A Combined Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to the Implementation of Human Trafficking Policy in Nigeria

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Abstract
In its efforts to protect and assist trafficked persons, the Nigerian Government designed and formulated a comprehensive National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Person (NPPATPN) in 2008. However, the country's efforts in the protection of Trafficked Persons have been considered inadequate. Thus, the challenges facing Nigeria are not that of policy formulation but the implementation of the policy. The purpose of this study is to explore the implementation of the NPPATPN from the perspective of top-down and bottom-up approaches, using qualitative methodology. 15 participants from government agencies, Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs), International Governmental Organization (IGOs) and Trafficked Persons were purposely selected and interviewed. The findings revealed that the top-down approach is more pronounced compared to the bottom-up approach in NPPATPN implementation. This is because the lower-level bureaucrat operates under strong hierarchical command and control with no freedom to exercise any discretion in the implementation process. The study recommends that the policymakers (top officials) should take into cognizance the significance of the implementers (lower-official), NGOs and other relevant stakeholders in the policy-making process for the policy to be effective and legitimate. Therefore, the novelty of the study has contributed to providing a clear understanding regarding the performance of NPPATPN's implementation in Nigeria.
Keywords: Human Trafficking, Policy Implementation, Top-Down, Bottom-Up, Hierarchical

Introduction
Nigeria is recognized as a source, transit, and destination of human trafficking. The country is one of the major players in international human trafficking and a leading African country in

this regard. Although the government has enacted and formulated policies to address and curb human trafficking in the country, as well as to protect and assist the trafficked persons. However, despite such efforts, the incidences of human trafficking actually increase. For instance, official statistics revealed that between 1987-1996 there were 713 reported and recorded cases of human trafficking but the figure drastically increased to 3,899 reported cases of human trafficking between 2003 to 2015 (NAPTIP, 2016). Moreover, ILO (2012) reports that Nigeria accounts for 13 percent of the global human trafficking record and report revealed that 8 million children were subjected to worst forms of exploitation such forced labor, domestic servants, begging, street hawking and prostitution.

In addition, United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (2006) report shows that 60 percent of prostitutes in Italy are Africans and 80 percent of them were Nigerians and of which 60 percent are trafficked persons. Unless this trend is reduced or curtail through effective policy implementation an estimated of 15 million Nigerians (National Bureau of Statistic [NBS], 2015) particularly women and children are vulnerable and will ultimately be victims of human trafficking and subjected to various forms of exploitation. In its efforts to protect and assist the trafficked person Nigerian Government formulated and adopted National Policy on Protection and Assistance to Trafficked Persons (NPPATPN).

The policy (NPPATPN) states the responsibilities and standard to which the government official and the relevant stakeholders must inspire in realizing the policy objectives. The policy set a standard for victims rescued, rehabilitation and reintegration. Also, the policy enjoined both Government and the stakeholders to take actions in the best interest of the trafficked persons (NPPATPN, 2008). However, years after the adoption of National Policy on Protection and Assistance in the country, Nigeria was ranked among the countries, whose government does not fully comply with the minimum standard in the prevention of human trafficking and protection of trafficked persons and the country is not making significant efforts to do so. (United States Department of State [USDOS], 2010). This is an indication that Nigeria's efforts in victims' protection and assistance is inadequate and a quite number of victims of human trafficking are yet to be protected and assisted.

The reality is that there is continue exploitation and trafficking of women and children in the country and abroad. The question that is raised here is, what is happening at the implementation of NPPATPN? Thus, this seeks to explore the implementation of NPPATPN in Nigeria from top-down and bottom-up perspective using qualitative approach.

Literature Review
The review of past studies shows that there is an increasing number of studies on human trafficking and policies' responses at the international level. Raymond (2001); Kelly (2001); Monzini (2005); Marie et al (2009) studies shows that the United Nations Trafficking Protocol is an international policy to address the crime of human trafficking, protect the trafficked victims and promote international cooperation in combating the global menace. In explaining the reasons and the factors that contributed to the development of the protocols Kelly (2001) states that the change in worldwide perspective of the TIP which is viewed not only on human rights but as an issue of transnational organized crimes necessitate the need of the global response to counter the criminal networks. In support of this factor Raymond (2001) argues that the protocol was launched to contest the world organized criminal networks, who organized trafficking as transnational and multi-billion dollar industries. Therefore, international policy is required to address this global business.

Studies conducted by Adesina (2014); Ako (2011); Onyejekwe (2013); Agbu (2003) and Imudia (2009) indicates that human trafficking in Nigeria is influenced and sustained by poverty, ignorance, greed, breakdown of family structure, bad governance and civil strife that has displaced many from their homes. Evidence from the findings of UNODC (2012) and Reef (2005) fingered ignorance as the major contributory factor of child trafficking under the disguise of the almajiri educational system, which is commonly known as Tsangaya system in Northern Nigerian. The system affords the children the chance to study and recite the Holy Qur'an in a traditional way. Moreover, UNODC (2012) reports that almost 10 million of Nigeria children are estimated to be in this tsangayya system. These children are vulnerable to human trafficking and many of them were reported to have been trafficked for forced agricultural work, street begging, domestic house and child prostitution (Reef, 2005). However, Oloruntimehin (2002) found that the effect of Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) featuring high inflation, devaluation of currency (Naira), low industrial capacity performance, massive retrenchment and the increase rate of unemployment are responsible for the rapid growth of human trafficking in Nigeria.

Other studies examined the policy responses such as Child Rights Act, Penal and Criminal Codes and Trafficking in Person Prohibition and Law Enforcement and Administration Act (Sylvester, 2006; Shatsari, 2011; Johnson, 2014). However, limited effort was made to explore the implementation of (NPPATPN) Therefore, this study is aimed to fill the gap in relation to previous studies by exploring the implementation of NPPATPN from the top-down and bottom-up perspective, using qualitative methodology.

Top-down and Bottom-up Theory
The implementation discourse has been divided into two major approaches: Top-down and Bottom-up (Linder & Peters, 1987; Hill & Hupe, 2002; Paudel, 2009; Sabatier, 1986). In an efforts to explain the implementation success these approaches (Top-down and Bottom-up) provides different analytical focus about the implementation process (See table 1). Thus the perspectives of these approaches would be utilized to evaluate the implementation of NPPATPN.

Table 1
Comparisons of Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches

Aspects	Top-down	Bottom-up
Policy decision	Policymakers	Street-level bureaucrat
The character of the implementation process	Statutory language	Social problem
Authority	Centralized	Decentralized
Discretion	Top-level bureaucrat	Bottom-level bureaucrat
Underline models of democracy	Elite	Participatory

Source: Fischer et al (2007)

Top-down theories of Implementation
The top-down perspective assumed that policy implementation begins with the decision of government flowed down to the implementers. That the policy designers or makers are the main actors in the implementation. In addition, policymakers according to top-down set-up the policy objectives that are to be achieved, define implementing procedure as well establish

implementing agencies to ensure accurate translation of policy into realities. The key scholars of this approach are (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975; Bardach, 1977; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1983). The top-down scholars focussed implementation on "what and how to control the environment in which the policy is implemented and how implementation is exercised by policymakers". For instance, according to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1983) implementation is how to get the lower-level officials and the implementing institutions act in a manner consistent with the policy intent.

The top-down assumes the success of the policy relied on good planning, controlling the implementation environment, clear policy objective, and effective evaluative mechanism. According to top-down perspective implementation gap can be explained by the lack of clear policy direction, a multiplicity of agencies, and actors involved, inter-organizational differences in interest and values, communication and coordination problems among the actors. To this scholar, the failure of effective implementation of policy is because "strategies are wrongly selected, operationalization was poor and there is an inadequate response to the problem". For Van Meter and Van Horns (1975); Pressman and Wildavsky (1973); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1983) what makes effective policy implementation is the command and control of the implementing institutions to ensure the policy objective are obeyed as outline in the policy. Therefore, the policy makers according to the top-downers have considerable control and capacity to direct the implementing institutions (Van Meter and Van Horns, 1975).

Bottom-up theories of Implementation
The bottom-up theory emerged to argue and to address the weakness associated with the top-down theory by shifting the implementation of policy to the grass-root level. Contrary to the top-down, the bottom-up theorists pointed out the significance of periphery the (lower-level official) in understanding policy implementation, they advocated the importance of implementers in the implementation process. Lipsky (1980); Ingram (1977) and Elmore, (1980) viewed implementation as a bottom-up approach, seeing lower-level bureaucrats as the best platform for understanding implementation. They criticised that policy is starting from the top (Winter, 1999) but argued that the lower-level implementing officials are those that bring the success of the implementation. Since they know the problems more than the top official because they are directly involved in the implementation of the policy. Kelvin and Christopher (2009) state that it is down at the street level, where implementation happens, so favoring the center over the street-level bureaucrats, is negating and ignoring the practical reality of policy delivery.

The bottom-up approach highlights that policy outcome is not necessarily connected to the clear policy objectives but the implementers are critical in explaining the effectiveness of the implementation. As the approach suggests the relevance of the implementers to the policy outcome. Lipsky (1980) came up to the implementation literature the concept of "street-level bureaucrat" (as government official implementing public policy) to highlights the how discretionary power exercised by lower-level official led to the effective implementation of the policy. His study contravened the top-down views on hierarchical control of implementers. To bottom-up scholars, effective implementation of policy is determined by the knowledge and experience of the lower-level official who is in the frontline of implementing policy. So in this situation understanding the behavior of the street-level bureaucrats in the implementing organizations is important to ensure the policy execution or translation.

The bottom-up is characterized by the discretion of the implementing official, decentralized authority and democratic model (See Table 1). Bottom-up scholars criticized the top-down for neglecting people's participation in the policy process, this is because the top-down approach is based on an elitist model where elites make the policy and implementation must be in line with the policy objectives outlined by the elite. On the contrary, bottom-up is based on the participatory model, where it emphases the significant of involving of people in the policy process.   Furthermore, the greater the participation of people, the more the democratic principle of popular consultation and majority rules is promoted. The bottom-up approach advocated for increase people's participation in policy implementation, evaluation and monitoring the progress or otherwise of the program.

Methodology
The used of qualitative approach in policy studies is not a new phenomenon and the approach is gaining wider acceptance in policy research (Dvora, 2007; Sadovnik, 2007; Berg, 2001). The approach according to Maxwell (2005) "is an important tool for policy researchers". So, the used of qualitative approach in this research is relevant because the research falls within policy studies. Therefore, in an efforts to explore and to gain a deeper understanding of the implementation of NPPATPN in Nigeria from the perspectives of top-down and bottom-up approaches "qualitative approach is the most appropriate method to be used" (Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Considering the nature of the study, the authors upheld the advice of Strauss and Cobin (1998) and Denzil & Lincoln, (2000) who explained that " qualitative study allow an in-depth understanding of phenomena under investigation from the perspectives of people that have in depth knowledge on the issues" In this regard exploring top-down and bottom-up perspective, to have an in-depth and better understanding of the implementation of NPPATPN in Nigeria, can best be achieved using the qualitative approach (Creswell, 2003).

The study adopts purposive sampling procedure to identify the research participants who would provide an in-depth data relevant to the study. Patton (2002) states that purposive sampling is based on selection criteria that would lead to valuable information, therefore, criteria for inclusion in this study are (a) the participants must be from Government agency, NGOs, IGOs that are directly involved in the formulation and implementation of human trafficking policy in Nigeria. (b) The participants must have an experience in handling human trafficking and trafficked person rehabilitation and reintegration issues (c) The participants that had close working collaboration with relevant actors in addressing human trafficking issues in Nigeria. (d) Participants must be a rescued Trafficked Persons that passed through the government shelter and (e) the participants that are willing to participate in this study. Based on the criteria listed fifteen (n=15) participants were involved in the study, the participants came from Government Agency, International Governmental Organizations, Non-Governmental Organization and Trafficked Persons. Five (n=5) of the participants involved in the study are Government official from National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficked in Persons and Other Related Natters (NAPTIP), Four (n=4) from NGOs (WOTLEF), one (n=1) from UNICEF, one (n=1) from UNODC and four (n=4) were trafficked persons (victims). The number (=15) of participants in this study was determined by the point of saturation, Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that sampling stopped once it reached a saturation point. Thus the authors interviewed (=15) participants when they realized the sampling had reached saturation point, the authors stopped further selection because it was no longer

needed to increase the sample size beyond the saturated level (=15) when no new information and substantial contribution is forthcoming (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Semi-structured with open-ended questions in English and Hausa languages were conducted with participants. The interviews were conducted in a quiet, safe, conducive and at the time convenient to each participant (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The date of the interviewed were fixed by the participants at their appropriate and convenient time, All the interviews were conducted at the time range between 45 to 90 minutes, this is in line with the position of Guest et al (2013) that true in-depth interview needs 45 to 90 minutes. The authors followed the analytical procedures proposed by (Creswell, 2007). Firstly, the authors transcribed all the interviews. Secondly, each of the transcribed interviews was read, re-read and re-read in its entirety for the purpose of familiarization and preparation for coding. Thirdly, the authors reduced the collected data into various themes through the process of coding (Saldana, 2015) To ensure validity and reliability, this study employs member checks whereby the authors solicits feedback from the participants. The transcripts and findings were presented to the participants to check if they reflect their views and experiences (See table 2). Maxwell (2005) indicates that member check significantly eliminates the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do. Similarly, source and method triangulations were used to unsure the validity of the findings. In the case of sources triangulation, interview data were collected from different participants, therefore this provided the authors the opportunity in checking out the consistency of data from different participants (Government official, NGOs, IGOs, and Trafficked Persons). The authors cross-checked and corroborated the statements of the participants to confirm other participants statements for the purpose of validation.

As for the method triangulation, two methods were used, namely, interview and document source. The interview responses were used to crosscheck the secondary data. In terms of ethical consideration, the participants were fully informed and assured that their participation in this study is voluntarily (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Therefore, in compliance with the ethical principles as recommended by Creswell (2007) anonymity was maintained and pseudonyms (GOV, NGOs, IGOs and TP) were used throughout the study in describing the identities of the respondents.

Table 2
Sample of Member Check Comments

Participants	Comments	Action Taken
Government Officials (GOV)	Your findings were accurate reflection of our views and experiences regarding lecturers and student thesis supervision.	No action required
Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	We definitely agreed with your conclusion it represents our experiences	No action required
International Governmental Organization (IGOs)	It was actually a surprise to see our views were accurately transformed into these themes that represent our views on the topic.	No action required

Trafficked Persons (TP)	We reviewed the transcripts and the findings. The document reflect our experiences and it rings rights.	No action required

Source: Merriam & Tisdell (2016)

Thematic Findings and Discussions

Based on the responses from the interviews four major themes were identified, (1) Hierarchical Command and Control, (2) Client Attitude toward the policy, (3) Abuse of Public Trust and (4) Lack of Policy Knowledge. These themes reflected the perspectives of the study participants related to the implementation of NPPATPN. The thematic findings show the challenges associated to the implementation of the policy in Nigeria from the viewpoint of top-down and bottom-up approaches. Hence, Figure 1 provides the conceptual framework drawn from the empirical evidence. It reveals the factors involved in influencing human trafficking policy implementation in Nigeria.
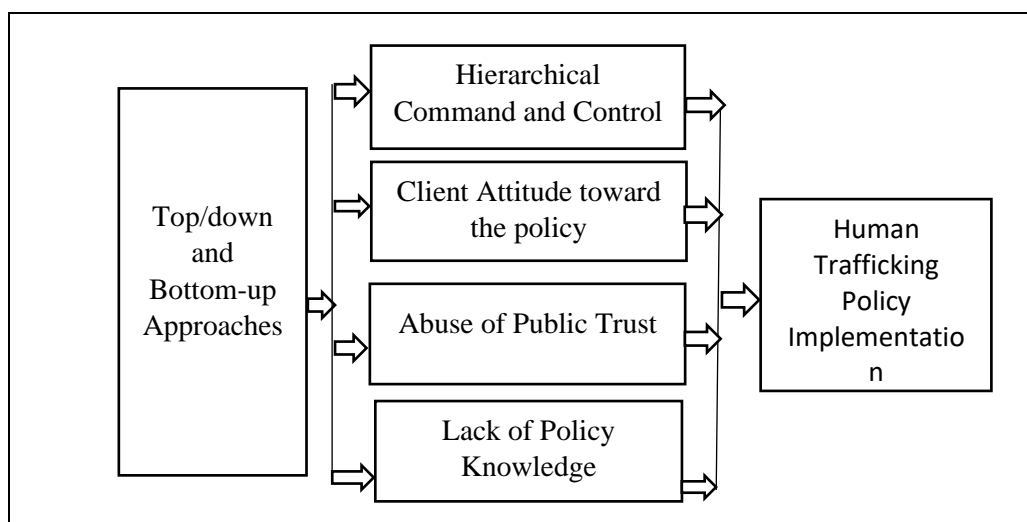

Figure1 *Conceptual framework of Human trafficking policy implementation process based on empirical evidence from Top-down and Bottom-up Approaches.*

Hierarchical Command and Control

The implementation of NPPATPN according to the informant GOV4, GOV3, GOV5, NGO1, NGO3, NGO4, IGO2, and TP3 is influence or dominated by hierarchical command and control structure.

The informant NGO2 states that

> *"We know by the provision of the law, NAPTIP is to coordinate all anti-human trafficking policies in the country. But that does not mean to control other actors or players with regard to the issues of human trafficking and victims protection programs … the way and manners orders and directives are given, will not be good for partnership. We NGOs are to complement government efforts and to work harmoniously toward protecting and assisting the trafficked persons but not to receive command and obeyed orders at all cost…I disagree with that approach"*

Another IGO2 claimed that

> *"… The lower-level officials in NAPTIP and NGOs are controlled and commanded to act in a manner or strictly comply with the command of the top management of the coordinating agency which is NAPTIP… they supposed to work together but not to receive orders…it's not military barracks…by the way it is the lower official and NGOs that often have direct contact with the trafficked persons at rehabilitation center"*

The views of the informants confirmed the theoretical expectation of Top-down perspective and indicate that the decision concerning trafficked persons rehabilitation and reintegration are centrally made at the top and are binding on all the official and the stakeholders at the ground level. Overlooking their chances of the lower level official to use their personal initiative as the circumstances warrants. Therefore, based on the finding strict compliance to the command of the top in the implementation process of NPPATPN reduces the effectiveness of the implementation. This is because it takes over the power and the ability of the official and other NGOs to operate in an effective manner. This view contradicts the theoretical perspective of top-down that allowing the official at the grass-root level to use their personal initiatives will lead to abuse of the process because they will pursue their private rather that policy goals. In this situation according to top-downers command and control mechanism to ensure compliance is compulsory. Contrary to the claim of Top down perspective, the findings from the informants GOV4, GOV3, GOV5, NGO1, NGO3, NGO4, IGO2 and TP3 shows that command and control structure impend the flexible response of stakeholders in the existing or changing circumstance regarding the protection and assistance to trafficked persons in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that lack of discretion has made the lower-official of the agency and NGOs to display lack of ownership of the policy. This is consistent with the finding of Lipsky (1975) who acknowledged the relevant and the role of the lower-ranking official in exercising discretion as imperative for effective policy implementation. Similarly the findings of this study is in line the position of policy implementation literature that were rooted from bottom-up perspective highlights that given the lower-bureaucrat the freedom to discretion will enhance their willingness to implement the policy. (May and Winter, 2009; Maynard-Moody and Portillo 2010; Lars and Victor, 2014).

Client Attitude toward the Policy

The clients are the trafficked persons, who are the main target of the NPPATPN. Thus, as clients, they have a role to play in making the implementation of NPPATPN successful or otherwise. The trafficked persons and their families often reject and fail to appreciate the importance of the policy in protecting their children, and also ignored to recognize the implication of human trafficking. Therefore, the informants GOV1, GOV3, IGO1, NGO2 and TP1 perceived that client attitude is a factor that affects the implementation of the NPPATPN. One of the informant GOV1 in expressing her experience on the challenges encountered with the victims' parents toward the victims' protection says: "*Some of them it's their parent that do send them, 'go and bring money for us, go and make money, we are poor".*

Similarly, Informant TP1 said

> *"I felt disappointed, shamed and embarrassed coming back home with nothing to start over because I sold almost all my property plus that of my parent to be able to travel with hope to come back as a proud member of the family but*

> *disappointed and even some of my parent felt disappointed. How would we repay the debt we incurred for this journey?".*

Similarly, IGO1 says

> *"When you now look at the reintegration a lot of things are placed out. Because if you are returning…a trafficked persons that were trafficked externally out of the country, you are returning without anything, you are term as a failure when you are coming back home, so there is this stigma that comes with this… She didn't achieve anything and so nobody wants to associate with you. So that makes re-integration back to the society difficult."*

The view of the informants is that trafficking in persons is considered as the necessary sacrifice for family economic survival, and some of the families invest into this business by engaging, offering, sending and sacrificing some of their love once, with the aim of achieving a good life for the rest of the families. Therefore, the policy would face the challenge of acceptability because of the attitude of the trafficked persons and their families. The involvement of families and public into human trafficking has made the crime undetectable and often they are not willing to cooperate with the relevant authority in the protection of the victims. Hence, Policy acceptability is imperative for effective implementation of the policy. The informant's view is consistent to the findings of Warwick (1982) that the target audience of a policy can "speed, slow, stop or redirect policy implementation" The client, therefore, disregard NPPATPN because they considered it (NPPATPN) as an obstacle to their economic prosperity.

The findings further, shows that client attitude toward the policy has been an obstacle to the realization of the policy. This is because any effort to prevent trafficking in persons, it is considered as an obstacle to their economic fortune. It is important to note that policy acceptability is imperative to the effective translation of NPPATPN, and where the target of the policy (the trafficked persons and their families) are not in support of the policy it will stand still. In this situation, they can slow, reject or redirect the implementation of NPPATPN (Warwick, 1982). This is because they perceived the policy as a detriment to their means of livelihood and economic advancement. This has make the rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked person more challenging, because the policy lack support from the client. It's significant to note that the client attitude toward the policy may change to positive when they are involved in the policy process. The finding shows that creating a space for people participating in the policy process is significant to the effective implementation of the policy. This is consistent to the bottom-up theoretical perspective, which stressed that the people should be part of the policy process, because they are the real beneficiary of the policy and they can help to accomplish the policy they helped formulated (Lipsky, 1980; Warwick, 1982).

Abuse of Public Trust
The implementation of NPPATPN is entrusted to the government official, as the key actors in the implementation process, but such trust has been abused by their act of corruption. The abuse of public trust is the major challenges confronting trafficked persons protection and assistance. The informants GOV1, GOV2, GOV3, IGO1, IGO2, NGO1, NGO3, NGO4, TP3, and TP4 revealed that official corruption has been identified as the factors that have a great impact to the implementation of the protection and assistance to trafficked person policy in

Nigeria. Informant NGO1 in expressing his views stated that: *"Resource will be allocated but diverted to other areas or siphoned to private pockets…"* Informant NGO2 says: *"…official corruption, is the major obstacle in addressing trafficking in persons in the country"* Another informant GOV1 says: *"Corruption in Nigeria is the lubricating oil that permits human trafficking engine to work smoothly and it undermines government efforts in protecting the victims from re-trafficking…"*

The view of the informants revealed that corruption, undoubtedly is the biggest challenges to the protection of trafficked persons, prevention of human trafficking and prosecution of human traffickers. Transparency International Corruption Perception Index as cited in UNODC (2017) placed Nigeria among 31 most corrupt countries in the world. The report ranked Nigeria according to the degree of corruption perpetuated among the public official in the country (UNODC, 2017). The finding of this study was in line with OECD (2014) study that compared the United States trafficking in persons report and transparency international corruption perception index and the findings show that countries with serious issues of human trafficking are countries perceived to be the most corrupt nations. For instance TP3 reported that on their way to the Niger Republic through land border his transporter told him that: *"Don't be scared of getting arrested at the border by the security agents, they are part of our syndicate. You can only be in trouble when you refuse to comply with my instruction…"* Informant NGO2 says

> *"What a shame…officers that are to prevent the crime are the criminal…those that are expected to rescue and protect the victim turn out to be the traffickers… it is disgusting…with this kind of traffickers disguised as public officials it will be hard to detect the crime and protect the victims…"*

These views shows that the corrupt public official works in collaboration with the trafficking network and a times they work independently as the traffickers. It was reported that in 2008 Nigeria policeman was arrested in recruiting and transporting of 33 ladies between the ages of 18 to 30 years to Guinea for trafficking in persons purposes (Punch, 2008). In a related development case corrupt public officials were found to be involved in direct sex trafficking. For instance, according to press account that five police officers held 16-year-old girl in captivity as sex slave in Kano state for months and threatened to kill her if she attempt to run away. These public officials were arrested and prosecuted (Freedom Radio, 2011). These incidences confirmed the informants' views that corrupt public officials play an active role in promoting this act of criminality by participating in either victims' recruitment, transportation or even at the exploitation stage. In consistence with this view UNODC (2011) report that "corruption is probably the most important factors in explaining human trafficking."

The finding revealed that the involvement of government official in the exploitation of trafficked persons has eroded the public trust and loss of public confidence. According to the informants, corruption was viewed as one of the most critical factors why public mistrust government officials. The public are not blind, they are observing the abuse of power, abuse of public trust, lack of honesty and unethical attitude of the government official in their respective institutions and in the cause of implementing public policies. The study found that allowing the implementing official to exercise discretion harm the trafficked person, because private consideration in translating the NPPATPN prevent the trafficked persons from being protected and assisted as content in the policy content. Therefore, from the top-down theoretical perspective, with hierarchical command and controlled official corrupt tendencies

would checked, refocus the implementing institutions and the lower official to act in a manner consistent to the policy content, instead of pursuing private goals.

Lack of Policy Knowledge

Understanding Policy and the clarity of its objectives are critical factors for successful translation of policy into concrete reality. Interview with the informants GOV2, GOV3, GOV4, IGO2, NGO1, NGO2, NGO3, and NGO4 revealed that lack of understanding about the policy has been a factor that affects the implementation of protection and assistance to trafficked person policy in Nigeria. The informants added that there is no way for effective implementation of protection and assistance policy when the implementing officials do not fully comprehend and understand what to implement. One of the informant IGO1 says: "*How do you achieve the policy objectives when those to implement the policy does not fully know what the policy is all about*"

Another informant GOV2 Says

> "*The government of official or the implementers, they don't really grasp what all the policy is all about. If there is proper understanding by the implementers of what the policy is all about, that challenge can be overcome by the implementers*"

Similarly, an Informant NGO1 says

> "*Clear understanding of the policy objectives is very, very important, otherwise you are coming to cause more confusion to the job, to the victims, you are not making them to recover, rather you are making the victim to sink deeper which is contrary to the target of the agency and the policy itself.*"

The views of the informant show that clear understanding of the policy objective is an important issue for a successful implementation of a policy, because without proper understanding what the policy aimed for, it will affect the outcome of the implementation. Therefore, policy clarity, accuracy, and consistency are critical factors for successful translation of policy into concrete reality. The informant's perceptions on this factor are consistent with the findings of Van Mater and Van Hons (1975) whose studies revealed that "successful implementation of policy demands that there are a clear understanding of the policy objectives by the policy implementers". It is incumbent upon the government to ensure that the members of the implementing community are sensitized, particularly the implementing bureaucrats are well equipped because they are directly involved in the implementation process.

In expressing their view, the informants highlighted the need for intensive and sustainable capacity building for effective implementation of the policy in Nigeria. Informant IGO2 noted that:

> "*…is just like you ask somebody to teach a person, you have to teach him what to teach the person" if he doesn't know what to teach the person, that! He cannot teach. So a teacher needs to know, what he going to teach before he is able to impart that knowledge to him students*"

With the formulation of the policy in 2008 many of the government official do not have the required knowledge and the necessary skill to handle the protection and assistance to

trafficked person. The informants IGO1, IGO2 and NGO2 highlighted that the NAPTIP official have limited knowledge of what the policy are. The government official informants GOV1, GOV2, GOV4 and GOV3 further admitted that they were given responsibility without adequate knowledge of how to execute the policy successfully. Therefore, all the informants agreed that those who are involved in victim protection and assistance needs to be equipped to understand various strategies and measures required for victims' rehabilitation and reintegration. Commenting in this regard GOV1, GOV2 and GOV5 acknowledged that obtaining the right knowledge about the victim protection needs, time and efforts.

Therefore, the training, retraining and capacity building to enhance the skill and knowledge base of the implementing official cannot be done without the support of the top-authority. This brings the relevant of top-down perspective whose concerned was to make the policy objective clearer to the implementing official, as well as to ensure the official act in a manner prescribed in the policy contents. This is because the top-down scholars' belief with clear and well-defined policy objective will lead the implementing official to achieve the policy goals (Van Mater and Van Hons, 1975). The finding of this study is also within the purview of top-down perspective that the knowledge and understanding of the policy should be cascaded down not only to the implementing official but the public. This is because public knowledge and understanding of the policy will generate support to the implementing institution, which is vital to implementation success. In a study by Bramley & Stewart (1981) on implementing public expenditure cuts, they noted that the difficulty in determining what government's precise objectives were by implementers affected policy implementation.

Conclusion and Recommendations
The findings supported the theoretical expectation of top-down that allowing the lower-bureaucrat to implement a policy without hierarchical command and control would amount to the abuse of the policy, where the policy would be implemented in a negative way. But with the controlled mechanism in placed it check the attitudes and the excesses of the bureaucrats to act in a manner consistent with the dictates of the policy.

The study recommends ways to enhance the implementation of policy in the country, and these recommendations may have constructive effects in improving the implementation of NPPATPN, as well as other existing or new policies in the country or elsewhere. First, the study recommends the need to strengthen the partnership and collaboration among all the anti-human trafficking stakeholders. The implementation of NPPATPN required partnership and collaboration. In the case of Nigeria, weak collaboration has emerged as an obstacle in realizing the NPPATPN objectives. There is a need for the country to take an active role in promoting collaboration among state actors and strengthening the public-private partnership. Secondly, the lack of knowledge about the policy which has been an obstacle to the effective implementation of NPPATPN should be address by investing more in public sensitization program. In doing so, the governments and NAPTIP should engage in promoting public understanding about the policy through mass media across the country.

Third, to enhance the knowledge-based and acquire a better understanding of protection and assistance to trafficked person among the implementing officials, capacity building, training and retraining, workshops, seminar, national and international conferences to share knowledge and experiences among the actors are imperative for successful implementation of NPPATPN. Fourth, the implementation of NPPATPN required the support of the policy client (trafficked persons). The trafficked persons refusal to support and accept the policy has undermined its implementation, this is because they have the strength to make the policy

successful or otherwise, they can slow, halt or refocus the implementation. Therefore, their support is imperative to the effective implementation of the policy. Fifth, the study recommends that the policy-makers should take into cognizance the input of the implementers (lower-official), NGOs and other relevant stakeholders in the policy-making process. It is significant to note that when reviewing the policy to give the lower-level bureaucrat and the NGOs the freedom and chance to adjust and have an input, for the policy to be effective and legitimate. This is because the lower-level officials will be effective in implementing the policy, they helped reviewed and created.

The study has contributed to advancing the discussion of top-down and bottom-up approaches in the context of human trafficking policy implementation in Nigeria. The findings show that top-down approach is more pronounced compared to the bottom-up approach in NPPATPN implementation. This is because the lower-level bureaucrat operates under strong hierarchical command and control with no freedom to exercise any discretion in the implementation process. This has made the lower-official of the agency and relevant actors to display lack of ownership of the policy. There is the need to further study in this area from quantitative research approach using a questionnaire to study a wider range of participants, hoping that the findings of the study can be used to further confirm the findings of this study.

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