

**TRAFFICKING SURVIVORS IN NEPAL:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN'S
EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR REINTEGRATION**

Ganesh Prasad Chaulagai



Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
The Degree of Master of Philosophy in Gender and Development
Gender and Development Programme, Department of Education and Health Promotion,
Faculty of Psychology, University of Bergen, Norway
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the women who sacrificed their valuable time and willingly share their experiences of trafficking. I feel that I have no sufficient words of gratitude to thank them. I am grateful to the staffs and members of Shakti Samuha: Ms Januka Bhattarai, Ms Sunita Danuwar and Ms Hira Dahal, for welcoming me as a family member and giving me enormous support during my field work. I would also like to thank Ms Sumitra Shrestha from Maiti Nepal who positively received me and helped me to get access to information from the survivors of trafficking.

I would like to thank Ms Nanimaya Nepal, GMSP, Sindhupalchok, Ms Prabha Khanal of Maiti Nepal, Rupandehi, Mr. Rituraj Bhandari, the undersecretary of MWCSW, Ms Manu Lama and Ms Anu Tamang, Shakti Samuha for their valuable support.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, associate professor, Dr. Haldis Haukanes for the support and guidance provided to me from the very beginning of developing my project proposal to the final stage of thesis writing. Her valuable comments, suggestions and guidance enabled me to materialize the thesis in this form. I would also like to thank associate professor, Dr. Marit Tjomsland for her suggestions, continuous support and encouragement during the study. I would like to thank Kristin Senneset and Alis Lund Johansen for their timely and incessant administrative support throughout my study in Gender and Development Programme. I also extend thanks to all my class fellows of GAD programme with whom I spent my two years study in University of Bergen.

I wish to acknowledge Norwegian State Education Loan Fund (Lånekassen) for their financial support for the study in Norway as well as to conduct field work in my home country, Nepal.

Last but not definitely the least, I can't forget my family. Without their love, moral support, inspiration as well as best wishes from across the miles, I would not have been able to complete my work. I want to extend my heartfelt thanks to my father Ratna Prasad Chaulagai, mother Netra Kumari Chaulagai and brother Shambhu Prasad Chaulagai. One of the best experiences within the period of my field work was that I got married. I am extremely grateful to my wife, Pratima Chapagai for her love, inspiration and support during the field work and thesis writing as well as in every step of my life.

Thanks.
Ganesh Prasad Chaulagai
Bergen, Norway
May 2009

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Appendixes

List of Abbreviations

Abstract

CHAPTER-1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Extent of Problem and Measures Taken Against Human Trafficking	2
National Level	3
1.3 Trafficking: A Gendered Issue in Nepal	4
1.4 Motivations for the Study.....	6
1.5 Objectives of the Research.....	8
The Overall Objective	8
Specific Objectives.....	8
1.6 Organization of the Thesis	9
CHAPTER-2: DEFINING AND RESEARCHING TRAFFICKING	10
2.1 Defining Trafficking	10
2.2 History of Trafficking in Nepal.....	12
2.3 Studies of Trafficking: Why and How Are Nepalese Women Trafficked?.....	15
2.4 Studies on Reintegration	18
2.5 Contribution of the Study.....	21
CHAPTER- 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	23
3.1 The Three Bodies Approach	23
3.2 Social Stigma	24
3.3 Agency and Empowerment	27
CHAPTER- 4: METHODOLOGY	29
4.1 Research Method.....	29
4.2 Study Sites and Population.....	29
4.3 Data Collection.....	31
Participant Observation	31
In-depth Interviews.....	32
Focus Group Discussions	35
Interview with Key Persons (Gatekeepers).....	36
Secondary Data.....	36
4.4 Research Ethics	37
4.5 My Role as a Researcher.....	38
4.6 Challenges and Limitations of the Study	38
Challenges of the Study.....	38
Limitations of the Study	39
4.7 Data Analysis	40

CHAPTER-5: UNDERSTANDING TRAFFICKING	41
5.1 Conceptual Understandings of Trafficking	41
5.2 A Matter of Shame	41
5.3 Cheating of Innocent and Ignorant Women	44
5.4 Trafficking Related Terms	46
Trafficking and Prostitution	46
Trafficking and Migration for Foreign Employment	48
5.5 Discussion and Conclusion:	50
 CHAPTER-6: EXPERIENCES OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN	 52
6.1 Purposes of Trafficking	52
6.2 Process of Trafficking	54
6.3 Life in the Brothel and in the Circus Industry	58
6.4 Returning Process to Nepal	62
6.5 Current Lives of Survivors at Rehabilitation Centers	66
6.6 Discussion and Conclusion	69
 CHAPTER-7: PERCEPTIONS ON THE REINTEGRATION OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN.....	 71
7.1 Experiences of Ideas about Reintegration of Trafficking Victims.....	72
7.2 Self-Dependency as a Solution?.....	77
7.3 Community Perceptions	78
7.4 N/GOs Initiatives for Reintegration	83
7.5 Discussion and Conclusion	85
 CHAPTER- 8: CONCLUDING REMARKS	 89
8.1 Variation in Understanding Trafficking.....	89
8.2 Trafficking has Multiple Dimensions	90
8.3 Reintegration Process is Problematic.....	91
Gendered Social Norms and Values.....	91
Shame and Stigma	91
8.4 What can be done for the Women?	93
 REFERENCES.....	 94
 ANNEXES	 101

LIST OF TABLES

Table-1	Distribution of informants by their age, literacy, and duration of stay in the work place (Destinations).....	34
Table-2	Trafficking situation (according to <i>Maiti Nepal</i> records 2001- 2007), Nepal.....	71

LIST OF ANNEXES

Annex- i: Definitions of Trafficking by Different Agencies

- UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others, 1949
- UN General Assembly, 1994
- Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, 2000
- IOM, 1994
- European Parliament Definition
- SAARC Convention, 2002
- National Human Rights Commission Nepal (NHRCN):

Annex-ii: Some Pictures from the Field

Annex-iii: Interviews Guide

- In-depth Interviews with Trafficking Survivors
- Interviews with Key Persons
- Focus Group Discussions

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
CeLRRd	Center for Legal Research and Support
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FWLD	Forum for Women's Legal Research and Development
GMSIP	Gramin Mahila Srijanshil Pariwar
GoN	Government of Nepal
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune-deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IIDS	Institute of Integrated Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
I/N/GOs	International/ Non /Government Organizations
ISST	Institute of Social Studies Trust
MANK	Mahila Aatmanirvarata Kendra
MWCSW	Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare
NHRCN	National Human Right Commission, Nepal
NIDS	Nepal Institute of Development Studies
NSD	Norwegian Social Science Data Services
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Aid for International Development
VAW	Violence against Women

ABSTRACT

This study set out to understand the obstacles behind reintegration process of trafficking survivors in their communities in Nepal. It is aimed at improving the status of trafficked women by making some recommendations for policy design and planning on anti-trafficking movement. This qualitative study mainly focuses on exploring the experiences of the trafficked victims in the whole process of being trafficked and perceptions on their possible reintegration. In addition, it deals with the understanding of trafficking among survivors, community people and some key organizations working on combating trafficking. The main goal of the study is finding out the gap between perceptions towards survivors' reintegration in the communities among community people and trafficking survivors.

The data consisted of 18 in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors, 6 focus group discussions and some interviews with some NGOs' key persons. The data was collected in May-August, 2008 and analysed descriptively applying different theories: Stigma by Goffman, The Three Bodies Approach by Scheper-Hughes and Lock, and Empowerment Framework by Naila Kabeer.

Through the narratives of trafficked women and community people, the study finds out that the stigma in the survivors created by treatment of community people is major obstacles in their reintegration. It also reveals that self stigmatization of survivors hinder the reintegration process. In addition, the study confirms that there is variation of conceptual understandings of trafficking among trafficked women and community people.

Based on the major findings, the study recommends prioritizing the public awareness on trafficking and advocacy for survivors' rights. Invariably, it identifies the necessity of formulating anti-trafficking programmes and its effective implementation with the involvement of survivors for their successful reintegration.

CHAPTER-1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Human trafficking is one of the greatest challenges of humanity today. Trafficking in human beings is often considered to be the modern form of the 'old' slave trade. Human beings are treated as commodities to be bought and sold, and to be put to forced labour. Human trafficking usually occurs in the sex industry but also in the agricultural sector, entertainment sector, in hotels and restaurants. Most identified victims of human trafficking are women and children, but there are also men and boys who sometimes become victims of trafficking.

The definition of trafficking has been under great debate in the past decades, specifically concerning which issues should be included in trafficking definition (e.g. prostitution, forced labour, sex work; see chapter-2). However, United Nations (UN) (2000) definition of trafficking created a common understanding of trafficking among the major stakeholders (researchers, INGOs, UN). According to this definition, trafficking is:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of 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. Exploitation shall include, at minimum, the exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs”(p. 2).

Although the above definition of trafficking is globally used, there are still various understandings on trafficking in different parts of the world among researchers, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and not the least the victims of trafficking themselves. My study tries to compare the official definition of trafficking made by UN to the understanding of trafficking among trafficked women and members of different trafficking prone communities. I will come back to this point again in the next chapter.

Human trafficking is often linked to organized crime that is practiced at national or transnational range. It is a serious human rights violation and is reported by the United Nations to be the fastest growing form of transnational organized crime. Indeed, United States *Trafficking in Persons Report, 2007* states that human trafficking is now the second largest illicit money making venture in the world after trafficking of weapons and drugs whereas in 2006, it was ranked as the third largest business of illicit money making (United States Department of State, 2008). This indicates that human trafficking is becoming a severe problem. In this case, Nepal is not an exception because of huge numbers of people being trafficked and increasing numbers of rescued or returned survivors within Nepal. Human trafficking poses a great challenge to both the Nepalese society and individual survivors. This is because the arrival of survivors in the society is considered to threaten social dignity and prestige. Similarly, the girls and women who have been trafficked for prostitution are publically known as social evils in Nepal (Poudel & Carryer, 2000). In this respect, this study tries to analyze the survivors' experiences of trafficking and perceptions on reintegration of trafficked women in their respective communities both among survivors and among people living in some selected communities.

1.2 Extent of Problem and Measures Taken Against Human Trafficking

The State Department of United States (2006) estimated that 600,000 to 820,000 men, women and children are trafficked across international borders each year. Among them approximately 80 percent are women and up to 50 percent are children. The data also illustrates that the majority of transnational trafficked victims are being forced into commercial sexual exploitation¹. A study by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) estimated that 500,000 women from Central and Eastern Europe were working in prostitution in the European Union (EU) alone in the year 2000². Similarly, another study has shown that Japan is one of the major destination countries for women trafficked, especially from the Philippines and Thailand in Asia³. These numbers indicate the magnitude of women's trafficking globally.

¹ Cited in <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/46606.htm> dated 13 April, 2009.

² Cited in http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000_02/uk/ethique/intro.htm dated 27 December, 2008.

³ Cited in <http://www.edu.oulu.fi/ktl/NCRB/MAIN/NEW/careybe.pdf#page=161> dated 10 March, 2009.

In the past decades, various measures have been taken to combat human trafficking globally. Various global conventions have focused on the issue of women's trafficking. For instance, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), UN conference on trafficking in human beings (2008)⁴. As a result, many countries have ratified these conventions and have tried to develop plans, policies and programmes as well as laws. These efforts have strengthened coordination and networking between and among nations and organizations to combat human trafficking. Various international organizations like the UN, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United States Aid for International Development (USAID) and Oxfam have prioritized the issue of human trafficking and have been conducting programmes on awareness, advocacy, survivors' support, rescue, rehabilitation, reintegration and legal support to the survivors of trafficking. Although there is great focus on programmes to combat human trafficking, the existing situation still seems more challenging particularly on reintegration of trafficking victims in the society (Shigekane, 2007). It is seen as a great challenge in Nepalese context where existing interventions lack focus on reintegration of trafficked women (NHRCN, 2008).

National Level

Along with the global movement of fighting violence against women, specifically in connection with combating women's trafficking, Nepal government has also ratified various international conventions and protocols including CEDAW. The government has developed various plans, policies and programmes to combat trafficking. However the policy implementation is largely ineffective due to the lack of political and judicial will to enforce legal Acts (CeLRRd, 2000). Human trafficking is a very sensitive issue, thus, it is difficult to get exact figure of trafficking globally and nationally. There is lack of recent estimations of human trafficking and there is no consistency in available data. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the real magnitude of trafficking of Nepalese girls and women. The estimated figures of trafficked women varies on different studies, about 200,000 (Poudel. & Shrestha., 1996) to 417,200 (Acharya, 1998). According to Thapa (1997) about 5000-7000 girls are trafficked from Nepal to India each year specifically for

⁴ The first UN convention on trafficking in human being was held in 13-15 Feb, 2008 in Vienna. 1200 experts were met to find strategies to combat trafficking (visit http://www.humanrights.ch/home/en/iddart_5771-content.html).

forced prostitution (cit in Poudel and Carryer 2000 p.74). In another study, however, KC et al. (2001) has estimated that 12,000 children are trafficked to India every year, many of them under the age of 14 (KC *et al.*, 2001). Although the studies mentioned above appear to show contrasting data, the figures demonstrate the severity of the problem that girls and young women face in relation to the trafficking situation in Nepal. It appears the high trafficking rate in Nepal is due to the high demand for fair skinned and Mongolian featured women for the sex industry. Further, Nepalese young women are considered particularly valuable in terms of their abilities to earn money for the traffickers (MANK, 2007; Shakti Samuha, 2007).

1.3 Trafficking: A Gendered Issue in Nepal

According to a recent report prepared by Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST) (2007), *'One in every two women in south Asia faces violence in their daily life. Many girls and women endure daily beatings, harassment for dowry, verbal abuse and acid attacks for refusing to comply with male demands. Other women become targets of extreme forms of violence like incest, rape, public humiliation, trafficking, honour killing and dowry deaths'* .

Nepal is one among South Asian countries where women are often treated as second class citizens making them more prone to trafficking than men. Women trafficking is recognized as the result of socio-cultural structures, gender roles and in particular gendered power differentials, poverty and lack of economic opportunities (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001). Generally, economic status and gender inequality are the underlying factors of trafficking in Nepal (Poudel & Carryer, 2000; IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004; Ali, 2005; NHRCN, 2006, 2008). Gender inequality exists in economic activities, labour force, education, public participation, socio-cultural values, norms and practices as well as legal structures of the state. Institutionalized gender inequality is found in various sectors of the society. National Census results of Nepal, 2001 show that whereas females comprise more than half the country's population, they share only 9.1 percent jobs in public service (CBS, 2003). According to Bajracharya (1994), women work 47 percent more hours than men in an average in a day. Their involvement in household work is not considered as work even though they work 14-17 hours a day in household and on the farm (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001). Although women have ownership over land and dominate the basic food processing activities (Bhattra, 2002; Upadhyay, 2003), the proceeds of

agriculture are controlled by men (Rana, 1999). The share of women in wage employment in the non agricultural sector is only 17.5 percent (CBS, 2003, 2006).

Women are living with various problems and are discriminated against by male members even in their family (Thapaliya, 2001; Poudyal, 2003). The female literacy rate in Nepal is 42.8 percent where as male literacy rate is 65 percent, which results in women's limited skills. Low female literacy is caused by the burden of work on the daughters. For example, a school going daughter has to help her mother in her daily life (Agrawal, 2001) whereas same aged son is neither supposed to help his parents nor other members in the family. Various interventions for increasing female literacy are presumed to maintain equality among boys and girls and equal participation in society but they are not enough to achieve gender justice in education (Rao & Pant, 2006). Rothchild (2006) critically argues in his study of education in Nepal that '*A girl enrolling in school enrolls in a gendered institution, not a gender neutral one*' (p. 15).

Most development organizations in Nepal have adopted gender perspectives systematically in their systems, structures and practices (Woodford-Berger, 2004). Regardless of some achievements, gender inequality is prevailing everywhere in Nepalese societies (Pandey *et al.*, ; Pokhrel & Mishra, 2001; The World Bank, 2001). Women in general are regarded as second class citizens due to the patriarchal values and norms in the society. The patriarchal system of inheritance of parental property gives high priority to men even though current inheritance of property legislation has defined that women and men have equal right to inherit their parental property (NHRCN, 2008). There are inequalities in policies, institutions and legislations as well as society's functions and practices resulting in exclusion of women, disadvantaged groups and minorities (DFID, 2005). Following from the above, it is reasonable to argue that not only does inequalities exist between men and women in Nepalese society, but it is institutionalized. The situation does become more serious when women who are already in vulnerable position are trafficked to other countries for prostitution. A behaviour that is culturally unacceptable in Nepal. This study therefore analyses how the trafficked women are treated in Nepalese society and whether there exist the possibility of a successful reintegration in their respective communities.

The House of Representatives of Nepal had declared Nepal as an untouchable and discrimination free nation on 4th June 2006 which is considered as an important

breakthrough for the construction of equitable society (The Kathmandu Post, 2006). I hope the current government will extend its great efforts to formulate equitable policies and programmes and their effective materialization, which will help to enhance the lives of survivors of trafficking.

1.4 Motivations for the Study

Studies on reintegration of trafficking survivors are limited globally. Many studies highlight the process and context of trafficking and make recommendations to planning, policy design and implementation. For example, UN (2004) recommends “*trafficking must be addressed at three levels: the supply of trafficked persons, the demand, and the traffickers and officials involved*” (p. 62). In case of Nepal, many studies are conducted on trafficking dealing with its various aspects- causes and consequences, process of trafficking, plan and policy analysis. There are few studies on reintegration of trafficking victims in Nepal. Studies show varieties of challenges in society while returnees (trafficking victims) try to maintain similar position as other women do. An interview-based study on the status of reintegrated trafficked women found that returnees are stigmatized from family and community even after their reintegration in the society (Chen & Marcovici, 2003). They are perceived as prostitutes and are victims of gossip and ‘*name calling*’⁵. Moreover, they are also thought to be infected by HIV/AIDS and community people want to isolate them (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001). In addition, their movement out of the village earns them a name of ‘*loose women*’ and they are potential objects of rape and sexual abuse in society (Chen & Marcovici, 2003).

Nowadays, rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficking victims are becoming a serious concern for the organizations working to combat trafficking. Studies show that although various programmes are launched to combat human trafficking in Nepal, the situation remains same. A study of existing laws and policies mentions problems that the organizations working on combating trafficking lack knowledge on local culture, deep rooted social beliefs and perceptions on trafficked victims (CeLRRd, 2000). However, a study on social reintegration, by Frederick (2005) reveals that those NGOs working in the field of reintegration claim its high success rate even though they have limited contact

⁵ ‘*Name Calling*’ refers to the dirty words and words to show they are characterless, for example- *Randi* (means women who sleeps/has sexual relation with several men), *Bhalu* (women having multiple sex partner), *Chalu* (loose character in terms of sexual behaviour) etc.

with the previous survivor after reintegration. Taking *Maiti Nepal*⁶ as an example, Frederick claims that this particular organization contributed to the reintegration of survivors of trafficking through skill development training, psychological counselling and physical check up. However, the care and support for self sufficiency and self protection of survivors are not properly provided during the reintegration process. He found that the organization lacked proper care and support (according to their socio-economic, cultural background) in their reintegration process which is considered as a great problem.

It is believed that trafficked women should not expose themselves to the public because of hate and disgust (stigma) in the society and that they bring social evils from their working places (brothel, circus industry) (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001). Such responses of communities towards trafficking survivors create tension and sufferings to them and increase the chances of re-victimization of stigmatized survivors. In this regard, this study tries to focus on the problems of reintegration of survivors of trafficking. It also aims at studying the experiences of trafficked women since reintegration cannot be understood unless we discuss experiences of trafficking. Trafficked women have traumatic experiences of life at working places and different physical abuses and psychological stresses. Their retrospective life experiences create shame in them which results in the loss of their self identity in the community. Such experiences may act as hindrances in their reintegration in the community. This study, therefore, tries to explore how the various experiences of trafficked women affect their reintegration processes and analyses the perceptions on reintegration of returnees among local people within three different communities under study and survivors themselves. Based on this background, I am guided by the following factors to conduct this research:

- My previous work experience motivated me to choose this topic. During my work in the field of combating trafficking, I was able to observe gender based violence related to trafficking in the community. I accumulated knowledge about the process of taking girls/women for trafficking, problems of survivors of trafficking and effects of trafficking in society. This inspired me to carry out a study that

⁶ *Maiti Nepal* is a Non-Government Organization which is working to combat trafficking of girls and children. It is especially working on rescue, repatriation, interception and reintegration of trafficked victims and conducting various awareness programmes targeting to vulnerable groups in various parts of the country, Nepal. For more information please, follow the methodology chapter.

hopefully will make me able to support trafficking victims by highlighting their needs and condition so that their issues can be included in public policy as well as decision-making agendas.

- My academic background (social science/gender and development) also supported me to choose this study area, which is a pure case of gender based violence.

I hope that this study, by and large, will be useful for the following purpose:

- It will provide academicians, students, researchers and other readers with useful information on reintegration of survivors of trafficking in the community and information on experiences of trafficked women and survivors' future wishes.
- It will help the planners and policy makers by providing relevant information on combating trafficking.
- It may be a supporting document for further research on reintegration of survivors of trafficking in the community.

1.5 Objectives of the Research

The Overall Objective

- To investigate the experiences of women who have been trafficked from Nepal to India and other countries and to identify problems in their reintegration process.

Specific Objectives

- To explore the understanding of trafficking among trafficking survivors and among people living in trafficking prone communities,
- To examine the experiences of women who have been trafficked,
- To analyze problems faced in the re-integration of survivors of trafficking in the society from the perspectives of the trafficked women and explore the survivors' wishes for the future,
- To find out society's perceptions of and attitudes towards re-integration of survivors of trafficking in society,

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into 8 separate chapters. The first chapter covers the general background of the study, its global and national scenario, research problems with objectives and the rationale of the study. Chapter 2 reviews literature on trafficking and explores the history of trafficking in Nepal. The theoretical framework is presented in chapter 3. The framework is mainly composed of 3 sets of approaches, namely Schper-Hughes and Lock's the Three Bodies Approach, Goffman's Theory of Stigma and Naila Kabeer's Empowerment Framework. Chapter 4 is about the methodology of the research. It basically explains how I conducted my research and what methodology has been used.

I present empirical discussions in three chapters: chapter 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 is about the conceptual understanding of trafficking where survivors' understanding of trafficking and communities' perceptions on trafficking are compared with the official UN definition of trafficking. The experiences of trafficked women is analysed in chapter 6 which basically describes the process of being trafficked, lives in their work place (brothel and circus industry) and lives after coming back from the destination. Perceptions on reintegration of trafficked women are analyzed in chapter 7. It emphasises the survivors' views on their reintegration, communities' perceptions on trafficked women and their arrival back to the communities. The last chapter summarizes the findings.

CHAPTER-2: DEFINING AND RESEARCHING TRAFFICKING

This chapter discusses definitions of trafficking and examines research on trafficking especially from Nepal. The chapter further shows an analysis of the process and context of trafficking based on existing literatures and explores studies on reintegration of trafficking survivors. The main aim of this chapter is to discover the gaps in the existing literatures which this study intends to fill. The chapter begins with a discussion on definitions of trafficking. Then I discuss the history of trafficking in Nepal. The middle section explores the process of girls/women's' trafficking from Nepal to India and elsewhere with the help of existing studies on trafficking. In the final section, I review literatures related to reintegration of trafficking survivors.

2.1 Defining Trafficking

The concept and the definition of trafficking have varied over time and are still under debate today. Considering the definitions from various agencies (organizations) over the period 1949 to 2000, they can be grouped into three different schools of thoughts (IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004):

The first idea considers trafficking as moving, selling and buying of women and children for prostitution. This concept is associated with the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others, 1949 (See Annex-i). This convention is considered to be the first UN instrument to combat trafficking. Various actors linked trafficking to the prostitution during the decades (up to 2000), and various governments' actions were founded on such an understanding of trafficking. Critics argued that this definition includes a narrow understanding of trafficking. Trafficking is presented in very limited visible aspects. However it is used by various organizations without considering its lackings. The Nepalese government action was motivated by the definition above and led to the restriction on the movement of women without considering their rights (MWCSW, 2008b).

The second school of thought considers trafficking as forced prostitution and coerced labour. This definition is associated with the concept of trafficking developed in UN General Assembly, 1994 (See Annex- i). The main point of this thought is that trafficking is basically associated with economies in transition. The critics of the definition argue

that this definition explains ‘trafficking as a crime’ which is a very visible aspect of trafficking. However, trafficking also relates to various invisible activities, but this definition does not go beyond the visible aspects of trafficking. The definition does not explicate the relationship between trafficking and other processes like migration, neither does it take into account social hierarchy or power relations in society. Finally, it does not deal with trafficking within a nation’s boundary (IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004).

The third definition is proposed by Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (see annex- i). It is the latest and most widely used definition on trafficking. As earlier discussed in chapter 1, trafficking is, according to this definition, ‘recruitment, transportation, purchase, sale, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons’. The definition therefore covers many aspects of the process of trafficking and its changing means and ways of abduction and purposes. The definition further shows the possibility of trafficking within the country too.

Even after UN (2000) definition of trafficking, conceptual debates on trafficking continue. The critics of the UN (2000) definition argue that the phenomena and the dimensions included in the definition are not easily understandable and efficient to apply. In a critique of the UN definition, Lee (2007) states that trafficking is required to be understood in different perspectives: *‘White slave trade, transnational organized crime, an illegal migration problem, a threat to national sovereignty and security, a labour issues, human rights violations, or combinations of them all’* (p. 2). Other critics found practical difficulties in the identification of the victims due to the boundaries and demarcations fixed in UN definitions. Skilberi and Tveit (2008) argue that the UN definition is inadequate in explaining the connections among the ideas included in the definitions: ‘methods’, ‘motive’, ‘content’ and ‘the consent’ (p. 11).

Although most of the organizations (I/N/GOs) working to combat trafficking in Nepal emphasize that they are taking on UN (2000) definition of trafficking as their starting point, there are varying perceptions of definition and practices. It appears there exist a perception among some NGOs that the purpose of women’s trafficking is solely for prostitution. However, it is practiced for many other purposes like circus, entertainment industry, debt bondage, forced labour (IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004). Even though these organizations’ understanding of trafficking was primarily guided by the moral values rather than survivors’ rights, efforts have now shifted to right based approach for the

survivors' empowerment. The National Human Rights Commission in Nepal (2006) states that, different agencies have built a common consensus on trafficking in persons recently which encourages the agencies to attempt a comprehensive definition of trafficking going beyond the limit of sex work and treating the issue as a 'violation of human rights pertaining to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights' (p. 8). However, people living in different places have different perceptions of trafficking. They explain trafficking in different ways. Some people view it as a greatest human crime that is seen as the violation of human right (see Zimmerman & Watts, 2004), and others perceive it as a form of violence against women. People's diverse understanding of trafficking complicates the effective implementation of anti-trafficking programmes whereas the official definition of trafficking is seen as an important base for the formulation of plans and policies to combat trafficking. This study therefore tries to analyse how trafficking is understood among survivors of trafficking and people from three trafficking prone communities.

2.2 History of Trafficking in Nepal

Even though there is no authentic information on the genesis of human trafficking in Nepal (Ghimire, 1997), evidence available support the assertion that it has been in existence since the beginning of the 20th century. Two schools of thought⁷ exist regarding the history of trafficking in Nepal. One group of scholars argue that trafficking existed even in the ancient rules of '*Lichchhabhi era, Malla period and Rana regime*'⁸. Trafficking in girls and women became more pronounced after the downfall of the Rana regime (1951). People believed that the Ranas had kept many young girls as maids and concubines, dancers and singers for luxury and sexual pleasures, most of whom belonged to *Tamang*⁹ community located in the mountain districts like *Sindhupalchok* and *Nuwakot* (Brown, 2006). The people's war in 1950/51 ended *Rana Regime* and sent Ranas to India. At that time they took many of their concubines and maids with them. Ranas could not keep all the maids and concubines due to their declining economic status in their exile lives. While in India, those girls had challenges and hardships concerning

⁷ Cited in http://www.asmita.org.np/Trafficking/chapter_1.htm dated on 2 February, 2009.

⁸ *Lichchhabhi Era, Malla period and Rana regime* denotes the ancient rules of the government of Nepal. Rana had dictatorship rule in Nepal from 1847 to 1951. They were thrown out by the people's movement in 1950/51.

⁹ Tamang is an indigenous group of people who are living mostly in northern mountain and hill region of Nepal. They are considered as most vulnerable to trafficking.

their livelihood and economic security. They then entered into sex work for survival. Later on, some of them opened up their own brothels and brought young girls from their own communities to India with the promise of good economic earning and city lives (KC *et al.*, 2001). This business expanded and resulted in the current situation of trafficking in Nepal.

Another school of thought explains that the origin of trafficking in Nepal resulted from Tibet-Indian merchant relations. From the beginning of 20th century, Tibetans were running their business in India through Nepal (NHRCN, 2006). They had recruited many Nepali young boys and girls in the construction work. With the growth of their business in India, Tibetans opened brothels in Indian red light areas and recruited many girls to work there. After the Indo-Tibet war¹⁰ in 1950/60s, Tibetans could not continue the brothels so they handed over brothel ownership to Nepalese women from the hill region who had been working there¹¹. Finally those women deceived other young girls to work in brothels and their business resulted in current situation of Nepalese women's trafficking.

Muliki Ain (1853), the first written law of Nepal that prohibits sale or purchase of any person, was promulgated in Rana period. The slavery system was abolished in 1923 from Nepal. Nevertheless the process of bringing girls from the mountain and the hilly regions continued (Shakya 1999 in NHRCN, 2006). It is argued that certain traditional systems like '*Deuki, Jhuma and Badi*'¹² in Nepal also contributed to the promotion of women's trafficking (O'dea, 1993; KC *et al.*, 2001; Brown, 2006).

Human trafficking increased rapidly during the *Panchayat*¹³ period (1960-1990) in Nepal (NHRCN, 2006) due to misuse of political power (MANK, 2007). The *Panchayat* system itself was criticized as feudal whereby people's socio economic status worsened rapidly. Due to the rampant poverty, people tried to find better economic opportunities. The circumstances made it easy for traffickers to lure girls for better economic possibilities in

¹⁰ There was war between India and Tibet in 1959- 1962 (Visit the web: srujit mansingh).

¹¹ Retrived from http://www.asmita.org.np/Trafficking/chapter_1.htm dated 23 March, 2009.

¹² *Deuki, Jhuma and Badi system* are traditional practices where girls are used as commodity. In *Deuki and Jhuma system*, girls are worshiped to the god and they are not supposed to get marriage. They are vulnerable to trafficking. *Badi* women are engage in prostitution from their early puberty. Girls' prostitution is considered as family business in *Badi system*.
(http://www.thdl.org/texts/reprints/contributions/CNAS_19_01_04.pdf).

¹³ *Panchayat system* is considered as a dictatorial system. Political parties were banned and the king had absolute power. It remained for 30 (1960-1990) years in Nepal.

India and also helped them to convince the girls' parents. Girls trafficking were seen in major cities within the country as well as in the highways' transits. Although government had made anti-trafficking law, *Jiu Masne Bechne Karya (niyantran garne) Ain, 1986* to punish traffickers, it did not function well as it was meant to do. People claimed that many *Pancha*¹⁴ were also involved in trafficking and they protected the traffickers even if the brokers were arrested by the police (MANK, 2007).

In 1990, Multi-party Democracy was restored in Nepal. People expected a lot from it but were disappointed. They remained poor. Due to attraction of various facilities in the cities, rural people migrated to urban centers especially *Kathmandu* and *Terai* region. This increased girls' and women's vulnerability to trafficking. Internal conflicts between Maoist and Government that started in 1996 completely disturbed the activities of organizations in various fields, including combating trafficking. People were internally displaced which resulted in more migration to cities (especially Kathmandu). Limited facilities in the city could not provide economic security to the migrants, something which also helped traffickers to deceive girls and women with prospects of having better economic opportunities in foreign countries and helped to promote trafficking in Nepal (NHRCN, 2006). Many organizations (I/N/GOs) were working to combat trafficking but could not achieve the expected results. Although the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 also ensured that the act of trafficking is punishable by law, trafficking affected the country more. Nowadays, the situation is getting worse. It has developed as a high profit making business without any investment and loss which increases irregular migration as well as victimization of women. The increment in profit making business seems as an indication of the involvement of organized crime network too (Jahic & Finckenauer, 2005). More so, the increase in the foreign employment opportunities in general contributed to the vulnerability to trafficking among Nepali girls and women (NHRCN, 2006).

Studies on trafficking show that traffickers have changed the form and routes of trafficking. They avoid official check points and existing legal provisions. On the one hand, it is believed that recruiting agencies (manpower companies) are also contributing to trafficking because they recruit girls and women for foreign employment without

¹⁴ *Pancha* refers to the local government authority in *Panchayat Systm*. Literal meaning of *Panch* is five. This is the decision making body in the village/city who can decide what punishment is needed in a particular case.

securing them jobs or helping them to get good working conditions. In other words, these women are denied contracts which specifies their jobs, salaries, working hours, workers' duties and responsibilities as well as other benefits/facilities (NIDS & UNIFEM, 2006). Due to the lack of detailed information about the work to be done in the foreign country, possible obstacles and the ways of problem solving, some girls are being victimized of trafficking. On the other hand, internal trafficking is also becoming severe in Nepal. Even though it is illegal, prostitution is rampant in various massage parlours, night clubs, restaurants, dance bars and cabins. Transit points on different highways are also seen as vulnerable zones for internal trafficking. A study made by Institute of Integrated Development Studies (IIDS) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (2004) shows that trafficking has increased not only among rural illiterate girls and women, but also city girls/women and literate women. Such a trend and situation of trafficking has increased challenges in the reintegration of trafficked women in the society as it increases the number of victims.

2.3 Studies of Trafficking: Why and How Are Nepalese Women Trafficked?

The majority of available studies on trafficking are focused on why and how women are victimized in trafficking. The major objectives of such studies are to analyze policy implications and existent situation of trafficking in general. Various studies show that socio-cultural structures, gender roles and power differentials, poverty and economic hardships are the major factors contributing to trafficking (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001). In addition, many other causes behind the trafficking of Nepalese girls and women have been identified and they include lack of vocational skills, migration, growing consumerism, ill treatment by parents/guardians, desertion by spouses, rejection in love, gender discrimination, debt bondage, fenced love or marriage, unemployment (Poudel & Carryer, 2000; Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 2007). Gender disparity exists in communities. In general people perceive the movement of men and women differently and believe that men belong to the public sphere (world) while women should remain in the private sphere (household). Gender discrimination in household sometimes results in divorce and the husband's second marriage. Dowry issues also can break the relationship between husband and wife. More so, discrimination results into early marriages for the girls that ultimately encourages/forces women to live independent lives and this makes them easy targets for the traffickers (Ali, 2005). Although women and girls are trafficked mainly

for prostitution, there are many other purposes like circus, camel joking, bonded labours, domestic servant, agriculture labours (Human Rights Watch, 1995; KC *et al.*, 2001).

Some studies focused on trafficking from an economic perspective. Females are dominated in the society and their works are limited to household chores, but their contributions in households work are not counted as work. A very low percentage of female involvement in public services shows women's economic hardship in one way and on the other, their lack of skills due to illiteracy (CBS, 2003). In addition, the subsistence economy is no longer a feasible means of their livelihoods and these situations make rural females unemployed. Poverty thus, forces the migration of labour from rural areas to the cities (New ERA, 1997; ADB, 1999; Henrik & Simkhada, 2004). In particular, labour migration results into increased vulnerability of many women to sex trafficking (Evans & Bhattra, 2000). Due to loss of traditional jobs as a result of technological transformation rural unskilled women are pushed especially to migrate for their survival (Ali, 2005). However many people in the rural communities equate women's migration to new places and job to their involvement in sex trade (Mahendra *et al.*, 2001).

Some studies mainly focused on the process of trafficking. According to a study by Henrik and Simkhada (2004), in most cases, traffickers get 'their victims' through tricking, luring by false promises, physical force, feigned love or marriage, isolation and even forced drug abuse. Most of the victims seem to be trafficked by trusted members of their community including their relatives, like uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers, stepfathers (see Henrik & Simkhada, 2004). However, Brown (2006) critically explains the causes of trafficking in her study of trafficking in south Asia. She accepts the various purposes and causes of trafficking but argues that prostitution is not just a product of poverty but may be a career option for some individuals.

One of the causes of girls/women trafficking to India is considered the open national state borders. Nepali people can freely visit India without any documents, hence making or creating easy access to the brokers. Some of the major exit points of Nepal have police check posts and some organizations' vigilance cells but these are not sufficient to check the exits. Moreover, traffickers have changed the actual roots frequently for the fear of being intercepted (Ali, 2005). Additionally, large numbers of women have migrated to Arab and Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates and

Hong Kong for foreign employment. They are lured by being offered work to be domestic servants, work in households and business companies but are ultimately forced into prostitution (Huda, 2006).

According to Brown (2006), trafficking in South Asia (including Nepal) is deeply rooted in social, economic, political and religious aspects of the society. She found that gender discrimination starts from birth of a child in a family. A man's role in his society is perceived as respectable and independent whereas a woman is restricted in the household and her role is always linked to her family's identity: 'first with her father (as somebody's daughter), then with her husband (as someone's wife) and later with her son (as someone's mother)' (p. 31). She further explains that women are commoditised through illiteracy and marriage because dowry determines their level of marriage on one hand and on the other hand, girls are being exchanged for the marriage. Invariably, Brown found that women who have sexual relationships with multiple partners are considered as characterless women and are perceived as polluted women whereas males having sexual relation with multiple partners do not disrupt social harmony and order. Women are perceived as economically, religiously and socially inferior.

Similarly, a recent study shows that increased numbers of trafficking impacted on women's social role and further reduced their status in society (IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004). Trafficking is thus, a form of violence against women that results into physical, psychological and sexual abuses. The Country Report of Asian Development Bank (2002) states that involvement of ADB in combating trafficking of women and children directly addresses the strategic goals of poverty reduction and promotion of gender equality. It also argues that analysis of demand and supply side of trafficking could reduce trafficking vulnerability of women (see ADB, 2002; Thapa, 2003; Shigekane, 2007).

More so, some policy documents and studies focus their analysis on the government plans and policies to combat trafficking. Policy document of Government of Nepal, *Human Trafficking (control) Act, 1986; National Plan of Action to Control Trafficking, 1998; and Trafficking Control Bill, 2002* has presented various preventive measures for the victims, like awareness and advocacy programme, rescue and rehabilitation. However it has not specifically stressed the programmes for reintegration of survivors of trafficking. Similarly another government plan document, *Three years interim*

development plan of Nepal (2008-2010) has also identified problems on reintegration of trafficking survivors and stated that programmes directed towards solving the problems should be conducted but no programmes are specifically mentioned in the document (MWCSW, 2008a).

A study with a focus analysis on existing policies on trafficking shows that there is no consideration of cultural beliefs during policy design which create a great challenge in its implementation. It also shows that the rescue and reintegration is perceived as a task of NGOs and community only, that is not as a 'state's task' (FWLD, pp. 24-74). However, NGOs also have their own problems and challenges. For instance, NGOs like *Maiti Nepal* have conducted various anti-trafficking programmes and has identified that reintegration of survivors is a great challenge¹⁵. The challenges include physical, psychological and social problems of trafficking victims after being returned from the prostitution or sexual exploitation or circus industry. Moreover, Forum for Women's Legal Research and Development (FWLD) report concluded that country's political instability, limited laws and its weak implementations are also complicating factors for the reintegration process. This applies both in the cases of traffickers' punishment and victims' rehabilitation and reintegration activities (FWLD, pp. 25-75).

2.4 Studies on Reintegration

Focusing on the challenges faced by the trafficking survivors in the community in United States of America (USA), Shigekane (2007) explains the community responses on reintegration of trafficking survivors and survivors' response on it through the review of different literatures on trafficking. Even if survivors of trafficking are settled in the community, they have many challenges like sense of terror, helplessness and lack of confidence to appear in public, which results in psychological trauma in them. The threats from society and pressures even from family members added extra emotional and psychological strains to them, which he sees as the major factors for their re-victimization. The author explores many challenges to the organizations working on reintegration of trafficking survivors, like languages, culture, skills and education. Considering communities' responses, Shigekane argues that cultural barriers are hindrances to get help and support to the survivors of trafficking; limited knowledge or

¹⁵ Cited in <http://www.maitinepal.org/abtus/index.php> dated 20December, 2008.

inability to understand trauma on trafficked victims added 'extra complications' on reintegration of survivors in the community (p. 136).

In another recent study on *transnational prostitution and trafficking in human beings* in Norway, Brunovskis and Tyldum (2004) explain the situation of trafficked women in Norway who were trafficked from Lithuania, Albania, and Ukraine; and their views on going back home. The study concludes that rehabilitation of trafficked victims in society is a big challenge especially when we talk about the survivors' rights. Before explaining the successful cases of reintegration of trafficked women in the community or problem faced by the organizations to reintegrate particular victims, it is necessary to analyse whether survivors' 'human rights' are adequately respected in the reintegration process or not (p. 103). They found that fear is a great challenge among all three stakeholders of reintegration process: survivors are scared of stigma from the community people; community people are afraid of losing their social prestige if they accept trafficked women into their communities and organizations working on combating trafficking have challenge to convey information to local communities. Social trust is another important factor for reintegration process. Trust is essential to get help either from the police or other legal support. Survivors cannot even share their experiences with the family members due to shame and disgust. Survivors feel that their parents will be devastated if they tell them their trafficking experiences. Moreover, possible threats made by the traffickers encourage the survivors to keep 'stories' secret which results in stigmatization and feelings of guilt (p. 110).

In case of Nepal, available research on reintegration of trafficking survivors is not sufficient to estimate the successful cases of reintegration. However, some organizations argue that their programmes on reintegration are highly successful (Fredrick, 2005). Reviewing some organizations' (for instance, Maiti Nepal, ABC Nepal) documents on anti-trafficking programmes, status, care and support, and activities on reintegration of trafficked women in their respective communities in Nepal, Frederick (2005) reveals that existing programmes and strategies for the care and support for the trafficked victims are insufficient. He is a bit critical to the interventions made by organizations towards reintegrating trafficked victims. He explains a limitation in care giving practices to the victims of trafficking due to lack of training for the officials, follow up of victims' cases, progress and process reviews. He argues that existing circumstances contribute to re-

stigmatizing the victims of trafficking. These include; counsellors' poor trainings, insufficient clinical practices, lack of in-depth knowledge and qualification to work with victims of sexually violated women. He further argues that some organizations have no consideration to victims' rights to privacy (for example, convince or force the survivors of trafficking to test HIV) which again stigmatize the survivors.

Frederick concludes that reintegration of trafficked women in society is problematic in Nepal due to the response of community people towards survivors as '*fallen*', '*whores*' or an '*impure persons*'(p. 327). He further explains that trafficked victims are not accepted even in their own family, among their friends and members of their community. Family members are also afraid of their social prestige and believe that the returnees will bring shame to the family, spoil their daughters/sisters as well as whole community. According to him, on the one hand, these facts lead to an unwillingness among the survivors to go back home and on the other, even reintegrated women do not want to be in touch with organizations because they believe that meeting with them (organizations' officials) would disclose and/or remind them of their past. Rather, they want to hide their past stories due to stigma and discrimination in family as well as community.

In their participatory study on the *status of reintegrated girls in far western region of Nepal*, Chen and Marcovici (2003) discuss how communities treat the reintegrated women in society. People from their communities and own families commonly perceive them as loose, characterless women which infected them with stigma. Regarding the community people's perceptions, the reintegrated women believed that community people's response to them always reminds them of their past which again result in stigmatization. Moreover survivors are afraid to disclose their past life stories in the communities as this will cut their relationships with their family and distort their whole life. Hence, the returnees express their stigma to the researchers as:

'People in my village believe that if a girl goes to India, she should be sold in the red light area.' *'...the boys in the village said, 'you have been caught by Maiti Nepal and went to the police. You are not good. They tease all of us. They call me American, Bengali, Rajasthani [indicating I had sex with them and am supposed to be their wife]...'* (Chen & Marcovici, 2003, p. 13).

Another study on *community perceptions on trafficking* conducted by Mahendra et., al, (2001) shows that women's status in the community is very low with comparison to males. Based on information from the community, this study stresses migration as a contributing factor for adolescents' and women's trafficking. Community people, however, blamed the women themselves for being trafficked. The researcher explains that the stigma and discrimination on trafficked women are severe when they are exposed to the community.

2.5 Contribution of the Study

The above mentioned studies mainly show the causes and process of trafficking from Nepal to India or elsewhere and show the need of high concentration on the issues of reintegration of trafficking survivors. By reviewing those literatures on trafficking issues, I am much more convinced than before that this study fills the gap. My study throws important light on the issue of reintegration of trafficked women in Nepalese context and the experiences of trafficking victims.

Firstly, most of the above studies are based on quantitative methodologies and/or secondary information from various sources. However, some (Nepalese) studies by Chen and Marcovici, Mahendra et al., Brown have used individual interview method to collect data. My study is mainly based on qualitative data materials collected through informal interviews, a suitable methodology for a study on sensitive issues like trafficking. This study produces new knowledge and ideas on reintegration of trafficked women which is mainly based on primary data sources.

Secondly, this study links reintegration with women's experiences and looks at the process of trafficking rather than the causes behind trafficking. The above mentioned studies used information from the people who are vulnerable to trafficking; but this study is completely based on primary information about the experiences of trafficking victims and perceptions of people from 3 trafficking prone communities.

Thirdly, I found that none of the studies dealt with survivors wishes for their future lives. This is a very important issue of the successful reintegration about which my study hopefully will produce ample information.

Trafficking is an issue which is changing its forms and dimensions over time rapidly. This study thus provides the current (recent) ideas/information regarding the trafficking issues and it is expected to help those people who are interested in for example policy makers, researchers, academicians and students.

CHAPTER- 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories are scientifically accepted explanations used to define and analyse empirical information of a study. This study is mainly based on the theoretical grounds of social stigma propounded by Erving Goffman (1963). Secondly, Naila Kabeer's empowerment framework (1999) is used to analyse the efforts made to empower trafficked women. Thirdly, I use Three Bodies Approach by Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) to address the interconnection between experiences of body and perceived body images in the society more generally. I depict a variety of aspects of the individual body and the social body that help me to analyze how trafficked women are being stigmatized in the society.

3.1 The Three Bodies Approach

The Three Bodies Approach by Scheper-Hughes and Lock is a set of different theories put together in order to explain or integrate different gendered dimensions of bodies in medical anthropology. This model points out three different levels of analysis which are interconnected: the individual body, the social body and the body politic. To start with the first level: an individual body has different physical experiences at different time periods and those experiences are influenced by mental, social and political dimensions of the society. An individual's self experience is culturally influenced and results in happiness, joy, sorrow or shamefulness based on the context and situation. Sometimes people get enormous pleasure and sometimes the body is experienced as worthless (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987, p. 209). The physical appearance of the body for example wounds, sickness and healthiness are the major characteristics of the individual body image.

Society perceives the body symbolically (for instance: body as nature, body as machine as mentioned by Connell, 2002) and the symbols are not only based on immediate social perceptions of individual bodies but also on wider social surroundings like culture, social values and norms and social power relations. The body is considered as an integrated aspect of self and social relations. Society constructs the body image in the society which is always guided by the cultural norms and values. Such cultural constructs relate the body to social experiences and relations which makes the body and the person inhabiting it vulnerable. Cultural constructs define what a proper gendered body is and how women should act and more.

The third layer of body approach is the political body which deals with the power to control individual bodies. Social self identities are constructed and expressed through how the body is portrayed by social disciplining that may result in bodily differences such as maleness or femaleness depending on role and performance of body. These differences, determined by existing values and norms which are shared by social agencies, represent indirect power. Indirect power might be in the form of social values and norms or perceptions of individual experiences. However, the direct imposition of order to control the body denotes direct power.

This approach analyzes how the people's bodies are defined and understood in the society. This general way of understanding bodies shows the interconnections between individual and social experiences of body. It helps in exploration of why and how individual bodies are stigmatized through the construction of bodies. I, therefore, analyse how social perceptions on trafficking and social power relations influence the reintegration of trafficking survivors in community in general.

3.2 Social Stigma

Stigma is a Greek word used to explain unusual bodily signs (like cuts or burns) and bad moral status (like criminal) of an individual. An individual having such characteristics was avoided in public places at first but later on, their social relations was cut off (Goffman, 1963). The term stigma is widely used to explain the feelings and experiences of shame due to different physical deformity or negative attitudes and behaviours. Goffman (1963) defines stigma as “*an undesirable or discrediting attribute that an individual possesses, thus reducing that individual's status in the eyes of society*” (p. 13). It results in social exclusion and discrimination of an individual. Stigma can result from particular characteristics like physical deformity or can be generated from negative attitudes towards the behaviours of a group like prostitutes or homosexuals. These groups may again be linked to ‘undesirable characteristics’ (p. 17).

According to Hinshaw (2007) the meaning of the stigma is a ‘*mark of infamy, disgrace, or reproach or a mark of shame, a strain on a person's good reputations*’ (p. 23). It is a grimy mark of individual or social experiences in one's life that may remain forever. It may be the result of psychological hurt or physical wounds. The reputations of a group of people to which stigmatized person belongs, affect the patterns of social interactions. The

identities of stigmatized persons are diminished by cultural values and norms. Stigmas can also serve to disapprove the personal characteristics and beliefs and those beliefs are considered to be against cultural norms. Stigma incorporates the elements of stereotyping. This implies that an individual member of a group represents the characteristics of that particular group. It includes the prejudice, 'discrimination', 'exclusion' and 'punishment' (p. 24). Stereotypes of stigmatization are linked to structures of society and intergroup relations in the society. The gaps between social understanding, cultural beliefs and discriminatory power relations for example between male/female, educated/uneducated stigmatize individuals in a given group.

According to Goffman (1963), stigma has three forms: 'Overt or external deformations', 'deviations in personal life traits' and 'tribal stigmas' (p. 17). The first form of stigma, overt or external deformations includes physical disabilities on the individuals. Individuals' have some kind of inherited deformed physical characteristics that convey devalued social identities and they are hated in the society. Hated bodies of individuals are destroying physical conditions which are seen as a barrier to the social acceptance, for example deafness, blindness. The second form is the deviation in personal life traits. In many societies, individuals have various kinds of undesirable characteristics that are not immediately apparent in the society. They are always grounds of discrimination when they are discovered. Such characteristics devalue individuals' social identities which relate to one's personality or behaviour. It can include various crimes and addictions, substance abuse, juvenile delinquencies or homosexual orientation. The third form of stigma is tribal stigma. It is passed from generation to generation which includes devalued groups of various in the society. It is seen as a characteristics of lineage or group ties (Trolden, 1987) that may include issues of nationality, race, colour, religion, ethnicities. People with tribal stigma bear stigma through out their lives. It may often grow up in an individual and affects the other members of his/her family which compels them to be stigmatized. With the help of Goffman's concept of stigma, this study not only analyzes how trafficked women are stigmatized by society but also explores how they are humiliated and humiliate themselves.

Stigma is a social construct that varies from one community to another. Each society has hierarchies of attributes which are desirable or undesirable and sets the rules for management of those attributes or erases them (attributes) (Ainlay *et al.*, 1986). This

means that due to stigma, the society may cut social relations with those who are stigmatized. It is important to note that 'normal' and 'stigmatized' are not persons but perspectives (Goffman, 1963). People can be stigmatized only within the contexts of culture and society, historical events, social or economic situations and not because of inherent attributes (Ainlay *et al.*, 1986). Moreover an individual's self-esteem is ruined due to the stigma in him/her. Stigmatized people often lose their confidence comparing themselves to others in the society. Their sense of self is harmed by social stigma (Corrigan & Watson, 2002).

Social practices result in discrimination and inequality among individuals in the society. Thus, it is important to analyse how and to what degree trafficked women are stigmatized. This study looks at the stigmas that trafficked women have and how this shame is contributing them to be stigmatized. Sometimes some social practices lead to social inequality and exclusion that victimize the survivors of trafficking and treat them as different women. Then, what factors are responsible for creating shame in survivors which ultimately leads to the women stigmatizing themselves? It is a question to be answered in this study.

Shame is a kind of exposure of oneself. It is likely to be affected by the context that is by the situational factors. It is a highly negative and painful state that may stigmatize the individual. According to Webster dictionary¹⁶, shame is a painful emotion caused by the consciousness of guilt, shortcomings or impropriety. Shame may result in the collapse of bodily postures, creations of confusions on thoughts, refusal to speak, disruption of ongoing behaviour (Feiring *et al.*, 1996). According to Cunningham and Wilson (2003), a shamed person wants to hide, withdraw, or even to disappear. Shame is not a single isolated event of life but it is interconnected to emotions and identity. Goldberg (1991) states that '*an individual identity consists not only of the sense of who one currently is, but also includes beliefs and desires about who one should be and what one can become*' (p. 13). Shame plays a role in an individual's life by affecting one's self image and self representation in the society (Jacoby, 1996). It regulates the closeness and distance in the intimate relationships and has effects on entire family. It has strength to make an individual feel worthless, degraded, get thought of embracement and humiliations. It is potential for lifetime secrecy and covers individual's true feelings (Goldberg, 1991).

¹⁶ Cited in <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/shame> dated in 10 May, 2009.

Experience of shame is connected to the feelings that one is different from others in society. It is linked to the self image within a cultural value system and each individual understands the life and role of people by the means of one's own particular culture. In my study, the questions arise: what is experienced as shameful to trafficked women and why they are seen to be different from normal women. The idea behind working with this concept is that it helps understanding and elaborates some aspects behind trafficked victims which contribute to their stigmatization as survivors.

3.3 Agency and Empowerment

Empowerment is a process of enhancing people's capability to make decision on particular matters. To be empowered is to gain power. Power is the relationship between individuals or the collectives whereas gaining power is a process of change in someone's interest (see Crew & Harrison, 1998, pp. 52-54). Empowerment is concerned with the process by which individual become aware of their own interest and its relation with the others interest especially in the decision making (Rowlands, 1997). So, individual's interest is needed to consider achieving empowerment. Feminist notions of empowerment explain women's role as an acting agent (participants) rather than clients or passive beneficiaries. Empowering women means enhancing their capacity to make choices. Kabeer (2005) explains that empowerment refers to "*the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability*" (p. 13). She states that it is related to the notions of power and it's opposite that is; powerlessness or the absence of power. It is a process of change from the feeling of powerlessness ('I cannot') to collective self confidence ('we can'). This change directly questions the ability to utilize power. There are three types of power: power over, power to, power within. The first type of power, 'power over' deals with the controlling power over something. 'Power to' relates to the creation of new possibilities and decisions free of domination; and 'power within' describes the sense of self confidence ,that is, sense of having individual potentials (Kabeer, 1999, pp. 437-439).

Kabeer highly stresses the 'power within' and argues that self confidence and individual interest play an important role in an individual's empowerment. She further looks at three closely interconnected dimensions of empowerment. These are: agency, resources and achievements. She notes that agency is the process of making choices. Resources refer to the means by which agency is exercised and achievements are the result of agency. She

stresses that agency is “*the ability to define one’s goals and act upon them as well as observable action it includes an individual’s sense of agency (or power within). Usually thought of as ‘decision-making’, agency can also involve bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance*” (Kabeer, 1999, p. 438).

Kabeer (2003) further states that “*agency in relation to empowerment implies not only actively exercising choice but doing this in ways which challenge power relations*” (p.2). Empowerment framework also highlights the role of individual agency in women’s empowerment (see Rolands, 1997). Therefore, the theory of agency and empowerment is relevant in the analysis of how the interest and capability of survivors are enhanced through interventions of NGOs. It helped in the analysis of the power relations between individuals (survivors) and the NGOs with consideration of individual agency. This theory also helped me to analyse how survivors perceive disempowerment and their own possibilities of self dependency. More so, it helped in the understanding of how trafficking victims perceive empowerment and how their future wishes help them to be empowered.

CHAPTER- 4: METHODOLOGY

According to Kvale (1996), it is important to present ones' research method clearly as part of displaying the credibility of the evidence. Therefore, the methodology chapter not only requires description of how the research was conducted but also why particular approaches and methods were applied in the study. In this chapter, I will explain some of the major characteristics of the process of data collection through field work in Nepal. Firstly, I will describe research method that I have applied in my study. Secondly, I will discuss the data collection procedure and ethical issues I have dealt with, and finally the method of data analysis.

4.1 Research Method

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), a research method is “*a set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analyzing data*” (p. 3). Among various research methods, qualitative method describes the human behaviors and explains its overriding factors in detail. It investigates the reasons behind such behaviours. Marvasti (2004) explains that qualitative research provides detailed description and analysis of the quality or the substance of the human experiences. Qualitative data can give wide and detailed information on ordinary events (social practices) in natural settings. The main strength of qualitative data can be regarded as ‘richness and holism with strong potential for revealing complexity’ (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). This method has wider coverage of information that contextualizes the data. In this study, I wanted to collect detailed information on the experiences of trafficked women and their perceptions on their own reintegration. Hence, I found qualitative method relevant to my study.

4.2 Study Sites and Population

This is a purposive study which is concentrated on the experiences of trafficking victims and the various perceptions on reintegration of trafficking survivors. I selected the informants and research sites in two steps. Firstly, to access the trafficked women, I chose two rehabilitation centers run by *Shakti Samuha*¹⁷ and *Maiti Nepal* in *Kathmandu* where rescued and intercepted women are kept and various programmes are conducted

¹⁷ *Shakti Samuha* is a NGO founded by Nepalese girls and women who have been survived of trafficking and various kinds of violence. (Visit: www.shaktisamuha.org.np).

for their care and support. This is the only place where I could get access to the trafficking survivors for their perceptions on reintegration. Previous work experience in the field of combating trafficking enabled me to have easy access the rehabilitation centers.

Informants for the in-depth interview were selected randomly by the authority of the rehabilitation centers according to the study proposal that I shared with the leaderships of these NGOs. I talked to the authorized persons of the NGOs about the willingness of the informants to share their personal information. I kindly requested them (authorized persons of NGOs) not to force the survivors to be interviewed if they do not want to or feel uncomfortable. I interviewed 18 women who have been trafficked. Although my plan was to interview the women trafficked for prostitution only, I interviewed women trafficked for circus too. It is because by the help of various sources of information, I found that huge number of girls and women were trafficked for circus in addition to prostitution.

Secondly, to access the community perception on reintegration of trafficked women, I consulted some people in different organizations. I met some key persons in Kathmandu whom I had already contacted prior to my field work. In Kathmandu, I met some N/GO persons (gatekeepers) working against trafficking for instance; programme coordinator, program officer and president of *Shakti Samuha* and hostel in-charge/counselor of *Maiti Nepal*, under-secretary of Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare (MWCSW) and got information on women trafficking, trafficking prone areas and I discussed about the prospective communities for my study. Additionally I reviewed some publications of Nepal government and International Labour Organization (ILO) survey report. Using this information, I selected three communities from two districts comprising two *ecological zones*¹⁸: *hill* (Sindhupalchok district) and *terai* (Rupandehi district) for the information on villagers' attitudes and perceptions towards the reintegration of trafficked women. The major criterion for communities' selection was trafficking prone areas. Additionally I considered NGO's intervening area where I could have easy access.

¹⁸ Nepal is divided in three *ecological zones*: *Mountain*, *Hill* and *Terai*. Mountain ranges from 5000 meters and above from the mean sea level, Hill ranges from 3300-5000 meters and Terai ranges below 3300 meters from the mean sea level.

In order to explore the perceptions of community people on reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community, I selected local people who wished to share their information in the group. I conducted 6 focus group discussions in 3 trafficking prone communities. The discussions were conducted for males and females separately in each community.

4.3 Data Collection

In order to identify and trace out the interests and experiences of informants, I gathered information from primary data sources applying qualitative research methods. Additionally I collected other relevant information from secondary sources. I collected both qualitative and quantitative information for the study.

Participant Observation

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), “*Observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study*” (p. 79). In this tool, the researcher participates in individuals’ or communities’ daily lives/activities by listening, observing, questioning and understanding the lives of people (Bell, 2005). It is a tool to learn individuals’ behavior and the meaning behind this behavior. This method assumes that ‘*the behavior is purposive and expressive of deeper values and beliefs*’ (p. 79). The data from observations gives detailed descriptions of human experiences which consist of activities, behaviors and actions and interpersonal interactions as well as organizational process than can entrench the topic by ‘looking and listening, watching and asking’ (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 19; Patton, 2002, p. 4).

Among two rehabilitation centers run under *Maiti Nepal* and *Shakti Samuha*, I chose *Shakti Samuha* for participant observation. This is because *Shakti Samuha* is a NGO established by the survivors themselves where survivors are involved in overall activities of the NGO. It is the best place for close observation of survivors. Therefore, I worked as volunteer in *Shakti Samuha* (office) where I had regular contact and communications with survivors.

Shakti Samuha has a separate hostel for the survivors and office for its day to day activities. The survivors visit the office frequently for various purposes. Some of them

work there in the office; others get training, keep on contacts and meetings with NGO personals. I worked together with them in the office, which helped me to become familiar with them. My role was to assist the overall activities (project report, assist to conduct workshops, gender training) in the office. I was involved in the managerial team for the ‘Preparation workshop for trafficking survivors’ national conference’, where I assisted with managing the programme schedule, publication and co-ordination for the workshop. My role was useful in the sense that the conference was to generate pressure to the government to ensure trafficking survivors’ rights in the constitution¹⁹. Such allocation of role in the organization helped me to establish a good relationship with the staff, which in turn helped me to acquire the trust of the informants.

I observed their behaviors, attitudes, appearances and way of interpersonal interactions. I also noticed physical injuries, ways of talking, walking, dressing up, their facial expressions (depression, brightness, tension, and charming face) during my work period (May-July, 2008). In order to understand their lives, I gathered information through daily communication/ interactions, meetings and informal talks on lunch breaks as well as tea time. The observation took place in *Shakti Samuha* office and during the three days regional workshop of trafficking survivors in *Hetauda, Makwanpur*²⁰. Moreover I observed the trafficking survivors during interview with them in *Maiti Nepal* too.

In-depth Interviews

According to Kvale (2007), ‘*the research interview is an inter-view where knowledge is constructed in the inter-action between the interviewer and the interviewee*’ (p. 1). It gives empirical data about the social world that can be obtained from talking to people about their lives and experiences (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). In-depth interview is an interview by which individual people can share their understanding of real world and experiences of their lives. It is applied to emphasize the essentials of my study that is individual information on experiences of trafficked women and their perceptions on reintegration. I found it relevant to my study as Patton (2002) mentioned “*interviews*

¹⁹ President of Shakti Samuha said in an interview with researcher (me) that the ‘*conference is to generate pressure to the government to include trafficking survivors’ rights in constitution*’.

²⁰ The Regional Preparation workshop for trafficking survivors’ national conference’ was held on 30 June to 2 July, 2008 in Hetauda, Makwanpur, Nepal. Second National conference of Trafficking Survivors was held on 3-5, September, 2008 in Kathmandu, Nepal.

yield direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge” (p. 4).

I interviewed 18 trafficked women living in hostels of both *Maiti Nepal* and *Shakti Samuha*. Before interviewing them, I introduced myself as researcher/volunteer worker in Shakti Samuha. Additionally I gave brief overview of my study: the objectives, purpose, process and possible benefits to the survivors. This helped me to get verbal consent to interview the trafficked women. The intention of the interview was to collect information on their experiences of trafficking and their feelings towards their reintegration in society. I collected their background information (education, age, caste, place of origin, marital status) and their wishes for the future. The interview was focused on the trafficking process, their experiences and their perception on reintegration. Along with this, I collected information on their current status in the hostel, their knowledge about legal provision, and their conceptual understanding of trafficking. I furthermore asked about their wishes for a prospective law against trafficking. I also observed and recorded their appearance, facial expression and physical injuries during interview.

Interviewees were from different ecological regions (mountain, hill and terai). They were from 15 to 45 years of age, from various ethnic group and castes. The survivors had different socio-economic backgrounds. They had been trafficked for two purposes; circus and prostitution. As mentioned above, although my plan was to interview those women who were trafficked for prostitution only, in the field I also interviewed some women trafficked for circus. This is not only because trafficking for circus appears to be quite common, but it would also be productive for my study since most of the women trafficked for circus were also involved in prostitution. The following table shows the backgrounds of informants:

Table-1: Distribution of Informants by Age, Literacy Level, Purpose of Trafficking and Duration of Stay in the Work Place (Destinations)

Age Group	Literacy Status				Duration of Stay in the Destinations		
	Illiterate	Simply Literate	Less than 5 Class	5 Class +	Less than 2 Years	2-5 Years	5 Years +
<15 Years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15-19 Years	2	0	0	1	1	1	1
20-29 Years	2	4	2	2	2	6	2
30+ Years	3		1	1		2	3
Total	7	4	3	4	3	9	6

(Source: Field Survey, 2008)

Out of 18 informants, 4 were trafficked for circus whereas 14 were trafficked for the prostitution. Among those trafficked for circus, 3 informants were literate and one could hardly copy her name. Out of 14 women trafficked for the prostitution 4 had completed their 5 years of schooling, 3 could copy their names hardly and 7 were illiterate. The women trafficked for prostitution had stayed longer duration in the brothel than the women trafficked for circus. More than 80 percent informants were in the destinations for more than 2 years. 7 informants had at least tried to reunify their family but rejected. Their destinations of trafficking were Indian cities: Bombay, Patna, Delhi, Calcutta and Punjab. They were trafficked by luring of better economy, threat, poisoning and fake love/marriage.

In-depth interviews were held according to the survivors' time schedule, mostly during office hours, in a quiet and separate room in the respective hostel/office. Interviews lasted for one hour, although some were longer than that. Interviews were taken only once with each individual.

I requested for the help of a female research assistant to interview the trafficked women. Because of her experiences and work in the field of combating trafficking for many years, I thought her knowledge and understanding of the issue would be helpful in gathering information from the survivors. Firstly, her presence during the interview and her sharing of past experience in the field of trafficking created a favourable environment as survivors were also encouraged to share their experiences. Secondly, she also helped to understand what I required of them when I asked certain questions. All the interviews were taken in Nepali language but some informants used their own local language. My

knowledge on local language (Maithili and Tamang) helped to note their information easily.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion (FGD) is another tool of qualitative research that helps to obtain detailed information on the concepts, perceptions and ideas of a group of people. It is more than a question answer interaction²¹. This means that group members share their experiences and ideas on the one hand, and on the other, other respondents can acquire knowledge on the topic. This is as a result of open ended/unstructured questions that lead the discussion around a given topic. FGD is mainly useful for “*exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way*”²². It helps people to explore and clarify their ideas in a way that would be less easily accessible in a normal one to one interview. Therefore, I chose this tool to collect information on the perceptions, feelings and attitudes of community people towards the trafficked women and their social reintegration. This method becomes appropriate for my study exploring how the community people perceive reintegration of trafficked women in their communities.

I conducted six focus group discussions in three different communities namely *Mahangkal/Ichok*, *Pangretar* and *Maryadapur*. The first two communities lie in *Sindhupalchok* district (hilly region) and the latter one was in *Rupadehi* district (terai region). Altogether 51 local people participated in the discussions, 28 women and 23 men. 2 FGD were conducted in each community, one for each sex. Except one FGD in *Maryadapur*, other FGDs were conducted either in the morning or in evening time. The time schedule was made according to the availability of local people in respective area.

I facilitated the FGD and noted their understanding of trafficking, their perceptions on foreign employment, feelings about the reintegration of trafficked women, cultural norms and values towards trafficked women and victims' reunification to their families. In addition, I noted their physical posture/body language during the discussion. I used a checklist for FGD to manage the discussion in a meaningful way.

²¹ Retrieved from http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-56615-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html dated 5 Oct, 2008.

²² Retrieved from <http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/311/7000/299?view=full&pmid=7633241> dated 5 Oct, 2008.

Interview with Key Persons (Gatekeepers)

In total, I interviewed 9 key persons (N/GOs persons and social leaders), 4 women and 5 men. I interviewed one from each NGO *Maiti Nepal*, *Shakti Samuha* and *Gramin Mahila Srijanshil Pariwar*; a Government officer (under secretary of ministry of women, children and social welfare) and 5 social leaders.

I got information on N/GO's roles, activities and efforts to combat trafficking from the interviews with these persons. The interview with the government officer was focused on national policies, laws and plan of action (development plans) on combating trafficking. Similarly I interviewed the hostel in-charges of *Maiti Nepal* and *Shakti Samuha* to get information on the role of NGO combating trafficking, their programmes to combat trafficking, coordination with other stakeholders, challenges and way forward and their experiences on rehabilitation/reintegration of trafficked women to the communities. I also interviewed one representative of a local NGO working against trafficking and Violence against women and collected information on their roles, challenges faced while conducting anti-trafficking/VAW programmes in the community.

In addition, I interviewed five other social leaders (stakeholders) from different sectors in the community, a school teacher, an auxiliary health worker, a member of women's group, a VDC secretary and a media person. My intention behind interviewing them was to collect information on how community perceives trafficked women and their reunification to family/community, from the point of view of these key persons.

Secondary Data

I collected secondary data to identify and describe the general situation and background characteristics of trafficking. It was useful to analyze its context, to review legal provisions and initiatives to combat trafficking and its estimated figures. For this purpose, I reviewed published and unpublished documents and reports of various N/GOs and UN organizations as the secondary sources of information, for instance, trafficking reports of National Human Right Commission, annual reports of *Maiti Nepal*, *Shakti Samuha*, United Nations Women's Development Fund (UNIFEM) study reports, Nepal Government National Plan of Action Against Trafficking, Three-years Interim Development Plan of Nepal government, Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Reports.

4.4 Research Ethics

Since I am from Nepal, it was not a problem for me to conduct field study there. It was not necessary to get research permit from any authority agency in Nepal. However I got a research permit from the authority agency in Norway, Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) before I left for the field.

Considering the sensitivity of the research topic, I consulted some of my friends, colleagues and the manager of previous job regarding the permission for interview with survivors of trafficking in rehabilitation centers. According to my plan and suggestions from my previous manager, I decided to work as volunteer in *Shakti Samuha*. It was because I had already worked for an organization to combat trafficking in coordination with *Maiti Nepal* in *Bhairahawa*.

After extensive communication with the president of *Shakti Samuha*, I was allowed to work as volunteer in their office even though the hostel for the survivors was in different place. The movement of survivors to office was frequent and many workers were survivors. So that I got the chance to observe the survivors who were working in that office and those who were living in the hostel used to come in the office for various purposes like meetings.

I was not allowed to visit any of the hostels because of the hostel regulations but survivors were selected by the hostel in-charges. Although I could not select the informants myself, I gave brief introduction of my study including objectives, scope and process of study and possible benefits to them. I assured them of anonymity and confidentiality of information collected from them and made them fully aware of their right to withdraw from the interview at any time. This helped me to create an environment of trust. I did not ask for consent in written form because they might be scared of being exposed to the public but I got their verbal consent for their participation and the publication of the information they provided.

I was very conscious about my own and the informants' security as well as the data storage. I did not use any electronic device like tape recorder, camera for the security of informants' identity. The information collected from survivors was kept safe with code and passwords so that no one could disclose it even if I lose it.

I talked to them in Nepali language²³ and also took notes in Nepali including some English words. The language was made victim friendly to interview the survivors. For the anonymity of informants, I have given them pseudonyms.

4.5 My Role as a Researcher

My position in the field was as a student doing research for the academic purpose. The power relationship between researcher and being researched determines the research results. To maintain equal status and get access to become familiar with the survivors, I worked voluntarily in *Shakti Samuha*. I chose *Shakti Samuha* because it would be easy for me to go other organization for information on trafficking in one hand and on the other, I could achieve the environment of trust with the other NGO on the issue. In case of people in communities, I met local NGOs, my colleagues and friends for their help. My familiarity with the rural community, my way of dress up and language supported me to communicate with the community people. Additionally, my frequent visit in the local area with local resident was an asset of my successful completion of the field work.

4.6 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

Challenges of the Study

The main challenge was to get permission to meet trafficking survivors in the hostel. It is because of the sensitivity of the research topic, security of the information and privacy of informants. I spent a lot of time meeting with the hostel in-charge and convincing her about my research interest.

Being a male and young researcher was also a challenge because in the Nepalese context, women are usually uncomfortable with sharing their experiences with males. Moreover, my research concern was completely private as well as socially and psychologically sensitive. To ensure an environment of trust with NGO was another challenge since I made huge effort (in form of voluntary work) to manage the environment of trust. Immediate expectation (financial and material) from the informants was also a challenge

²³ Nepali language is the National and official language of Nepal. It is communicating language among different mother tongues and dialects although there are 103 mother tongues as identified by national census, 2001.

but I did not pay any money for the interview except normal tea and snacks (which is general courtesy in Nepalese culture).

Additionally, the political context²⁴ was another challenge. The weather was also not in favor of my research plan because it was rainy season when people from my study areas were busy planting their crops. It was therefore, not easy to follow their time schedule.

Despite the above mentioned challenges, the methods of data collection helped me to collect reliable and valid data on reintegration of trafficked women in the community. I hope the information on survivors' perception, community perception and N/GOs' intervention on reintegration of trafficked women would contribute to policy recommendation on trafficking.

Limitations of the Study

Research has its own focus in a particular issue and has various boundaries. In this regard, this study is not an exception. Some of major limitations of this study are as follows:

- This is a purposive study which did not cover a huge area and population but it is based on interviews with 18 individual informants and 6 FGD.
- The study is limited to the information from the trafficked women who have been living in two rehabilitation centres in Kathmandu. My engagement in voluntary service in one of the organization working on combating trafficking (Shakti Samuha) in Kathmandu delimited the chances of mobility to other areas for more information on trafficking, information from reintegrated trafficked women and follow up information of survivors.

²⁴ Nepal was under the conflict between government and Maoist since last 12 years. After long discussions and table talks between the government and Maoists, they had signed in a peace agreement with witness of UN. On the way of peace process, government had conducted election for the constituents' assembly. The result of election was unexpected for other political parties as Maoist got more seats in the assembly but no one party has got majority seats. So there was a debate to form new government and its leadership. Because of this kind of political instability of the government, different groups and parties had called strikes and protests. It resulted in lack of fuel and gas, increase in market prices, deficits of market goods. Terror remained everywhere. The question remained in my mind whether I will reach my destination on time or not, e.g. the villages where I did my interviews. I was not exception of such situation. For example- I had spent two days and nights in the rural jungle due to transportation strike.

4.7 Data Analysis

The data was collected using different tools of qualitative method namely; participant observation, in-depth interviews and FGDs. An interview guide was used to systematize the interviews. I noted the main points during interview and made notes (transcript) after the interview (generally during break time and evening).

A descriptive method of data analysis was used to analyze the data collected from the field. Collected data was coded with different pseudonyms for the informants. In addition, I defined and described the data according to key priorities of my objectives. The data collected from the field was analyzed with the reference to various literature related to trafficking and reintegration of trafficked women in the community. Narratives were used to analyze the transcribed information from the field.

Narratives are a form of story-telling which can be seen as ‘carriers of facts’ but they give insight into identity- issues, values, norms (Lawler, 2003). They are related to the life stories on particular matters. Somers and Gibson (1994) in Lawler (2003) reveal that *‘social life is in itself storied and ... narrative is an ontological condition of social life’* (p. 244). It means that narratives can explain the experiences of the narrator; hence I have also analyzed the specific stories of survivors of trafficking as narratives.

CHAPTER-5: UNDERSTANDING TRAFFICKING

This chapter tries to explore the trafficked women's understanding of the concept of trafficking and some related terms: prostitution and migration for foreign employment. It is important to know how the survivors of trafficking understand trafficking conceptually because it helps in the analysis of their experiences of trafficking as well as their perceptions on their reintegration. The discussion also examines relevant statements in relation to the concept of trafficking as narrated by the community people and social leaders. More so, I describe some of the traditional beliefs in relation to trafficking and its related terms perceived by survivors of trafficking.

First, I will start with a discussion of the conceptual understanding of trafficking among trafficking survivors and the community people then discuss perceptions on prostitution and sex work. Lastly, I will discuss the relationship between foreign labour migration and trafficking.

5.1 Conceptual Understandings of Trafficking

Like other social phenomena, trafficking is perceived differently by different organizations, communities and the individuals. In-depth interviews with trafficking survivors often began with a discussion on their socio-economic status (family background) and their current lives. This was followed by the question: *Could you please tell me what you understand by Chelibeti Bechbikhan*²⁵? They then explained their understanding of trafficking based on past experiences during trafficking with sentiment and emotion. I have categorized such understandings into two themes which are explained hereafter.

5.2 A Matter of Shame

When I asked the survivors about their conceptual understanding on trafficking, they responded by giving details about their own trafficking experiences. Their understandings were conveyed through narratives of their own involvement in the sex

²⁵ The literal meaning of *Chelibeti Bechbikhan* is selling and buying of girls/women. The term, *Chelibeti Bechbikhan* is used to denote trafficking of girls/women throughout the study.

industry. Many survivors understood trafficking as the selling of women for the prostitution but were not able to describe it without relating it to shame.

Goma, a 27 year old woman from a remote village of Nepal came to Kathmandu for the tailoring work but was lured for a better job in Dubai by a man from her village. She ultimately became a victim of trafficking. Her response to the question, *could you please tell me what you understand by Chelibeti Bechbikhan*, was:

“Chelibeti Bechbikhan is a process of selling Nepali girls to the brothels in Bombay. We were sold to brothel and forced to involve in prostitution. I feel that there is no difference between us and the cattle because cattle like us have no chance to react the master [the brothel owner]. It is a matter of shame that we were forced to involve in prostitution. How can we show up our faces in our family and society, as prostitute? It is a way due to which women lose dignity and prestige as I did.’

Many informants had similar views regarding trafficking. Their understanding of trafficking was directly related to their identity in society and society’s response to them. They felt that society perceives them as prostitutes. This makes them feel ashamed and reminds them of their past experiences. Thus, their understanding of trafficking was quite different from the official definition of UN (as mentioned in chapter 2).

Ganga, 20 year old informant from janajati²⁶ in a village near Kathmandu city, was also lured by a dream of better economic opportunities in foreign countries and was trafficked to Indian brothels. Her response to the question, *what do you understand by trafficking* was:

“When we go out (bazaar, street, shopping, temple etc), people start to communicate with each other using their eyes, pointing at us as women sold in Indian brothel if they saw we are coming from the hostel’. She further added that *‘although we are human beings, people treated us like animals that have no power to react. Whatever the master instruct, we were forced to follow them’.*

²⁶ Janjati refers to a group of ethnic group that constitutes various *Mangolian groups* residing all over the country. Nepal Government has identified 59 Indigenous Nationalities (see <http://www.nefin.org.np/component/content/article/115-information/347-indigenous-nationalities-of-nepal>).

Similar to **Goma**, **Ganga** did not give an elaboration of what the concept of trafficking covers. She rather started talking about her dehumanizing experiences.

As noted in chapter 2, besides prostitution, trafficking is done for many other purposes. It is estimated that 60 percent of trafficked girls/women are involved in prostitution where as remaining 40 percent are in circus, embroideries, camel joking and organ transplant (NHRCN, 2006, p. vii).

Some informants' views were closer to the current UN official definition but at the same time associated with shame. **Kamala**, a 30 year old woman, who is also from near the Kathmandu city is illiterate comes from a poor family with 4 female siblings. Since it was difficult for her family to manage its daily subsistence, she decided to go and work in Kathmandu later on she was trafficked to an Indian brothel. She had different views on trafficking:

“Nepali girls/women are sold for more than prostitution. Some girls are involved in the circus industries in India. No matter what purposes they are sold, they are compelled to have forced sex. No one can disobey the order. They treat us like animals. Even a dog can react by barking or biting when the master beats it, but we could not and can't. Even after escaping from the trafficking, girls/women are re-victimized by society. They treat us like animals that don't have control over their bodies. Nowadays, this business is becoming huge involving many Nepali girls”.

A few informants' views were similar to this statement. They explained that girls and women are sold not only for prostitution but also for circus and other purposes. Although their views on trafficking were focused on its purposes, they stressed dehumanization, the cattle like behaviour, which again make them feel shameful.

Like survivors of trafficking, some participants of FGDs argued that trafficking is a matter of shame for the survivors due to their involvement in the sex industry. When asked about the understanding of trafficking, they replied that it is a process of selling their *chelibeti* (daughters and sisters) as cattle to the devils, which kills the girls/women morally and socially. Although the girls/women's social prestige and image is destroyed, this is shameful for their community too. This is shown in the quotes below. In a FGD in

Ichok area of Sindhupalchok, while a man said that trafficking is shameful for the survivors, another man aged 50 years argued that:

“It is not a matter of shame for them; they were working until they are physically exhausted and say that it is shameful when they can’t involve in prostitution. If they bring money to the family it won’t be shameful to them, but when they can’t, it would be shameful? I don’t agree with them. In reality it is a matter of shame for us because they are destroying the prestige of our society. We are seen as second class people in society because of this image they made”.

5.3 Cheating of Innocent and Ignorant Women

Some informants’ views on trafficking are closer to the UN (2000) official definition. The main characteristics of their understanding of trafficking directly relate to the ‘luring’ aspect of the UN definition. When answering the question on conceptual understanding of trafficking, Survivors were remembering their past lives and argued that they were cheated by the brokers.

Punam expressed her anger towards brokers and justified her innocence in relation to what happened. She was promised a good job in Kathmandu by a person familiar to her family. First she worked in a carpet factory in Kathmandu but was later trafficked to Bombay. With a very strong voice, she said:

“Selling my body for sex was not my interest and I never knew that I was going to do so [work as prostitutes in brothel] in either places. I was deceived of good earnings, urban, wealthy and enjoyable life”.

Parvati, another janajati woman from rural village was informed of an opportunity to get household work in foreign country but became a victim of trafficking. Her response to the question, *what do you understand by trafficking was:*

“I was lured with high payment of household work in Bidesh [foreign country] but I was not informed about the destination, types of work I had to do, duration of work etc. I was told that I will get 5000 Nepali Rupees [currency] per month plus food and accommodation. I agreed because my family was poor”. In the mean time, she started crying and added that *“it is not my fault because I was not educated. I easily trusted the*

neighbouring cousin. I never knew about Chelibeti Bechbikhan [trafficking] before. The 'agents' of trafficking cheated me and got benefitted from my ignorance. If I were educated, I could have known about trafficking and would not have fallen into this situation now".

Like **Parvati**, many other informants have similar views that the brokers took benefit of their ignorance and poverty. They had no choice of other life except prostitution. Another informant, **Chameli** said that:

"I was not involved in trafficking willingly but situation forced me to do so. At that time I had only two options either live with prostitution or die. I am innocent but Dalals²⁷ cheated me".

Another important aspect of victimization is the behaviour of the brothel owner towards the survivors. Most of the owners of the brothels where my informants worked were female. Some of them were Nepali women who were trafficked at first and finally run brothels in India. It also discloses the cruelty of women towards other women. My informants could not answer the question on conceptual understanding of trafficking without sharing their painful experiences in the work place (destination). A survivor of trafficking, **Saraswoti** said that:

"There was a Nepali Gharwali [brothel owner] who was also a trafficked victim in the beginning but later on she got married with Indian boy and run Kothi [brothel] in Bombay. However I did not find any nationalistic feelings on her towards us. She was a very rude woman who was concerned with work rather than other socializations [indicating humanity]. I did not get any feelings of Nepali sisterhood [Nepaliness] from her".

In response to the question, *what you understand by trafficking*, a local school teacher explained that: *"Trafficking is a process of exchanging girls/women to money by the 'Dalals'. It is the consequences of cheating innocent and ignorant rural women. The brokers found it as an easiest way to lure girls by promising highly paid jobs in urban areas. Girls/women cannot escape such luring and run with pimps without permission from the family/guardians. Some girls were lured of false marriage and fake love which*

²⁷ The literal meaning of *Dalal* is broker.

ultimately resulted trafficking. Besides this, in some places some families send their daughters for the unskilled works like household works, sheep herding, baby care etc., but they are victimised by trafficking. It is a human crime". This perception of trafficking demonstrated the deceiving aspect of the process which is viewed as the result of the low economic status and illiteracy of women.

Some NGOs working in the field of combating trafficking explained cheating of girls/women by promising better livelihood resulted in trafficking which is a violation of their human rights (NHRCN, 2008, p. 13). NGOs personnel in general understood trafficking as a crime which involves cheating of innocent and ignorant rural women and making them losing their dignity and prestige. Brokers took advantage of such ignorant local people.

From above discussions, we have seen that trafficking is understood differently. Some informants from the in-depth interviews and FGDs understood trafficking similar to the meaning indicated by official definitions of trafficking whereas others saw it differently. Most of the survivors reasoned that due to rural poverty and illiteracy, they were deceived by good economic status and false commitments of love/marriage and good life from the brokers which resulted in trafficking. When asked about their understanding of trafficking, survivors focused their narration on their process of being trafficked, noting that they were cheated by the brokers. Similarly, their statements pointed to the purposes of trafficking. The survivors' views were influenced by the meaning of the business selling and buying for profit. They expressed that they were being sold as cattle, which is a *matter of shame* for them. There is a common argument among survivors that they were compared to cattle which made them question their social identity.

5.4 Trafficking Related Terms

Trafficking and Prostitution

The terms 'trafficking' and 'prostitution' are used synonymously in many places. Actually, these two terms are closely interlinked but two distinct phenomena. Prostitution refers to sexual acts performed for material gains like money, gifts or other payments. The bodies are used as commodities in prostitution²⁸. It is one of the purposes for which

²⁸ Cited in http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761554559/Prostitution.html dated on 3 January, 2009.

women and children are trafficked. Trafficking relates to being forced to do something and the survivors do not know or are not informed of what they are going to do. It is a coercive and exploitative process and prostitution is one of its objectives.

Most of the survivors viewed trafficking and prostitution as the same thing and used the two terms interchangeably. Their understandings of the terms were also based on experiences rather than conceptual knowledge. They noted that the main task behind both terms is sex work. In response to the question, *what you understand by prostitution*, **Samjhana**, a girl aged 19, said:

“Prostitution is trafficking of women for sex work. As I know prostitution means to have sexual intercourse with many partners with or without payment. I think people call me prostitute because of my sexual relation with multiple partners”.

Goma another informant from the *dalit*²⁹ caste also said: *“whatever you say the main job in these two is sex work. I don’t know that there is difference between trafficking and prostitution”.*

In case of communities’ understanding of prostitution vs. trafficking, most of the people were not sure whether the two terms are different. They only knew *Chelibeti Bechbikhan* (trafficking). They had a common answer that: *“We can’t say difference between them, they are similar (Ustati ustai ho)”*. However, NGO personnel whom I interviewed were sure about these terms. A representative of local NGO (GMSIP) found the vast difference between trafficking and prostitution. She said that:

“Trafficking causes prostitution and many other forms of exploitation for sex and labour. Prostitution is a narrow term whereas trafficking is the broad one which includes many other purposes. Prostitution may result in trafficking. Prostitution may involve choice but trafficking never becomes one’s choice but always involves force and coercion”.

It is important to note that there is a common understanding on prostitution among NGO personnel. They distinguished between trafficking and prostitution but noted that the terms are interlinked. However, the survivors of trafficking were unable to differentiate

²⁹ *Dalit* refers to an untouchable caste in Nepalese caste system.

between trafficking and prostitution but perceived both phenomena as identical and do with sexual exploitation.

Trafficking and Migration for Foreign Employment

Migration is a process of movement of people from one place to other for various purposes like labour force, settlement, business and so on. Due to its diverse nature, migration is considered to be the movement within delimited territories like national boundaries, within and across the regional territories or other parts of the world, and it ranges from voluntary to forced as well as temporary to permanent in its nature (Haque, 2005, p. 37). Trafficking also involves movement of people from one place to another through deception or coercion into a situation of forced labour, prostitution, servitude or slavery like practices (UN, 2000). Both of these terms seem similar in case of physical terms and movement. Some people migrate voluntarily while some are forced by others. This is done through different means like promising good life, marriages, threats and poisoning. All acts of trafficking are involved in migration but all migration acts are not counted as trafficking (IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004). However, many people who migrated voluntarily in the beginning, they ended up becoming victims of trafficking.

Among survivors I interviewed, some of them argued that trafficking is becoming a huge business due to foreign employment. The participants of FGDs did not see foreign employment as synonymous to trafficking. They had various perceptions on trafficking adjoining with foreign employment. A male (40 years) participant of FGD at *Ichok* area of Sindhupalchok said:

“I have seen many girls in this village going to Malaysia, Israel, Saudi Arabia for the foreign employment. But some came back without working there, some worked for a short period and sent back the money spent on them as they were travelling abroad. Some are still working and sending money to their family as we heard. No one said that they had any sorrow or pity experiences there. They just said that the work is good”.

No one in the community questioned what kinds of work these girls do abroad. They just concentrated on how much money they earned.

Some of the trafficked informants linked foreign employment to cross-countries trafficking. **Kamala** was trafficked for prostitution. She said that: *“Nepali girls/women*

are sold to other countries too like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Israel and many other countries. They are migrated for the domestic work but sexually exploited even by the house owner. Some girls are sold for the circus industries in India. This business is becoming huge nowadays". Some other informants' views were similar to this statement. They explained that girls and women were migrated for foreign employment but became victims to trafficking.

In case of international migration, if a woman migrates to India, especially to Bombay, community people generally perceive that she is involved in the sex industry and get STDs/AIDS. People view that there are no other alternatives except prostitution. A female participant in a FGD from *Pangretar* community said that trafficking "*is going to Bombay*". Another male participant of FGD at *Maryadapur* argued:

"Trafficking takes place only in India. If someone (girl/woman) goes to India for work, she involves in prostitution. If she was to go for a foreign job, she would go to other countries rather than India". The above quote shows that migration to India especially to Bombay is perceived as only for prostitution, whereas in reality, while there she may do other jobs which are not related to trafficking.

Although many community people did not believe that women who had travelled to other countries than India had been involved in prostitution, this may well have happened. However, some of these women may have had bad experiences, but do not want to share. This was acknowledged by girls and women themselves and later on the community people too. An NGO representative stated that: *"It is important to note that those women, who come back from foreign employment, had not shared their painful experiences. This helps to increase the flow of foreign employment of females for domestic works (household works) and increases their vulnerability to sexual violence. We have many of these cases"*. Vulnerability to trafficking increases with the increase in foreign labour migration of women to many Arabian and Gulf countries in particular because many people hide their experiences of sorrow and pity.

It is worth noting that community people and survivors have similar views on the identity of survivors. However, some survivors had broader thoughts and stated that trafficking is taking place not only for prostitution but also for other purposes like circus and again it is not limited from Nepal to Bombay/India only but it occurs within Nepal also.

5.5 Discussion and Conclusion:

Trafficking is perceived differently among survivors and community people based on different experiences. Some survivors immediately link it to social shame. People's behaviours in place of origin and destination of trafficking cause shame to the trafficked women. Similarly, some other survivors defined trafficking as cheating illiterate and ignorant women. They perceived it as a matter of losing one's individual identity, a situation where they become commodities and are exploited like animals. It is similar to the findings of other studies on trafficking, showing that good economy for better life is a luring aspect which victimizes girls into trafficking, and leads to them being used as commodities (Aengst & Clinic, 2001).

Some survivors' understanding of a particular aspect of trafficking was similar to the UN definition of trafficking. That is, trafficking is associated with the selling of women for prostitution and is considered as a crime to humanity. All survivors reported that before they were trafficked, they did not know about trafficking and prostitution. However some survivors of trafficking had a broad understanding of trafficking while some perceived it only as prostitution.

Although girls/women's trafficking results into sex work and prostitution, it is often understood as synonymous with prostitution and is used interchangeably with prostitution and sex work. Sometimes women's migration is also equated to trafficking and their involvement in foreign employment is perceived as their entry into sex industry. Most of the informants mentioned Bombay as the centre of trafficking. The arguments show that many people think that trafficking takes place only in Bombay and that a person who goes to Bombay is going only for prostitution. Some people see trafficking as a broader phenomenon. However, some stated that trafficking is taking place not only in India/Bombay for prostitution but also within their country (Nepal) and to other countries. This is in line with studies showing that many people are trafficked for prostitution and sexual exploitation in domestic works in many Gulf countries too (NIDS & UNIFEM, 2006).

This chapter tried to conceptualize trafficking among trafficked women themselves, among community people and NGOs personnel. The above discussion has shown that women always referred to their own experiences when they were asked to give their

conceptual understanding of trafficking. However, their ways of linking experiences with their explanation of trafficking concepts, raise a question of how Nepali girls/women are being trafficked. This question will be answered in following chapter that deals with experiences of trafficking survivors.

CHAPTER-6: EXPERIENCES OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

Chapter 5 showed that trafficked women have different experiences. Some narrated it easily while some felt unwillingness to remember their past. This chapter basically focuses on the experiences of trafficking victims. First, it will examine the context (purpose and motivations) of trafficking. The next section describes process of trafficking especially focussing on experiences in destination. Thereafter, I will discuss on returning process to Nepal. Finally I will examine the current lives of survivors in rehabilitation centres.

6.1 Purposes of Trafficking

As earlier discussed in chapter 2, studies show that Nepali girls and women are trafficked to a range of destinations not limited to Indian cities. Trafficking results into more than prostitution. A study by Benninger-Budel and Lacroix (1999) shows that “*Trafficking arises in a variety of situations such as commercial sexual exploitation, forced labour, begging, arranged marriages, adoption and crime*”(p. 185). Here, I will analyze the awareness on purposes of trafficking in general and the survivors’ awareness on their own trafficking purposes.

Although the informants of this study were trafficked for prostitution and circus, I had asked two general questions on purposes of trafficking to find out their awareness on trafficking purposes in general and knowledge on their own trafficking purposes. In response to the question, *Could you tell me for what purposes the women are being trafficked?* All survivors I interviewed answered that women are mostly trafficked for prostitution. Only 4 out of 18 (see chapter 4) informants said that many girls and women are victimized for many other purposes of trafficking like sexual abuse, domestic work, agriculture labour, and entertainment industries.

In response to my question on general awareness of purposes of trafficking, **Puja**, aged 25 replied: “*Only after being trafficked, I heard that girls and women are sold for prostitution, circus, household works, laborer for industry and so on. Especially children are trafficked for their organ trade like kidney*”. As earlier discussed in chapter 5, many other informants were completely unaware of the phenomena of trafficking until they were trafficked. However, after being trafficked they had general understanding of

trafficking purposes. This could have been a result of gathering and sharing of their experiences with colleagues in rehabilitation centers.

In addition, my other focus was to understand the purposes of their own trafficking. To get survivors' awareness on their own trafficking purposes, I asked, *what were you compelled to do there [refers to brothel or circus]?* Out of 18 trafficked women 14 replied that they were trafficked for prostitution, only one had replied for circus and 3 women said that they worked in circus and are also sexually exploited there, but they did not work as prostitute in brothel in established way. All of them had a common answer that they knew their purposes of trafficking only after being taken to their destinations.

In response to my question, *what were you compelled to do there [refers to brothel or circus]?* **Puja**, further said that: *"I don't know what the motive was behind my trafficking, but when I heard that I was sold to a brothel, and the brothel owner forced me for sexual exploitation then I became sure that I was trafficked for prostitution. I was forced to work in the brothel and even restricted to go out"*.

The quote above is a representative story of women trafficked for prostitution. All the informants who were trafficked for prostitution knew their purposes of trafficking at the moment when they were forced to involve in prostitution. They got the information that they were sold by the broker for a certain amount of money only after the broker left away.

Women trafficked for circus had also similar understanding. **Saraswoti** reported having been forced to do many risky games during the circus. She explained that:

"I was told that I was going to play in circus when the broker talked to my parents. My father and I thought that circus was a game like dancing and playing with other friends, but we were wrong. I understood the real meaning of circus at that moment when I was entered to the circus industry (parlor) and forced to do different life threatening games. I was supposed to attract the audiences showing up my body parts [indicating showing up her parts with dressing up of short skirts, wearing a transparent bra, applying makeup on her face]. Then only I knew that I was trafficked for circus but I did not feel that I was trafficked for sexual exploitation".

Three other informants had different experiences since they were involved in multiple jobs during circus. **Samjhana**, a young woman aged 21 said:

“Primarily I was working in circus industry but I was forced to sleep with the master when he asked me for sex. I had no option other rather than letting him have sex with me. Normally, it could be anytime in the night because I had to work for the circus in the daytime”.

Similarly, **Parvati** replied that: *“In the beginning I was working for the circus training only. It was a difficult job to do. In circus we were supposed to wear short skirts and apply makeup to show beauty, I also did the same. One day as circus training was going on, a teacher came to me and commented on my work, ‘very good job!’. He also said that I was a very beautiful girl and pinched my body parts [indicating buttocks, breasts and cheeks]. He did this for many days. He finally raped me one night and repeated it many times”.*

It is prevalent that girls and women are trafficked not only for a single purpose. They are forced to do many tasks simultaneously. My findings are similar to other studies’ findings that girls and women are trafficked not only for prostitution but also employed for exploitative works (Thomas & Jones, 1993; Human Rights Watch, 1995). Women, who were trafficked for either purpose, were not aware until they are involved in the respective exploitations.

6.2 Process of Trafficking

Trafficking of Nepalese girls and women is increasing as a highly profit making business, which is similar to the global trend of trafficking (United States Department of State, 2008). It is the negative consequence of globalization, modernization and development of new technologies and pull of sex tourism as well (UNIFEM, 2004).

The informants of my study have perceived similar causes to involve in arena of trafficking as discussed in chapter 2. To explore the process of trafficking, I asked them about the possible causes of trafficking and their involvement. The common cause they mentioned was economic hardships followed by illiteracy since illiteracy helped pimps to

convince the family members and deceive them by offering better income and love or marriages.

In response to the question *what are the causes being trafficked*, **Premkumari**, a dalit woman, replied:

“I ran away to Kathmandu with a friend from my village. She was the one who convinced me for [prospects of having] better earning from carpet weaving in Kathmandu. I went with her because of poverty in my family. But I was sold to a brothel by the brokers (her friend and her gang). They threatened to murder me when I tried to escape. Then I was forced to involve in prostitution”.

In response to the same question, **Goma** another informant explained her story of being trafficked for prostitution. She narrated:

“I am from a poor family. It is difficult to manage the whole year by earning from our field. For our livelihood, we need to work for others on daily wages. So I came to Kathmandu with my brother for work. I searched for better jobs but could not get any due to my illiteracy. I started to work as a tailor in the morning and as a painter with a boy from my village during the day time. One day, the boy told me that he could send me to Dubai for work where his cousin was working. There I could get 25,000.00 Nepali currencies per month. It was a good amount I was attracted and followed him. He asked me to bring other friend also so that I would have friends even if I get sick. Then I talked to one of my friends about the work in Dubai. She was also ready to go with me. The boy (my workmate) took us by bus to Butwal- Bhairahawa. He told us that if police stop us, we should say that we are sisters and brothers going for shopping in Sunauli [city in border of Nepal and India]. We did as he said and crossed the border. He then took us to Bombay by train. Thereafter, we took a taxi where he introduced us to other 2 boys as his cousins. They took us to a huge building which had security guards. When we reached the building, he told us that it was his sister’s house and told us to live there with her. He then told us that he had to go out to call his family in Nepal and buy some food and clothes for us. We waited for him but he did not come back. We did not know about the brothel until that woman told us to get ready for prostitution. We cried and refused to do so. We did not eat anything for 3 days. She told us that she had bought us for 50,000 Indian currencies and that we must do the work. To be free from the brothel we were

supposed to return that amount she paid to the broker, which was impossible for us. We had no option except to involve in forced prostitution for our survival". While Goma was sharing her experiences she could not look at me. Her eyes were full of tears and she cried loudly for some time.

However, **Sabitri** another informant aged 22 years had different story about experience of involvement in circus from Goma's. She narrated that: *"My family was poor and we did not have enough food for a year from our field. It was difficult to afford my brothers' education. A man from the neighbouring village came and talked to my father and told him about employment in India for me. My father was easily convinced because he thought that I could earn money and whole family would get rid from the hunger. I could not refuse because I did not know about the work, he just told me that was to play in circus. Then I was sent to the circus industry where I was supposed to play various games like sleeping with tiger, walking on a string, climbing up the stairs. Those games were dangerous and difficult for me to do because I was only 8 years at that time. If I made a mistake or refused to do what I was told, the master would bit and hit me with a rubber string. After some months, I was sexually harassed. The teacher pinched my cheeks, caressed my buttocks and hip and touched my breasts. Finally he raped me but I could not protect myself from being raped because I had no other alternatives".*

Some of the survivors I interviewed were forced go with brokers after being threatened and even poisoned. **Puja**, a woman aged 25 said that *"I met my sister's friend during local festival in the neighbouring village. She asked me to eat some sweets. I was not aware of the poison in the sweets, I ate [them]. Then I don't remember what happened. When I regained consciousness, I was in a brothel".*

Chameli, another survivor was double victimized by violence. In response to the question, *could you tell me how you compelled to be involved in trafficking*, she narrated her story:

"I migrated to Terai from the hilly region because of sufferings [torture] from family members including my husband. I was searching for a job. I met a woman in Bara (a place). She told me that she would give me a job in Birgunj (bordering city to India). She asked me to go with her to watch a movie which was the first [time] in my life. During the movie, she gave me some food to eat. I ate and I did not know what happened. When I

regained consciousness, I was in a brothel and a woman was asking me to sleep with the customer. It was like a dream for me. I refused to work there but brothel owner beat me with a stick and told me that I was sold and must work as a prostitute. I cried but it had no effect. I was forced to sex work". While narrating her story, she also cried continuously and could not look at my face.

In addition to the above mentioned trajectories to being trafficked, some informants also explained that their own longing for wealth and beauty played a role in their being cheated into prostitution. **Dhanmaya** reported that:

"I am illiterate and my family had no sufficient food for the year. I was attracted to the dress up and ornaments of my neighbouring sister who was back from Bombay. She had golden bracelets on her hands, necklace and ring and so on. I also wanted to be like her so I met her and asked for the work. When she took me to Bombay [the brothel] I was forced to fall in prostitution. Actually I did not know about the work to be done there".

The experiences of the survivors of trafficking and the causes identified by studies show a similarity in their explanation of factors motivating girls and women for the trafficking. Most of them replied that they had big families and were forced to work for the daily subsistence of their families. Poverty and unemployment, followed by illiteracy as a supporting factor as well as love and marriage are used to deceive the women. Another factor is the promise of better job opportunities in the city (Poudel & Carryer, 2000; Mukherjee & Mukherjee, 2007). Like Adepoju (2005) found in his research, I also found that force, threat and poisoning, displacement, peer influences are factors used to traffic women due to their ignorance. Although the survivors were from different locations, their experiences were similar. The brokers had lured them with better income, threatened them or poisoned them. Poor and innocent girls and women were transported to the city and sold to the brothel. There was a chain of brokers who had different relations with different people in many places that helped in the process of trafficking. The brokers guided (told) women to act as family members or businessmen if they were asked by the police or NGOs personnel at the border. Considering available security in the border, they practice it for some days. Then they take girls to the destinations. In this process, sometimes the brokers may bribe the possible agencies working on combating trafficking like police, NGOs and vigilance cell agents. In all cases, the brokers had pretended to bring food, clothes for the trafficked women or making calls home and then

they escaped from the survivors. The brokers were well known persons to the survivors or their parents. None of the survivors I interviewed replied that they were sold by their husbands.

6.3 Life in the Brothel and in the Circus Industry

Indian cities are the most popular destination to which Nepalese girls and women are trafficked. Many Nepalese girls and women who are trafficked are found in various *red-light areas*³⁰ in India. Most of Nepalese trafficked victims are concentrated in Bombay. Brothels vary in size, physical configuration, ethnicity of sex workers and price. In general, movement outside the brothel is restricted and if they are found outside, the inmates are subjected to physical or psychological abuse. The price a client is charged determines the standard of the brothel (Human Rights Watch, 1995). The informants of my study have their own experiences of life in the brothel. In order to understand their life, I raised the question on setting of work place, the behaviours towards the victims and survivors reactions.

In relation to the question, *how your life was in brothel*, **Goma** continued her story that: *“When I reached the brothel and my so called friend (the broker) ran away, I was informed about the work to be done there. A woman came to me and took me to a small dark room. I was surprised and got afraid to be there and refused to stay there. That day I was taken to the kitchen. I washed the cooking pots and slept in another room. The next day she tried to send me to the work [indicating forced prostitution] but I refused to do. She tried to convince me with better income, dresses and food. She had other prostitutes from Nepal who were established and worked as counsellors for the new comers. A woman tried to counsel me but I refused and said that I wanted to go back home. Then she forced me to work by verbal abuse. She told me that if I refused to prostitute, she would kill me by hiring Gundas³¹ and throw me into the bush. After three days of struggle, I could not go further and surrendered my body to the brothel. I was not given anything to eat for 3 days. They beat me with a rubber string, slapped my cheeks; plucked my hair off and hit my head to the wall. I was almost dead at that time. In the beginning I also slapped them but later I could not do so. Finally they threw me in that dark room and locked me up with a man and he raped me. I cried a lot but he was*

³⁰ *Red light area* refers to those areas where prostitution takes place legally.

³¹ Gundas refers to gangsters. These Gundas do everything for the money.

inhuman, he did not understand me and told me that he had paid for the sex. Day by day I was fully involved in the work”.

She was crying and bowing her head on her knee while she told this story. After long pause, she wiped her tears and continued that: *“I was supposed to sleep with 15-20 men in a day. The room was small, dark and separated by the curtains of clothes. We could hear the sound from others during the ‘work’ [indicating sexual intercourse]. The work was done from daytime to later night. For many days, I did not sleep because the place for resting was not good. I was supposed to wear short skirts and bra, apply full make-up so that client would be attracted to me and get satisfied”.*

She further said that: *“Some clients used condom but many of them did not. In the beginning, I was not informed about it but was later told by one of my colleagues there. Most of the clients did not give any tips but some gave me. However, since the money was used to buy cosmetics and clothes and save some to send home, I had no savings. There were 3 other Nepalese girls working in the same brothel with me. I think there were many other girls trapped there like me, but I did not meet any of them. When we were free, we talked and shared our past life with each other, cried about the pain and sorrows and thought about how to escape from there. In this way I spent 8 years of my life in the hell”.*

Puja also narrated her story similar to the previous one. She said that: *“When we arrived at a big house, we were introduced to a lady who was a sister-in-law of my broker. The broker then went outside saying that he was going to buy a ticket to go back home but did not return. Then we started to cry. A woman took us to a room where we slept that night. The next day, the woman came and asked us to get ready for prostitution. Actually she was a counsellor who was supposed to guide the girls at first. We refused to get ready for sex work, then she beat us with a stick, pushed our heads to the wall that wounded me (she showed her mark of wound in her head). Then she separated us. I also fought with her but could not manage to escape. I was then transferred to another brothel whose owner was Nepali woman who was also trafficked at first. When I refused to go with clients, she also tortured me physically, cursed and threatened to kill me. I was starved for a week. When I refused to ‘work’ one day, she stripped me naked and kicked me out. Then I was compelled to involve in flesh trade (she cried with loud voice). I could not go out naked. I was compelled to hide myself at any risk”.* Because she was crying, she

could hardly speak. I thus, waited for a while. After some time she again continued her story: *“We were forced to work even if we were sick. The working hours were not fixed. It was from morning to late at night. I was supposed satisfy whichever client came to me. I slept with 15-30 men a day. Most of the clients seemed 25-30 years. There was no secrecy among us because the room was separated by curtain. The tips got from the client were used to buy cosmetics and other clothes because we were supposed to be attractive to the clients. I once refused to wear miniskirts and bra, the owner herself came and plucked off my hair and hit my head against the wall”*.

She continued that: *“The building was big but has very small and short rooms. The bed was not cleaned on a daily basis. It looked dirty. We had no time to clean it, if client complained about its cleanliness the owner would beat and curse us. One day the owner beat me because a client complained her that he was not satisfied with me. It was very painful. In addition, some clients used condoms but many of them refused to use it”*.

She further said that: *“For our daily subsistence, they used to give us food twice a day and meat once a month. Its quality was less than that of the owner. We had no separate room to sleep. We shared the corridor with other colleagues, slept on thin carpet covered with just a blanket”*.

The women who were trafficked for prostitution to the brothel told similar stories of torture and an abuse happening to them. They experienced physical tortures like being beaten with a stick, string and being slapped when they refused to have sex with clients. There were verbal abuses too that included name calling like *randi* (prostitute), *besya* (prostitute), *beggars from Nepal*, and threats of killing, gang rape among others. Both the clients and the owners were threatening them when the victims refused to have clients or could not satisfy the clients. According to the women’s narrations, the clients treated them as a commodity. Clients argued that they had paid for the sex and the survivors needed to do as they desired. But the colleagues appeared as people who always had sympathy and cooperation. In the narratives, helping and caring for each other seems to be an appreciable example of friendship.

Some of the survivors of trafficking refused and tried to escape from the brothel from the beginning but could not succeed. Some had fought physically with brothel owners as well as the clients in the beginning but it was not possible later on.

Trafficked women for circus had different experiences from those being sent into prostitution. In response to the question, *could you please tell me about the life in circus industry*, **Samjhana** narrated: *“Actually, I was lured by other survivors who had come back home with beautiful ornaments and new clothes. Then I dreamt about bringing a box’ but my dream changed to sorrow and pain there. When I reached to the circus by broker, I was forced to work as directed by the master. I was only 8 when I went to the circus. The master gave me miniskirts and very short sleeve less T-shirts. It was because I had to show my body parts [indicating thigh and other sexual parts] in order to attract the audiences. I was forced to work in evening to midnight and morning to evening. I played many different games which were risky and difficult. One day as I was playing with lion it almost ate me but people rescued me. My right hand has marks of that wound (she showed the marks in right arm). It hurts during winter and I can’t use it to carry heavy load. The circus parlor was also not different from the brothel because I was raped many times by the master. I could not refuse his actions and share this with others because he threatened me. I was forced to work even when I was sick. They beat me when I refused to work or made some mistakes”*.

She continued that: *“The food made for us was not good. One day we found fingers of a dead child in our food. It is because dead children’s bodies were mixed in the pig’s food [it is rumored that they were given pig’s food]. Mostly we were supposed to eat pork. We were feed twice a day. We were kept inside the tent guarded by the armed men and a 3 fold electrified fence. No one was allowed to enter the camp and the inhuman activities inside the tent were not visible to others. There were sexual exploitations like touching sexual parts of the body and rape as well. I was also victimized by such activities many times by many persons including the master. The relationship with other colleagues was cooperative and helpful but we were not allowed to live together. It was like hell since we had no control over our own bodies”*.

These stories of survivors show that the life in brothels and circus industry is miserable. In both places women had physical and psychological torture and sexual abuses. The place of work is dirty and uncomfortable. Individual secrecy does not exist there. The survivor’s own body is controlled by the master of the working places or the clients in some cases. Survivors’ attempts to escape from the involvement in sexual exploitation were not successful.

6.4 Returning Process to Nepal

NGOs working to combat trafficking in Nepal and India help in the rescue of trafficked women from the brothel. However, the government and other organizations are also involved in the process. On the government's side, police is one of the responsible bodies for trafficking control. The police raid the brothel after getting information on sexual exploitation or deceptions of girls and women from NGOs. NGOs and police work in co-operation with each other in both countries. There is a process of handing over the rescued trafficking victims. First, Indian police and NGOs rescue the victims and after making all official documents, they hand over the women to Nepal police. Nepal police also get support of NGOs working on combating trafficking. For immediate support of rescued trafficking victims, local administration also helps to co-operate through provision of food and temporary accommodation. NGOs concerned with combating trafficking take the rescued women care and support and then take them to rehabilitation center for their settlement. They organize various programmes for the empowerment of victims.

Most of the informants were returned to Nepal with the help of other organizations. Initially, some escaped from the brothel/circus on their own but later rescued by the organizations. Some escaped with help of clients too.

In response to my question, *how you returned to Nepal*, **Goma** narrated that: “*One day a Nepali client came to me. I presented my interest to escape from the brothel, and then he said that he would help me. He gave me some money for the transportation. He planned to call police to raid the brothel next day and left me that day. Next day, the whole brothel was raided by police and we were arrested and taken to custody. The brothel owners tried to bribe the police. Fortunately that disguised client came and rescued us from that place. It was my second time of being rescued. In the first trial, brothel owner bribed police and then police allowed them to take us to the brothel. We were more tortured than before. I was beaten by the owner herself. She hanged me upside down in the ceiling. The next day she put me inside the Jute bag [a big bag made for the chemical fertilizer or rice] and tied it up then beat me by polythene pipe. But this time the brothel owners could not succeed in taking us back. That man was a NGO person working to combat trafficking. We were then taken to an office [in Asha Sadan, an Indian NGO]. Various media personnel visited us and interviewed about our rescue process and*

brothel life. They published our photos in the newspaper without permission. It hurt me that I lost my identity in society and I would be recognized as prostitute. We were kept in NGOs for 3-4 days. They gave us good food but I was uncomfortable to eat food or live there because I feared that I could be sent to another brothel. It is because brothel owners may bribe the NGO persons too. I prayed the god to help me to go back home successfully. Finally we were handed over to Nepal Police. In police custody, we were psychologically abused. They were talking about us and called us prostitutes. At that time I felt that even those brothers [police] could not understand me and my painful life. They treated us as prostitute and did not take the case seriously even in case of filing the case for perpetrators (brokers and brothel owners). Then I came to a rehabilitation center with the help of NGO personnel”.

The majority of the survivors I interviewed told me that they were rescued by the organization. **Pramila** said her feelings and fearful moments during the rescuing process that: *“One day early in the morning a group of police came to raid the brothel, at that time we were sleeping. The owner took us to the inner room which was dark and normally no one would have accessed there. We were ordered not to make any sound or open the door. The room was locked from outside. When we heard the sound of police, we cried and kicked the door. Then police recognized our voice and [police] threatened us that if we don’t open the door, they would burn down the house. We shouted loudly. Then they heard our voices, broke the door and took us out. Then we were taken to police station. We were kept there at first and then only handed to Nepal police with the help of Indian NGO. They handed us to the Nepal Police in the witness of Maiti Nepal. Nepal Police also took help of Maiti Nepal to keep us and further support for our settlement. Now I am living in a rehabilitation center in Kathmandu”.*

She further added that: *“I was afraid of two kinds of threats when police entered to raid the brothel. The brothel owner had hidden us and had threatened us with killing or gang rape if we made a sound or showed any sign of hiding girls inside the brothel. On the other hand, police had threatened us to come out or else they would burn the building. I had no hope of life. But we were safely taken to the police custody. Even there also we were psychologically tortured. I saw a police who was my client before. I scared to be raped while in custody. I could not feel safe there. Police were calling us with different names referring to prostitutes. Many people came to visit us there. It was also irritating.*

I was afraid of being exposed to them. Facing interview about brothel life and its repetition was also psychological torture for me and created fear of rape or murder too. When we were taken in a police van, the public looked us, at that time I felt myself as criminal. When we came to border police of Nepal, I felt shame to show my face to the public. Even police teased us and mistreated perceiving us as prostitutes. I was tortured psychologically. I was scared that I would be known as loose woman. Such feeling remained even when I came to rehabilitation center”.

Puspa’s response to the question, *how did you return to Nepal*, was that: *“I was rescued by the police of Maharashtra, India. It was a government campaign to raid brothel and rescue the girls below 18 years then send them to their respective countries. At that time 500 girls/women were rescued. Out of them, 100 including me were kept in custody for 7 months. However, some beautiful girls above the age 18 were taken back by the brothel owners who paid [some money] the police”.*

She further narrated that: *“A Nepali Sherpa woman owned the brothel where I was working. She knew that next day police would raid the brothel but I did not know. So, she came to me and asked to go out and watch the movie next day morning. She ordered me to get ready early in the morning and go for the first show. I was surprised that brothel owner herself goes to movies, and this made me wonder about what’s up with the owner. I thought that there is something wrong. I could not refuse to go because I would be beaten if I did. Then woke up early; wore Kurta Suruwal [ladies dress in India] and went to the sitting room [waiting room where clients come to choose the girls]. By then police had already rounded the house. Police raided all of us, some were sleeping, and some were with their night dress. Police took us into custody. I was also kept in the Camp [temporary shelter for the survivors]. But some were re-trafficked from the police in custody. Police were bribed by brothel owners. In that camp we were not allowed to go out of the room, not allowed to face the sun. The building was very small having small and narrow rooms. 7-8 girls were supposed to sleep in a room, some were in corridor. One of my colleagues was sick and we asked for to be hospitalized, they did not care. They told us that we would be in the same condition soon. And again ordered [threatened] us to watch her suffer. After a month she died in front of us since she was suffering from HIV/AIDS. Then we all had planned to fight with the administration. We broke the door and went to the administration, revolted against them, destroyed the*

office. Then police came and beat the mass using sticks. Then they controlled more strongly than before. During that period, some Nepali NGOs had tried to take us to Nepal and they did. When we arrived at the airport in Nepal, journalists were present with big cameras, pen and papers. We were exposed to public. Some NGOs had divided us in certain numbers as cattle. At that time I regretted and felt that it would be better to die than go back to my home country. I felt that I would not see any boys face. I wanted to kill them remembering their response (treat) towards us as objects. Then we were taken to hospital to test HIV without asking any questions. Some had HIV, my goodness! I was safe. Then I was kept in a NGO's shelter”.

Among my informants only one woman had returned on her own request. She was working in the circus industry. She mentioned that her father was sick and promised to return after visiting him. **Saraswoti** explained that: *“I was neither beaten nor threatened by anybody in the circus in later days. But in the beginning I was also new and did mistakes so I was tortured. From my earnings, I sent some money back home to support the family. For the first time I was rescued by Nepal police but again I went for the work there because there was no option of income for family and I was also happy with that job. Another important reason for going back was that my parents were always fighting. This violence forced me to be alone. Next time I got information that my father was seriously ill and wanted to see me, and then I talked to my boss about it. Then he gave me leave for 15 days on condition of getting 50 percent payment only. Then I came back to Nepal. At that time, I met sisters from a NGO [working for combating trafficking] and shared my history and found myself that I was trafficked for circus. Then, I did not go back. I could not even stay in my home. Fighting in family forced me to leave and be alone. Now I am living in an NGO's hostel”.*

Organizations working to combat trafficking have a great role into rescuing the victims of trafficking from brothel or circus. In some cases, organizations have mobilized a person disguised as client to make their effort successful. It has taken time but in many cases they were successful in freeing the survivors from trafficking. Moreover organizations had not only rescued but also supported them for immediate settlement. However, some survivors are not satisfied with police's behavior in police stations in India and Nepal since they were verbally abusive. They were also scared of rape, murder

and re-trafficking. Publishing their photos and stories with real names made them feel psychologically abused and shameful.

6.5 Current Lives of Survivors at Rehabilitation Centers

With regard to the current lives of survivors in two rehabilitation centers, I asked the survivors to talk about their current lives in the shelter. **Kamala** narrated her current live at rehabilitation center in the following way:

“We are treated like their (own) [officials of rehabilitation centers] sisters. The officials love us and speak politely and do not discriminate us. The food and clothing are good. We have separate beds in hostel. We are allowed to go out but we need to mention where to go and time to back. We have a big TV hall where we watch and enjoy TV in a group. I am involved in training in trafficking awareness. Other friends are getting trained in skill development. I am also being trained in sewing and weaving. We got free legal support to file the case and its further process. Medical treatment is also free for us. Some of us have got jobs here in office. It encouraged us [survivors] to do something’.

She continued: *“I have no contact with my family members until now and I cannot go to see them. May be they don’t know that I am here, so, they don’t visit me. But my friends’ parents usually come and discuss about their future lives as well as way of living in the centers. They bring different kinds of food when they visit. At that time I feel that it was my fault that I was being trafficked. I want to go home to meet my family and continue our business with whatever we have. But society kills me. I can’t hide my face from them”.*

Chameli was trafficked for circus. She had different experience than **Kamala**. She said: *“I am living in a NGO’s hostel. It has good food supply and clothing. There are good bedrooms and beds. We are sharing a room with other friends. We are free to watch TV which is in a common lobby. We celebrate various cultural festivals. Celebrating cultural festivals and watching TV together and playing other indoor games make us close to each other. Our hostel staffs are female and so we feel more comfortable expressing our feelings to them. We address them as sister that makes them as close family members. They also join us in our entertaining activities. They take us to hospital for treatment when we get sick. We help each other when someone has a problem like sickness,*

psychological problem [home sickness]. Sisters also counsel us when we are depressed. My case is going on. A NGO has supported [legal and financial support] for the case processing. I had met my family members many times but we are not allowed to go back home because we may be re-trafficked. I met my father and mother last month. I want to go back to my home but I am afraid of my society”.

She further said that: *“There are many facilities in the shelter but I miss my family. When I go for the food, I remember my mum. We are kept in the hostel. We need permission to go out and fix the time to back. When we go out from the hostel, people curiously watch us. This hurts me and reminds me of my past that forces me to find my life meaningless. We share such feeling to friends and try to get relief. I am working in kitchen in the hostel. I am responsible to feed others. I am earning some money too. I engaged whole day in the work so I became stronger [bolder] and more confident than before”.*

Although survivors of trafficking are treated as family members by the officials in the rehabilitation centers, people out of hostel point at them as social burdens. Like other studies findings, the women informants [trafficking survivors] of my study also have feeling of psychological abuses or shame within the rehabilitation centers for example their mobility outside is restricted, convince or force to test HIV (Fredrick, 2005). They feel that they are like other people who can easily be exposed to the public. At the same time, they feel ashamed because other people look at them as prostitutes and/or treat them as loose, characterless women even if they came out from the hostels. This kind of public response creates shame in the survivors which results in their stigmatization.

In addition to the survivors, I talked to the hostel in-charge of the rehabilitation centers. Regarding the facilities available in *Maiti Nepal*, hostel in-charge said: *“We are working mainly to rescue, repatriate, intercept and rehabilitate the women and children who are vulnerable or are already in the problem. We have separate hostel for the women who are facing problems. We counsel those survivors who are rescued or repatriated. We provide medical check-up and treat them when they get sick. We have regular medical check-up schedule for them. Before reintegration to the family, normally we provide skill oriented trainings to survivors for their economic independency. Some are working in this office after their training. We treat them as sisters, as our own relatives. They are provided space for entertainment like watching TV/Video, out-door games. Because of psychological problem of the survivors, we don’t allow every researcher or individuals to*

interview on their past experiences. It traumatizes them which require me to counsel an individual for a week. Now we have more than 50 survivors in our home having different experiences. They are positive about their lives. We have mess for the food, there is a menu for a week. You can see the space and facilities physically [she showed the building and spaces from outside but I was not allowed to go inside because of organization's rule] here in office, similarly their shelter is well facilitated [that organization is well furniture and decorated the rooms and the whole building too]".

Similarly, in-charge of hostel of *Shakti Samuha* said: "Our hostel is not in a single compound of our office. And we don't have our own buildings. We have rented a house for the hostel. It is well fenced due to the security concern. We have provided food and shelter and counseling when they come first. I counsel new comer separately. We provide medical check-up and treatment when they get sick. Food menu is fixed but we provide extra variety during festivals. We allow them to go out but we need their confirmation of security. We are providing different skills oriented trainings to them. Some are taking trainings like beautician, weaving and sewing, making gifts, embroidery. We are supporting some to go to school also. One woman is going to school. We have tried to provide them with diverse choices for their self dependency. We don't want to force them to go back to their homes, they can live independently. So we believe that the family and community treat them differently after being self dependent, it means self dependency helps them to be accepted in the community".

The above presented stories show that rehabilitation centers have provided different facilities for the survivors. It is working for the empowerment and protection of trafficked women. Such centers provide homely environment to the survivors by letting them eating together, maintaining sister-sister relation, sharing work and entertainment as well as sorrows. It is an important aspect of rehabilitation centers which is also a great challenge to them. They focus to create such environment where survivors psychologically feel the center to be their home and become optimistic about their lives. Although the survivors of trafficking were satisfied with the facilities provided to them by the rehabilitation centres, a few survivors felt that their movement is restricted and therefore could not feel free in the centre. In addition some survivors did not seem satisfied with the skills provided to them because their interests were different than what they were involved in. It may be the due to limited resources available in the hostels.

Counseling and suggestions for future life in rehabilitation centers made the survivors happy and reduces their pity. In addition, legal services are provided to them. Rehabilitation centers had given chances to the parents to take their children back to their home too, if survivors do not want to go and there are possibilities to stay in that home. Rehabilitation centers have spent their great efforts to empower trafficked women and advocate for the vulnerable groups at local level.

Even though various facilities are available in the rehabilitation centers and their officials treat the returnees as family members, survivors want to go back home and share their lives with their families. Survivors miss their family. Facilities and services available in the hostel do not fulfill their families' love and affection. But still they are scared of their society because they perceived that trafficking is shameful for them.

6.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The discussion above on the experiences of trafficked women presents a picture of their miserable life which is filled with tremendous difficulties and sufferings. They were in a situation where they could not react due to the pressures imposed to them through various factors. In Scheper-Hughes and Lock's (1987) terminologies, the different experiences of trafficked women represent the individual body. Trafficked women have experienced different forms of occurrences like physical hurts, threats, deception, lure and poisonings during the process of trafficking. They dreamt of happiness and improved economic status of their family but it resulted in sorrows and pains which they had never experienced before. Survivors' stories show that their lives in brothels and circus industries were miserable. In both places women had physical and psychological tortures. Sexual abuses were prevalent there.

From the above narratives of the survivors of trafficking, it can be noted that trafficked women are treated as animals. They are also given different identities in the society by people indicating that they had become characterless women. It is important to note that these experiences of survivors are affected by the existing social-cultural values, norms and practices that are what Scheper-Hughes and Lock calls the social body. For example, women, in general, are subordinated to men in Nepalese society; moreover trafficked women are treated as untouchable and discriminated in the society, and symbolized as such. The trafficked women are treated as cattle in whole process of trafficking (when

they were taken to involve in trafficking; during the trafficked period at the destination; as well as in the process of coming back). In the whole process of being trafficked, they are completely controlled by someone else. This aspect of control could be referred to as political body, “...*the regulation, surveillance, and control of bodies (individual and collective) in reproduction and sexuality...*” (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987, p. 209). Trafficked women had no control over their own bodies. They are always psychologically or physically abused by the controller. The controllers are the brokers, brothel owners, clients of trafficking, and masters at circus industry.

Survivor’s sexuality is robbed in the brothels and circus industries. On one hand, they have got psychological trauma as well physical injuries and on the other hand, they are stigmatized by people’s responses which destroyed their identity in society and always made them feel ashamed. Publishing their photos and stories with real name made them feel psychologically abused and shameful. Survivors’ right to privacy was lost which in turn make them feel worthless and eventually lead to their self-stigmatization. Even in their returning process, they were also scared of rape, murder and re-trafficking that ultimately generated shame in them.

As Goffman (1963) revealed, community and culture are the bases of stigma, trafficked women are also stigmatized due to existent cultural and social values in the society. He mentioned that stigma concerns the distorted identity of an individual in society. Being forced to do prostitution or to get involved in life threatening games as well as sexual abuses in circus industry is a base for physical and psychological trauma that has caused a long lasting stigma in the lives of the survivors.

The above discussion raises a question, *how survivors perceive their reunifying with family and society’s reaction towards trafficking survivors back home*. The following chapter will discuss on the perceptions on reintegration of trafficking survivors in their communities.

CHAPTER-7: PERCEPTIONS ON THE REINTEGRATION OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

There are many successful cases of reintegration of trafficking victims in the society. Many organizations working on combating trafficking keep survivors in their rehabilitation centres for certain periods of time and provide counselling as well as medical check up and treatment. These organizations have been conducting various programmes for their economic empowerment and skills enhancement. They are trying to reintegrate survivors to their respective community after identifying the possibilities to accept the survivors by the community. The organization searches for the survivors guardians/parents. When relatives/parents/guardians come to visit the survivors, organizations normally let the girls/women go to the respective families. Although reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community is a challenging job, organizations working in this area are trying to consider the interest of survivors and possibilities to reunify to their families during the process of reintegration. Many organizations have their own statistics of reintegration. Below I present Maiti Nepal's data on reintegration of trafficking victims.

Table-2: Trafficking Situation (According to *Maiti Nepal* Records 2001- 2007), Nepal

Year	Total Entry in Maiti Nepal	Reintegrated Cases (Returned Home)	Rehabilitated Cases (Still in the Shelter)	Transfer [to Other Organizations]	Expired [Died] in Shelter
2001	70	62	4	2	2
2002	36	30	4	1	1
2003	52	43	4	5	-
2004	48	35	2	5	6
2005	48	41	3	4	0
2006	73	70	3	0	0
2007	48	44	3	0	1

(Source: *Maiti Nepal* information centre, 2008 July, Kathmandu, Nepal)

Although organizations show positive results in their efforts to reintegrate trafficked women, they encounter some problems. My study indicates that survivors are socially

violated and neglected after reaching their societies. The survivors' main interest is to go to their family but if the processes are not done carefully they do not become long lasting. The organizations are sometimes blamed by community people that they are sending victims without considering the circumstances of society to adopt trafficking victims and they do not follow up reintegrated cases who risk being re-trafficked.

This chapter primarily focuses on the perceptions on reintegration of trafficked women. It tries to analyze the perceptions of trafficked women towards their reintegration in society. In the beginning, I will discuss the survivors' perceptions towards society and their reintegration in society followed by their wishes for future. Society's understandings towards trafficked women and survivors' entry and settlement in society will be explored in the middle section. This section will also cover Nepalese cultural norms and values associated with trafficking and its impact on reintegration. The last section will discuss NGOs' initiatives on reintegration of trafficking survivors.

7.1 Experiences of Ideas about Reintegration of Trafficking Victims

In general social integration is the inclusion of minority and unprivileged groups like ethnic minorities, refugees, victims, marginalized sections of a society into the larger society (Hemmati, 2007). When fully integrated, these minorities and underprivileged groups thus gain access to opportunities, rights and services available to other members of the social mainstreaming. After being integrated, these sections of society will have similar access and control over the resources as a member of the larger society. S/he would obtain social respect and dignity as other members do. In case of reintegration of trafficking survivors, victims would have access and control over the resources as other members of the respective society. She would get social respect and dignity as she had before she was trafficked. The following discussion will show that there are different perceptions on the trafficking victims' integration to their respective society.

To understand the survivors' views on their reintegration, I asked two major questions, *what do you think about your own reunification in your family and can you tell me how does your community respond to you?* Most of the survivors replied that they wanted to go to their home but are afraid of their society. Seven out of eighteen informants I interviewed responded that they had tried to visit their family but none of them were successful. They could not bear the blame and hatred from the people of their

communities. They came back to the rehabilitation centres. Regarding my question on reunification in family, **Rekha** narrated her story that:

“No one want to stay here anymore if she would get her previous position in the society. I also want to go to live with my family. I am missing my family a lot. I want to go my home but I am scared of my society. My colleagues are saying that the community did not accept them. They have suggested me to become self dependent [first] before going home. Now I am afraid of society because I was trafficked by the broker who is from my neighbouring village. Community people may reject me and my family too”.

Then I asked a question on community’s perception about (reaction towards) her. She further narrated that: *“Community people treat to us like animals [if we are there]. They always tease us with names that indicate prostitutes. They say that we were trafficked voluntarily for the money. Even my uncle did not accept me. Once I was in my home and I brought some biscuits to my cousins. When I gave biscuits to them, my uncle refused them to eat saying that he can buy biscuits for his children. He took out biscuits from the children and threw them away. He told me ‘Randi’, ‘Besya’, ‘Bhalu’ [indicating prostitutes]; ‘you are back after sleeping with many boys’. He neglected and ordered me to get out of his house, never to return saying that I destroyed his dignity in society. I am sorry to say that even my family, uncle mistreated me. How can I expect a positive response from the community”? She cried for long and further continued: “People from my community don’t want to touch me; they think am an HIV carrier that if I touch them they will get sick. They suspect that I will take Nepali girls for prostitution. They always blame me as community polluter and want me to get out from their community”.*

Similarly **Gita** answered that: *“People perceive us as bad girls. They spit looking at my face and curse with name ‘you Randi’, ‘Besya’. They neglect me. They don’t allow their children to speak to me. They argue that I may sell their daughters to the brothel. People talk to each other after seeing my face, they laugh at me and compare my face with their shoes. When I go out, people in my village gather and talk about me as community destroyer. Even my neighbours did not allow their daughter to talk to me and walk together”. She added, “I am interested in going to my family but the threats from society always hit me”.*

In response to the same question, **Puja** said that: *“I am not allowed to talk to others. They believe that I am a disease carrier. They say that I was taken to brothel because my parents did not arrange my marriage. They question me how I show up my face to the community”*? she continues her story, *“I felt guilty of being trafficked. I felt that it is better to die than to live being neglected by all in the society. My photo was published in the Indian newspapers. it always hurts me that everyone know me as a prostitute and pass the message that I was trafficked to Indian brothels. But I love my family and want to go back to them. My family members told that I was cheated by the broker and they have also regretted that they could not give proper care to me. It is not my fault. What do they do if their daughter would have also same problem like me? I remember all these things and don’t want to go back home until I will be self dependant”*.

These stories show that trafficked women want to be reunited with their families but are scared of society. They had affection and love for the family but regretted being trafficked too. Survivors think that the community neglects and discriminates them. In some cases, even family members neglected the survivors and did not allow them to interact with other family members. They were arguing that reuniting trafficked women in the home would mean losing their own prestige and dignity in the society. Due to the fear of losing social prestige and identity, even a family can’t support own daughters to reintegrate in the family. It is also evident that the community is afraid of victims of trafficking. They are perceived as community destroyers, diseases like HIV/AIDS carriers who would transmit HIV to other community people and the whole village would be affected by the epidemic of HIV. Moreover community people blamed them that they would take girls to the brothel.

The women trafficked for circus had different experiences on their reintegration. One of them argued that she was re-trafficked due to the community’s response towards her. **Saraswoti** said that: *“When I decided not to go back to circus, I had no income. My earning from circus was already finished. The days of violence started in my family. My father and mother were fighting every day. They expected money from me all the time, but it was not possible. Then they quarrelled with me. I was not allowed to go out. If I went out they would say that ‘Mantri Ji Vasan Garna Januhunchha’ [literal meaning is minister goes to give speech out. It is a satire which controls the mobility of the girls]. I was hated even by my own family (with tears in her eyes). Community reacted to me as*

circus girl. They asked me a question, how much did I earn and what I did there? If I refused to say anything, they directly said 'Bhalu' [indicating word for prostitute]. If I go to public gatherings, they say that I was prostitute from Bus Park. I was not allowed to participate in social events because they argued that I would destroy the society with bad habit of sex. I am a trafficked woman and I could take their daughters with me and destroy whole society. They blamed me that I was not sold by any brokers, but I voluntarily went for circus". Amidst tears, she further said: "I am hurt whenever relatives and community people directly ask me about my earning from prostitution. I feel that I lost my prestige now. I wonder sometime because when I was supporting my family there was no direct blaming on me. I was not mistreated even in society but they loved me. However, now people hate me. It hurts me a lot and sometimes I prefer to commit suicide, but I control myself".

Another informant, **Sabitri** was also taken back to the family. Like **Saraswoti**, she was neglected by her family and ultimately she could not stay at home due to the society's reaction. She said that: *"I was rescued and sent to my family. I went to school to continue my studies because I was trafficked while I was studying in class 6. I am teased and discriminated against even by the teacher. While teaching, teacher was using me as an example and that hurt me a lot. Friends and teachers always asked me to show the game I performed in the circus. Community people also ask for the circus steps and money. This made me afraid to see my own relatives. I was getting frightened all of sudden even if someone touch me from back. Now also if I remember those responses from my community I would never go back there. But I want to reunite with my family. I miss my family a lot".*

Women trafficked for the circuses have also similar stories to the women who were trafficked for prostitution. They are also neglected and mistreated by the society. It is evident that even the educated persons like teachers, victimized the survivors reminding them of their past stories by ordering them to perform the game show in front of their colleagues. They perceive that society interrupts their reintegration in the community. In some cases domestic violence also compelled them to leave the family. But all the informants want to go their home. They are only afraid of their society which may upset them all the time. Such feelings towards society again link to their understanding of

trafficking as a matter of shame which is seen as a source of stigma on survivors of trafficking.

The cases above present women who had attempted to reintegrate in society. The survivors who had never attempted to reintegrate however, also have similar understanding about their reintegration. They want to go to their home but they are afraid of their communities. Responding to the question, *what you think about your own reunification in your family*, **Goma** replied that:

“I don’t want to go home with empty hands. If I go, villagers will laugh at me and my family. They would blame me as [being a] polluted woman. They might be suspicious towards me that I would be only a cause of trafficking of other girls in the community. I am sure that they will call me Randi [indicating prostitute]. It is a matter of shame for me to show up my faces to them as trafficked woman. But it is my real life now, I cannot hide it but I want to make my new image in the society. I want to be economically independent. I want to work for the better lives of vulnerable groups. I miss my family.... my mother.... my father.... How do you ask me whether I wish to go to my home? I want to go home and live with my family but I am thinking about social prestige of my family too”.

The survivors who had not tried to reintegrate with their family are also afraid of their societies. They perceive that their presence in the family may cause tension to their family in terms of family prestige and dignity. Going home with empty hands add burden (economic and social image) to the family and is shameful for the survivors themselves. They want to do something new so that they would be able to maintain their new image in the society. They want to return their homes only after becoming self-dependant. It is important to note that stigma is an obstacle for the reintegration of trafficked women in the society. It is degrading their self-esteem, courage and willingness to do something which could contribute for their better lives.

Trafficking survivors are re-victimized due to such responses of the communities. The treatment of the family members and the people from their communities are also seen as factors of humiliation which result in their stigmatization. They are discriminated as well as excluded while they are exposed to public activities and ceremonies. However, they want to go back home after being self dependent.

7.2 Self-Dependency as a Solution?

Besides the perception towards their reintegration in family and community I had asked about the future aim. All the survivors I interviewed had replied that they want to show their society by doing something new and they want to be self dependant. Some had argued that they wish to work with awareness framing for groups vulnerable to the trafficking while some said they will work in the NGOs combating trafficking specially in vigilance cell to check the border. Some were interested in joining security forces and control the human crime of trafficking. But all the informants paid high attention to the economic independency at first and then only the others.

Gita's answer to the question *could you please share your future aim* was that: *“It would be better if I could go back to my home. But how would I survive? We are not allowed to advocate our rights. Now I am getting embroidery training from a NGO. I want to work hard on it and start my own business. I have no money so my wish may be dream. I am not sure what will happen. If I would get financial support, definitely I would start my business of handicrafts. I would employ some vulnerable girls in my industry”*.

Similarly **Sapana** said that: *“I want to take driving course and work in some organizations [she has shown her interest to be a driver in INGO like UN, where women are driving vehicles smartly. When a woman drives a car bearing a UN flag, people on the street stop and looks at her and responds ‘look! a woman is also driving!’ that scene touched her]”*.

Likewise, **Goma** replied that she is working [e.g. hostel warden] in rehabilitation centre and she is studying now. She wants to continue her study and wants to work in organizations to counsel survivors for their successful future life. But **Ganga** has different wishes. She said that: *“I want to work in an organization working to combat trafficking as border guard. I know how the brokers pass the girls to the borders. I want to be a social worker”*. Another informant, **Sabitri** said that she is also interested to work in a NGO working on combating trafficking, in community mobilization.

Saraswoti also seems bold in her future wishes. She said that: *“Even though I had various hurts from my past life, I forget it and want to become self dependant. I hope that my society will respect me when I will earn money and spend for family. First I want to*

earn some money and then work in anti-trafficking projects if I would get any support from any organizations. I am sure that I would have new identity in my society.”

All the informants thought that economic self dependency can be a solution to the problem of their social reintegration. Economically sound families are seen as prestigious in the Nepalese society. Wealthy and rich people are perceived as being superior to others even though they are not well educated. Wealthy people are respected in the community. In the case of my informants it is also important that economically self dependent people can make decisions to do whatever they want. Economic self-dependency is an outcome of economic empowerment. It is evident from the survivors wishes for their future that their self dependency is not only limited to economy, but is also linked to the social services like combating trafficking. They think that if they would be self dependent, they would contribute to their family’s well being on one hand and on the other they can have courage to fight violence against women and to contribute to combat trafficking too.

7.3 Community Perceptions

As discussed in chapter 1 (introduction), in Nepal there are various discriminatory social values, norms and practices where access to and control over resources is driven by males in each level of development and social events. For example, women are not supposed to speak while males are having discussions. In case of trafficking, society perceives it as the result of women’s carelessness where as males’ involvement in prostitution as clients will not be a topic of discussion. However, the case of trafficked women will remain a lifelong matter of discussion in the community. Their social images are as loose and characterless women. They are neglected and discriminated against the society even if they are reintegrated. However, males involved in prostitution as clients or involved in trafficking as brokers, are not regarded as characterless and loose. They gain social image soon.

Some of the people who participated in FGDs replied to the question, *how you perceive trafficking victims’ integration in your society*, that women are trafficked due to their ignorance and illiteracy. These trafficking victims are their family members and community should not discriminate them as victims. A female participant of FGD in *Mahangkal* area of *Sindhupalchok* said that:

“These girls/women are like us. We should not discriminate against them. We have to maintain same relation to them as we do with others in the community. We need to love them rather than the hate”.

In general, most of the female participants of FGD had similar views towards trafficked women and showed their sympathy towards them. However some participants of FGD said that women themselves are responsible for their trafficking and/or that they are bad for the community. A male participant of FGD at *Maryadapur* area of *Rupandehi* district reported that:

“They are polluting our community. We should not keep them in our village. They will destroy our dignity and prestige if we accept them to come back to our society. They may have diseases like HIV/AIDS which can be transferred to others. They may traffic our adolescents for prostitution. So we should not allow them to be reintegrated in our community”.

From the information from FGD and interviews, it is noted that the survivors of trafficking are often perceived as destroyers of society’s prestige and it is feared that they could transfer diseases like HIV/AIDS to other girls and women in the community. Some people viewed that keeping survivors in the community is shameful for the community in which they live. At the same time, some people perceived the survivors as their family members and identified the need to treat them as they do with other girls and women. The survivors are regretting their past lives. They are showing their innocence and wanted to be reintegrated without any stigmatization from the community. Moreover they believe that they would enhance awareness on the community by sharing their pains and sorrows of their past lives.

The participants from FGDs had different responses to the question, *what do you think about the reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community*. Some of them thought that survivors should be kept in community with special attention to their health and psychological condition where as some said that the community should not keep them but rather suggested that the government should make rehabilitation centres for them. A female participant (aged 30) of FGD from *Mahankal* area replied that:

“Survivors should be integrated and provided care and support. We have to involve them in our social activities like marriage ceremonies, cultural events, festivals and social gatherings. We should not discriminate them rather we should encourage them to participate and share their feelings and experiences, so that other people will learn lesson from them. I personally, accept them to participate in every social event like other women”.

However, another female participant of same FGD replied to the same question that: *“Trafficked women should not be taken back into our village, they destroy our image, name and fame. Our god will be angry with us if we include them in our religious events. They should not participate in feasts and festival, not allowed to go to kitchen because they are not clean; they are used ones [sexually exploited]. Villagers like to chase them from their village with some punishments like rounding their village after cutting hair, putting black marks to their faces. But I would like to keep them separate from our village so that they can’t mix with other people and our girls and women would be safe”.*

A male participant of FGD at *Pangretar* area of *Sindhupalchok* replied to the question *what do you think about the reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community* that: *“We can’t accept them. Can I arrange marriage for my son with such ladies? It’s impossible! I never do so. They are socially destroyed women; they are characterless, loose women. How do our societies treat us? I can’t show my face to the community if I accept her. Our dead ancestors won’t accept offerings from them. Our god will be angry with us and even destroy our gene. She pollutes our society. Our whole family would be hated by society. Community will question my family- what sort of boy is that he accept trafficked woman? They will name us ‘cowards’ of our society”.*

Other males from same community have more nuanced perceptions on reintegration of trafficking survivors. They told me that if a girl is involved in prostitution voluntarily then villagers should not accept her and kick out her from the village but in case of her ignorance, villagers should integrate her in the community with respect and care as she had before.

In a FGD with females in the same area (*Pangretar*), many other women expressed their views in favour of reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community. A participant responded to the issue of marriage in this way: *“We would accept those girls for*

marriage too but we need to be sure that those girls have no sexual diseases like HIV/AIDS. We can learn lesson from them and they can be the agent of social change in our society. Why do not we integrate them? They are our community members, but trapped in the problem due to the cheat game of brokers. They do not destroy community and traffic other girls. Sharing their pains and sorrows protect our sisters from trafficking”.

In the meantime a participant of the same FGD shared a story of trafficking she had seen in her neighbouring community. She said that people have two versions. They say one thing to the public and act differently. She reported that:

“A girl of that community was deceived by better income and city life by the broker. She was taken to Bombay. Family members had reported the issue to the police and some NGOs working against trafficking [indicating Maiti Nepal and GMSIP]. After a couple of weeks, she was intercepted by the vigilance cell at border to India. But the broker escaped. She was taken to her family. Then community backbite her. Wherever people gather, her arrival in community became the issue of discussion. They told that she cut the nose [indicates prestige] of their family as well as the community. She is a loose woman so went to Bombay. She is [thought of as] a ‘Randi’, ‘Bhalu’ who sold her body for money. Neighbours stopped communicating with that girl’s family because of social prestige. Villagers argued not to keep her in the village. Some had clapped at her and told her shameless, naughty woman”. She said that “In case of [this] woman who was actually not involved in prostitution but was in process of trafficking, villagers treated her as a trafficked woman, prostitute with something great evils to the society. We can imagine if she was back from the brothel, how would community response to her?” She thought that community should not behave like this. Most of the participants in this FGD agreed with her argument and thought that such behaviour may cause re-trafficking.

FGD conducted with females in Maryadapur area of Rupandehi showed different perceptions of reintegration. A woman said that: *“A survivor should be kept in the society but should not participate in our daily activities. She should sleep in a separate room or in a cow-shed. We need to give her goods for her survival like utensils for cooking, food stuffs and clothes. We should not interact much with her because she could pass her diseases to others too. We should not eat anything she touches. If she is a married woman, husband should leave her [as divorced woman] and should get another*

marriage". Another woman added that; "*Such a woman should not sleep with her husband. She should live in a separate shed or we have to kick out her from our village or kill her because she destroys our village*".

From the above narrations, it is worthy to note that community people have different perceptions towards reintegration of trafficked women in the community. Some are in favour of victims' reintegration where as some are against it. There are both positive and negative responses to reintegration of trafficked women among male and female participants of FGDs. Many participants of FGDs are in favour of survivors' reintegration with full of respect and love. However, some participants are against the reintegration. More so, the views of those few participants who are against reintegration of trafficked women were connected to the social values and norms. They argued that if they accept the victims in their community, the gods would be angry with them. The result could be a great disaster even to the point of the destruction of their gene. Also they were afraid of being blamed as cowards in the society. There existed also the fear of being teased by other communities. In addition, they were scared of being unable to arrange marriages for other members in their families. A similar conclusion was reached in a study on sex slaves in south Asia by Brown (2006) where she revealed the social values and norms as guiding factors to perceive trafficked women as destroyer of social prestige and identity. It is very likely to see that their arguments have highly influenced the reintegration process.

Through the analysis of understandings of survivors' reintegration in the society by the people in the community and survivors themselves, I found that there is lack of knowledge on trafficking issue in general. Community is culturally and traditionally guided by misconceptions that 'survivors destroy their image/identity in society'. This complements the finding of a study by Chen and Marcovici (2003) that the community people perceived trafficked women as loose, characterless women and blamed them for polluting the community even though they have been reintegrated. Such treatment by the society I found has been the main contributing factor for the stigmatization, which affected not only the survivors but also the community people. Above narrations of survivors and views of participants of FGDs show that community's response to the survivors is responsible for making survivors shameful which ultimately results in stigma. As Brunovskis and Tyldum (2004) revealed in their study on transnational

trafficking that community people and survivors both were scared of stigma and were ashamed, I also found a similar understanding among community people and the survivors from the above mentioned narratives.

7.4 N/GOs Initiatives for Reintegration

Various organizations working to combat trafficking have been conducting various anti-trafficking activities in the society. Here I will discuss some of activities for reintegration of trafficking survivors.

Organizations working on anti-trafficking movement are aware of the issue of reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community. Some of them are taking reintegration issue as one of their major objectives. They are taking this issue as a process to enhance access and control over the resources available in the community and to maintain the same social prestige as other women have. Inclusion of such survivors through the empowerment programmes is found as the basics of such organizations. So they had and have been conducting various programmes at different levels basically focussing on economic empowerment of the survivors.

Major NGOs working in this arena (like *Maiti Nepal*, *ABC Nepal*, *WoREC*, *Shakti Samuha*, and *CWIN*) are focusing their programmes on awareness, rescue, repatriation, reintegration and sustainable livelihoods. From the interviews with key NGOs' representatives, it is found that NGOs have conducted various programmes at different levels. In policy level, they are conducting consultation meetings and workshops with different stakeholders including government agencies, NGOs, media, human right organizations to recommend survivors friendly policies and programmes in the national programmes. Similarly at district level, NGOs are conducting empowerment programmes for the sustainable livelihoods, skill development programmes and support for the small business through grants and loans to the survivors. At the grass root level, they have conducted social mobilization programmes with public awareness on trafficking. Coordination and partnership is built on each level of its activities. Some NGOs have vigilance cells in different border areas of the country. Counselling and shelter for the survivors and rehabilitation centres are also in operation.

Public awareness programmes are most common activities of the organizations. But programmes on rescue, repatriation and rehabilitation of trafficking survivors are conducted by very few NGOs. *Maiti Nepal* and *Shakti Samuha* are among such NGOs. They had conducted livelihood programmes like income generating trainings and supports, life skills trainings and job placement after trainings, gender awareness trainings, legal support, medical support, mass campaign for pressure creation to the government for victims' friendly policies and programmes and so on. These NGOs have many successful cases of reintegration trafficking survivors.

A representative of *Maiti Nepal*, regional office, *Bhairahawa, Rupandehi* said that they have many successful cases of reintegration but have some failures too. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, there are many reintegrated women in the communities but she expressed her experiences from her own working area. She said that:

“Some girls are getting married hiding their past information and are now are living happily with their family. Out of 14 cases of reintegration [she facilitated], 8 cases are successful in this area (Bhairahawa) only. They have children too. Sometimes they [reintegrated women] come to visit me. And I also ask about their family lives while I see them. But in some cases, we are failing to reintegrate the survivors. In some cases, their families knew their past life through other people and kick the women out of the house. We found that families accept victims easily and have maintained good relationships with survivors as long as they have money, when money is over, survivors were kept in cowshed too”. She further said that: *“One of the survivors was beaten by villagers with stone while she was taking water from the stone tap near her house. They stoned me too when I went to meet her [she show her marks of wound made by stone]. Now she is in our other rehabilitation centre. She is suffering from HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis B and her left hand is completely paralyzed”.* She continued that: *“We have some cases of re-trafficking, when survivors could not bear hate and hurts by their family members as well as community; they again go back to previous place. When I met such families they told me that they could not keep their daughters in their home because it would be difficult to arrange marriage to their other sisters and brothers due to the trafficked girls in family”.*

Other NGOs representatives also have similar stories about their experiences. During the reintegration, they have to face life threatening risks too. A representative of *Shakti Samuha* said that: *“The main problems we have in reintegration of trafficked women are*

community perception towards survivors and us (NGOs), lack of awareness on trafficking to family members and their irresponsibility towards survivors, harshness of community towards survivors, threats made by the brokers, political pressures towards us, political protection to the traffickers, weak legal system and its practices, and so on. We have some examples of bribery in law enforcement, like police. Even community members had blamed us as traffickers when we go for follow up of reintegrated women. The brokers threatened to kill us and our families as well as survivors if we further process for the punishments to them”.

It is important to note that NGOs are working very hard to combat trafficking but there is still a lot to do. The main challenge they face is sustainability of the programmes. Because of this, they are losing the confidence of the community people. Community people's perceptions towards NGOs are the major challenges in the implementation of their programmes. Existing legal provision and practice is a great challenge, where political protection to the culprit exists. The narratives above showed that there are some incidences of bribing within the law enforcement agencies. The survivors and the people from the communities stressed poor implementation of laws has been the cause of the perpetrators not getting punished.

7.5 Discussion and Conclusion

The women who are trafficked are (perceived to be) socially excluded. They suffer from physical, psychological as well as social consequences, illness and injuries, tensions and terror, discrimination and exclusions. Survivors who are affected by such responses experience shame and feel stigmatized. As Hinshaw (2007) shows, shame devaluates the individuals in the society; in this study also, survivors of trafficking lost their social prestige through the treatment of society and their past experiences. From name calling through giving them bad names, (indicating that they are prostitutes) and identifying them as characterless women among the public the survivors are devalued as untouchable beings in the public arena.

Various social values and practices are promoting dehumanization of the survivors resulting in their stigmatization. This study found that shame caused survivors stigmatization whether they tried to go back home or not. The seven survivors, who had tried to reunite with their family, said that they were rejected and excluded from the

social events and gatherings by the people in their area, family members and friends. In addition, they were psychologically and sometimes physically abused when they go back home. The victims perceived that people from their community were likely to interpret their (survivors) functions in terms of 'discredited attributes' (Goffman, 1963, p. 25) which made them feel ashamed. Similarly, those survivors who had not tried to reintegrate were also afraid of their society and possible charges that would be levelled against them by the society. All the informants of the study mentioned that it will be difficult for them to reunite with their families because they are scared of the community people who perceived them as loose women. Moreover, the survivors knew that they are perceived as destroyers of social prestige of their respective communities as well as their families.

Community people have mixed perceptions on reintegration of trafficking survivors in the community. Many participants of FGDs seem in favour of survivors' integration but some are extremely negative. The logic behind those against reintegration is attached to the social values, norms and practices, which may play vital role to disturb the process. These responses of community members are determined by the social power relations guided by social and cultural practices in the society. In addition, it is discovered from the communities' perceptions on reintegration that individual incidences are generalized in the society. It is similar to Goffman's statement that stigma can be extended to the groups which is associated with sub groups like family members and community people. Goffman refers to this as courtesy stigma or tribal stigma, which is guided by inductive generalizations. For example people from other communities generalize the particular community with distorted images if that particular community receives the trafficked women easily. It is found as a major obstacle in the reintegration of the survivors.

As Goffman mentioned, individuals (stigmatized people) lose their self-assurance of comparing themselves as equal to others in society and their self-esteem is ruined due to stigma given to them. The survivors of trafficking have feeling of hate and worthlessness of their lives while other people humiliate them with hate and disgust. Feelings of uselessness among survivors are found as the outcome of responses of people in particular community and even from their own families. The survivors' feelings of worthlessness come as a result of being non-functional. For instance, survivors were treated as untouchable and excluded from social function and ceremonies. They were

discriminated against even within their families and teased with 'names' indicating being prostitutes in the society. They are unable to maintain their own identity in their locality due to the shame created within them and their self-stigmatization. Some survivors had failed to reunite with their families and then the self stigma is increased in them.

Families are also ashamed of and are frightened about losing their social prestige and reputations. Through the integration of trafficked women in family, family feels shame and disgust from the society. Accepting survivors in family is seen to lead to erosion of the family's name, fame and respect in the society. It is also linked to the blame of being a prospective trafficker's family. Moreover, families are afraid of social exclusion and boycott in social events. They argue that they would have problem in arranging marriage of other siblings, their jobs and the relationships with others would be ruined if they accept own daughters/sisters in their family.

Although survivors are stigmatized with fear and disgust from the society, they are interested to go back home. They have love and affection for their parents. However, they want to reunite with their family only after being self dependent. They argued that economically sound people have high reputation and can create a new identity in the society. As Kabeer (2005) stresses the 'power within' is very important in the empowerment process. She argues that self confidence and individual interest play an important role to the individual's empowerment; survivors self motivated interests to be economically self dependent before returning home confirms her point. According to Kabeer (1999), agency is the process of making choices which is exercised for the achievements; survivors' agency (interest/devotion to be dependent) may result in their empowerment through the utilization of resources available. Moreover, their agency does not only involve choices for independency but also challenges the power relations. And self dependency helps the survivors to fight for the change/choices which result in empowerment (Kabeer, 2003). In case of this study, survivors' choices to do something of their interest to get outcome like money, or social service (support to others) is seen as a way of expressing agency. This agency is headed to obtain empowerment that is power to decide oneself through the utilization of resources (for instance the facilities provided by the NGOs). That may be the remedy for social change in one hand; and on the other, their shame would be erased and will make a new (unique) identity. To make choices for

the survivors' self dependency, various organizations are conducting many programmes, are expected to empower the trafficked women.

It is also found that the survivors have hopes and prospects of a better life. As Kabeer (2005) mentioned, empowerment process facilitates the individual to acquire knowledge on their choices; the organizations working on combating trafficking encourage the survivors with life skill trainings and opportunities to sustain them economically. So they are organizing various training of skill development and life skills. Moreover they are facing challenges to enhance their sustainable family lives through the interventions in different levels. Some representatives of the organizations argued that social discrimination is associated with trafficking survivors' reintegration, which is seen as a challenge for them, but they hope that achieving gender equality can contribute to the reintegration process of trafficking survivors in the society. More so, the self dependency of the survivors in terms of economy as expressed by the survivors is a milestone for their empowerment.

CHAPTER- 8: CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has attempted to explore and analyze the experiences of trafficking survivors and to identify the problems in their reintegration process in their respective communities in Nepal. In the preceding analysis of empirical findings, I have tried to show how trafficking is understood, interpreted, experienced and considered in social and cultural contexts among trafficked women and some people from three trafficking prone communities. In addition, my study has illustrated and analyzed the perceptions (communities' and survivors') on reintegration of trafficked women in the communities.

This chapter presents the major empirical findings of the study. The first section summarizes how trafficking is understood among different parties. The next section presents multiple dimensions of experiences of trafficked women. The final section describes why reintegration of trafficking survivors is problematic in the Nepalese communities.

8.1 Variation in Understanding Trafficking

This study revealed that there are different understandings of trafficking among trafficked women, community people and NGOs working on combating trafficking. There are two major variations: perception of trafficking as a matter of shame and trafficking as a result of cheating of ignorant and innocent women. Survivors who perceived trafficking as a matter of shame argued that they were controlled by others and treated like animals which eroded their identity in society/social image and made them feel ashamed. The controllers (brokers, brothel owners, sometimes clients) treated them like commodities and exploited them as animals which created a feeling of shame in them. This finding is close to that of Aengst and Clinic (2001), in their study of girls trafficking in Nepal where they argue that survivors are being used as commodities and exploited like animals by the traffickers, brothel owners and clients. Survivors who perceived trafficking as a 'cheating game' argued that it represents a cheating of innocent and ignorant women who would not be in this situation if they were literate and/or aware of the issue. These informants understanding are found to be similar to that found in the UN (2000) official definition of trafficking.

Trafficking related terms like prostitution and migration for foreign labour are often understood synonymously to trafficking. Similar to Mahendra's study on Community perceptions on trafficking (see Mahendra *et al.*, 2001), I found that prostitution is generally used interchangeably with trafficking and sex work and women's migration for foreign employment is often perceived as an entry into sex industry both among survivors and community people. However, I found that NGO personnel have clear understanding of the concepts of trafficking as defined by the UN. They were able to make clear distinctions between trafficking, prostitution and migration for foreign employment.

8.2 Trafficking has Multiple Dimensions

The survivors' narratives showed that all of them were unaware of the purpose of trafficking until they were forced to work in brothels or in circus industries. Brokers left them at the destination promising to call their parents and bring food or clothes for the survivors but never returned.

The major common causes for being trafficked as presented by the informants were poverty, followed by illiteracy and unemployment. They told me that they were trafficked through the deception that they would obtain better livelihoods, by the threat of being killed/ murdered, by poisoning, by fake love/marriages and/or as a result of their own longing for richness and beauty to be found in city life.

Survivors of trafficking who were trafficked either for prostitution or for circus industry were physically and psychologically (verbally) abused by brothel owners, clients and circus masters. Some informants had spent up to 8 years of their lives in this very horrible situation. In their destinations they faced various challenges that include access to basic necessities like food, clothes and housing. They were treated as commodities by bosses and the clients.

The survivors were psychologically abused by the treatment meted out to them by the police and NGOs even in the process of returning home. They had fear of being re-trafficked because some of them had experienced this before or heard about it from others. Re-trafficking could occur because brothel owners bribe the police who are supposed to protect them.

I also found that the survivors appreciated the help from the rehabilitation centres for their subsistence and for better life. However, survivors' narratives show that some of their rights were not catered well for, because of the limited resources (financial and human resources) of the centre itself.

8.3 Reintegration Process is Problematic

As discussed in chapters 6 and 7, it can be concluded that the reintegration of trafficking survivors in their respective community is a very challenging process in which various problems arise. From my analysis of survivors' narrations, I found the major problems in the reintegration process to be the following:

Gendered Social Norms and Values

The study revealed that women are discriminated against various social sectors like education, health, economy, non-agriculture activities, public services, decision making levels and their mobility is restricted in many Nepalese societies (See IIDS & UNIFEM, 2004; NHRCN, 2006 & 2008; Poudel and Carryer, 2000). Nepali social value systems give high preference to males whereas females always remain subordinate. Males' roles in the society are always respected where as females role are connected to family identity which makes women powerless (See Brown, 2006). Illiteracy adds to the lack of decision making power among the females. These value systems made women vulnerable to trafficking (see Mahindra et. al., 2001, Frederick, 2005).

From the narration of survivors, it was found that traffickers treated them like objects and commodities. This can probably happen because existing gender discriminatory social values and norms treat women as inferior and blame the women themselves to be responsible for being trafficked. Such social treatment helped to promote trafficking in the community (Brown, 2006).

Shame and Stigma

One of the most prominent conclusions based on the empirical finding of the study was that reintegration of trafficked women in the society is considered shameful to the women's community of origin and that the women are stigmatized in their home communities. However, there is also a great deal of self stigmatization among the

victims of trafficking. For instance survivors told me they always feel ashamed when the media published their stories with real names and photos in the newspapers. The result is that they are treated as untouchable beings and discriminated against in the society.

Similarly to the Chen and Marcovici (2003)'s study of the status of reintegrated girls in far western region of Nepal, I found that people from the survivors' communities perceived them as loose women, community polluters, and destroyers of social prestige and blamed them for being prospective traffickers. I also found that some were rejected even by their own family. Such treatment created feelings of worthlessness within survivors and increased their self stigmatization. Further, it also appeared that the survivors were scared of their communities, something which corresponds with the findings of Fredericks study on status of care, support and social reintegration of trafficked persons in Nepal. In contrast to Frederick, however, my study found out that survivors of trafficking want to be reunited with their family after having achieved economic self-dependency. Frederick on his side found that most survivors do not want to go home and even those who get reintegrated do not want to be in touch with the organizations after having settled in their home communities.

The study also discovered social trust to be a challenge of survivors' reintegration in the community. This finding is also in line with the findings of Brunovskis and Tyldum (2004 – see chapter 2). Community people (including family members) were afraid of shame and stigma if they accept trafficking survivors in their communities.

It is found that although survivors are stigmatized with fear and disgust from the society, they perceived economic self dependency as the solution to their reintegration process. They perceived that as an economically independent individual they can erase the bad image they have in society and create a new identity for themselves which subsequently will help in their long-lasting reintegration process, as **Saraswoti** said:

“... I wonder sometime because when I was supporting my family there was no direct blaming on me. I was not mistreated even in society but they loved me. But now Even though I had various hurts from my past life, I forget it and want to become self dependent. I hope that my society will respect me when I will earn money I am sure that I would have a new identity in my society”.

Although survivors have various wishes to be self dependent, economic independence seems prominent to their reintegration. All the informants express hopes for the future and imagine that they will be able to live a better life. We may of course question the realism in this vision, as there seems to be many odds against it, found not the least in society's attitudes towards these women. In spite of all the hardships they have experienced, however, most of them seem to have maintained a certain 'spirit of life' which makes them able not only to plan for their own future, but also to imagine themselves working with NGO's to combat the problems of trafficking and thereby help other vulnerable women.

8.4 What can be done for the Women?

From the survivors' narratives and the information from FGDs, the following recommendations can be made:

- It is important for responsible parties to carry out public awareness raising the issue of trafficking and advocacy for survivors' rights. This will help to change negative attitude towards trafficking victims.
- The government should empower survivors by organizing skill oriented training and providing financial supports in order to enable them to acquire economic independence. This will have two benefits. On the one hand, survivors get opportunities and on the other, their information and knowledge would be more effective to conduct the programmes.
- It is necessary to conduct gender sensitive programmes to enhance gender equality in the grass root levels to the policy level. This is because gender discrimination is one of the reasons that may signify traditional discriminatory practices in the society.
- Discriminatory laws should be abolished and new ones formulated. In addition, the existing rules and laws should be applied effectively.
- It is important to ensure communities' participation in all anti-trafficking programmes, as this would ensure sustainability of the programmes.

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ANNEXES

Definitions of trafficking by different agencies:

UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others, 1949:

The Parties to the present Convention agree to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another: (1) Procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person; (2) Exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person (Article 1).

The Parties to the present Convention further agree to punish any person who: (1) Keeps or manages, or knowingly finances or takes part in the financing of a brothel; (2) Knowingly lets or rents a building or other place or any part thereof for the purpose of the prostitution of others (Article 2) (cited in <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instreet/traffickingperson.htm>).

UN General Assembly 1994:

The illicit and clandestine movements of persons across national borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition, with the end goal of forcing women and girls into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for profit of recruiters and crime syndicates as well as other illegal clandestine employment and false adoption.

Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, 2000:

Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women purposes the definition of trafficking as ‘recruitment, transportation, purchase, sale, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons: (i) by threat or use of violence, abduction, force, fraud, deception or coercion or debt bondage, for the purpose of: (ii) placing or holding such persons whether for pay or not, in forced labour or slavery –like practices, in a community other than the one in which such person lived at the time of the original act described in (i).

IOM, 1994:

International migratory movements will be considered trafficking if the following conditions are met:

Money (or another form of payment) changes hands.

A facilitator, the trafficker, is involved.

An international border is crossed.

Entry is illegal.

The movement is voluntary.

(Visit: <http://www.youandaids.org/unfiles/Data%20and%20research%20on%20human%20trafficking%20A%20global%20survey.pdf#page=76>)

European Parliament Definition:

The illegal action of someone who directly, encourages a citizen from a third country to enter or stay in another country in order to exploit that person by using deceit or any other form of coercion by abusing that person’s vulnerable situation or administrative status.

SAARC Convention, 2002:

Trafficking means the moving, selling or buying of women and children for prostitution within and outside country for monetary or other consideration with or without the onset of the person subjected to trafficking.

National Human Rights Commission Nepal (NHRCN):

The proposed definition of trafficking in the Nepalese context is “Illicit and clandestine movement of person/s within and across national borders for buying, selling, recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt; by means of threat or the use of violence or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud or deception, of the abuse of authority, or of a position of vulnerability, of giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of any kind of exploitation; and exploitation shall include , at a minimum, non consensual sex work or exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced or bonded labour, fraud marriage, camel jockeys, slavery, whether for pay or not, servitude or involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive) or the removal or organs adoption, or other illegal” (NHRCN, 2006).

Some Pictures from the Field



Traditional Grinding Mill is used for the Livelihood of Rural Communities in Nepal.



Animals for the survival of Rural People.



Nepali Female Adolescents

Focus Group discussion with women

Interview Guide

I. In-depth interview with Trafficking Survivors

Section- A: Background information

1. Socio-eco Status

Main Questions:

- Could you please introduce yourselves?
- Can you tell me about your social-economic status?

Probing Questions:

- Name
- Age
- Age at being trafficked
- Address
- Education
- Occupation
- Caste-ethnicity
- Religion
- Language
- Parents' economic status
- Parents' education status
- Marital status
- No of children
- Husband's age (if married)
- Husband's Education
- Husband's Occupation
- Husband's caste-ethnicity (if married)
- No of siblings
- Other siblings' status

Section- B: Experiences of trafficking

1. Process of being trafficked

Main Question:

- Can you tell me how were you trafficked to brothel?

Probing Questions:

- Which year?
- What time?
- Who did you go with?
- How did you come to trust him/her?
- What were the pretended benefits?
- What was the root/way to go?
- How many days did it take to reach brothel (and you know that you were in brothel)?
- How did you reach there?
- What did you eat during the way?
- Where did you sleep during the journey?
- How many were with you?
- How did the broker guide (instruct) you?
- What was your response to such instructions?
- How did traffickers behave with you?

2. Way of crossing border

Main Question:

- How did you cross the border?

Probing Questions:

- Did police check you?
- Were you alone or in a group?
- What did police ask for?

How did police check at border?
What was your response to police?
What was the trafficker's response to police during checking in the border?
Which vehicle did you use to cross the border?
Where were you kept before crossing the border and after crossing it?
How many days did you pass there?
What instructions did you get from the trafficker after crossing the border (during way)?
How did traffickers behave with you after crossing the border?

3. Involvement in prostitution/experience

Main Questions:

How was your involvement in sex trade/work?
Can you share your relation with the customers?
Can you tell me about brothel setting where you worked?

Probing Questions:

When did you know that you are trafficked?
What did you feel at that time? How did you response?
When did you start to work (from the arrival or 1-2 days after your arrival)?
How did other sex workers treat you?
Can you share your experience on the following?
 How many customers/clients a day
 Behave of customers
 Age of customers
 Race of customers
 Did you have discussions with clients during the work?
 How did they react towards your work?
How many days/months did you work there?
How much money did you earn?
What did you do with that money?
How was the food in the brothel?
How was the bed/place/station for work?
How did you dress?
Could you explain the following quarries?
 Sanitation
 Bed room for night
 Time for sleep
 Use of condom or other methods of protection

4. Behaviors towards victims

Main Question:

Can you tell me something about how brothel owners behave towards you?

Probing Questions:

What kinds of formal/informal rules were there for the workers and costumers?
How did the brothel owner behave to you?
Did s/he punish (behave violently) you in which ways?
How did you response?
What were your colleagues' responses?
How did your colleagues behave to you when brothel owner punished you?

5. Process returning

Main Questions:

How did you escape from the brothel?
How did you arrive in transit homes/rehabilitation center?

Probing Questions:

Who helped you?
How did you manage the transportation costs?
What root did you take to back?
How did you arrive in transit homes?
What did you feel when you reached transit homes?
How long did it take to get to the rehabilitation center?

6. Legal status of the case

Main Questions:

- How is your case going on?
- Can you tell me about any support for the case filing?

Probing Questions:

- Did you file the case?
- Who had helped you to file the case?
- How is the case going on?
- What is the status of criminal's punishment?
- Are you satisfied with status of the case? Why?
- What do you think about the punishment for traffickers?
- Do you have any suggestions for making law strong and effective?

Section-C: Role of agency to empower trafficking survivors

1. Current life in transit home/rehabilitation center

Main Questions:

- Can you tell me how your life in rehabilitation center is?
- How do officials in rehabilitation center behave (relationship) to you?

Probing Questions:

- How long have you been here?
- Can you describe a typical day in the rehabilitation center?
- Were your status/condition discussed?
- Were you given a timely medical check-up and/or treatment?
- Were you given any psychological counseling?
- Were you tested for pregnancy/STDs/HIV?
- Was this done with your consent?
- Are you getting entertainments in the rehabilitation center?
- How are food/clothing/bed rooms?
- Have you got any trainings/skills?
- Did any of the skills gained in the center help you?
- Are you satisfied with the help you received from the center?
- Would you change anything about the center if you could?
- Are there any problems?
- What might be the solutions to those problems? Give your suggestions.
- Do you want to live here for a long time? Why?

2. Information on rehabilitation programmes

Main Question:

- Do you know about the activities to return trafficked women to their community?

Probing Questions:

- Do you know what types programmes are conducted in transit home/rehabilitation center?
- Are they useful to you?

Section-D: Perception on reintegration

Perception towards reintegration

Main Question:

- What do you think about yourself reunification in your family?
- Can you tell me how do your community perceive/response you?
- Could you please share your future aim/thought?

Probing Questions:

- Do you often think about your family?

Have you ever met your family member/relatives/member of your community after you came back from the brothel?

- How did they (these members of family/community/relatives) receive you?
- What do you think about your family's thought?
- Do want to go home? If not, why?
- Were attempts made to go back you to your family? Why/why not?
- What is the result of such attempt sending you back to your home/community?
- What do you think; will your family accept you as before?

What do you think about your community?
Can you explain how people from your community behave towards you?
How do you perceive yourself? Why?
What do you want to do in future?
Do you expect anything/support from Transit home for your future life?
Do you have any problems? What are they?
What might be the solutions for those problems?

Do you want to add any more about anything?
Do you want to ask anything to me about anything?

Thanks for your contribution.
Thanks.

II. Interviews with Key Persons

A. NGO's Representative/Social Leaders

Background information

Name

Sex

Organization

Position/title

Role/duty in programme/activity

Information on NGOs Activities

Background and profile of NGO

Mission, Vision and Goal of NGO

Target groups

Strategies, Programmes and Activities of NGO

Activities taken for combating trafficking

Programmes/activities taken for reintegration and rehabilitation of trafficking survivors

Locations of programmes

Process of programme formulation (need based or donor motivated)

Major trafficked prone area and indicators to define prone area

Success cases reintegration

Problems/challenges occurred during reintegration and rehabilitation

Interventions of NGO to solve the problem

Coordination and networking with other stakeholders

Future plans/programmes to deal with reintegration of trafficking

Expected support from other stakeholders (government, community, media, etc)

Recommendations for the way forward

Do you want to add any more about anything?

Do you want to ask anything to me about anything?

Thanks for your contribution.

Thanks.

III. Focus Group Discussion:

Background information

Name

Sex

Organization

Position/title

Role/duty in programme/activity

Community's attitudes and perceptions

What do you understand by trafficking?

Who are the traffickers?

What are the processes of trafficking?

What are the causes of trafficking?

Do you remember any cases of trafficking in the community? Mention.,

What is your perception towards trafficking survivors?

What do you think about taking back the trafficking survivors in community?

Do you know examples or women who came back?

How did their lives develop, what happened to them?

What are the benefits/demerits of arrival in community?

What are the effects of reunion of trafficked women in community and culture?

What would be the solution of problem in reintegration?

Do you know about legal provision for trafficking control?

What do you think about legal provision against trafficking?

Is there any programme on combating trafficking in your locality?

What type of programme is that and who had conducted?

Who was targeted by the programme?

Are you satisfied with their work?

Do you have any suggestion for that programme?

Do you want to add any more about anything?

Do you want to ask anything to me about anything?

Thanks for your contribution.

Thanks.