articles, 11 of which refer to human trafficking. Chapter 1 of the law includes three articles that define human trafficking and the punishment for a convicted trafficker. Chapter 2 (articles 4 to 7) deals with migrant smuggling. Chapter 3 (articles 8 to 11) addresses the legal procedure adopted to deal with cases of migrant smuggling.

CAPACITY OF SYSTEMS AND STAKEHOLDERS

The laws on clandestine prostitution, trafficking, sexual violence, and kidnapping are used to prosecute the perpetrators of trafficking. In the case of proven trafficking and smuggling, Senegalese legislators consider sexual exploitation as a crime of trafficking, pedophilia, sexual violence, kidnapping, and abduction of vulnerable persons, and try perpetrators under the Senegalese Penal Code. It can also judge cases under the Labor Code, which prohibits economic exploitation.

Stakeholders involved in the prevention of sex trafficking are working independently. Key informants recommended that synergy be established among stakeholders working in the prevention of sex trafficking, as is done for child protection. The stakeholders we interviewed suggest putting in place a coordination framework that brings together all the stakeholders: the Regional Court, Police, Border Police, administrative authorities, healthcare agents, and local authorities (neighborhood/village chiefs, local security chiefs known as "Tombouloumans").

"There is the Tribunal de Grande Instance, the police, the gendarmerie, the border police, the village chiefs, the administrative authorities (the prefect, the sub-prefect, the governor), and the social services (social action and the hospital). All these services are involved in the management of people. They take care of the health of people who may be involved in trafficking. Village chiefs could be involved in the surveillance of trafficking cases at the community level. I spoke about security at the gold mining sites and how representatives of different nationalities must be involved in the fight against human trafficking because if they are not involved, they will continue to marginalize themselves and continue their work in parallel, and this will not stop the phenomenon. Therefore, in the fight against trafficking in persons, all NGOs involved in the fight against trafficking in persons, child protection and others must be involved."

–Key informant, NGO, Kédougou

CONCLUSIONS

1. What are the profiles, characteristics, and scope of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas have a number of characteristics that promote exploitative practices towards women, particularly sex trafficking. Key informants and opinion leaders characterized mining towns in this region as hyper-masculine—with large populations of young male workers and social norms and beliefs that promote and condone abuse of women.

Based on the quantitative results, most victims of sex trafficking came from Nigeria (68%) followed by Senegal (13%), Mali (12%) and other countries (8%). Most victims of sex trafficking have been to school, with nearly half having attended secondary school or higher (48%). Sixty-four percent of sex trafficking victims reported experiencing at least one detrimental living condition before engaging in commercial sex. Over half (55%) of sex trafficking victims experienced domestic abuse, though only 9% reported being a victim of sexual violence in childhood.

We found that young women were more often deceived than coerced into a trafficking situation, especially through false promises having to do with job opportunities and then being forced to repay debts related to travel and living expenses. For example, many survivors and victims who were interviewed reported that they were promised employment, such as catering, hotel services, and hairdressing in destination areas in Africa (Senegal, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire) or outside Africa (France, Dubai, etc.), however, when they arrived in Senegal they were informed that they would actually be engaged in commercial sex. This finding was also supported by the survey results which found that 40% of sex trafficking victims felt they experienced lies or false promises. Among sex trafficking victims who were lied to, the top lies and/or false promises were related to work and living conditions, including the location of their job (52%), work conditions (50%), identity of real employer (46%), and housing/living arrangements (46%). This pattern was the same in both Kédougou and Saraya departments.

Once in a trafficking situation, respondents reported experiences with emotional, psychological, and social manipulation to ensure that they stayed in their situation. Few sex trafficking victims reported facing threat of isolation (5%), threat of exclusion from future work opportunities (8%), or actual physical harm (9%). Fifteen percent reported having their ID papers confiscated.

1.1 What is the prevalence of sex trafficking among young women engaged in commercial sex (ages 18-30 years) in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

The prevalence of sex trafficking was determined through responses to the quantitative survey. Sex trafficking are defined by commercial sex acts induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age. Overall, nearly one in five (19%) individuals engaged in commercial sex throughout the Kédougou region—which is our study region and consists of Kédougou department and Saraya department—are estimated to be victims of sex trafficking.

Sex trafficking is more common in Kédougou department (30% of individuals) compared to Saraya department (13% of individuals). Given that the total population of women aged 18-30 engaged in commercial sex in the Kédougou region mining communities is about 1,500, it is estimated that there are approximately 300 current victims of sex trafficking among this group.

1.2 What are the community and societal drivers of sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Key informant interviews highlighted a number of factors at the community and societal levels driving vulnerability to sex trafficking. Broadly, these can be separated into economic, socio-cultural, and policy factors.

Economic drivers were highlighted in both qualitative and quantitative research. Interviewees noted that unstable and impoverished living situations, as well as lack of employment opportunities in their home countries, drove women to seek potentially dangerous jobs. Socially, the lack of a security net, in terms of a support system of family and friends, as well as means of livelihood—both in the home country and in the receiving communities—made women vulnerable to ongoing abuse. Respondents also noted that ineffective law enforcement and corruption in transit countries enable trafficking. Among victims of sex trafficking, there were some differences in risk factors for women who experienced sex trafficking in particular. These women were more likely to be Senegalese and much more likely to be a childhood victim of sexual violence, as well as having witnessed abuse in the household as a child. Other risk factors included having gone hungry as a child, being aware of others engaging in commercial sex, and living in a household with alcohol consumption.

1.3 What are the individual vulnerability factors for sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Factors similar to those that operated at the

community and societal level played a role in increasing individual vulnerability to sex trafficking, including economic, familial, and social factors such as lack of food, dropping out of school, unemployment, or caring for a sick relative. Respondents shared that economic deprivation—both current and during childhood—was a strong driver of sex trafficking. Going hungry was found to be a predictor of being a victim of sex trafficking, even when adjusting for other factors. Individuals engaged in commercial sex had 2.1× higher odds of being a victim of sex trafficking if they had frequent childhood experiences of going hungry compared to those with no such experience.

Findings from the qualitative interviews further indicate that recruitment into sex trafficking uses/leverages survivors' and victims' experiences of deprivation. For example, victims reporting that they were solicited based on promises of professional jobs in fields such as hairdressing, catering, hotel work, trading, etc. Girls and women already involved in commercial sex were solicited by couriers to work in other areas. This relocation incurred debt that then had to be paid off.

Survey results indicate that being a victim of sexual violence in childhood is a strong predictor of being a victim of sex trafficking, with an odds ratio of 8.8 as compared to those with no such experience, adjusting for other factors. Qualitative work reinforced this—the lack of a social network, both in the home country and in the receiving communities, makes women vulnerable to ongoing abuse. At the institutional and governmental level, lack of training and funding for services and agents dedicated to the prevention of human trafficking, minimal border control, and a dearth of effective reporting mechanisms were all cited by respondents as challenges that hinder effective responses to trafficking.

Lack of other employment was the main reason why individuals engaged in and remained in commercial sex: 89% of individuals who attempted to quit (38% overall) reported "terrible lack of money, impossible to find other work." It should be noted, though, that this figure was based on individuals currently engaged in commercial sex, meaning that women who had successfully left commercial sex were not included.

1.4 What are the individual and community resilience factors in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas?

Sex trafficking victims and survivors we interviewed in both the qualitative and quantitative components largely said they relied solely on themselves to leave sex trafficking, although some forms of support were also mentioned. In the qualitative interviews, women mentioned several strategies for coping with trafficking while it is happening: thinking about family, focusing on a time they will be able to leave their situation, trying to earn enough money to leave, thinking about a child left behind with their parents, and drawing on religious faith.

The quantitative results point to moderately high levels of resilience, including relatively high levels of social support and feelings of being in control of some aspects of one's life. Over three-fourths of women (78%) reported having at least one type of social support. Half of individuals engaged in commercial sex (50%) said they had family who were willing to help them make decisions, and just over half said they had a special person in their life who cared about their feelings and/or someone who was a source of comfort.

However, nearly one-tenth (8%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex reported that they had suicidal thoughts all the time, and about one-fifth (22%) felt their life was over and they might as well end it all most or a good part of the time. Furthermore, over one-tenth (12%) of individuals engaged in commercial sex were thinking of a plan to take their own life and about different ways to kill themselves.

2. What are the perceived service and policy gaps for addressing sex trafficking in Saraya and Kédougou gold mining areas with respect to prevention, prosecution, and protection?

Suggestions to improve the prevention of sex trafficking included promoting awareness of the law among government officials (national and regional levels); training and funding services and agents dedicated to the implementation of human trafficking prevention; improving border control; creating an effective reporting mechanism; and raising awareness on how to prevent, recognize, and combat sex trafficking. Respondents noted that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are well placed to manage most of these activities.

In terms of improving protection for victims, respondents noted that there is currently a strong focus on legal protection, but that it is also important to provide holistic services, including psychological care, income-generation training, and facilities and services for rehabilitation of victims. It was also noted in interviews that social protection of victims is not provided for in the law—a notable gap. Victims and survivors also noted that alternative livelihoods training is a key factor for a sustainable exit from sex trafficking. A promising avenue for programming would be to support women to find sustainable, alternative ways to provide for themselves in the long-term.

Prosecution was seen as an avenue to address sex trafficking; however, legal action was seen by respondents as more reactive than preventative. Moreover, key informants shared that most prosecution seems to be focused on preventing minors from being trafficked, with less focus on adult victims. This is complicated by the fact that minors often have forged documents that falsely identify them as adults, resulting in the perpetrators getting away with lesser sentences.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings from this mixed-methods study point to several concrete and evidence-informed recommendations. The following recommendations have been organized by key take-away. Based on these take-aways, recommendations are at the policy, funder and service provision levels are provided below.

Sex trafficking is common in the mining sites sampled for this study. Overall, **nearly one in five women engaged in commercial sex were victims of sex trafficking**. This reality calls for a strong and coordinated response at multiple levels. While acknowledging the relatively high levels of sex trafficking across the board, it is also important to note that **levels of sex trafficking can vary from site to site. Identification of "hotspots" may be an effective way to target limited resources** to areas of special need.

One concerning finding from this study was victims' overwhelming lack of awareness of any type of support services available in mining towns. Community leaders occasionally mentioned activities they undertake to support victims of trafficking (reporting, facilitating return to home country), but victims themselves often were not aware of any of these activities. Survivors interviewed mentioned that they did not know of any organization or group acting at the community level to fight sex trafficking, even though sex trafficking is widely acknowledged as a problem in the gold mining areas. This reality speaks to the importance of linking advocates and survivors with those working on anti-trafficking efforts to ensure programming is responsive and tailored to the needs of those at-risk of or experiencing trafficking.

The findings regarding lack of awareness are especially concerning since **victims expressed they have high interest in escaping their circumstances, and high motivation to do so**. A significant portion of the victims interviewed stated **they would be willing to interact with stakeholders in the fight against sex trafficking.** A key barrier to accessing programs is lack of knowledge about available resources. However, victims and survivors also stated that it is **important for them to fully understand the choices, risks, barriers, and options available through the existing services so they can make informed decisions.**

Ignorance in the community about the forced nature of sex trafficking (versus voluntary commercial sex) can be a barrier to an effective response. The fact that commercial sex in mining towns is both widespread and legal can lead to key national and community stakeholders assuming that women are in these situations voluntarily. **This makes it less likely that services will be offered and targeted to women in a sex trafficking situation.**

Achieving financial stability was seen as the most viable path out of sex trafficking. Paying off one's debt was described as the best, and commonly the only, way to escape trafficking. Once one's debt was paid, survivors noted that threats of blackmail or violence were relatively uncommon—eliminating the financial "obligation" was indeed an effective path to freedom. However, even after paying off debt, women frequently had to continue engaging in commercial sex as a "bridge" to help them achieve the financial security to enter into a job they actually wanted to perform.

Victims seem to be most vulnerable when traffickers still have control of their identification documents and are telling them they must repay "debt" in order to leave the trafficking situation. At this time women are under high levels of control by a trafficker and often face restrictions in their contact with other women, their movement, and/or their communication. Victims may, however, have access to cell phones, which could provide a pathway for some degree of independence.

The legal system was identified as a key, and sometimes the only, potential access point for services, yet victims often said that their expectations for help from police officers and others in the legal system were disappointed. This is especially concerning since women often turn to the legal system as a last resort, to escape especially violent or coercive environments. However, data from the study suggests that these complaints tend to be unsuccessful due to lack of knowledge about how to handle cases.

POLICY MAKERS

Policy makers must acknowledge that sex trafficking is a pressing and pervasive problem in mining towns and strengthen policies and action plans to respond to this reality.

The current Senegalese law has adopted a definition of trafficking that revolves around the transportation, transfer, accommodation, and movement of victims from the country of origin to the country of destination. Women who have not been transported across an international border (Senegalese women) may not enjoy equal protection under the law. Policy makers should consider amending Senegalese law to acknowledge and address sex trafficking within its own borders.

Participants in the research cited poor or little border control as a barrier to identifying and combatting human trafficking; providing support for improved monitoring at borders could serve as a deterrent.

Creation of a national referral pathway for victims and survivors of GBV could provide important information to all women affected by these issues, including survivors and victims of trafficking, on where to seek assistance and what services are available through different referral points.

FUNDERS

Funders should recognize the need for long-term, holistic programming that incudes awareness campaigns coupled with targeted training of key actors (such as judges, police officers, medical providers, and other service providers).

Support for evidence-based and coordinated responses that help stakeholders across multiple sectors harmonize their efforts is needed.

Financial support and livelihood interventions must be woven into programming.

Programs should be funded that center
on the voices of advocates and activists who can ensure that programming reflects the needs of victims and survivors.

Programs should be co-created with local communities to ensure they reach the populations that need them most.

LEGAL SYSTEM

The legal system is a key entry point for victims and survivors to seek help, but lack of training and awareness means that women are often disappointed by the response they receive when seeking help through this avenuue.

It is important for police and other community stakeholders to improve training on identification of the signs of sex trafficking, and on potential interventions.

Providing a group of dedicated officers with additional training on sexual exploitation and abuse, trafficking, and psychological support of victims and survivors should also be considered.

Training of judges and magistrates can help ensure that cases with a trafficking component are prosecuted under the applicable laws.

Prosecution of recruiters, transporters, traffickers, and other perpetrators can be a deterrent to continued sex trafficking.

SERVICE PROVIDERS

Supporting women to achieve financial stability is seen by victims and survivors as a key pathway out of sex trafficking. This can include helping women establish a stable income through vocational training, training in small business practices, and support from saving and loans groups.

Alternative livelihoods training is a key to a sustainable exit from sex trafficking. Often, respondents had to wait years to escape sex trafficking, using commercial sex as an interim measure toward finally being able to work in the professions they had been told they would work in when first recruited. Women commonly cited retail and hairdressing as desirable professions. Victims and survivors have preferences and skills relevant to which income-generating activities they would like to engage in. Support for the financing of these economic activities is one of the best ways to enable victims/ survivors to become autonomous and to move away from sex trafficking.

Services must be interconnected and holistic. Referral pathways between medical, legal, economic, and psychosocial services will help ensure that victims and survivors can access the full range of services they need.

All services should clearly communicate with victims and survivors about the choices, risks, barriers, and options available through that service, and should manage expectations around the options available. As noted above, an important avenue for future programming could entail substantively involving advocates and survivors in the development, design, and provision of services.

Lack of training for services and agents dedicated to the implementation of human trafficking prevention efforts was also identified as a key gap.

Annex 1. Reference tables

Reference tables have been provided in a separate Excel format. Please review the attached Excel file.

Sex trafficking: Ever experienced situations/actions that form part of the definition

The definition of sex trafficking used in this report is based on respondents having experienced the elements shown in Table 20 in the past 12 months. Table 20 shows the proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who had ever experienced the respective situations/actions.

Note that under the RDS weighting approach, the equivalent figures for the past 12 months, based on the full sample, are not simply the derived percentage using the adjusted base. In order to avoid potential confusion, we therefore only present the “ever” experience below separately.

Table 20: Proportion of individuals engaged in commercial sex who had ever experienced the respective situations/actions

Relevant questions from the questionnaire	Element of definition	Age group		Department		Total
		18-24	25-30	Saraya	Kédougou	
		%	%	%	%	%
Sometimes, people are coerced or forced against their will to engage in sex for commercial purposes. Have you ever felt coerced or forced against your will to engage in commercial sex?	Engages in a forced commercial sex act	7	4	4	8	6
Sometimes, lies are used to trick/entice people into accepting a job. Have you ever felt cheated or lied to about any of the following:	Fraud, Coercion	6	8	4	15	7
Your work conditions						
Your job contract terms						
Housing/living arrangements						
Your legal status						
The location of your job						
The identity of your real employer						
Pay or other work benefits						
A promise of marriage or love						
Sometimes, deception is used to trick people. Has anyone ever cheated or lied to you to lure you to a situation with a promise of marriage or love which ended up not to be true, and where you ended up being exploited for sex against your will?	Fraud, Coercion	6	4	4	7	5
Has this person/people withheld your compensation or other personal valuables to prevent you from leaving?	Coercion	1	6	1	6	2
Has this person/people told you that you would lose your compensation already earned if you decided to quit?	Coercion	1	6	1	6	3
Has this person/people withheld a part or total sum of your compensation (not bonuses) as a guarantee/assurance to prevent you from leaving your position?	Coercion	1	3	1	3	2
Weighted base		*246*	*315*	*379*	*182*	*561*

Annex 2. Baseline instrument

See separate attachment to this report.

Annex 3. Qualitative sample

	Local level	Institutional actors	Community leaders				
			Civil society organizations	Opinion leaders	Community health workers	Victims	Parents of survivors
Dakar		3	-	-	-	-	-
Kédougou	Kédougou	-	10	5	4	2	2
	Bantaco	-	-	4	4	4	2
	Samécouta*			-	-	4	0
Saraya	Kolia*	-	-	3	1	3	2
	Kharakhéna*			3	2	4	2
	Sambaranbougou			4	2	3	2
	Mouran			3	2	3	-
	Tenkoto			2	3	6	1
	Khossanto			3	2	5	2

Annex 4. Training agendas

Quantitative training agenda

DAYS	ACTIVITIES	HOURS
Day 1	Introduction of participants	11:00 – 13:30
	Objectives and Research questions	
	Coffee-break	13:31 – 14:30
	Training manual / Methodology	14.31 – 16:30
Day 2	Review of the key points covered (Day 1)	09:00 – 09:30
	Question by question review (French) + Training manual	09:31 – 10:30
	Coffee-break	10:31 – 10:45
	Question by question review (French) + Training manual	10:46 – 13:30
	Lunch	13:31 – 14:30
	Question by question review (French) + Training manual	14.31 – 17:30
Day 3	Review of the key points covered (Day 1 & 2)	09:00 – 09:30
	Administration of the questionnaire with tablet	09:31 – 10:30
	Coffee-break	10:31 – 10:45
	Administration of the questionnaire with tablet	10:46 – 13:30
	Lunch	13:31 – 14:30
	Administration of the questionnaire (local language translation + tablet)	14.31 – 17:30
Day 4	Review of the key points covered (Day 1, 2 & 3)	09:00 – 09:30
	Screeners	09:31 – 10:30
	Coffee-break	10:31 – 10:45
	Coupons management and monitoring	10:46 – 13:30
	Lunch	13:31 – 14:30
	Comprehension tests	14.31 – 16:30
Day 5	Pilot	09:30 – 13:30
	Lunch	13:31 – 14:30
	Pilot debriefing	14:31 – 16:30
	END	

Qualitative training agenda

DAYS	ACTIVITIES	HOURS
DAY 1	Welcome	9h – 9h05
	Introduction of participants	9h06 – 9h10
	Ice-breaker activity	9h11 – 9h20
	Introduction: Familiarizing with the topic	
	Presentation of the study	
	1. Context	9h21 – 9h50
	2. Objectives and Research questions	9h46 - 10h
	3. Definitions of key concepts of the study	10h – 11h15
	Coffee-break	***11h16 – 11h40***
	Q&A	11h41 – 12h05
	Description of the methodology	12h06 – 13h
	Lunch (13h01 – 14h15**)**	
	Research ethics	
	Introduction to research ethics involving human subjects	14h16 – 15h
	Informed consent	15h01 – 15h30
	Q&A about ethics	15h31 – 16h
	Child protection and safeguarding	1601 – 16h20
	Recognizing and addressing participant distress	16h21 – 17h
	Recap + Q&A	17h01 – 17h30
	End of day 1	
DAY 2	Reviewing day 1 highlights	9h – 9h20
	Interview guides	
	Interview guide 1: Institutional sector actors and civil society organizations	
	Question by question review (French)	9h21 – 10h30
	Review of key words (local language)	10h31 – 11h15
	Coffee-break	***11h16 – 11h40***
	Review of key words (local language) – group session	11h41 – 12h10
	Informed consent for institutional actors (role play)	12h11 – 13h
	Lunch (13h01 – 14h15**)**	
	Interview guide 2: Community leaders and actors	
	Question by question review (French)	14h16 – 15h30
	Review of key words (local language)	15h30 – 17h
	Recap + Q&A	17h01 – 17h30
	End of day 2	
DAY 3	Reviewing day 2 highlights	9h – 9h15
	Interview guide 2: Community leaders and actors (continued)	
	Group sessions (mock sessions French and local language)	9h16 – 11h15
	Coffee-break	**11h16 – 11h40**
	Interview guide 3: Victims and survivors of sex trafficking	
	Question by question review (French)	11h41 – 13h
	Lunch (13h01 – 14h15**)**	
	Question by question review (Local language)	14h16 – 15h30
	Mock sessions on informed consent and assent	15h31 – 16h10
	Mock sessions (interviewing a victim or survivor)	16h11 – 17h15
	Recap + Q&A	17h16 – 17h30
	End of day 3	
DAY 4	Reviewing day 3 highlights	9h – 9h15
	Interview guide 3	
	Mock sessions (interviewing a victim or survivor) - continue	9h16 – 10h30
	Recognizing and addressing participant distress	10h31 – 11h15
	Coffee-break	**11h16 – 11h40**
	Back to ethics of research on human subjects (discussions)	11h41 – 13h
	***Lunch* (**13h01 – 14h15**)**	
	Best practices for qual fieldwork (IDI)	
	Organization of data collection	14h16 – 14h40
	Post-interview review	14h41 – 15h15
	Transcription guidelines	15h16 – 16h
	Pilot planning	16h01 – 16h20
	Review and Signing of the Code of Conduct Statement	16h21 – 16h45
	Q&A	16h46 – 17h30
	End of day 4	
	Pilot	9h – 13h

DAY 5	***Lunch (***13h01 – 14h15**)**	
	Pilot debriefing	14h16 – 16h
	Planning of the data collection	16h01 – 16h30
	End of the training session.	

Annex 5. Respondent driven sampling approach

Functional and analytical assumptions for RDS

As stated in Johnston's RDS Methods Guide (2019), the following assumptions need to be met for RDS to be implemented successfully:[26]

Functional assumptions

1. Respondents know one another as members of the survey population.
2. Respondents are linked by a network composed of a single component.
3. Respondents are only allowed to participate once to avoid a small number of respondents overwhelming the sample.

Analytical assumptions

1. Respondents can accurately report their personal network size, defined as the number of relatives, friends, and acquaintances who fall within the survey population.
2. Peer recruitment is a random selection from the recruiter's network.
3. Respondents can recruit up to three new respondents (research has shown that multiple recruits result in an approximation of the Markov model assumptions, which underpin the RDS approach).

Components of RDS

The RDS approach involved the following main components:

Recruitment of initial seeds: RDS relies on recruiting initial seeds who refer other individuals within the target group (i.e., individuals engaged in commercial sex) to the interview team. Each of the initial seeds was interviewed and then asked to refer other eligible persons in their network to participate in the study. We used the qualitative research, which took place prior to the quantitative phase, to recruit the initial seeds.[27] Initially, we recruited three seeds in each department (six seeds in total). Respondents were given referral cards or "coupons" to help recruit other potential study participants (see details below).

We selected seeds based on their ability to recruit a diverse group of people.[28] Seeds met with a screener/coupon manager to complete a "diversity recruitment grid," which covered

[26] The assumptions are taken from 'Introduction to Respondent Driven Sampling,' published by WHO/UNAIDS (2013), available at https://sites.google.com/site/lsjohnstonglobal/respondent-driven-sampling/respondent-driven-sampling

[27] For example, the local organization La Lumière was a helpful starting point in our research.

[28] Note that this is to mitigate RDS tree composition sensitivity to seed selection and to facilitate reaching convergence of estimators.

information such as age, place of origin, type of commercial sex (where they usually solicit clients, such as on the street, through the telephone, at a brothel, etc.), high-risk and low-risk sexual behaviors (e.g., condom use during last vaginal sex with a client), and usual types of clients (new or regular clients).

These questions were used to prompt seeds to think about the characteristics of the persons they could recruit to ensure that a diverse mix of women engaged in commercial sex participated in the study and that the assumptions of RDS were met.

Adding respondents to the sample through referrals. The respondents were each provided with three referral cards or "coupons" to give to contacts to reach the field team at a later point. The individual with the coupon then came to an assigned fixed location to meet the Kantar Public research team. Prior to being interviewed, the respondent was screened for eligibility. The main screening criteria were that the respondent was female; aged 15-30; lived in the survey area for at least three months; performed any sex act in exchange for money, shelter, food, or clothes in the past 12 months; and had a valid coupon (if not a seed).[29] After screening and successful interviewing,[30] the referrer received a cash incentive, and the referral process continued.

During the interviews, the following pieces of information were collected for each respondent in order to meet the data requirements for RDS:

- The respondent's personal network size, i.e., the total number of people the respondent knew, who knew the respondent (reciprocal relationships), within the base population
- The respondent's unique serial number from the coupon provided
- The respondent's recruiting serial number, i.e., the serial number from the coupons the respondent received to recruit others
- Date of enrollment to conduct population size estimations and to use visibility imputation to adjust network sizes if needed

These pieces of information were obtained from the interview and coupons provided.

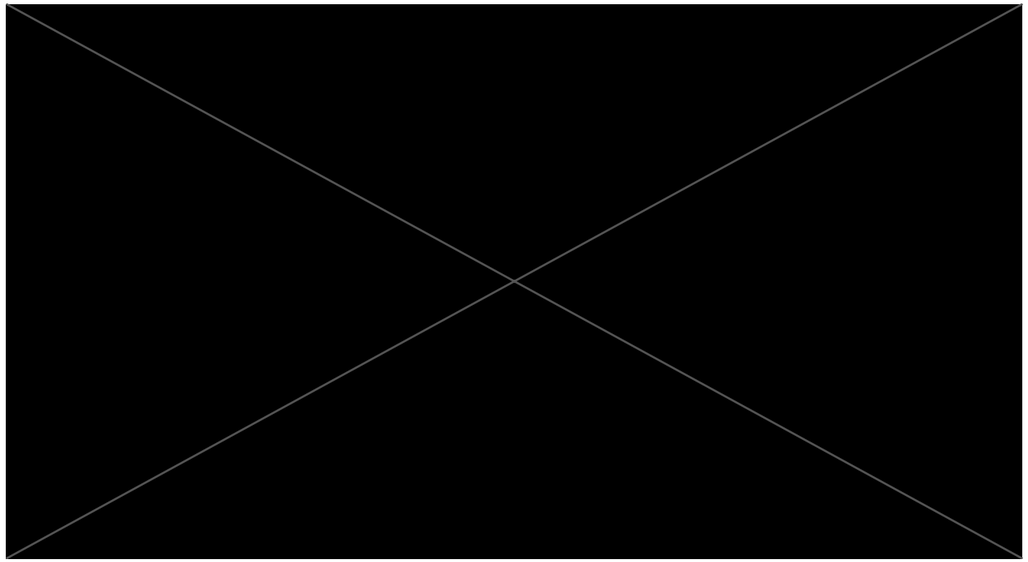
Coupons

As mentioned above, each respondent received three coupons for recruiting new respondents. Each referral coupon had a unique serial number to capture information on who was the initial seed, the recruiter (if not recruited directly by a seed), and the recruitment wave. The serial number was used to trace linkages and identify respondents. The coupons included an expiration date that indicated the timeframe within which the recruiter had to pass out the coupon and the recruit had to redeem it. The timeframe was two weeks, to encourage respondents to recruit new respondents sooner rather than later and accelerate data

[29] See Screener Form in Annex 10.

[30] An interview is considered successful upon an eligible respondent completing the entire quantitative survey.

collection[31]. Additionally, the respondent received a receipt for the three coupons, which was used to redeem the incentive for each successful referral. Figure 82 shows the coupon and receipt used for this study.



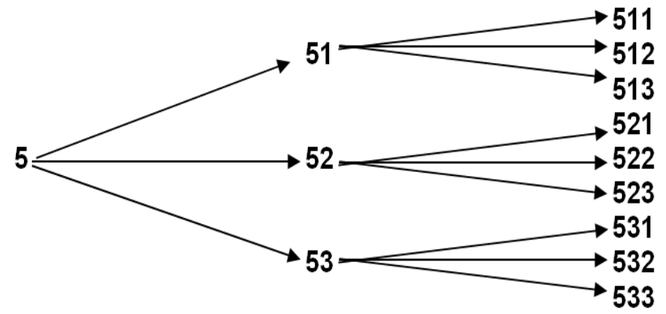
Numbering system for the coupons

As stated above, each coupon had a unique serial number to identify the seeds, the recruit, and the recruitment wave.[32] This numbering process was used to allow participants to maintain anonymity. Each seed was provided a unique number. For this study, we had six initial seeds (three per department), who were each given a number between 1 and 6. Additional seeds had to be added later due to some respondent chains drying up, and those seeds were each given a unique number. Using the numbering system described in Johnston's RDS (2019), the first digit on each coupon captured the number of the seed. Because this study only allowed for recruiters to recruit up to three peers, the numbers following the seeds' numbers were 1, 2, or 3, as shown in Figure 83. For instance, if seed number 5 was interviewed and given three recruitment coupons, then respondents recruited by seed number 5 received the following numbers: 51, 52, and 53 (Figure 83). When a recruit with coupon 53 was interviewed, she then received coupons with the identification numbers of 531, 532, or 533. This process occurred according to the number of waves produced by each seed, so that, for instance, coupon 533 represented the second wave produced by seed 5.

[31] It is worth noting that a fast-drawn sample also: i) limits immigration/emigration to/from the study population, ii) is based on a population sample network that is more static than variable, and iii) gives a more accurate "snapshot" of the population.

[32] During the Inception Phase, we had considered using QR codes as the main way to capture this information and using the serial numbers as back up. Upon further inquiry into the QR platform and functionality, it turned out that the QR codes would not provide much benefit in terms of generating and tracking coupon numbers. We therefore decided to only use the unique serial number.

Figure 83: Coupon numbering for seed 5



Using the unique serial number, the coupon was linked to the questionnaire and other forms (i.e., checklist form, screening form, and consent form). Field Kantar Public's Manager functioned as the dedicated Coupon Manager. This person managed the coupons using a paper tracking form, and this information was later input into an Excel sheet and cross-referenced with coupon numbers in the data.

Coupon management

The numbering system on the coupons linked the recruiter to their recruits. This was necessary for the analysis of RDS data to construct the RDS trees that in turn allows the analyst to derive weights, check for convergence and bottlenecks, and calculate point and variance estimates. We monitored the issuance and receipt of coupons on paper and electronically. Participants were given three coupons each. This number was reduced to two, and thereafter one, as sampling progressed and recruitment needs slowed and stopped as the target sample size was reached. Once the sample size approached the target number of interviews, no coupons were handed out to the remaining survey participants. A coupon management database was used to keep track of the coupons, who recruited whom, the dates of enrollment, the expiration dates, and the number of coupons distributed. The coupon management database helped ensure the smooth ending of the RDS survey so that no valid coupons remained in the community once the survey ended. The database was updated daily and reviewed weekly by the Quantitative Lead and Sampling Statistician during data collection.

Of the three coupons provided to each recruiter, we expected that not all referrals would lead to successful interviews. During the design phase we assumed there would be an average of 1.4 successful referrals per respondent, which was used to estimate the number of seeds needed to reach the target sample size. The figure of 1.4 was based on results from other studies such as the Global Fund to End Modern Slavery (GFEMS) Kenya Prevalence Estimation and KAP Research Studies, Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), and Overseas Labor Recruitment (OLR) studies conducted by NORC. We expected the actual number to vary between respondents, with some referring three and some none at all.

Incentives were important for motivating participation in the study. We offered an incentive of 5,000 CFA (approximately $10 USD) for a) respondents to complete the interview and b) any

successfully completed referrals. This meant the maximum amount respondents could receive was 20,000 CFA (approximately $40). The referral amount was based on information gathered during the qualitative phase, specifically whether the budgeted amount was reasonable such that it would encourage participation without exerting undue influence.

The referrer received the referral incentive after the new recruit had successfully completed their interview. The incentive for completing the interview was given at the end of the interview.

Annex 6. Population estimate R code and output

```
> library(sspse)
> if
(exists('posize.APRIES.SENEGAL.FINAL.DATA_WT')){rm('posize.APRIES.SENE
GAL.FINAL.DATA_WT')}
> posize.APRIES.SENEGAL.FINAL.DATA_WT<-
posteriorsize(s=APRIES.SENEGAL.FINAL.DATA_WT[order(get.wave(APRIES.SEN
EGAL.FINAL.DATA_WT)),], visibility=FALSE, priorsizedistribution=
"beta"
+ )
The cap on influence of the personal network size is K = 12.
The preliminary empirical value of the mean of the prior distribution
for visibility is 3.397768.
The preliminary empirical value of the s.d. of the prior distribution
for visibility is 2.411113.
The mean of the prior distribution for visibility is 3.323851.
The s.d. of the prior distribution for visibility is 2.261969.
The maximum prior population size is 16256
Maximum population size set to 16256.
Using non-measurement error model with K = 12.
Taken 1 samples...
Taken 2 samples...
Taken 4 samples...
Taken 5 samples...
Taken 8 samples...
Taken 10 samples...
Taken 20 samples...
Taken 25 samples...
Taken 40 samples...
Taken 50 samples...
Taken 100 samples...
Taken 125 samples...
Taken 200 samples...
Taken 250 samples...
Taken 500 samples...
Taken 1000 samples...
Warning messages:
1: No prior information about the population size was specified! Using
a prior mode of twice the sample size. Please specify prior
information!
2: There is a non-trivial proportion of the posterior mass on very
high visibilities. This may indicate convergence problems in the MCMC.
```


Annex 7. Qualitative interview guides

See separate attachment to this report

Annex 8. Consent sheet

See separate attachment to this report

Annex 9. Qualitative codebook

See separate attachment to this report

Annex 10. Law No. 2005-06 of May 10, 2005

Section 1. - Trafficking in persons

Law No. 2005-06 of May 10, 2005, on the fight against trafficking in persons and similar practices and the protection of victims

Section 1. - Trafficking

Art. 1. - The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of violence, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of authority or of a situation of vulnerability, or by the offer or acceptance of payment of benefits in order to obtain the consent of a person having authority over another, for the purpose of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, or servitude is punishable by imprisonment of 5 to 10 years and a fine of 5 to 20 million francs.

The offense is constituted when the recruitment, transport, transfer, lodging, or reception concerns a minor, even if none of the means listed in the previous paragraph are used.

Criminal detention of 10 to 30 years is incurred when the offense is committed by resorting to acts of torture or barbarism or with a view to removing human organs or when it exposes the victim to an immediate risk of death or injury likely to result in permanent disability.

Art. 2 - The maximum penalty provided for in paragraph 1 of article 1 is always pronounced when the offense has been committed either:

- in a group,
- against a minor or a person who is particularly vulnerable due to pregnancy, advanced age, or a state of health that has led to a physical or mental deficiency,
- with the use of mass media,
- Or by an ascendant or by a person having authority over the victim.

Chapter II. - Smuggling of migrants

Art. 4 - Clandestine migration organized by land, sea, or air is punishable by 5 to 10 years of imprisonment and a fine of 1,000,000 to 5,000,000, whether the national territory serves as a zone of origin, transit, or destination.

Art. 5 - Is punished by the same penalties as those provided for in the previous article the fraud or falsification of visas, documents or travel documents or any other documents attesting the quality of resident or national of Senegal or of a foreign country or granting the benefit of the status of refugee, stateless person, displaced person or victim of trafficking in persons.

Art. 6 - For the offenses specified in articles 3, paragraph 1, 4, 5 of the present law, the suspension of the execution of the sentence cannot be granted when the offense has been committed by a person who, by virtue of his or her position, is required to participate in the

issuance of identification travel documents and other certificates of establishment or in the maintenance of order or border control.

Art. 7 - The attempt of the crimes specified in the present law is punished as a crime. The judgment or ruling declaring guilt shall order the confiscation of:

- the means of committing the offense.
- of the proceeds of the offense.
- the destruction of titles, travel documents, and identification papers that facilitated the commission of the offense.
- the definitive withdrawal of a license, approval, or any other administrative authorization from any public entity or person, regardless of its legal form, whose activity facilitated the commission of the offense.

Chapter III. - Procedure

Art. 8 - The investigation and establishment of the offenses provided for in this law are governed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, subject to the following provisions.

Visits, house inspections, and seizures may be carried out during the day and at night, inside premises supposedly housing victims or serving as a place of preparation for the commission of the offenses referred to in the present law.

The acts mentioned in the preceding paragraph may not, on pain of nullity of the entire procedure, have any other purpose than the investigation and establishment of the offenses referred to in this law.

Audio or video recordings or recordings made by any electronic means of preservation may be admissible as evidence.

Art. 9 - Any person who, on the territory of the Republic, is an accomplice to the crimes and misdemeanors referred to in this law committed abroad may be prosecuted and tried by the Senegalese courts even if the act was committed abroad, even if the act is not punished by foreign law.

Art. 10 - Any foreigner who, outside the territory of the Republic, is guilty either as a perpetrator or as an accomplice of a crime or misdemeanor covered by this law committed in whole or in part in Senegal may be prosecuted and tried according to the provisions of Senegalese law or applicable in Senegal if he is arrested in Senegal or if the Government obtains his extradition.

Art. 11 - Any foreigner who, outside the territory of the Republic, is guilty either as a perpetrator or as an accomplice of the offenses referred to in the present law may be prosecuted and judged according to the provisions of Senegalese law when the victim of these offenses is of Senegalese nationality.

Annex 11. Qualitative screening criteria

Screening criteria for current sex trafficked victims:

- Age (should be between 15 and 30 years old)
- Status of being engaged in commercial sex. Further discussion was conducted with each potential victim to confirm whether she was trafficked or not.
- Home address (respondents were expected to live in one of the gold mining communities selected for qualitative data collection)

Screening criteria for survivors:

- Age (should be between 15 and 30 years old)
- Home address (respondents were expected to live in one of the gold mining communities selected for qualitative data collection)
- Have been sex trafficked in one of the gold mining areas in the Kédougou region
- Have paid their debt to the trafficker or fled from the accommodation provided by the trafficker

Screening criteria for parents of survivors:

- Home address (Parents were expected to live in one of the gold mining communities selected for qualitative data collection)
- Be the father/mother of a trafficking survivor or be identified by a survivor as a direct caretaker in the community

Once the study participant's profile was validated, an initial discussion was conducted with them to run through the consent script provided for each participant profile (see the consent sheet in Annex 7).

How did we achieve optimal involvement of the respondent?

Each research assistant made sure to:

- Introduce him/herself to the respondent in a correct manner by greeting her politely
- Introduce him/herself by first name, last name, function, and the name/activity of the company that employs him/her -
- He/she must then master the subject, the objective, and the purpose of the mission that brings him/her to this respondent today
- Explain clearly and concisely:
    - The purpose of the interview sought, the purpose of the study, the interest that the respondent has in answering
    - How long it would take to answer questions and whether she is available now or at another convenient time
- Reassure her of confidentiality and anonymity in the processing of data
- Respond to questions and hesitations with enthusiasm, sympathy, and conviction

Obtain clear consent

For the consent process, we wanted to make sure that research assistants had the appropriate answers to any questions the participants might have, in order to obtain informed consent. They were prepared to answer the following questions:

Q: What is the purpose of this survey? What is it about?

A: The main objective of the research is to establish a rigorous baseline estimate of the prevalence of sex trafficking in Kédougou that can serve as a benchmark to assess to what extent anti-slavery programs and policies have effectively reduced the prevalence. Second, the research will assess perceived gaps in services and policies in order to guide the interventions of APRIES implementing agencies.

Q: Who is funding this survey?

A: The survey is funded by the African Programming and Research Initiative to End Slavery (APRIES) which received funding from the US State Department.

Q: What are you going to do with the data? Will my answers be confidential?

A: We will put all the data from all respondents into a database and conduct an analysis. Your name will not be included in any database. The analysis will not identify you individually; a unique participant ID code will be used to link your demographic and survey data with your interview, and your data will always be kept confidential. If there is a question that you do not wish to answer, you can choose not to answer it.

Note: In order to reinforce what you say about data privacy, it is important that you do not mention any names of other respondents that you have already surveyed.

Q: What kinds of questions are asked in the survey? How long does the survey take?

A: We will ask you questions related to your knowledge of the issue or your experience. The discussion will not take more than an hour.

Note: If the respondent is uncomfortable with the length of the interview, try to emphasize the importance of the data collected.

Q: Will I get something if I participate?

A: The answers you provide are very important as they will help us understand the well-being of young women in your community. This data will provide information for future decisions that will be made about programs that could help the community.

Q: Who can I contact if I have questions about the survey?

A: You can contact Mame Soukeye Mbaye at the following telephone number: +221 76614537.

Annex 12. Quantitative screening form

INSTRUCTIONS: The SCREENER will complete this **entire** screening questionnaire for **every** candidate that comes to study site for visit #1.

"Hello. My name is ____. I would like to first thank you for taking the time to participate in the study. Before we start the study, I need to first find out if you are eligible to participate. If you are eligible to participate, then I will explain the study in more detail. Everything you tell us will be confidential and that no one is able to link your results and responses to you personally. May I start?"

Date (DD-MM-YY)			
Coupon Number			
Is this person a seed?	☐ Yes	☐ No	IF YES → Skip Q14
Does the candidate have a valid coupon?	☐ Yes	☐ No	IF NO → Ineligible
Have you participated in this study before?	☐ Yes	☐ No	IF YES → Ineligible
Is the respondent a female?	☐ Yes ☐ No		IF NO → Ineligible
How old are you now? *Age in completed years*	BETWEEN 15 AND 30 ? ☐ Yes ☐ No		IF <15 YEARS OR > 30 YEARS →Ineligible
Have you lived in the survey area, i.e. Kédougou mining communities, for at least one month?	☐ Yes ☐ No		IF NO → Ineligible
Have you performed any sex act in exchange for money, shelter, food or clothes in the past 12 months?	☐ Yes☐ No		IF NO → Ineligible

Remember that your response is confidential and the person who gave you the coupon will not know your response. Did anyone force you to participate in this study against your will?	☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ No response	IF YES → Ineligible
How did you get this coupon?	☐ From someone I know ☐ Found it/bought it/traded it	IF Found/Bought → Ineligible
I do not want to know the person's name. From whom did you receive this coupon?	☐ Friend/acquaintance ☐ Stranger	IF STRANGER → Ineligible
SCREENER: How confident are you with the answers provided by the participant?	☐ Confident ☐ Not confident	Not confident →Q14
SCREENER: Specify why screener is 'Not confident'.	☐ Under 15 years ☐ Does not perform any sex act in exchange for money shelter, food or clothes in the past 12 months per eligibility ☐ Doesn't live in survey area ☐Other: _____	Additional comments:
SCREENER: Is the recruit too high or too drunk to give consent or do questionnaire?	☐ Yes ☐ No	Yes → Ineligible
SCREENER: Is the recruit mentally impaired and not able to give consent or do questionnaire?	☐ Yes ☐ No	Yes → Ineligible
SCREENER: Is the participant eligible?	☐ Yes ☐ No	No →Ineligible
NETWORK SIZE QUESTIONS BELOW (RESPONSE CANNOT BE ZERO)		
How many girls and young women do you know,		HELP BY PROBING.

and who know you, who has had sex in exchange for money, shelter, food, or clothes, in the past 12 months [November 2020-to present]?		
How many are aged 15 to 30 and lived in the city of survey at least one month?		This number should not be more than response to Q 18
How many have you seen in the past month?		This number should not be more than response to Q 19
Write response to question 20 on Checklist Form		

Annex 13. Codebook

See separate attachment to this report

Annex 14. References

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