

Migration Gone Wrong

**Linkages between
Trafficking and HIV**



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About UNDP-TAHA

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) - Trafficking and HIV/AIDS project (TAHA) is working to prevent the trafficking of women and children. The TAHA secretariat is in Delhi. In addition, State Project Management Units (SPMU) have been set up and housed within the State AIDS Control Societies (SACS) in 10 (except Orissa) of the 11 states where TAHA implements its programme. The anti-trafficking goal of the programme is located within a HIV and AIDS and safe mobility framework. TAHA is supported by NACO, DWCD and DFID and is implemented in partnership with more than 70 local and national partners.

UNDP-TAHA derives its political commitment to address issues related to trafficking, safe mobility and HIV and AIDS from several UN declarations including the most recent UNGASS declaration in which Section 31 includes a commitment on the part of national Governments “to strengthen legal, policy, administrative and other measures for the promotion and protection of women’s full enjoyment of all human rights and reduction of their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS through the elimination of all forms of discrimination, as well as all types of sexual exploitation of women, girls and boys, including for commercial reasons, and all forms of violence against women and girls, including harmful traditional and customary practices, abuse, rape and other forms of sexual violence, battering and trafficking in women and girls.” In addition, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) coupled with India’s commitment to achieve zero level increase of HIV /AIDS prevalence by 2007 provide the overall context within which TAHA has been designed and is being implemented.

The TAHA programme is conceptualised within a rights based framework where it seeks to protect the right to safe migration while at the same time addressing trafficking which is one of the most profound violations of the rights of an individual. Trafficking of persons for sexual exploitation has been identified as one of the drivers of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. It is recognised that those being trafficked are vulnerable to HIV and lack support systems, autonomy and choice to be able to protect themselves from getting infected. TAHA therefore sees its anti-trafficking goals as contributing toward developing models for a long-term response to HIV. In addition, the emphasis is on a community based approach for partnership building with those who are most vulnerable to HIV and most affected by the epidemic. In addition, TAHA integrally addresses the structural issues - gender-based inequity and economic disempowerment - that result in women being disproportionately infected and affected by HIV and AIDS as well as being trafficked in large numbers.



“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the 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.”

- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000)

“Human trafficking is defined as the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion, for the purpose of subjecting that person to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.”

-Trafficking Victims' Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005.

Foreword

The linkages between trafficking and HIV, on the face of it, are obvious; both in terms of risk and vulnerability of trafficked victims to HIV infection. However, these linkages have only just been explored; till very recently, trafficking and HIV have been dealt with separately, neither mainstreamed into the other.

The legal and policy framework within which we engage with the issue of internal trafficking in India is, at the very least, a very limiting one. It is based on a narrow understanding of trafficking, namely trafficking equals commercial sexual exploitation. The current legal framework tries to regularize and control sex work in order to reduce trafficking; and in doing so addresses the outcomes of trafficking through increased policing and a 'crime' reduction strategy. The existing policy and legal framework still does not address trafficking that occurs due to increased demand for cheap labour, for instance. It also does not take into account trafficking as a function of unsafe migration.

During the implementation of the UNDP-TAHA project we learnt that most key stakeholders also have a simplistic and linear understanding of trafficking. This affects the way the issue is addressed through programmes. Any root cause problem analysis of trafficking will demonstrate beyond doubt that the issue needs to be addressed at the fundamental level of development, lack of adequate livelihoods opportunity at the source, unequal gender relations, increasing gap between the rural hinterlands surrounding rapid urban growth. However, if the problem is not analyzed in the above context, then the programmes designed to address the issue remain limited to either policing or rescue and rehabilitation strategies; in addition, the programmes, willy nilly, hold the existence of sex work itself responsible for trafficking of women and girls... a simplistic derivation of the demand and supply construct.

As is amply evident from this study, the linkages between trafficking and HIV have to be increasingly addressed within the complex framework of unsafe migration. Internal migration is a growing phenomenon in India, in need of policy and legal frameworks that support the rights of internal migrants in order to make their journey safe. Migration is a human right; and it is indeed the state's duty to provide an enabling environment within which this right is exercised and upheld. However, much needs to be done in this regard.

Mona Mishra

Introduction

Human rights are inherently linked to gender issues. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states unequivocally that men and women have equal human rights. Women and men, boys and girls, experience poverty and deprivation when they are denied the right to livelihoods, water, education and health, protection and security, a voice in public life, or freedom from discrimination. The definition of poverty goes beyond the purely economic to encompass capabilities, powerlessness and inequity.

Addressing gender-based violations of human rights is a crucial aspect of any government development and anti-poverty work. Institutions and structures are predominantly shaped around men, and therefore both reflect existing inequalities and gendered power relations in society, and help to constitute them. By excluding women's voices, they work to the advantage of men as a group and the exclusion and disadvantage of women. Whilst recognizing the many different ways in which women and men across the world are influenced by race, class, caste, colour, sexuality, age, religion, politics, disability and other elements of identity, we can say that women's overall access to and power within institutions and structures is systemically limited because of gender inequality and discrimination.

Human trafficking is one of the most critical human rights abuse issues of our times which in turn makes it a significant area of intervention for those trying to address gender, HIV and poverty issues. "Human trafficking is defined as the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion, for the purpose of subjecting that person to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (Trafficking Victims' Protection Reauthorization Act of 2005).

Despite growing concern and awareness about trafficking, the victims, perpetrators, and even the issue itself remain nearly invisible. This is a complex, multi-state, economically driven, politically charged reality, a reality that impacts us even if we do not yet recognize it. In other words, human trafficking continues with near impunity, militating against all human rights.

The present study intended to understand this social phenomenon with a focus on drawing attention to the nature, magnitude and the consequences of trafficking of women and girls in India. The gender dimension of trafficking needed to be specially investigated. This research addresses the consequences of trafficking and the adversities that migration itself generates.



Methodology

This report is the result of a six-month study on the links between HIV and trafficking. It provides information for a more effective policy debate, both from the view point of stopping trafficking and also in assuring the human rights of the trafficked people, and to stimulate further research into the issue. The study, therefore primarily investigates the reasons, trends of unsafe mobility, the conditions that make certain population groups more vulnerable to

trafficking and the linkages between trafficking and HIV.

The study adapted a cross-sectional reference sampling design to acquire factual information on the situation of those who are trafficked and, to determine the incidence, distribution and interrelation of trafficking and HIV/AIDS. The probability sampling technique, which permits a generalization from the findings about a sample to the population of interest, was used for the study. The conclusions from this kind of sample can be projected to the population, within statistical limits of errors. Because of the aim to aggregate and generalize the vulnerabilities, great importance was attached to collecting a uniform sample unit i.e., 250 participants from each of the 10 selected states of India, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Chattishgarh, Delhi, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Thus a total of 2543 samples were drawn for the study across India.

In order to cover a range of population groups that move under unsafe conditions, are trafficked or are highly vulnerable to trafficking and therefore to HIV, sample categories were defined for data collection. These categories include:

1. **Sex Workers:** Participants in this category included 684 women who are currently involved in and earn their living through sex work.
2. **Domestic Workers:** This category included 800 respondents who work as domestic workers (includes a range of work such as domestic help, driving, taking care of younger children and elderly etc).
3. **Forced Labour:** Consisting of 688 respondents, this category included individuals working in informal sectors under economically and physically exploitative conditions. Respondents were employed in food processing units, packaging units, construction work, restaurant trade, security jobs etc.
4. **Street Based workers:** Those interviewed included 371 street based workers who have been trafficked and are currently involved in menial labour work, begging, street based vending etc.

The distribution of the population samples is provided in Figure 1. Informed consent and a full understanding of the nature of the relationship between the parties were observed under this sampling frame.

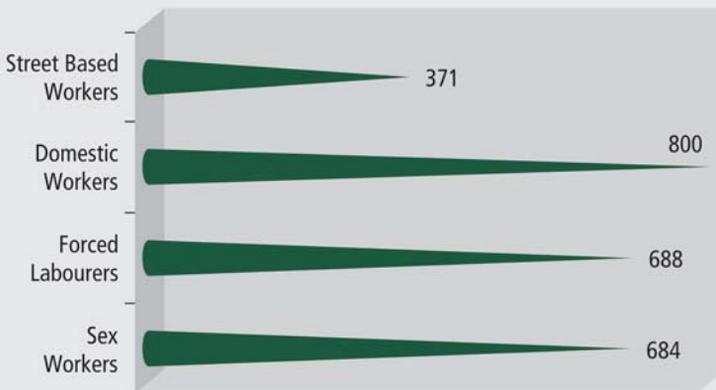
“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the 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.”



Study information was gathered through semi-structured interviews. Most of the questions in the interview schedule were close ended in order to have uniformity in responses and convenience in data collation and analysis. A set of themes was chosen in order to formulate a range of questions that could cover different aspects of trafficking and vulnerability experiences of the individuals. The major themes were:

- 1 Individual Characteristics (sex, age, education, marital and family status, ethnicity, area of origin, economic status);
- 2 Mobility experiences (involvement of agents, decision making, mobility environment, vulnerabilities);

Figure 1: Distribution of Study Respondents



- 3 Experiences of working. (Decision making, reasons to continue, job satisfaction, working environment, exploitation etc)
- 4 Vulnerabilities (awareness on safe sex, RTIs, STDs, HIV, access to services etc)
- 5 Rescue experiences

Besides this structured interview, the study also interviewed various stakeholders in order to understand the steps involved in prevention of trafficking and related issues. These stakeholders included governmental officials, non-governmental organizations and other welfare officials.

The data collection was done through NGO partners who have a good understanding of the issue and who directly work among the trafficked victims and vulnerable groups. The NGO staff members involved in data collection participated in a two-day training on the use of the quantitative and qualitative tools of data collection. A series of field assessments were made in each state through interviews, focus group discussions, case studies and a stakeholder analysis before starting the actual data collection process.

This study discusses the status and trends of trafficking; it particularly looks at areas of vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and tries to understand the correlations among the current development efforts, unsafe mobility and HIV. It also brings out the current challenges and possible interventions for reducing vulnerabilities to both unsafe mobility and trafficking.



Socio-economic Characteristics of the Study Population

The study found that over 60% of those involved in street based work and domestic work and 46% of those involved in forced labour are female. Of the 684 respondents involved in sex work, all female, approximately 60% were under the age of 19 years, while approximately 70% of those involved in forced labour and domestic work and 100% of those involved in street based work are 18 years old or younger. Presence of underage and female respondents in a majority points to increased vulnerability to trafficking, violence and HIV.

Among married respondents, almost 1/3 were sex workers, 30.8% domestic workers and 30.1% forced labour. The proportion of those divorced, separated or deserted is higher for women forced into sex work, followed by domestic and forced labourers.

73.6% of the respondents were Hindu, followed by Muslims (17%) and Christians (6.6%). Interestingly the same pattern has been observed across all the study categories i.e. domestic

Table 2
Socio-demographic background of the respondents by category
(in percentage)

		Involved in Sex Work (n=684)	Forced Labour (n=688)	Domestic Work (n=800)	Street Based Work (n=371)
Age	<14 years	33.7 (230)	23.5 (162)	19.0 (152)	63.6 (236)
	15-18 years	28.1 (192)	46.7 (321)	54.1 (433)	36.4 (135)
	19 + years	38.2 (262)	29.8 (205)	26.9 (215)	0.0 (000)
Sex	Male	0.0	43.8 (301)	24.3 (194)	53.5 (198)
	Female	100 (684)	56.2 (387)	76.0 (606)	46.5 (173)
Religion	Hindu	72.2 (494)	76.4 (526)	65.9 (527)	80.0 (297)
	Muslim	19.9 (136)	18.9 (130)	15.5 (124)	14.4 (53)
	Christian	4.7 (32)	4.4 (30)	13.4 (107)	4.0 (16)
	Others	3.2 (22)	0.3 (2)	5.3 (42)	1.6 (6)
Caste	SC	34.8 (238)	32.6 (224)	36.5 (292)	38.5 (143)
	ST	22.1 (151)	21.1 (145)	26.9 (215)	30.5 (113)
	OBC	22.3 (153)	14.0 (96)	14.5 (116)	13.9 (52)
	General	20.8 (142)	32.3 (222)	22.1 (177)	17.1 (63)
			32.7 (224)		
		54.5 (373)			
		12.9 (88)			
Education	Can Read/Write	25.6 (175)	15.8 (109)	19.5 (156)	20.0 (74)
	Can't Read/Write	44.2 (302)	56.5 (389)	52 (416)	61.0 (226)
	Primary	14.9 (102)	14.0 (96)	16.4 (132)	13.4 (50)
	Middle and above	15.2 (104)	13.7 (94)	12 (96)	5.6 (21)

Table 3
Reasons for unsafe mobility
by age and respondent category (in percentage)

	10 - 14 years (n=780)				15-18 years (n=1081)				19 years and above (n=682)			
	Sex worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	Street based worker	Sex worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	Street based worker	Sex worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	
Natural Calamity	23	16.7	6.9	15.6	3.1	8.5	7.7	7.4	3.1	5.5	3.6	
Lack of livelihood opportunities	28.3	41	44.3	38.7	37.5	42	33.1	24.5	32.3	47.7	40.6	
Physical violence & discrimination home	16.9	19.9	20.2	22.3	22.2	15.3	17.6	26.6	30.2	13.1	10.8	
Debt bondage/ Urgency to earn money	12.2	15.4	20.2	16.8	23.4	30.1	35.1	31.7	24.5	27.6	42.9	
Others (ethnic violence, false promise of marriage etc)	19.6	7	8.4	6.6	13.8	4.1	6.5	9.8	9.9	6.1	2.1	

Table 4
Percentage trafficked by state and respondent category

	10-14 Years (n=780)				15-18 Years (n=1081)				19+ Years (n=682)			
	Sex Worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	Street Based Worker	Sex Worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	Street Based	Sex Worker	Forced Labour	Domestic Worker	
Assam	13.3	0.0	20.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	42.9	0.0	73.3	0.0	37.1	
Tamil Nadu	32.2	53.8	62.9	93.5	45.6	14.3	15.7	60.5	22.2	31.9	21.3	
Andhra Pradesh	36.9	53.0	53.2	90.7	57.1	38.0	34.0	9.3	6.0	9.0	12.8	
Karnataka	48.9	18.9	28.9	92.9	22.8	38.9	28.9	7.1	28.3	42.2	42.2	
Uttar Pradesh	23.5	47.5	40.2	97.6	41.2	15.0	14.9	2.4	35.3	37.5	44.8	
Jharkhand	30.0	0.0	22.3	100.0	20.0	0.0	36.2	0.0	50.0	0.0	41.5	
Bihar	50.0	77.6	65.2	93.6	29.4	6.1	17.4	6.4	20.6	16.3	17.4	
Chhatisgarh	21.3	31.9	47.7	48.9	34.8	23.1	14.0	51.1	43.8	45.1	38.4	
West Bengal	34.3	49.0	21.6	97.5	38.1	34.4	59.5	2.5	27.6	16.7	18.9	
Delhi	24.4	46.1	61.5	95.6	46.7	22.5	31.9	4.4	28.9	31.5	6.6	

and forced labourers, sex workers, and street based workers. Slightly more than one-third of respondents (35.6%) belong to scheduled castes and about a quarter belongs to scheduled tribes. Both these groups, especially scheduled castes, constitute higher proportion of respondents among the study population across all categories. About two-thirds (61%) of street based workers, 52% of the domestic workers and 44.2% of sex workers cannot read or write (Refer Table 2).

A significant proportion (34.9%) of the study respondents had sex, either willingly or forced, before the age of 14 years.

Table 3 shows that poverty, discrimination and a history of sexual and physical violence are factors that make women and children vulnerable to traffickers. Lack of livelihood opportunities forced slightly more than one-third (37.3%) of the respondents to surrender to traffickers, followed by debt bondage (25.4%), and physical violence and discrimination at home (19.5%). This accounts for 82% of respondents moving out of their place of origin, irrespective of the mobility conditions. The reasons for trafficking within and across the study age groups have shown significant variations. Over two-fifth (41%) of respondents have been trafficked for forced labour in the age group of 10-14 years that steadily increases to 42% for those aged 15-18 yrs and to 47.7% for those aged 19 years and above.

About two-fifths (38.2%) of the respondents who have been trafficked for sexual exploitation are in the age group of 15-18 years, followed by the age group of 10-14 years (Table 3). However, state-wise analysis show that more number of girl children in the age group of 10-14 years have been trafficked in Karnataka (49%) and Bihar (50%) for sexual exploitation, followed by Andhra Pradesh (36.9%), West Bengal (34.3%) and Tamil Nadu (32.2%). Surprisingly, Assam registered as low as 13.3% in the same age group.

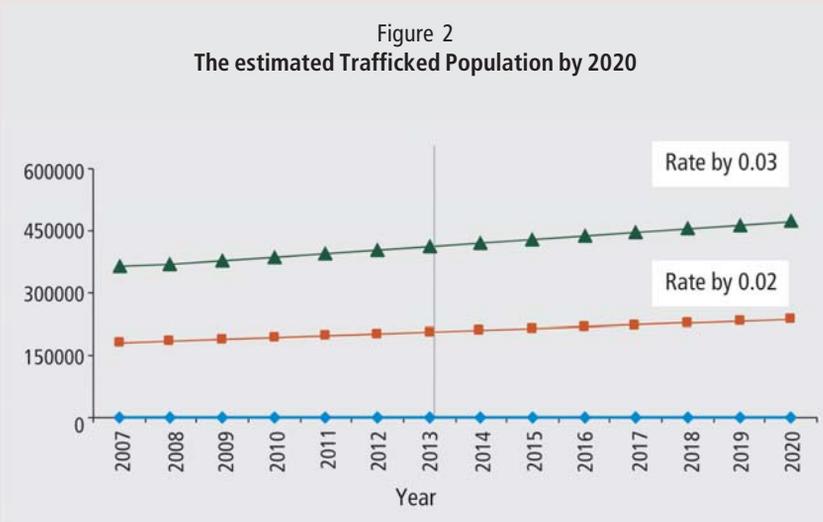
On the other hand, the proportion of children employed as forced and domestic labour was markedly higher for those in the age group 10-14 years. Bihar recorded the highest (65.2%), followed by Tamil Nadu (62.9%) and Andhra Pradesh (62.9%) while Assam registered lowest at 20%.

Higher proportions of women aged 19 years and above were trafficked for domestic work from the states of Uttar Pradesh (44.8%), Karnataka (42.2%) and Jharkhand (41.5%) than from Delhi (6.6%) and Tamil Nadu (12.8%).

As per the data, the rescued ratio is a mere 1:34. The rate of rescue is higher for Karnataka (8.6%), followed by Tamil Nadu (4.3%), Delhi (1.7%), Uttar Pradesh (1.7%) and Chattisgarh (1.5%). As a result of non-identification and non-provision of adequate assistance, trafficked people, irrespective of their own effort to get out of the situation, remain in exploitative and vulnerable situations.

The present study estimates that 150,000 to 200,000 people are trafficked every year in India, i.e., about one-fifth of the total number of people trafficked across borders each year worldwide. Although it is difficult to assess the size and quantum of the problem, there is enough evidence to indicate that women and children are being moved between states for the purpose of exploitative labour forms, sex work, domestic work and other street based work. A majority are sent away by their parents with the hope of better lives, however they end up being trafficked. The projections based on the study data indicate that India is going to be the hub of trafficking and that the population being trafficked will double by 2020 if it continues at the present rate of 0.03 per year (Figure 2). If the necessary preventive measures are taken and implemented effectively with the current rate of 0.02, the number of those being trafficked can be reduced by half.

Figure 2
The estimated Trafficked Population by 2020



migrated to more than two places, while respondents who moved within the state/region from Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Delhi reported staying in the same place for the last two years.

Lack of skills, training and access to the formal labour market are the main reasons why respondents became involved in domestic work. The reasons for migration ranged from lack of opportunities (39.3%) to debt-bondage (32.7%) and violence and misbehavior of family members (5.2%). 40.5% of respondents stated that improved opportunities, including higher income (28.1%) and the possibility of saving money to start a business (12.4%) attracted them to the possibility of migrating.

Transit and Work environment



Problems faced

A significant proportion of the respondents involved in domestic work are young females; 10-14 years of age (19%) and 15-18 years (26.9%). Respondents reported that they were provided with food, accommodation and clothes but did not receive regular salaries as promised.

A majority of the respondents (74.3%) had made tremendous effort to adjust to their new environment and were determined to achieve what they had come for. However, some respondents (16.8%) struggled to survive. They expressed feeling lack of direction, and alienation, especially because of language barriers and unfamiliarity with the use of appliances like telephones and other equipment.

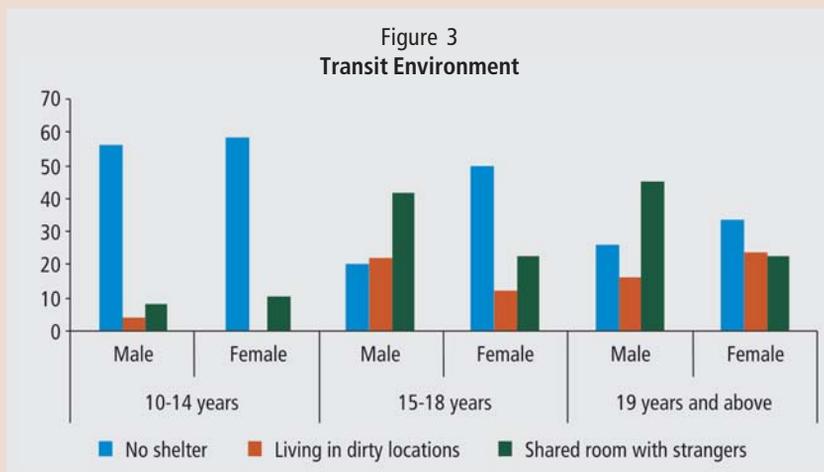
56% of the respondents reported that they are locked in the employers' house, particularly when the employers go out. 83% reported lack of freedom of movement and lack of free time for themselves. If they are not literally locked in, the women/men are usually not allowed to leave the employers' house without permission.

During group discussions, respondents also stated that tasks are not fixed in domestic work

and the amount of work to be done by the employee depends entirely on the employer. The respondents felt that their movement was restricted by their employers as a way of preventing the worker from escaping.

Living conditions

Almost all respondents mentioned that their living condition during transit from their homes to the place of migration was “poor”. Nearly two-fifths (39.9%) of the respondents stated “very poor” living conditions as they did not have a place to stay during the transit, 23.1% reported sharing rooms with strangers and 16.9% said that they lived in very unhygienic conditions. Almost one-fifth (20.1%) of the domestic worker population reported having no money during transit.



Further, the sex-wise analysis revealed that the proportion of females who lived without shelter (41.1%) is significantly higher than their male counterparts (35.9%). However, the proportion of male respondents (29.7%) who shared rooms with strangers is significantly higher compared to their female counterparts (21.1%).

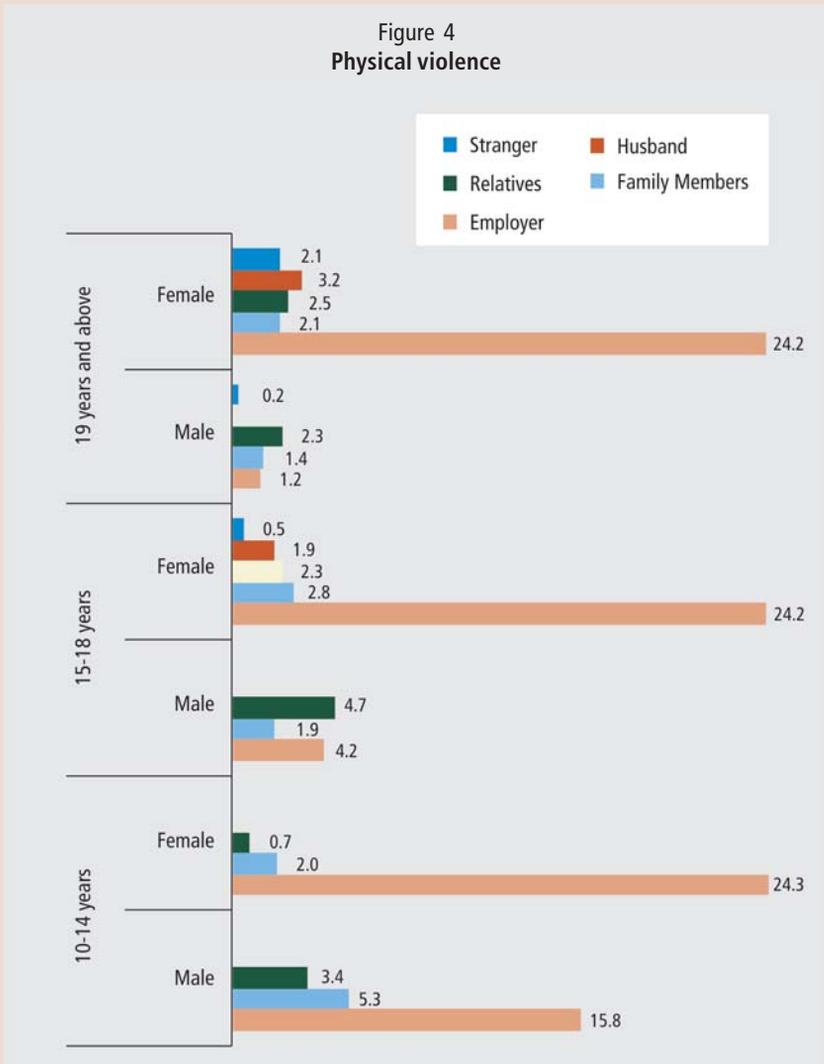
Violence

Age-group wise analysis reveals that more than one-third (34.6%) of the respondents in the age group 19 years and above faced one or other forms of abuse or ill-treatment during transit, while about a quarter (25.6%) in the age group 15-18 years and 27.6% in the age group 10-14 years reported facing abusive treatment during transit. Reportedly, agencies/agents locked the workers inside the living facilities to prevent them from escaping.

Verbal abuse and threat are the most common form of violence faced by domestic workers. As Rani, a girl aged 17 years states, “*They would scream that you are stupid. There can be a lot of screaming and shouting when they are in a bad mood*”.

About one-third (32.6%) of the female domestic workers and 24.5% of their male counterparts reportedly violent treatment. This includes beating, slapping, and being burnt with boiling tea. Broken ribs, scars, bruises and hospitalization were also reported by 2% of the respondents.

Almost an equal proportion (24.2%) of female domestic workers across all age groups faced physical violence by the employer. A significant proportion of male domestic workers, especially those aged 14 to 18 years, also face physical abuse by their employers (refer Figure 4).



prepare her/his own food. Hence the domestic worker has to rely on the leftovers from the family meal. All respondents interviewed reported not having enough food or being given food that they were not used to.

The decision to continue work

About 64.8% of the respondents reported that they were forced to work as domestic workers due to various reasons; 35.2% of their counterparts expressed enjoying their work. As reported during the interviews, more than 50% of the domestic workers aged 15 years and above and 20.4% in the age group of 10-14 years chose to continue domestic work. The family pressure to continue the domestic work was higher for females across all age groups indicating that women are more likely and more vulnerable to continue in exploitative situations. Table 6 presents age and gender-wise analysis of the reasons to continue domestic work in spite of dissatisfactory working conditions

	10-14 years		15-18 years		19 years & above	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Decision to Continue						
Family pressure	38.7	31.4	39.1	32.5	43.2	45.6
Peer pressure	2.6	2.6	3.6	3.8	5.2	3.0
No other options	18.7	27.3	34.5	39.3	21.0	35.1
Urgency for earning money	40.0	38.8	22.8	24.4	30.6	16.3
Forced to Continue						
Employer	32.0	27.3	3.6	28.8	9.7	23.7
Family members	36.0	53.2	58.3	43.1	45.2	50.1
Stranger	5.4	7.8	1.8	0.6	1.6	2.2
Relatives	13.3	7.8	21.7	17.5	9.7	12.7
Others	13.3	3.9	14.5	10.0	33.8	11.3

The above table shows that the decision to continue working is primarily due to family pressure or lack of better prospects. In fact, a high percentage of respondents stated 'urgency for earning money' as a reason to continue working. This, again, is an indicator of the lack of better options and difficult financial situations. The variation in the responses by males and females in different age groups also shows that family pressure works equally for both males and females in higher age groups. Percentage of females quoting lack of options as a reason to continue work across all age groups is higher than their male counterparts.

However, of those who are forced to work, 58.4% of the respondents stated that they do not want to continue the domestic work (79.6% in 10-14 years age group, 49.3% in the age group 15-18 years and 46.3% in the age group 19 years and above) primarily because of difficult

working conditions, absence of privacy during their time off and lack of freedom.. Many do not have their own room (89%) and sleep with children/ in the living room/ in the garage/ in the kitchen/ in the verandah/balcony. The absence of private space means that the domestic workers' possessions can easily be controlled or confiscated.

Sexual exploitation

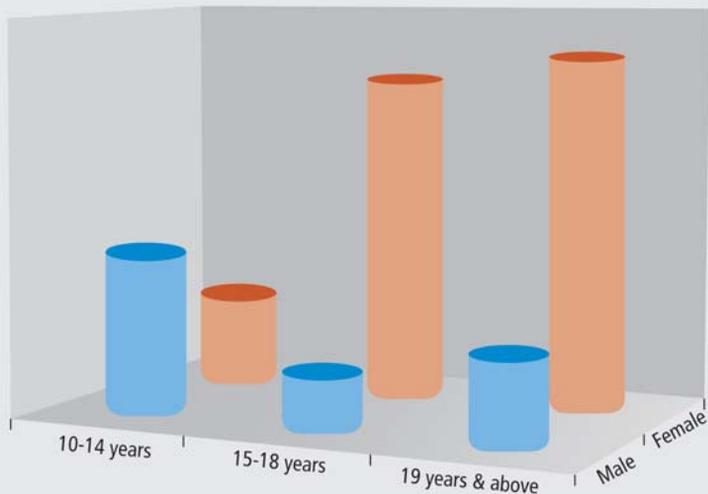
The study shows that of all respondents under the domestic worker category, 15.3% have been forced into sexual activities at some point against their will. The mean age of first sexual experience was 12.2 years for female domestic workers and 12.8 years for their male counterparts.

12% of the male domestic workers in the age group of 10-14 years, 4.2% in the age group of 15-18 years and 8.4% in the age group of 19 years and above are involved in forced sexual activities.

Sexual abuse among respondents has been found across sections irrespective of their marital status.

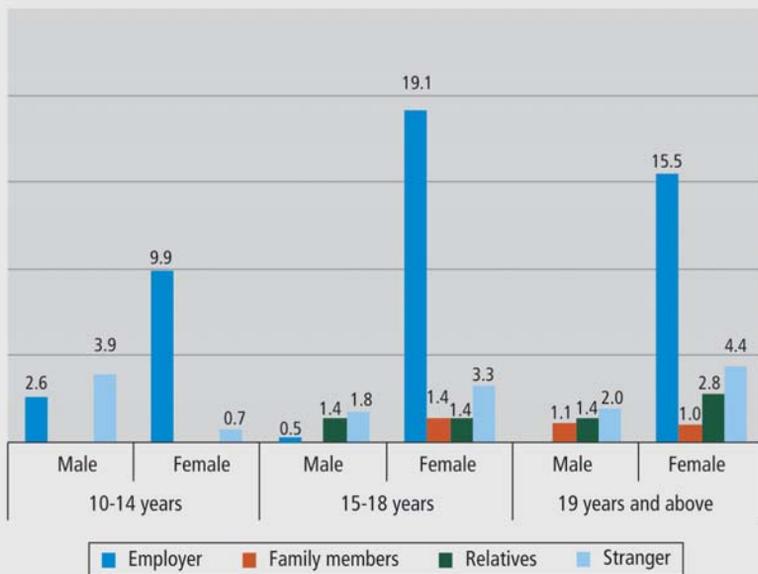
In-depth interviews with respondents reveal that 9.9% of the females aged 10-14 years stated that their employers have forced them to have sex against their will, while 4.6% reported

Figure 5
Respondent involvement in sexual activity by age and sex



forced sex by strangers. 19.1% women aged 15-18 years and 15.5% in the age group of 19 years and above experienced sexual exploitation by their employers. Nearly 10% of the respondents who reported sexual abuse in the age group 10-14 years also reported sexual exploitation by employers.

Figure 6
Respondents who were forced to have sex by age and sex



Moreover, 5.6% of females in the age group of 15-18 years, 3.3% in the age group of 10-14 years and 3.2% in the age group of 19 years and above stated that they still face sexual abuse.

Results reveal that about 19.2% of females and 10.6% of males, who encountered forced sex, did try to stop the abuser. The age wise analysis reveals that the resistance to forced sexual activity decreased with increasing age for both males and females.

As far as registering a complaint against forced sexual activity, 7.5% women in the age group of 15-18 years and 6.3% of women aged 19 years and above ever complained with only 2% ever reaching the police. A negligible proportion of respondents aged 10-14 years ever shared their experience of sexual abuse (2%). None of these complaints reached the police.

Escape attempts by domestic workers

Out of 65.4% of males who reported that they were forced into domestic work, 24% tried to escape from their employers but only 10.9% succeeded. Similarly, 51.4% female respondents

reported being forced into domestic work, 21.4% of them attempted to escape and 5.6% of them ever succeeded. Moreover, 7.9% of males and 4.1% of females were further trapped by some other traffickers' group.

Age-group wise analysis shows that attempts for escaping are higher for the age group 10-14 years (11.8%) than their older counterparts (5-6%).

Assistance Provided

Only 6.9% of the respondents have reported being rescued from their employers. Of the rescued, the majority (11.9%) are in the age group of 10-14 years followed by 4.2% in 15-18 years age

The qualitative discussions reflect that domestic workers suffer a great deal of mental trauma in their new set-ups. They are unable to keep in touch with their family members or peers. Employers also feel that free time will allow them to build up relationships that may end up causing problems - such as romantic attachments - that will, in turn, end up taking too much of the employee's time. Conversations with other domestic workers in the streets, when doing shopping or walking children or pets, are often strictly forbidden.



Withholding wages is a widespread practice in all cases of forced labour and domestic work. During the first three months of employment, many domestic workers (59.5%) are not paid at all, as the employer takes the first three months' wages to compensate for what they had to pay to the agency to have the worker brought over. As there is no minimum wage for domestic workers, there is hardly any space for wage negotiation.

group. Rescue among those 19 years and above is negligible at less than 1%. Among the rescued in the age group 10-14 years, the ratio of males to females is 5:1. Discussion with NGO stakeholders revealed that since the domestic workers have restricted movement, it is difficult for them (NGOs) to get to those domestic workers most in need.

Sex Workers

"A boy-friend who is known to me since my school days promised me a job of a telephone operator in a STD center in Delhi. As a poor 14 year old from a Bengal villagel, eager for the chance to help my family, I agreed to go. We got down at Meerut as he wanted to visit his aunty and stay with her for a day before leaving for Delhi. I met the 'first dark day' of my life after he left me with the aunty on the third day. I was locked and God was not there when two men

surrounded me.Then on the fourth day when I shared my willingness to go back to my own village with the aunty, ...She replied, "I accommodated you in my house for the last three days and the charges for room, board and miscellaneous are Rs. 2000, pay the charges and leave this place.." I was shocked and paid Rs.2000 through prostitution, 16 hours a day, seven days a week for three weeks. Eventually my health started to deteriorate and I finally fell sick. As I could not attend customers, they stopped giving me food. I lived without food for three days and got an opportunity to visit a doctor through some other girl and successfully fled to this place and now I do sex work as my job."

This Section deals with sex workers who were trafficked. The total number of respondents in this category is 684 of which, 230 respondents are in the age group 10-14 years, 192 in the age group of 15-18 years and 262 in the age group of 19 years and above. This section highlights their mobility experiences, decision-making process, living and working conditions, and violence encountered during and after being trafficked.

Mobility and Decision Making

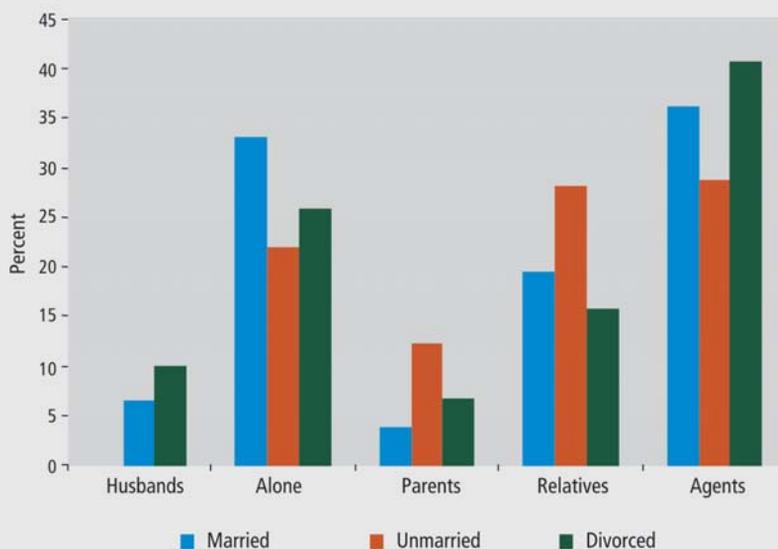
Table-2.2 in the previous section presents the reasons why individuals leave their homes. However, in most instances, the decision to leave is influenced by others including parents, spouses, other family members, relatives and agents.

Slightly more than one-sixth (16.9%) of the respondents stated that their family members, e.g. parents, siblings and husbands, influence their decision to leave their village while nearly a third of them stated that 'agents' influenced their decision. Slightly more than a quarter (26.2%) said that they went 'alone' compared to 23.5% who stated that they left with relatives.

Findings from the group discussions revealed that in many cases, close friends and relatives act as agents influencing an individual's or family's decision to leave the village in search of work.

"The very same women who have been trafficked by their parents or by an agent often become agents and pimps themselves, bringing more young girls." explains a Bihar based pimp-peer educator.

Figure 7
Influence on decision making by respondent's marital status



Reasons for Mobility

Over one-third (35.6%) of respondents stated that their parents received money as an advance or loan from the agent. This is slightly higher for girls aged between 10-14 years.

A 17 year old respondent who lives at a shelter home said, “*some families feel the need to show the concern, and they make noises in the village, even file a report with the police. But they wait for some days before doing so, to ensure that the coast is clear*”.

Another respondent aged 32 years, and now HIV positive, said that there is “*parental involvement in trafficking...*” she added, “*...even girls leaving the village know precisely where they are going to end up*”.

State wise percent respondents whose parents received advance, borrowed money from agents

West Bengal	20	Delhi	9.8
Karnataka	15	Uttar Pradesh	7.1
Bihar	14	Tamil Nadu	4.9
Andhra Pradesh	12	Jharkhand	3.6
Chattisgarh	11.6	Assam	1.8

“Obviously, the whole community knows where their girls are headed...”, says a police official, from Kolkata .

“ ...but, they pretend as they do not know”, added a Welfare Officer from Belgaum District, Karnataka.



One of the pimps said, *“Most of them had come willingly. Even their family members had brought some of them here for a meager amount. But they never knew anything about all the suffering their daughters would face here...”*

Although the case notes represent different perspectives on the phenomena of trafficking, they do not, in any way, establish that parents or family members sell their children for the purpose of sex work or other exploitative forms of labour. On the contrary, the data reveals that in most instances, the individuals and the family members are given false information by the agents about the destination or nature of work. The findings indicate that only 13.9% of the respondents were placed with the jobs promised to them.

Parul, a sex worker, was barely 14, when she was lured away by her aunt from her family village in Bihar. Since then, Parul had been sold many times, and been ‘married’ many times. She does not even remember the name of her village any more. She knows only that her father’s name was Kishna. “After reaching my aunt’s house, she (my aunt) told me to be prepared to go to Delhi, a big city, big cars, money and no hunger”, she recalls.

From the cross-sectional analysis, it has been observed that many girls aged between 10-14 years have been targeted when natural calamities, like droughts and floods, occur (ref Table-2.1). They are forced into sex work, sold for marriage or employed as forced labour. More than four-fifths (82.3%) of the respondents stated that they had been forced into sex work, employed as forced labour (8.7%) and sold further or auctioned for marriage (6%). Nearly 1.3% of women had been deserted, separated, divorced, remarried or widowed. About 8.1% of those aged 19 years and above, who had been married recently and were recently initiated into the sex trade, stated that their husbands were responsible for their current state of affairs.

An overwhelming proportion (95.6%) of the study population replied “No” when asked if they wanted to go back to her parental home. The problem does not end once they return to their home village or once they are rehabilitated. At home, they would have to deal with the inevitable stigmatization.

The last year's unprecedented floods in Orissa brought misery and destitution to thousands of families. But for the agents and the middle-women who smuggle women from this region, "there is good business in floods..." , says a NGO official working for rehabilitation of those rescued in Karnataka.

Living condition

The respondents were asked about the type of environment they lived in during the transit. Only 15.2% of respondents were provided good lodging, boarding and miscellaneous services. 16.2% of the respondents said that they lived in very unhygienic locations where there were no water and toilet facilities, while 10.5% of the victims stayed in jungles or forest areas. More than a quarter of victims stated that they did not have adequate money to avail the lodging and boarding services. Further, results reveal that 8.5% of those aged 10-14 years, 4.5% of those aged 15-18 yrs and 2.2% of those aged 19 years and above received minimum basic amenities.

During this transit, and given the opportunity, slightly over half (56.1%) of respondents made an attempt to escape. Out of these, nearly 1/3 of the victims had succeeded in escaping while 10.2% of the victims were trafficked by some other network. 16.9% of the respondents who failed to escape were beaten-up by the traffickers and an in-depth analysis reveals that all those who planned to or thought of escaping from the place of transit changed their minds after seeing the violence and abuse inflicted on victims of failed escapes. Further, about 29% of the respondents who succeeded in escaping still ended up as commercial sex workers.

A young girl narrated her experiences – “... I worked every day and had at least eight to ten clients a day. If I did not agree to a client or his demands, I was beaten by the owner. I tried to escape in three months, but the owner beat me with a very thick wooden stick. The owner told me if I tried to escape again, she would kill me...”

With regard to their working conditions (food, medical care, wages and spare time), an overwhelming number of respondents (89%) said they were treated very badly, while only 11% stated that they were treated well.

The majority (86.7%) of those trafficked fell prey to exploiters' hand in the range of 10-20 days after they were derailed of the promised job. 9.5% of the women showed submissiveness to the traffickers in the range of 6 to 8 months time. About 4% of women submitted themselves to the trafficker 4 years after first leaving their homes. This indicates that trafficking does not necessarily start from the onset of individuals' decision to move out from their homes. The unsafe mobility and working conditions play a major role wherein people are forced to submit to traffickers in order to survive in new settings. One-third of the respondents stated that they made efforts to escape from the hands of exploiters. However, nearly two-fifths (38.8%) of the respondents in the age group of 15-18 years followed by 33.2% in the age group 10-14 years and 28% in the age group of 19 years and above stated that they made an attempt to escape but

failed. The data also indicates that women aged 19 years and above are more likely to submit than those younger than them.

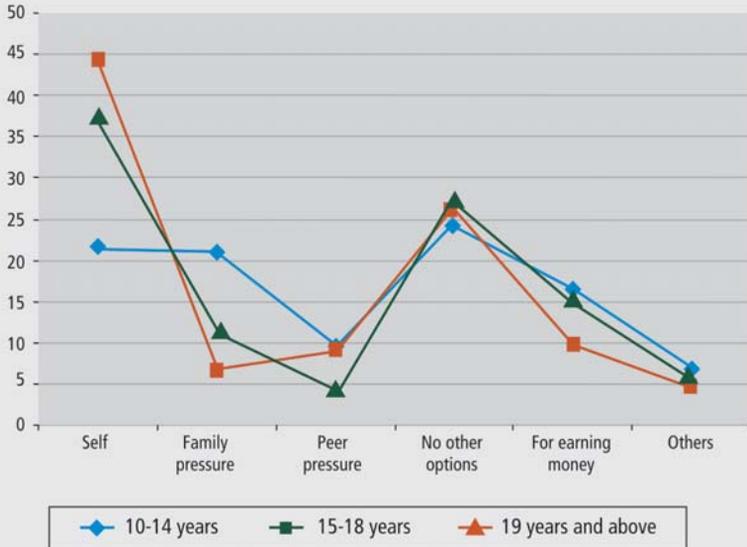
Work Status

The study data demonstrates that a majority of the women who have been trafficked are young and as seen in the above sections, many of the victims are forced into sex work at an early age. Young sex workers are at particular risk of contracting STDs and HIV as their social fabric makes them less able to negotiate the use of condoms or any other safe practices and, biologically they are more vulnerable to infections. While poverty is a key determinant in the commercial sex trade and trafficking of young women, it is not the sole cause of prostitution. Gender inequity plays a very large role as well. (Figure 8).

Surprisingly, 37.6% of the respondents stated that they decided to take up sex work of their own volition. The age-wise analysis reflected that almost an equal proportion of respondents (39.1%) in the age group of 15-18 years and 19 years and above stated that it was their individual decision to join the sex trade. Slightly more than one-fifth of their counterparts belonging to the age group of 10-14 years said the same. In-depth analysis further revealed that respondents from southern states like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka do not have much



Figure 9
Reasons for taking up sex work



family pressure to join the sex trade, while respondents from the northern states like West Bengal (60%), Assam (41.7%), Uttar Pradesh (36.4%), Bihar (21.1%) and Chhattisgarh (14%) stated that they did face familial pressure to join sex work.

18.3% of the respondents stated that their employers, family members (5.9%) and agents (17.6%) used coercion to make them continue sex work (Figure 9). An age-wise analysis revealed that slightly less than a quarter (24.1%) of the respondents in the age group of 15-18 years stated that their employer used violence to coerce them into sex work.

More than one-third (35%) stated that they like their work while 12.8% stated that they continued sex work because of the money they earned. Reasons for continuation of sex work ranged from consistent work (7.4%), good living (7.2%), to personal security (4.4%) and satisfaction (3.2%). Those who did not want to continue sex work stated that they faced problems such as insecurity, threat from strangers and clients, risk of getting infections, were worried about the future and not satisfied with the job. These reasons are even more compelling when social systems are unsatisfactory and do not provide needed support to individuals and families. Inadequate social welfare systems coupled with vulnerability and economic need work together to make sex workers even more vulnerable to infections like STD/ HIV AIDS.

Future plan of their children

Many of the victims interviewed said that their parents had large family size. Most significantly, 36% of the respondents interviewed stated that their parents could not earn enough to satisfy the essential needs of their family and therefore were prepared to hand their children over to traffickers posing as employment agents or contractors. About half of the respondents said that their parents played a crucial role in persuading them to cooperate with the supposed employment agent or contractor. These 'agents' later turned out to be traffickers.

Only very few victims stated that "...girls are preferred as they are less likely than boys to rebel as they get older. The cost of preparing daughters for wedding may also be significant in terms of why more girls are sent with traffickers than boys. Of the trafficked boys interviewed nearly two-thirds were working in the unorganized sector in restaurants and auto repair shops.

The other important piece of information that emerged from the research is that, contrary to the popular stereotype that sex work is passed on from mother to daughter, most sex workers do not allow their daughters to enter the trade. Nearly 14 out of 15 trafficked victims who had children expressed their unwillingness to push their daughters into sex work. In the focus group discussions, mothers, who were all victims of trafficking, said "we have dreams for our children. Some of us are in this profession to support our families, send our children to school and hope that they get into a profession that pays well and gives them respect in society".



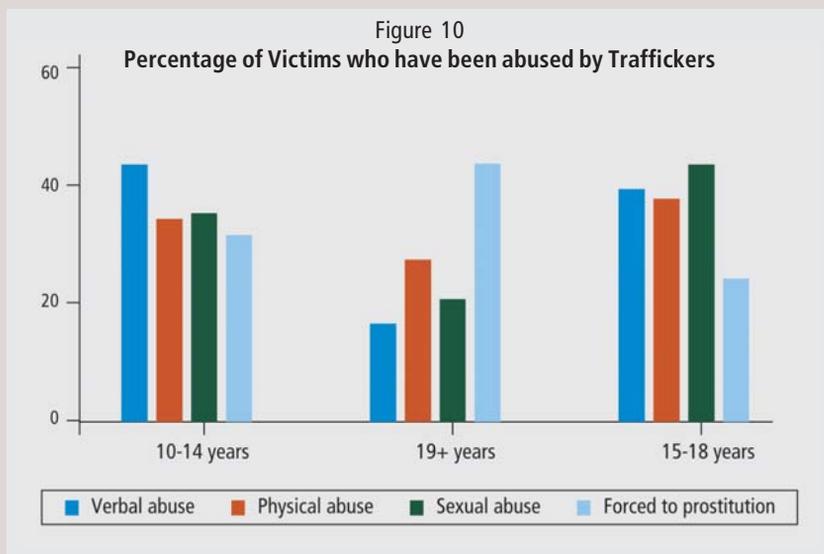
Experience of Violence

In recent years, there has been an increasing concern about violence against women and children in both rural and urban settings.

More than a quarter (29%) of the trafficked victims faced one or other forms of violence. According to the reports of respondents, 8.5% of victims have experienced physical violence since the time of trafficking and 7% have been sexually harassed or verbally abused by the traffickers. 6% of respondents have been forced to have sex. This implies that almost one out of three victims were abused or threatened by the exploiters for not submitting. Figure 3.5 indicates that there are no sharp differences by age group, but it is worth taking note of the fact that women aged 19 years and above are more likely to agree with exploiters than younger ones. Women aged less than 18 years are more likely to be beaten or sexually harassed than those older than them.

“We were taken to a desolate place. Some of us who were pretty were sexually abused. We were kept there for a long time (more than 10 days) until another batch of girls arrived from Bihar,” recalls a 23-year-old rescued women staying with an NGO in Kolkata.

The group discussions revealed that many of the respondents were beaten for refusing clients, attempting escape, or “causing trouble.” Others have reported being drugged or forced to consume alcohol, some to the extent that they became addicted. Many women are “free to go”—as soon as they pay off a debt that grows each day. Traffickers threaten to have victims arrested, or their family members harmed, if they misbehave or divulge information about the traffickers.



Trafficking for Labour

This study has established the existence of less considered manifestations of trafficking for forced labour, begging and other street based work both within and across states in India. This section, deals with 398 respondents in the age group of 10-14 years; 456 in the age group of 15-18 years and 205 in the age group of 19 years and above and, thus a total of 1059 respondents who were trafficked into forced labour industries like food processing units, packaging units,

construction work, restaurant trade, as well as street based work such as combinations of labour, begging, and selling.

The State-wise data shows variances between states. For example, in Tamil Nadu (83.3%) and Karnataka (66.7%) the majority of respondents from the forced labour category are male whereas in Chhatisgarh almost all those in the forced labour category are female.

The evidence from the research suggests that internal trafficking occurs within the state in the case of forced labour. According to the data in Table 7, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Chhatisgarh and Delhi are states where trafficking is a source of forced labour.

Table 7
Respondents' mobility by State and Age

Age group	Mobility	Tamil Nadu	Andhra Pradesh	Karnataka	Uttar Pradesh	Bihar	Chhattisgarh	West Bengal	Delhi
10-14 years	Within District	14.4	17.2	12.1	18.2	6.1	3.8	7.7	20.5
	Within Region	13.6	17.9	7.8	8.0	12.3	14.2	21.2	4.9
	Within State	15.7	17.0	5.4	12.2	12.2	9.3	15.1	13.1
15-18 years	Within District	7.4	21.6	19.9	6.8	1.7	11.9	18.8	11.9
	Within Region	10.2	13.6	38.6	4.5	1.1	8.0	2.3	21.6
	Within State	4.8	26.3	13.6	9.5	2.3	16.7	24.5	2.4
19 years and above	Within District	14.6	4.5	19.1	15.1	4.0	20.6	8.0	14.1
	Within Region	20.2	1.6	18.7	4.8	2.2	19.4	11.3	21.8
	Within State	5.7	10.0	9.2	25.1	7.1	21.4	20.0	1.4

* Cluster of Districts is named as region in the present study context

Data reveals that over 90% of respondents from Delhi, AP, & UP and almost 75% from West Bengal have stayed in one place since the day of migration. 12.2%, 9.9%, 3% and 2.5% of the respondents from Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh respectively mentioned that they have changed location two or three times during the time of trafficking.

Less than 15% of respondents in the study as a whole stated that they were aware of their destination when they started off. However, a significant proportion of the study respondents aged 19 years and above from Karnataka (37%), Delhi (27%), Tamil Nadu (25%) and Chattisgarh (24%) stated that they were aware of their destination. In the case of respondents aged 10-14 years from Delhi (31%), Tamil Nadu (25%), Uttar Pradesh (24%), Andhra Pradesh (23%) and Karnataka (16%) stated that they were aware of their destination. Similarly, respondents aged 15-18 years from Karnataka (34%), Delhi (19%), Andhra Pradesh (12%), Tamil Nadu (9%) and Chattisgarh (7%) were aware of their destination. In contrast, respondents from West Bengal and Bihar, across all age groups, were not aware of their destination. Data shows that more than 41% of respondents decided to migrate themselves while more than 35% stated that their parents have played a major role in their moving out.

Figure 11
Trafficked movements of victims by state

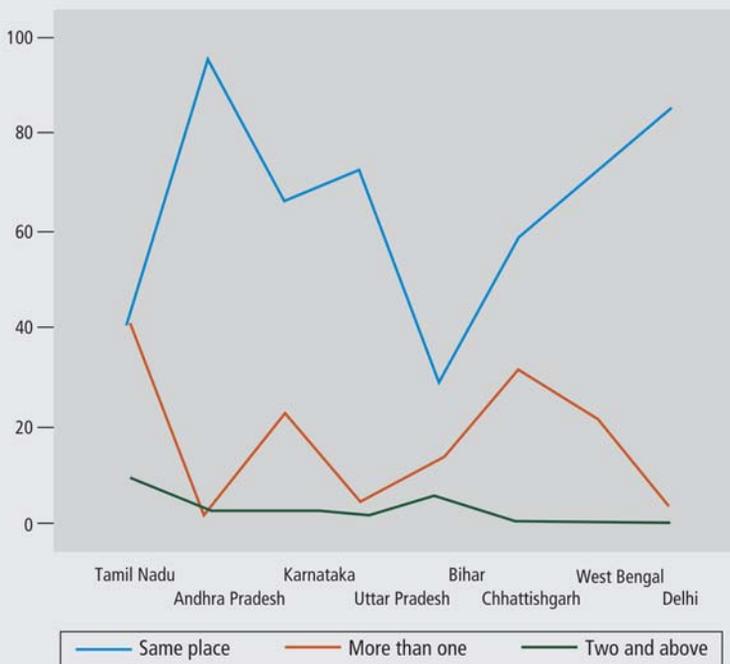
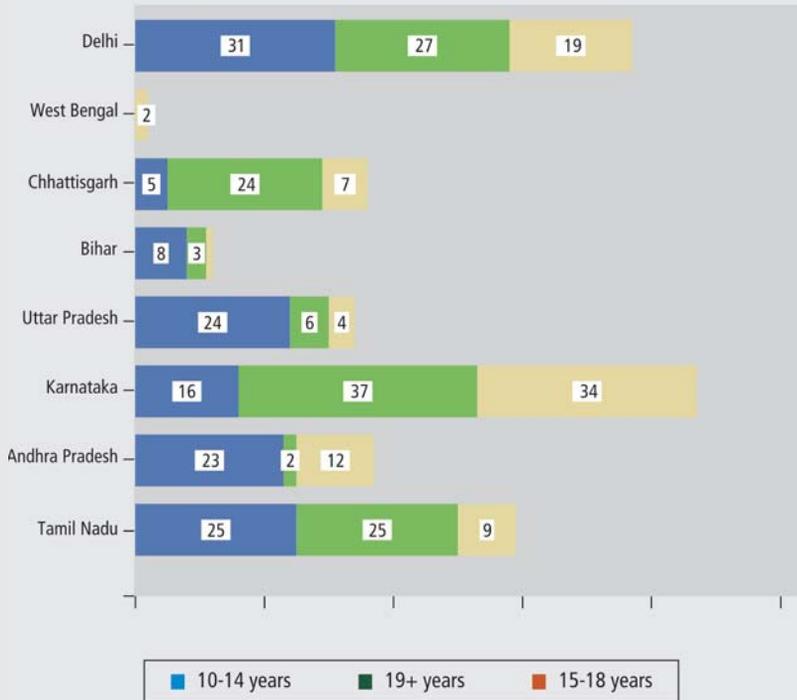


Figure 12
Awareness about their destination by state and age



Work Status

Age-wise analyses show that among male-children 24.6% and 16.7% aged 10-14 years and 15-18 years respectively who had decided to move out from their homes by themselves were later trafficked for purposes of forced labour. The data for females on this count is 4% and 11.4% for 10-14 year-olds and 15-18 year-olds respectively. Indeed, 21.1% of female victims and 10.8% of male victims suffered sexual and other unspecified forms of exploitation. Interestingly, more than one-third of the respondents (36%) wanted to continue with their current work and did not want to go back home. The most common reason cited was the fear of facing discrimination and violence at home which is no better than their current situation.

Over one-third (38.7%) of respondents stated that they continue to with their current employer due to debt bondage. Of those engaged in debt bondage, 32.7% stated that they took an advance from the employer, 3% borrowed money and less than 3% received material benefits from the employer. In other words, once the family is given a loan or advance, the trafficked individual works to payoff this loan and is not paid. The employer may often provide food and

Table 8
Nature of work involved currently by state and age

Age Group	State	Begging and street based vendor	Industrial work*	Sexual and unspecified forms
10-14 Years	Tamil Nadu	6.1	61.2	32.7
	Andhra Pradesh	43.4	26.4	30.2
	Karnataka	50.1	29.4	20.5
	Uttar Pradesh	15.8	68.4	15.8
	Bihar	7.9	39.5	52.6
	Chhattishgarh	6.9	89.7	3.4
	West Bengal	2.1	91.5	6.4
	Delhi	19.5	46.3	34.1
15-18 years	Tamil Nadu	7.7	76.9	15.4
	Andhra Pradesh	28.9	39.5	31.6
	Karnataka	49.2	25.7	25.1
	Uttar Pradesh	24.8	66.9	8.3
	Bihar	36.7	30.0	33.3
	Chhattishgarh	22.7	63.0	14.3
	West Bengal	18.6	47.7	33.3
	Delhi	12.6	54.1	33.3
19 years and above	Tamil Nadu	3.4	82.8	13.8
	Andhra Pradesh	11.1	33.3	55.6
	Karnataka	22.4	55.3	22.3
	Uttar Pradesh	3.3	93.3	3.3
	Bihar	25.0	25.0	50.0
	Chhattishgarh	7.3	63.4	29.3
	West Bengal	22.8	46.0	31.3
	Delhi	11.9	59.5	28.6

accommodation at such inflated prices that the worker cannot escape the debt. Many migrant workers borrowed money for travel (16.3%), renovating their houses at origin (24.8%), agricultural purposes (32.3%), to attend marriages (14.5%) and to finance getting settled in the current destination (12.1%).

Victims trafficked for begging and street based work reported living together in large numbers in one house. Victims were generally deprived of sufficient food and some did not receive food for days together. Respondents who have been working in an industrial setup stated that accommodation is tied to employment and it makes them constantly worry that losing their

job will leave them homeless. Overall living conditions are marked by overcrowding, lack of sanitation, hygiene and safety. Respondents stated that the accommodations were also overpriced. Furthermore, nearly 41.6% were accommodated in sheds or warehouses.

On the whole, only 18.9% of respondents received the promised job. More specifically, only a quarter (24.6%) from the 19 years and above age group, 18.2% from the 15-18 year age group and 15.7% in the age group of 10-14 years got the jobs promised to them. In a majority of cases, the exploitation built up gradually and working conditions deteriorated over time, making the workers believe that the exploitation is just temporary. However, exploitative practices such as wage reductions, non payment of wages, long working hours, absence of leave/holidays, health and safety issues and dismissal as a result of complaining about working conditions are situations which are directly or indirectly experienced by a significant proportion of migrant workers placed in unorganized sectors.

Nonetheless, irrespective of age, sex and state, nearly half (45.6%) of the respondents stated that they have to continue with present job as they agreed to do so due to debt-bondage while 35.5% stated that they do not have alternative options for survival other than to continue with the traffickers, and 18.9% mentioned family pressure.

More than 45% of the respondents on the whole liked their jobs as they perceived them as being consistent, 15.1 % of the respondents stated that their agent forced them to take the job, 11.9% said that their spouses forced them to continue due to non-availability of alternative jobs, 9.6% stated that their employer pressurized them to continue, 5.7% said their relatives forced them and the rest (10.8%) stated other reasons like as peer pressure.

Nearly one-fifth (16.2%) of the respondents (63%: Male; 37%:Female) stated that they made an attempt to escape ; 9.2 % were from the age group of 10-14 years, 2.5% were aged between 15 and 18 years and 4.5% were 19 years-old or older. However, the success rate was as low as 5.1% (i.e., 2.5% from the age group of 10-14 years had successfully escaped and reached the current place, followed by 1.7% from 19 years and above and less than 1% from the age group of 15-18 years). 5.2% and 2.8% of the females aged 15-18 years and 10-14 years respectively who failed to escape were sexually abused and forced into prostitution.

Discussions with Labour Officers and other related stakeholders revealed that the existence of some labour-related factors which underpin labour exploitation are due to the constant pressure on owners and employers to cut costs and increase productivity, the growing trend of sub-contracting as well as outsourcing. Employers need temporary workers who are available on demand and can be sacked when they are no longer needed. It is usually the role of the employer, agent or 'gang master' to have such 'disposable' labour, available to meet the existing demand. In such an environment, labour is treated as a commodity which can be purchased whenever needed and at very low costs due to the fierce competition for work. This is why forced labour are generally from within the region/state; those who can be hired or fired

as per the needs. This clearly reflects that the changing economic and development paradigm has a direct bearing on the phenomena of exploitative forms of labour and employment.

A majority of the respondents (55.9%) said that they have sent remittances home and/or may return home with some money. A significant proportion of the respondents (25.5%) stated that they visit their places of origin regularly compared to 31.8% who stated that they do so once in five years or so.

On the whole, the study indicates that trafficking for exploitative labour is high and that the working and living conditions at the place of destination create multiple dependency among those who migrate in search of work. Other structural factors including long sub-contracting chains, labour intensive projects, non-unionized sectors, casual arrangements and indebtedness to employers play a major role in the exploitative employment relationship.

Risk and Violence

Health and safety issues are important elements of exploitation at the workplace. Among the respondents currently involved in forced labour, about 13.5% reported incidents of accidents and injuries, especially those employed in manual labour in automobile companies, factories, construction works and food processing factory. Lack of safety measures by the employers has been the main reason for occurrence of accidents at the workplace. Further, the respondents also stated that accidents and injuries imply borrowing money for treatment and hence push them further into debt. A lack of clarity was noted regarding employers responsibility about the health and safety regulations.

Figure 13
Sexual exploitation (marital status and age)



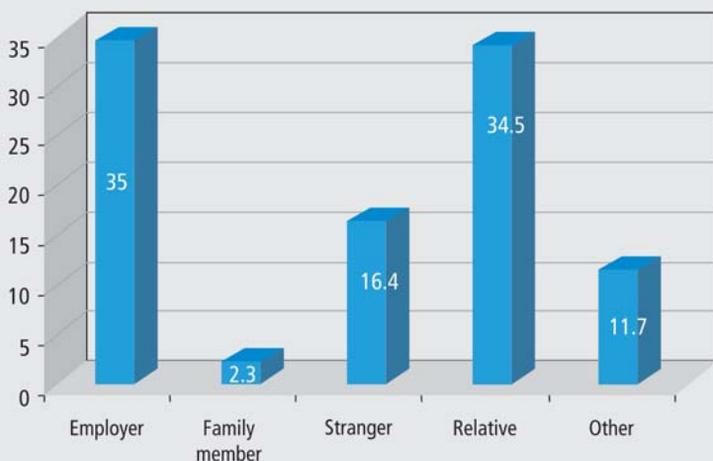
Adolescent victims aged 15-18 years generally suffered violence when the trafficker felt that they were too independent and feared they would try to escape. Verbal abuse was used as a means to break down the victim's resistance to the trafficker as well as increase their work efficiency. However, most of the respondents aged 10-14 years reported few problems and no physical abuse on a day-to-day basis. While majority of the respondents mentioned that they generally have had some freedom of movement, about 11% of victims reported that traffickers were particularly harsh with respondents assuming that they might attempt to escape.

An equal proportion of male and female respondents, irrespective of age and marital status, were sexually exploited. It was found that that as age increases sexual exploitation also increased, irrespective of the marital status or age of the respondents (refer Figure 13). Many of the unmarried labourers, particularly adolescent boys (12.1%) and girls (8.7%), are either sexually abused or involved in sex work apart from their current work.

An equal proportion of the respondents (35%) were sexually abused by the employers and relatives. Figure 14 further reveals that a significant proportion of respondents were also sexually exploited by strangers.

The mean age at first sexual experience was 13.2 years for currently married females and 14.6 years for their male counterparts. The mean age of first sexual encounter for unmarried women and men was very low at 12.1 years and 12.8 years respectively.

Figure 14
Relationship with Exploiters



The data analysis revealed that only unmarried females in the age-group of 10-14 years resisted (7.7%) forced sex, followed by 2.6% who stated that they were shocked while 3.4% sought help when they had their first sexual encounter.

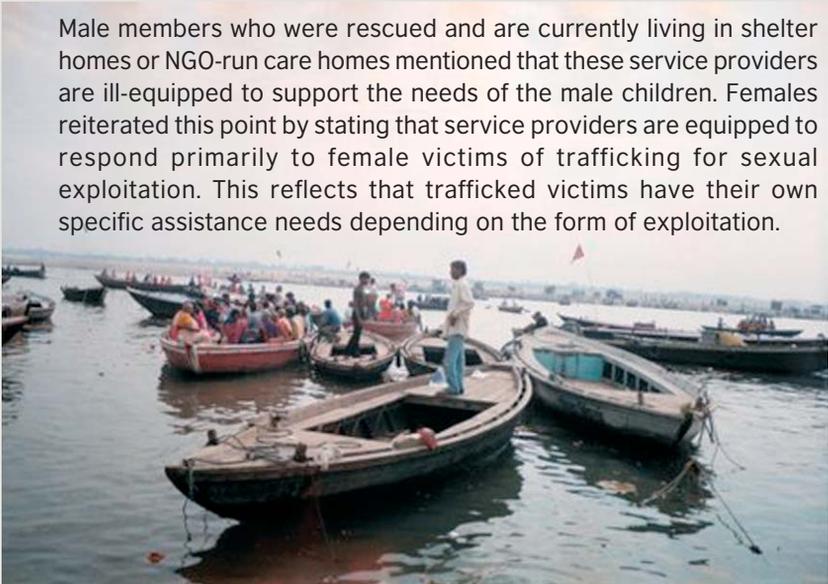
During the study, about 4.3% of married women aged 15-18 years reported continued sexual exploitation. A significant proportion (14.3%) of unmarried women in the age group of 19 years and above, followed by 10.6% in the age group of 15-18 years and less than 3% in the age group of 10-14 years revealed that relatives who got them their jobs demanded sexual favors.

Nearly 4.3% of respondents in the age group 10-14 years, 11.9% from 15-18 years and 24.2% from 19 years and above mentioned they yielded to the sexual demands of their employers/agents for better opportunity.

Assistance

Results of the analysis indicate that money is the most urgent need for all people who were rescued and rehabilitated to be able to repay their debts, improve their living standards and support themselves and their families. They also expressed that the majority of their colleagues/friends and their family members want to return to their parental home but are unable to do so because of lack of money or debt bondage. Only 4.7% of the males and 3.1% of the females were rescued from the forced labour category. The age-wise analysis reveals that a majority of those rescued are male children (8%) aged 10-14 years who were begging, selling, stealing etc. on the streets, and adolescent boys aged 15-18 years (3.8%). Less than 1% of the females between the ages of 10 and 18 years were rescued.

Male members who were rescued and are currently living in shelter homes or NGO-run care homes mentioned that these service providers are ill-equipped to support the needs of the male children. Females reiterated this point by stating that service providers are equipped to respond primarily to female victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. This reflects that trafficked victims have their own specific assistance needs depending on the form of exploitation.



Trafficking and HIV

Knowledge and Sources of Condom

In an attempt to understand their awareness of sexual health issues, the study explores the respondents' awareness of condom use, sexual transmitted infections and diseases and HIV and AIDS. The study also gauges the participants' knowledge of health services and facilities available to them.

Table 9 records the major source of information about condoms among various respondent categories.

- **Sex Workers:** The data demonstrates that clients (47.9%) are a significant source of information for respondents involved in sex work. The other important sources are friends and NGO workers.
- **Domestic Workers:** Among the domestic workers, TV/radio (media- 48.5%) constitutes the major source of information about condoms.

Table 9
Source of information on condoms

	Sex worker	Domestic worker	Forced labour	Street based worker
Clients	47.9	18.1	20	9
Family members	3.4	0.3	3.3	0
Friends	13.8	4.8	6.1	25
NGO Worker	21.1	10.2	40	29
Media	3.8	48.5	10.6	25
Peer groups	6.6	4	15	6
Others	3.4	14.1	5	6

- **Street based workers:** Friends, NGOs and media are major sources of information for street based workers. Only 9% of the respondents, who have ever heard about or seen condoms, identified clients as being their major source of information.
- **Forced Labour:** For about one-fifth of respondents who know about condoms, clients are the major sources of information. Nearly 40% know about condoms through NGOs and about 15% through peers.



Table 10
Awareness and use of condom
 (average percentage across categories and age groups)

	Seen condom (percent)	Use of condom (percent)
Sex worker	39	28.5
Bonded labour	35	11.6
Domestic workers	29	8.7
Street based worker	26	3.9

- The percentage of respondents engaged in sex work who have ever seen a condom ranges from 27.6 % to 36.9% across all age groups.
- In the sex work category, respondents who always use condoms range from 25% to 36.4% across all age groups. More specifically, 17.6% of sex workers in the age group 15-18 years, 19.6% in the age group 10 -14 years and 25% in the age group 19 years and above have never used a condom.
- Regular condom use is the least among street based workers;2.4% in the age group 10-14 years and 9.8 % in age group of 15-18 years have ever used a condom.
- For domestic workers who are engaged in sex work, 7.5% to 19.1% are able to regularly use condoms across different age groups.
- As far as negotiating condom use is concerned, street based workers are again the worst hit with only 0.8% in the age group 10-14 years and 1.3% in the age group 15-18 years being able to successfully negotiate condom use.
- Only 6% to 9% of domestic workers who are engaged in sex work have been able to successfully negotiate condom use across all age groups.
- Among the sex workers, 55% to 65% have negotiated condom usage with their clients but only 20% to 40% have succeeded in doing so.

In general, with the exception of sex workers, the experience of ‘always’ using a condom is low among female respondents in comparison to their male counterparts across all study categories.

One of the agents, admits, “It is not always possible for the females to insist that their client wear a condom. Sometimes the woman is very young, and the man aggressive, so she dare not refuse him.”

Another adds, “if the woman is bought from a starving family, she can’t insist on the customer wearing a condom as he pays more and we don’t encourage the woman to complain about it”

During the focus group discussions in Bagalkot, Karnataka, a young trafficked victim aged between 15-18 years expressed, “it is easy for the social workers and doctors to insist on use of condoms. We too insist that our customers use condoms since we are terrified of falling ill. We need money to repay our loan at our earliest to leave this place; otherwise they (exploiters) threaten us and want more”

Figure 15 A
Records the major source of information about condoms

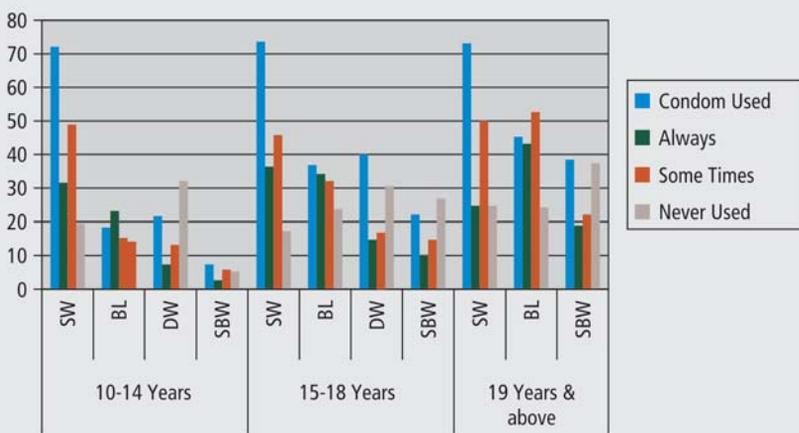
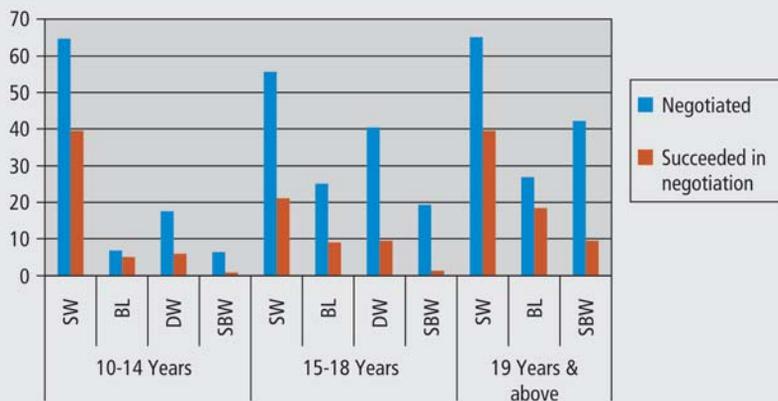


Figure 15
Negotiation for using condom (age wise)



However, it has also been noted that both forced labour and domestic workers, who are engaged in sex work, do not use condom with their regular partners/clients. Sometimes, they also assume that the client has no infection or disease based on the appearance of the client. In cases where the clients offered them more money or a higher price, condom use was not strictly followed.

A domestic worker aged 19 years from Uttar Pradesh said, “...we are aware of the disease but we don't use condoms when they are ready to pay more ...”

Hearing about condoms, seeing a condom or using it ‘sometimes’ do not ensure decreased vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV. The data and case notes reflect that while awareness about condoms and safer sex is high among many respondent groups, regular use of condom presents a grim picture. The aspects of power relations, sexual abuse, poor income levels and unsafe living and working conditions add to the vulnerabilities of migrants and trafficked individuals.

Awareness about Sexually Transmitted Diseases

As identified by the East-West Center¹, “the probability of transmission from one person to another; the size of the populations engaging in the risk behaviour; and the rate of partner exchange, referring to either sexual partners or needle-sharing partners” determine the prevalence of HIV in any country. The probability of transmission is largely indicated by the incidence of STD in the population i.e., a high incidence of STIs means a high probability of HIV transmission from one person to another. STDs have significant implications for the vulnerability of young people to HIV.

Awareness about STD

The study indicates that about 19% to 28% of respondents in the sex workers category in various age groups are aware of sexually transmitted diseases (Table 12). Clients, friends and relatives are important source of information for younger sex workers while TV and radio serve as major source of information for domestic workers.

Table 11
Awareness about STDs (category and age wise percentage)

	10- 14 Years	15-18 Years	19 Years and above
Sex worker	21.7	19	28.6
Forced labour	16.3	28.4	27.1
Domestic worker	16	18.8	19.6
Street based worker	3.3	34.1	

Figure 16
Percentage respondents experiencing symptoms of RTI/STD
(work and age wise)



* SW=Sex Worker, FL=Forced Labor, DW=Domestic worker, SBW=Street Based Workers

Some other important findings:

- 34.5% to 44.2% of the sex workers below 18 years have had a STD, while 21.3% of the sex workers aged 19 years and above reported ever having STD. (Figure 16)
- Nearly 30% of the street based workers have experienced symptoms of STDs while only 8.6% in the age group 15-18 years and 24.7% in the age group 10-14 years are aware of ways to avoid STDs.
- A high proportion of domestic workers, ranging from 28% to 41.4%, reported experiencing sexually transmitted diseases, the percentage being higher for those aged below 19 years.
- A significantly high proportion of respondents in the forced labour category (ranging from about 19% to 48%) also reported experiencing STDs.

Treatment received

Irrespective of age, all respondents primarily rely on receiving information about STDs and HIV from the experiences and knowledge of their peers, friends and relatives. 28.6% of the female respondents in the age group of 15-18 years and 21.7% of their counterparts in the age group of 10-14 years stated that they received STD related treatment. Only 10.7% of the respondents in the age group of 19 years and above reported seeking health services.

Respondents, regardless of age, were equally likely to frequent the services of government hospitals, NGO run clinics and traditional healers.

Awareness and perceived risk of HIV/AIDS

Table-4.4 shows that about 38% of respondents aged 15-18 years have heard of HIV/AIDS, compared to 33.4% in the age group of 10-14 years and 28% aged 19 years and above. Awareness of HIV/AIDS is lower in Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand compared to other States. The level of knowledge is low among illiterate respondents (37%) and increases to 48.6% among women who have completed primary level education and above.

Clients/sexual partners form a major source of information about HIV for almost all categories, except for street based workers who quoted NGO workers as a major source of information. TV/radio and peer groups are major sources of information on HIV among both domestic workers and forced labour. This indicates that the source of awareness about HIV is directly linked with the type of media one has access to. The study further reveals that:

- About 28% of sex workers aged 19 and above and about 33% to 38% in the age group below 19 years have ever heard of HIV.
- Among the street based workers, nearly 30% of the younger respondents (10-14 Years) and 68% of those in the 15-18 years category have heard about HIV.
- Awareness about HIV is higher among those in the forced labour category ranging from 47% to 71% for various age groups.



Table 12
Percentage respondents across categories who have heard about HIV

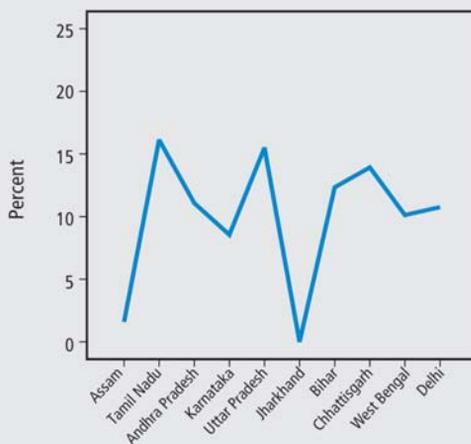
	10- 14 Years	15-18 Years	19 Years and above
Sex worker	33.4	38.4	28.1
Forced labour	47.1	63.6	71.4
Domestic worker	35.2	33.8	31
Street based worker	29.5	68.3	

According to the study, 47.2% of the female sex-workers in the age group of 15-18 years, 28% in the age group of 10-14 years and 25% in the age group of 19 years and above reported that condom use is the only way to avoid contracting HIV/AIDS. Table 14 shows the percentage of respondents who consider themselves at risk of contracting HIV.

Table 13
Perceived risk of Contracting HIV

	10- 14 Years	15-18 Years and above	19 Years
Sex worker	34.4	40.2	25.3
Forced labour	31.5	44.4	21.1
Domestic worker	29.1	27.3	43.6
Street based worker	20.5	50	

Figure 17
Perceived risk of contracting HIV/AIDS (state wise)



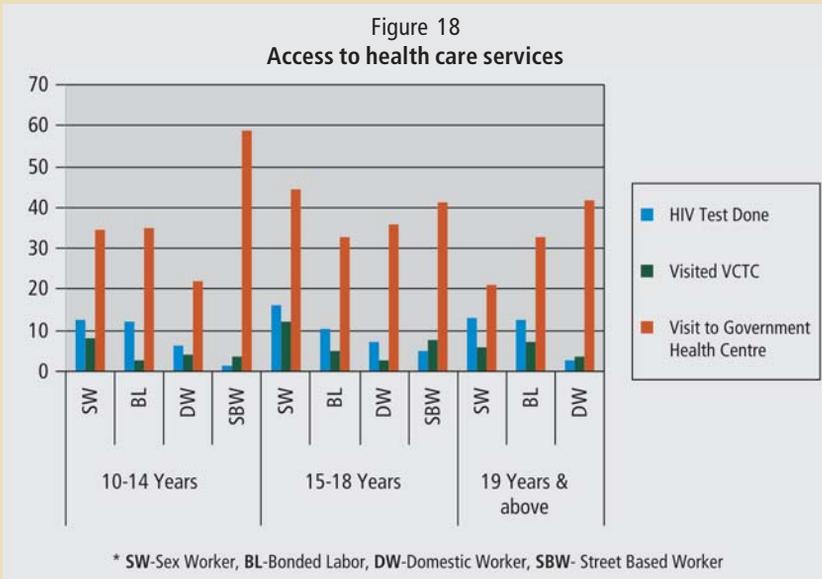
- 25% of the sex workers aged 19 years and above and about 34% to 40% in the younger age groups consider themselves at risk of contracting HIV.
- The risk perception is lower among younger street based workers but as many as 50% of the street based workers in the age group 15-18 years thought they were at risk of contracting HIV.
- Among the industrial labour category, again, the respondents in the age group 15-18 years have the highest risk perception.

A majority of the respondents feel that the nature of their work puts them at risk of contracting HIV. The other factors, as noted by the respondents, are lack of negotiating power in physical relations with clients, weak socio-economic status and lack of access to prevention methods.

Figure 17 shows percentage of respondents in study states who perceive themselves at risk of contracting HIV. Higher risk perception has been noted in the states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Chhatisgarh. Risk perception is the lowest in the states of Assam, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Interestingly, in the states where risk perception is higher among the respondents, NGO interventions on HIV and AIDS, especially by the study partners, has also been seen. It is clear that risk perception is higher where awareness interventions have been stronger.

Accessibility and availability of the services

In spite of their risk perceptions, a very small proportion of respondents across all age groups and work categories have ever visited VCTC or had themselves tested. Figure 18 shows that



almost one third (32 % to 35%) of the respondent in the industrial labour category have accessed public health centers while about 41% to 60% of street based workers across all age groups reported access to public health facilities. Access to government health facilities has been the lowest for younger domestic workers and surprisingly highest for younger street based workers.

- The figure shows that even among the sex workers, who have been at the core of TI (Targeted Intervention) programs, visits to VCTC or voluntary HIV tests have remained low at 5% to 16% across all age groups.
- The least percentage of HIV tests were recorded among the street based workers in the 10-14 years age group (1.5%) and this percentage is approximately 5% for those in the aged 15-18 years.
- 10-12% of the industrial labourers across all age groups, have had HIV tests done while 3-7% of respondents among the domestic workers reported having HIV tests done.
- Visits to VCTC ranges from 3% to 12% across all age groups and all work categories, including sex workers.

The accessibility to treatment services was slightly higher for those respondents in organized setups as most of the NGO interventions targeted them and could establish linkages for counseling and treatment services with government hospitals. However, the study could not record if the respondents have accessed government facilities for testing, counseling or treatment specifically for HIV related symptoms.

Discussion with female sex workers revealed that though the sex workers from organized set-ups are aware of the VCTCs and available treatment services, a majority did not go to government hospitals. Both organized and unorganized sex workers preferred going to private hospitals as they perceived that quality services are not available in government hospitals and they have to wait for a long time before availing the treatment.

Moreover, the brothels are generally situated on the outskirts. This means that sex workers have to travel long distances to avail treatment from VCTCs that are located inside the city areas and are mostly attached to medical colleges or district hospitals. Some of them felt that private health care services are too costly for them to afford.

“...we cannot go to civil hospital (VCTC) as it is far from our place and we also cannot afford private hospital... at present do not go anywhere...”

Another domestic worker from Assam stated, *“...we don't go to doctor as he charges more...”*

Some go to traditional healers or obtain antibiotics from pharmacies without proper diagnosis. The accessibility and utilization of VCTC and STI treatment services by the trafficked victims remained poor across the ten studied states.

Stigma and Discrimination

A high proportion of trafficked victims have been at the receiving end of violence and exploitation. Many never return home and can be trafficked more than once. Even when they do manage to return to their villages, they face multiple challenges including perpetual poverty, lack of livelihood options and in many cases high levels of discrimination. From the study, 55.6% of respondents from the sex-work category, followed by 42.1% from the forced labour category, 27.7% from the domestic worker category and 21.8% from the street based worker category reported disturbing levels of discrimination from their families, neighbours and communities for not effectively contributing to improve their family status.

A similar situation was observed among the people living with HIV/AIDS wherein 52.8% of respondents reported facing high levels of discrimination, such as isolation and abandonment by family, after they were diagnosed HIV positive; only 35.1% of PLHIV are supported by their family.

Footnotes

1 Brown, Tim and Peter Xenos. 1994. AIDS in Asia: The Gathering Storm

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