

SEX TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN IN ODISHA

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By

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INTRODUCTION TO TRAFFICKING: SITUATING THE ISSUE

The present study delves with the problematics of the discourse on sex trafficking of women and studies this issue in the regions of Odisha. The present study has chosen this area of study on account of the fact that very few detailed study have been done in this area and the study wants to understand how sex trafficking has been operating in Odisha.

‘Human trafficking’ a modern day slavery involves the trade in human beings. It is a practice, which entails gross human rights violation by coercing, deceiving, forcing, and keeping trafficked men and women in confinement. They are essentially denied the fundamental human right of freedom for life. Therefore, one can state that the term ‘trafficking’ is an emotive term which involves a wide range of connotations. However, the *prima facie* to the discourse of trafficking are the three terms that are integral to the understanding of it - force, fraud and coercion.

There are different forms of trafficking: forced labor, bonded labor, debt bondage among migrant laborers, involuntary domestic servitude, forced child labor, child soldiers, sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, child sex tourism, and trafficking in organs. However, the present dissertation would specifically focus on sex trafficking of women, or rather trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation.

1.1) Delving into the History of ‘Trafficking’:

According to ILO the term ‘trafficking’ was used by the end of the mid - sixteenth century, which meant the sale of illicit or disreputable goods. Prior to the former understanding of trafficking the usage of the term ‘traffickers’ were predominantly used to refer to people who are simply traders, hence the terms traders and traffickers were used synonymously. (ILO, 2008: 3). By the end of mid-sixteenth century trafficking meant the sale of drugs and weapons, however the sale of human beings was not considered within the gamut of the definition of trafficking.

Albeit in the nineteenth century, the term ‘trafficking’ came to be understood in relation with people as merchandise, which included the sale of human beings, dislocating them from their place of origin and transferring them across national and international borders. However, the

present form of human trafficking were not included, then, for comprehending trafficking rather it was widely understood as trafficking for prostitution.

The first international response to trafficking evolved with the discourse of ‘white slave trade’ of the early 20th century which had a moralistic comprehension of the term and was an outcome of the anti-prostitution campaign. It was a worldwide attempt by the abolitionist group to abolish ‘prostitution’. To underscore the term trafficking it related to the movement of women and girls for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Howard, Lalani (Niel & Lalani, 2008: 5), and Huda (Huda, 2006: 376) state that historically trafficking has been defined as movement of person especially referring to women and children for immoral purpose which has been outlined as commercial sexual exploitation. In the *International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic* of 1904 Article 1 defined trafficking as the coercive procuring of women or girls abroad for immoral purposes. The scope of the *1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic* remained unchanged, maintaining the link between trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of Caucasian females. Article 1 provides that: ‘Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes shall be punished’; and, under Article 2, ‘a person who by means of fraud, or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion, procured, enticed or led away a woman or girl over age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished’.

Therefore, the 1910 Convention is not free from moralistic stance, however the only changes that have been incorporated is the attempt to broaden the definition of trafficking by extending the practice of trafficking for CSE not only between international borders but also national borders. In due time these two international agreements and conventions was critiqued for its racial biases and hence in 1921 the *International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children* was formulated which reinforced the conceptual understanding of the 1904 agreement and 1910 convention on white slave traffic, that understood prostitution as the exploitative purpose of trafficking. The only variation in the 1921 convention is the omission of the phrase ‘white slave traffic’ and recognition of the fact that women and children of any race could be trafficked. The definition of trafficking also extended to the male and female children and adult

women and the age limit of protection regardless of consent extended from 20 years to 21 years of age. In addition to this an amended convention in the year 1933 evolved which was being named as the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of the Full Age which again narrowed the definition of trafficking: trafficking is defined in the convention as the transfer of women across nation-state borders notwithstanding the aspect of consent or coercion. Therefore, the convention by expunging the aspect of consent as well as coercion from the orbit of the definition of trafficking, in other words rebut the aspect of consent within commercial sexual intercourse. Likewise, in the same fashion the convention maintains the quintessence of trafficking that was upheld in the 1904 agreement on the white slave trade.

Therefore, the definition of trafficking that has been maintained since 1904 till 1933 has a racist and a gender bias, which eventually led to the development of gendered conceptions of trafficking by evolving the 'victim' understanding of trafficking. The convention invariably linked trafficking and sex work by linking trafficking of women and girls solely for sex trade. However the four legal instruments to combat trafficking considered the recruitment and the transportation process internationally, but left prostitution as a nationalistic paradigm of abolition, or regulation which was critiqued by the abolitionist lobby and thereby to make prostitution an internationally abolished phenomenon set to draft a convention by 1937, which however never came to force.

Thereby in the light of the anti-trafficking paradigm in 1949 the UN adopted the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which extended the scope of the four white slave traffic agreements and the League of Nations draft Conventions. The change that can be observed in the 1949 convention is that the convention is race, gender and age neutral and remove the transnational element of trafficking in persons. However, strangely one can notice of the underlying interpretation of the term trafficking which yet again considered trafficking solely with the drive of sex work. Article 1 requires States Parties to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another, (1) 'procures, entices or leads away, for the purpose 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'. Under Article 2 of the 1949 Convention, trafficking also connotes keeping, managing and financing brothels, and knowingly renting a building or any other place for the purpose of the

prostitution of others. The context in Article 1 and 2 of the 1949 convention shows that prostitution is the sole cause of trafficking and thereby relentlessly conflates and equates trafficking with prostitution thereby relegating all women in the sex industry to the status of victims requiring rescue. Although the Convention urged states to suppress trafficking and to punish brothel owners, it did not specifically require the prohibition of prostitution itself. Rather, State Parties are required to take all necessary measures to repeal or abolish existing domestic law which regulates or registers those engaged in prostitution (Article 6 of the 1949 Convention). This was largely due to fears that prohibition would drive prostitution underground, and that laws designed to punish both the clients and the prostitutes, in practice, would be selectively enforced only against sex workers. Article 16 of the 1949 *Convention* considers persons engaging in prostitution as victims.

This focus on prostitution, rather than on trafficking fails to protect those trafficked for purposes other than prostitution, and limits the sphere of application to this specific form of exploitation in the context of trafficking in persons.

The lack and inadequacy discerned in the 1949 convention led to the negotiation of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol and also led to the adoption of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979). Article 6 of the Convention deals with the phenomenon of trafficking and also the convention have sought forth to sever ties with the 1949 convention and aimed at reframing the comprehension of trafficking. Article 6 of the Convention requires State Parties to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of the prostitution of women. Article 6 was drafted with the well-established link between trafficking in women and forced prostitution in mind. Therefore, one can state that CEDAW reiterated and reinforced traditional conceptualizations of the woman victim of trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, such typecasts continue to remain predominant in contemporary conceptualizations of, and responses to, trafficking in persons.

Contrary to these international instruments of trafficking in 1989 a departure was made from the conventional understanding of trafficking, by perceiving trafficking for purposes other than commercial sexual exploitation. This deviation in the concept of trafficking was sought forth by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and its Protocols. Article 35 CRC requires the

state to take measures to prevent the sale or traffic in children for ‘any purposes’ and in any ‘form’. One can state here that though the Convention and the protocol is directed toward children, yet it is the first international instrument that internationally extend the definition of trafficking by recognizing the fact that trafficking occurs for purposes other than prostitution. Therefore, the limitation in the definition of trafficking has been recognized and thereby the convention recognizes trafficking of children for any exploitative purposes.

However, after a series of international agreements and conventions that attempted to define trafficking, the internationally accepted definition of trafficking was accepted in the year 2000 with the Palermo Protocol (also known as the Protocol to Punish, Suppress and Prevent Trafficking in Persons) adopted by the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The Protocol under article 2 attempts to prevent and combat trafficking. It aims to protect victims with full respect of their human rights. Further, it also promotes cooperation by the state parties to combat the problem of trafficking in person. Therefore, the Palermo Protocol under article 3 accepts the definition of trafficking as follows:

(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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 labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age. (UN Report, 2000: 32-33).

The Palermo Protocol tries to give a holistic definition of trafficking in person for various purposes, including forced labor or services, removal of organs, sexual servitude, and other

practices similar to slavery. The protocol subject trafficked persons as victims of crime and gives a definitive conception of a child so that they can be protected from the crime (George et.al. 2010: 65).

However, the definition of trafficking is a contested domain, because of its complexity, the links with ‘visceral’ issues such as ‘commercial sexual exploitation’ and ‘exploitation’ of women and children, and the policy of migration management (ADB Report, 2003: 12). Therefore the Palermo Protocol of UN (2000) is criticized by scholars such as Crawford (Crawford, 2010: 56) arguing with the fact of the age of children which the Protocol assumes to be universally accepted across the globe. Crawford (Crawford, 2010: 57) argues that the maturity of a child also depends on the environment and the circumstances of a particular region; therefore, it is not convincing to accept such universalistic estimate of age of a child. Likewise, the Protocol is subject to other critical arguments- to quote “[...] the Palermo Protocol is an instrument critiqued for being “designed to facilitate cooperation between states to combat organized crime, rather than to protect or give restitution to the victims of crime.” (George et.al. 2010: 66).

However, we can take the Protocol as groundwork for defining trafficking in person. This study follows the definition of the Palermo Protocol to understand trafficking in person for commercial sexual exploitation.

Therefore, trafficking in women and children essentially means the use and exploitation of the bodies and self of women and children. To quote, “Trafficking is defined as buying and selling or coercive capture of human beings for purpose of exploitation (especially commercial sexual work), forced labor or enslavement of any sort” (Crawford, Kaufman and Gurung, 2007: 99). It circumscribes ‘the recruitment, transport, purchase, sale, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons: by threat, force, coercion, or deception, for commercial sexual exploitation or other allied slavery like practices’. Human trafficking, therefore, includes “[...] the lack of consent, brokering of human beings, transport, and the servile conditions of the work or the relationship with traffickers.” (George, 2010: 65). Hence, it is described as a modern form of slavery where women are bought and sold for forced labor such as commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) and other similar slavery like practices. Scholars argue that it is indeed the most lucrative business and earns revenue that exceeds ‘drug trafficking’. (Kara, 2010: 86).

1.2) Genesis of Sex Trafficking: Structural, Societal, and Cultural Factors:

Trafficking is not a discrete act; it has varied operational functions that interplay to materialize the process. It necessitates the movement of a trafficked person through a place of origin to transit and eventually to destination. Therefore, essentially there exists some overt and covert foundations or genesis to the phenomenon.

One can argue that trafficking is a multidimensional problem, which is varied and complex in nature (Huda, 2006: 376). Scholars on the causes of trafficking have argued in different ways, but the ground argument about the foundations of sex trafficking is stated to be the feminization of poverty. Therefore, though literatures on trafficking highlight poverty is as one of the cardinal causes of trafficking, however, it is essentially not one of the sole reasons and is an outcome of a number of factors. The present study state that the ground foundation for the manifestation for sex trafficking is gender discrimination deeply rooted in our society. To explicate this one would raise an interrogation on the phenomenon of ‘feminization of poverty’ or rather a question on the statement that “why two-third of the world’s poor comprises of women?” As a response to the interrogation one can state that the ‘marginalized status of women in society’ is the ground reality that have manifested in creating women as two-third of the world’s poor. Therefore, on the ground level the social factor such as the ‘marginalized status of women in society’ have a strong impetus on the political and economic status of women. The social status pulls women down in all the sectors of the state and is one of the major foundations for women constituting a disproportionate percentage of the world’s poor (UNIFEM, 2008: 29), which have led to their exploitation in different forms in the social, political and economic milieu. For instance, Crawford and Kaufman state that one of the main causes of trafficking is the imbalances of power and other alternatives among people. Here the reference is to the marginalized status of women in the social milieu, for trafficking, is the product of social, political, economic, and cultural inequality (Crawford and Kaufman, 2008: 905).

Therefore though available literatures on trafficking state factors such as poverty and deprivation, educational backwardness, unemployment, abuse within and outside family, prejudices against the girl child, the caste and class structure, urbanization, purchasing power of customers, globalization, corrupted authorities, flawed legal system, however the present study would seek to argue that these factors are an effect of the marginalized and the secondary status

quo of women. Therefore, one can state that trafficking is a product of social, political and economic inequality.

1.3) Prostitution/ Sex Work and Trafficking:

‘Sex work’ is a profession where the body becomes a site of economic enterprise. Sexual services are rendered in exchange of monetary gains. However, its conceptualization is context specific related to a combination of local social conditions and economic forces. (Doezma, 2002: 52).

In the discourse of sex trafficking two predominant lobbies exist: regulationist and abolitionist lobbies. Both the lobbies have come to form as a response of the anti-trafficking discourse. The former believes that regulating sex work and sex market can help prevent sex trafficking (a detailed explication of it would be made in the following chapters) whereas the latter lobby takes a radical stand stating that abolishing sex market and sex work per se would uproot the problem of sex trafficking.

Further, the abolitionist lobby often conflates sex work and trafficking together. They find the two phenomenon’s analogous, as they believe that both sex work and trafficking vehemently violate human rights and are against the ‘dignity of women.’ Though ‘dignity of women’ in relation to sex work is a very tricky phenomenon because sex work for some may be very liberating as it gives them a right over their own body as women’s body has always been a site of regulation and domination. Further, it also gives economic stability. But the abolitionists consider sex work as a human rights violation and as a response to curb trafficking they seek measures such as uprooting of sex markets and making sex work a punitive offense. For instance, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Sexual Exploitation of Women, defines prostitution as a form of sexual exploitation just like rape, genital mutilation, incest and battering. (Doezma, 2002: 24).

Therefore the conflating understanding between sex work and trafficking negates the fact that sex trafficking occurs only when an individual is coerced, forced or duped into the profession, apart from the element of ‘force’ sex work if it is an individual’s choice of profession then it is not a case of trafficking.

Sex work itself is rapidly changing in the conditions of Neoliberalism and Globalization. Sex work itself is rapidly diversifying, no longer necessarily hidden in the violent shadows of cities and towns, but glossily advertised online, no longer just confined to specific sexual acts, however versatile, but offering diverse forms of entertainment and even the promise of new forms of intimacy authenticity (Berstein, 2007: 243). Sex work offers services to match the changing needs of mobile populations, whether migrating vast distances for work, in escape from war or poverty, travelling in pursuit of business opportunities globally, or searching for diverse pleasures, fantasies and utopian dreams as in Sex tourism. These changes affect male prostitution as much as female as old taboos against homosexuality decline in the West, and male sex work become routinized and barely stigmatized. (Weeks, 2006: 33)

Heterosexual Marriage is seen as a legitimate institution side that is envisaged with the right of sexual intercourses and all other forms of sexual relations is considered unacceptable by the societal ideologies. Though historically women have always been subordinated in marriage, it nevertheless an inescapable domain as ensures social positions for a woman. However, women who are outside this social institution conducting multiple sexual exchanges in return of cash or kind are considered 'prostitutes'. (Weeks, 2006: 32).

Weeks states that prostitution is an organization which has varied across historical periods and cultures. The organization can be operated through independent workers to highly organized brothels and international flows. "The organization of prostitution has varied enormously across historical periods and cultures, from independent workers to highly organized brothels" (Weeks, 2006: 34).

The conventional definition of prostitution is as the exchange of social services for cash, and/or other material benefits. Prostitution has, however, always involved more than this because the cash nexus and exchange are rarely simply arrangements between equals. Prostitution is about power difference embedded in complex social relations." (Weeks, 2006: 36) Feminist theorists have therefore argued that prostitution is best conceptualized as a social relationship which allows the power of command over one person's body to be exercised by another (O'Connell, 1998: 64). This is usually male power over women, even in many cases when the worker is male, as in 'gigolo arrangements' or male-male prostitution, there it raises slightly different questions,

not least because both client and prostitute belong to the same sexual caste. But in all cases power differentials are at stake. (Weeks, 2006: 36)

1.4) Trafficking and its relation to Migration

Human trafficking is the movement of individuals from origin to transit and then to destination. It involves the phenomenon of migration, which eventually consequently in some case becomes cases of human trafficking.

However, we cannot comprehend the underpinnings of both the phenomenon as synonymous or identical concepts. One can concede to the fact that a person may decide to change their location as an outlet for better living, or to survive natural disaster, conflict or terrorism. But one cannot consider as a phenomenon of human trafficking. Migration gets transformed into human trafficking only when an individual have been coerced, forced and deceived to move from one place to another. For instance, a woman for an opportunity in the country of destination may want to migrate from the country of origin, however her conscious decision of moving from one place to another may become an instance of sex trafficking when the above there factors have been used.

1.5) Laws and Conventions

The discourse on trafficking received an international proclamation in the early 19th century, with the due formulation of the first international agreement, viz. International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in 1904. Its purpose was to “prevent the procurement of women and girls for immoral purposes abroad” which was ratified by twelve countries around the world. The subsequent international convention evolved in 1910, International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, which focused on the movement of women for immoral purposed, therefore one can argue that the convention borrowed the same landscape from the 1904 agreement on the White Slave traffic (Morocom & Schloenhardt, 2011: 71).

However the above international legal instruments were critiqued on the grounds of being gendered and racist, which finally led to the constitution of yet another convention, the International Convention to combat the traffic in Women and Children, which shifted from the

conception of white women to include women of all races and also to include the traffic of male children. Further, in 1933 the League of Nations drafted the International Convention to Combat the Traffic in Women of Full Age which was could not be materialized owing to the World War II (Farrior, 1997: 231).

In 1947 a protocol was laid to amend the 1921 Convention which was later superseded by the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, which was ratified by forty-nine countries around the world. The convention, although not well subscribed to by the international community, does make a commitment to halt trafficking in women. (Brown, 2000: 86). The convention calls on state parties to punish trafficker and to protect persons from being the victims of such a crime (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 70).

Further, Conventions such as ‘the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), are also present to obligate “[. . .] states parties to ensure protection against discrimination and to take all appropriate measures to suppress all forms of trafficking in women and children. ” (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 70). Article 6 is the only article within CEDAW, which specifically addresses the trafficking of women. It states, “State Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.” Further, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) under articles 11 (the illicit transfer of children abroad), 32 (economic exploitation), 34 (sexual exploitation), 35 (sale and trafficking of children), and 37(the torture, inhumane and degrading treatment) have been enacted to suppress trafficking in person for sexual exploitation. The articles advances the state parties to take all necessary measures to prevent illicit transfer, abduction, sale, or trafficking of children for any purpose or in any form and ensures that the state parties provides protection to children from sexual exploitation.

However, the Palermo Protocol or the Protocol to Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, which is the present day international legal instrument to gear the phenomenon of trafficking.

Further, most countries signatories to the protocol and conventions essentially has national legal instruments devised against trafficking of persons for forced labor, begging, CSE,

and servitude of other kinds. For example, the constitution of Nepal under article 20 prohibits trafficking in persons for slavery, serfdom, or forced labor of any form (Aengst, 2001: 10).

National Legal apparatus of India, under which trafficking is a punitive crime in the country are: Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act of 1956 (SITA) amended as Immoral Traffic in Persons Prevention Act of 1986 (ITPPA). Both the laws attempted to curb trafficking. However, the former law ('SITA') had certain flaws within it, which resulted in its amendment to ITPPA. SITA led to the criminalization of victims soliciting sex work. The women would be subjected to one year of imprisonment while a pimp would be imprisoned only for three months and only if found to be willingly or knowingly making women prostitutes. While the customers are not prosecuted or convicted under the law (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 73). "These drawbacks led to the setting up of ITPPA which was set along the same lines with SITA but had certain major amendments such that prostitution is not considered a crime under the law, but "brothel keeping, living off brothel earnings, procuring, detaining, activity in vicinity of public places, seducing or soliciting" (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 73). Procures of trafficking are subjected to three to seven years of imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2000. Therefore the law also provided government authorities more power to combat and overcome trafficking. These two laws are the primary laws combating trafficking in women and children in India. Further, there are also provisions that embark upon trafficking in the Constitution of India, the Indian Penal Code and in state and local ordinances (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 72). The report on Rape for Profit (1995) stated, "The Indian Constitution specifically prohibits trafficking in persons. Article 23, in the fundamental rights section of the constitution, states "traffic in human beings [...] and other similar forms of forced labor are prohibited." Article 39-guarantee equal treatment of men and women and obligates the state to ensure "that the health and strength of workers, men and women [...] children and youth are protected against exploitation [...]" Article 42 provides protection against inhumane working conditions." (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 72). Therefore, a number of legislative mechanisms had evolved to suppress and combat trafficking. However, the fact that sex trafficking continues to persist in a large and massive scale, thereby essentially account for the lack of proper execution of laws and attempts to combating trafficking.

1.6) Human Rights Violations Paradigm within the Discourse of Trafficking

Human rights violations are an inevitable aspect within the ambit of the discourse of trafficking. This dimension of human rights violation is the base on which the phenomenon of human trafficking rests. It is a dominant aspect based on which it has received worldwide concern to annihilate the crime of human trafficking.

The canonic violations of human rights is the loss of freedom of individuals trapped in the cycle of trafficking. However the crime of human trafficking involves a wide range and degree of exploitations of individuals self and dignity. Further, individuals trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation are not only shove away from the freedom of living a free life but also are subjected to physical and sexual exploitations. Reports state that women, children subjected to sex trafficking suffer from untoward physical, mental, sexual abuse which later subject them to gross social stigmatization, which are serious, life long and also life threatening. Scholars like Kara (Kara, 2010: 37), and Crawford (Crawford, 2010: 12) have reported of various testimonies that reveal many instances of physical and mental violence, resulting in the violations of the human rights of victims. In Thai sex establishments, it is usual to burn teenagers (denying to work as sex workers) until death. Further, many instances reports of children who die of internal damages caused by sale to an adult man (Brown 2000: 19). Hence, victims of trafficking undergo an extreme form of cruelty and violence and therefore become isolated, losing confidence, deprived of agency, subjected to space restrictions, violence or the threat of violence and becomes detached from family and social ties (Kim et.al. 2009: 155). Further, visual depictions of such violence can be observed in movies like Lakshmi, a hindi movie made by Nagesh Kuknoor (an Indian film maker) in 2014, The film deals with the harsh realities of human trafficking and child prostitution, which continue behind closed curtains in rural areas of India. In the film one can observe that the protagonist was forced to concede for sexual exchanges with customers. The Malik to break Lakshmi into the business pierced a nail brush into her leg. Therefore, such type of crude violence has been an inevitable aspect of sex trafficking or indeed the modern day slavery, which henceforth have been notified as a significant international problem and a serious medium of human rights violations (Kim et.al. 2009: 166). The discourse of exploitation raises many questions on the human rights perspective and further ponders on the debates arguing for the restoration of their human rights.

1.7) Traffickers

Traffickers constitute of the people who manifest and breed the process of trafficking. They are the initiators of the process of human trafficking. Available literatures on human trafficking argue that traffickers constitute of people whom trafficked person know or are acquainted with. Therefore, it has been stated in studies that trafficker use and misuse the trust that is entrusted on them by the trafficked person. Traffickers may be close relatives, boyfriends, or any other individual of the village who masquerade to have a wealthy life in the place of destinations.

Traffickers are usually young men and middle-aged women who are significantly older than the young women/children they recruit. They are natives and agents who travel back and forth from home countries/regions to receiving regions and generally have links with the villages to which the victims belong. Procurers are reportedly substance abusers or gamblers. Many of the traffickers are older women, who are either former prostitutes or are themselves in forced prostitution, trying to escape abuse and bondage by providing a substitute (Tumlin, 2000: 32). They may have multiple roles. For instance, those who fuel migration, with its outcome in trafficking, may often also be the people who facilitate other, less exploitative, forms of migration, as in the case of refugees (Tumlin, 2000: 33). The 'use of words like "mafia" or the depiction of traffickers as villain, are the most synonymous descriptions made for traffickers from outside who do not correspond to the actual garb taken by maximum native traffickers' (Blanchet, 2002: 52).

DWCD (1996) has identified two types of traffickers: primary and secondary. The latter are said to operate behind the scenes with connections in government circles, which are used to provide themselves with protection. Pimps and procurers are the primary traffickers (DWCD, 1996: 63).

1.8) Rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration

Rescue and rehabilitation form an important part of the discourse of sex trafficking. In this case women are dislocated from their families and are trapped in situation of sexual enslavement. Therefore when they are rescued it is vital for them to rehabilitated and gradually reintegrate them into the society so that they can live a normal life ahead. Under ITPA the rescue and rehabilitation program go under the scheme of Swadhaar, which provides shelter home for

trafficked women. Under this scheme, women are imparted with voluntary education and gradually they are tried to be reintegrated into their societies.

The government run homes have been criticized for a host of shortcomings; corruption, poor infrastructure facilities, meager budgets, inadequate provisions for psychological care, ineffective skill building (DWCD, 1996: 72). Most women end up doing nothing for long periods, while those who do not wish to be rescued view the home as a prison. They are confined to the vicinity of the homes. 'Protective custody as practiced in South Asia is a serious violation of women's rights and it is important that Governments of the region re-examine this concept, as well as the conditions in the government homes where women are kept' (UN, 2001: 12).

Social stigma and non-acceptability are said to be the greatest obstacles to reintegration (Shah, 2003: 39). Besides the difficulties in finding alternative employment because of the stigma, any livelihood option which pays less than Rs. 2,000 to 3,000 a month is not viable and the rescued girls often lapse back into commercial sex work (ADB, 2002: 65).

Some studies have concluded that there are not enough models of recovery, repatriation and reintegration based on prioritizing the preference and interests of trafficked women and children (Sanghera, 1999: 24). There is also a scarcity of holistic rehabilitation program and a lack of support mechanisms. The media hinders the process of rehabilitation by sensationalizing the issue and exposing the identities of the victims.

1.9) Patterns of media coverage:

'Media coverage as far as the problem of trafficking of women and children is concerned concentrates on activities related to commercial sexual exploitation of women and children' and not the entire process of trafficking. Media reports focus on 'exploitation of sex workers in the hands of brothel owners, pimps, law enforcement agencies; nexus between politicians, traffickers and enforcement agencies; initiatives taken by NGOs and other civil society organizations; case studies of particular victims; incidents of police raids on brothel houses and arrests of people caught during the raids; and events, seminars, workshops organized on the problem of trafficking' (Sanghera, 1999: 38).

1.10) Sex trafficking and Health implication

Health implications have been one of the important concerns of the discourse of trafficking. Historically, the identification of ‘prostitutes’ with the ‘carriers and parsers of contagious disease’ has been predominant. For instance the Contagious Disease Act which was passed in Britain in 1864, 1866, 1869. Under this act women identified as “common prostitute” was forced to undergo a fortnightly internal medical checkup. The international initiation on trafficking initially started with the Contagious Disease Act. Under this Act any women who with a slightest of doubt to being a prostitute was forced to undergo internal checkup. However, the Act was abolished in 1869 (Rao, 2013: 28).

Therefore, Contagious Disease Act was the first state mechanism to deal with the problem of ‘sex workers being carriers of venereal diseases.’ Further, HIV/AIDS a worldwide epidemic and deadly disease discovered to be spread with unprotected sex with an infected person. Therefore the campaign of HIV/AIDS had an important concern with sex markets and to control the spread of it the focus of them shifted to sex markets. The spread of the virus was then brunt on the shoulders of sex workers and therefore in order to prevent it important decisions and mechanisms have to be employed. Further as enslaved trafficked women had no right to speak on the conditions of work and therefore the fear of the spread became an important matter of concern. One could also argue that the discourse of sex trafficking also gained momentum because of discourse of the endemic virus and disease; HIV/AIDS (Weeks, 2011: 9). The discourse of safer sex was a way of recovering the erotic based on the minimization of risky behavior in relations of mutual responsibility (Weeks, 2006: 31). The connection between sex and disease, the latter is a metaphor for dirt, disorder, and decay had evolved an enormous moral panic (Weeks, 2006: 32).

1.11) Impact of Information and Technology in Trafficking

The introduction, growth, and utilization of information and communication technologies (ICTs) have been accompanied by an increase in illegal exploitation and abuse of technology for criminal activities. The Internet is increasingly used as a tool and medium by transnational organized crime. Human trafficking is an evident form of organized crime that has been affected by the global revolution in ICT. This form of illegal trafficking is not exclusive to sexual

exploitation with respect to women or children trafficking but also covers indentured servitude and child labor. This new form of slavery violates fundamental and basic human rights and freedoms, and transcends national boundaries and territories to negatively impact on numerous countries across the globe (Chawki & Wahab, 2004: 7).

The use of ICTs in trafficking in human beings involves the utilization of computers and internet (Hughes, 2001: 12). Trafficking in human beings by the use of ICTs always involves at least one human being who plans, prepares, and initiates the criminal act. The use of new technology and increased use of old technology is particularly prevalent at the exploitation stage of trafficking. People seeking to buy women and children for purposes of sexual exploitation are now able 'shop' online with an ease that was impossible before the internet. There have also been incidents of the internet being used to advertise the sale of human organs (Council of European Document, 2002: 27).

When traffickers depend on the use of a computer network/ internet to accomplish the criminals act by creating fake placement agencies, advertisements for jobs and other career opportunities, in such cases, technology is directly used to commit the crime (Aftergood, 1999: 11). Computer networks are used for publishing adult pornographies. Collecting these materials is an important psychological process and is directly connected to acquiring new technological skills (Dombrowski & Lemasney, 2004: 69). The offender becomes increasingly "empowered" by the combination of a physical collection, sexual satisfaction, computer skills and a supportive online community.

ICTs are also providing new means and tools that facilitate human trafficking, especially for sexual exploitation. On such a basis, these new forms of organized crime present new challenges to lawmakers, law enforcement agencies, and transnational human rights organizations.

1.12) Commercial sexual Exploitation

Exploitation and trafficking are synonymous to each other. Trafficking for purposes of commercial sexual exploitation has been widely reported and studied. The relationship between these two processes is a matter of some major confusion and contention, resulting in diverse perspectives and opinions. The different forms that commercial sexual exploitation takes are prostitution, pornography, cybersex and sex tourism.

It is evident that the global sex industry is the locus of often extreme forms of exploitation in international sex trade. It has been at the center of contemporary debates that prostitution and sex work is always and inevitably exploitative of women and children, the people who sell sex are victims or potential agents and free actors (Weeks, 2011: 215).

Prostitution is mainly an economic phenomenon that is grounded in deeply patriarchal values. It involves moral, religious, health and human rights issues. The sector is characterized by economic exploitation, corruption, and links with crime and is one which governments find difficult to deal with (Lim, 1998: 23). The 'large-scale accumulation of capital takes place through a progressive appropriation and decimation of women's and children's bodies, sexuality and entire beings' (Raymond et. al. 2002: 16). The majority of the victims are women and young children, mainly girls. Power relations in prostitution between employees, employers, and clients compared with other service industries, and conflicting interests of representatives of different types of prostitution are often underplayed. (West, 2003: 536).

The feminist mainstream regards female prostitution as a form of slavery, an expression of structural inequalities of modern patriarchal society, and a form of exploitation of women. The distinction between free and forced prostitution is seen as a distraction only. Prostitution can never result from free will, but is always a result of a lack of other forms of livelihood for women. From this perspective the idea of prostitution by free choice is absurd; the prostitute is always an object and a victim, never an individual acting of her own free will. (West, 2003: 539).

1.13) Review of Literature

The review of literature explores different perspectives, debates, positions and conclusions on trafficking of women. The literature on trafficking devotes a considerable amount of space to interpret various attributes and features of trafficking. It has been observed from different studies that the historical characterizations of trafficking are outdated, ill- defined and non-responsive to the current realities of the movement and trade. The nature and the extent of abuses which are inherent from the incident of modern era trafficking has drawn a different facet of itself unlike the ancient or historical feature of trafficking (UN, 2002: 21).

Laura Maria Agustin explodes in her book '*Sex at the Margins: migration, Labour markets and the rescue Industry*', that several myths: that selling sex is completely different from any other

kind of work; that migrants who sell sex are passive victims; and that the multitude of people out to save them are without self-interest. Laura Agustin makes a passionate case against these stereotypes, arguing that the label "trafficked" does not accurately describe migrants' lives and that the "rescue industry" disembowels them. Frequently, Agustin says, migrants make rational choices to travel and work in the sex industry. Although they are treated like a marginalized group they form part of the dynamic global economy (Agustin, 2007: 28).

Melissa Farley, an American Clinical Psychologist and researcher says in her book *'Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress'*, that prostitution and trafficking as organized interpersonal violence. Even in academia, law, and public health, prostitution is often misunderstood as "sex work." She also extensively documents in the book that the violence which runs like a constant thread throughout all types of prostitution, including escort, brothel, trafficking, strip club, pornography, and street prostitution. Prostitutes are always subjected to verbal sexual harassment and often have a lengthy history of trauma, including childhood sexual abuse and emotional neglect, racism, economic discrimination, rape, and other physical and sexual violence. Then later it becomes very complex treating the psychological symptoms resulting from prostitution and trafficking victims. *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress* examines the connections between prostitution, incest, sexual harassment, rape, and domestic violence (Farley, 2003: 34).

Alison Phinney, in her study *'Trafficking of Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation in the Americas'*, puts forward the notion of the trafficking triangle, which refers to the space created by the demand, supply and impunity with which trafficking occurs. According to her, 'Sex trafficking is driven by a demand for women's and children's bodies in the sex industry, fueled by a supply of women who are denied equal rights and opportunities for education and economic advancement and perpetuated by traffickers who are able to exploit human misfortune with near impunity (Phinney, 2001: 44).

Joyce Outshoorn's book *'The Politics of Prostitution: Women's movement, Democratic states and the Globalization of Sex Commerce'*, states that the most effective way to deal with prostitution has always been hotly debated by governments and women's movements alike. Feminists want it abolished or regulated as sex work; governments have to safeguard public health and order. Women's movements in Western Europe, North America and Australia have affected politics on prostitution and trafficking of women positively since the 1970s but it also

have been a great failure in some other countries. The writer also assesses that government institutions to advance the status of women and the so-called women's policy agencies play a key role in achieving policy outcomes favorable to movement demands (Outshoorn, 2004: 19).

The book *'Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition'* by Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema reflects that with the growing international phenomena of sex tourism, sexual slavery, human trafficking, child prostitution and AIDS, one thing has become clear that the global village has a brothel. This book testifies to the fact that the diversified activities of sex work is genuinely associated with both cultural specificity and transnational scope, as workers go about their daily lives. It documents national and international sex workers' movements that organize for legal and human rights, struggling to resist marginalization and exploitive working conditions around the world (Kempadoo, 1998: 10).

'Globalization, Prostitution and Sex-trafficking: Corporeal Politics', a book by Elina Penttinen says globalization has been traditionally interpreted as a phenomenon that takes place at the macro level and is determined by states and markets. Through the global sex trade, globalization is embodied and enacted by individuals. Drawing on extensive fieldwork on the trafficking of Russian and Baltic female sex workers, she demonstrates how the embodiment and reiteration of globalization on the bodies of gendered individuals are tied to the larger processes of globalization. The framework of landscapes of globalization is developed into a framework of shadow sex-scapes in order to show how the global sex industry feeds on complex global flows and in turn operates as a form of shadow globalization (Penttinen, 2008: 22).

The article 'Will the real sex slave please stand up?' by Julia O'Connell Davidson which critically explores the way in which 'trafficking' has been framed as a problem involving organized criminals and 'sex slaves', noting that this approach obscures both the relationship between migration policy and 'trafficking', and that between prostitution policy and forced labour in the sex sector. Focusing on the UK, it argues that far from representing a step forward in terms of securing rights and protections for those who are subject to exploitative employment relations and poor working conditions in the sex trade, the current policy emphasis on sex slaves and 'victims of trafficking' limits the state's obligations towards them (Davidson, 2006: 6).

Jo Goodey states in his article 'Sex Trafficking in Women from Central and East European Countries: Promoting a 'Victim Centered' and 'Woman Centered' Approach to Criminal Justice Intervention', that since the collapse of the Berlin wall, women and girls have been trafficked from central and eastern Europe to work as prostitutes in the European Union. By looking at the response of the international community to the problem of sex trafficking as it impacts on the EU the writer throws light on the criminal justice interventions with respect to protection of and assistance to 'victims', and a specially witness protection, in the light of the following: the tensions and promises between treatment of trafficked women as 'victims' of crime and criminal justice informants; and the need to re-focus on a 'woman centered' approach to criminal justice intervention for trafficked women (Goodey, 2004: 28).

Marina Tzvetkova explores in her article 'NGO responses to trafficking in women', that as trafficking worldwide has become increasingly more sophisticated and widespread, some governments are implementing new legislation, hosting international conferences, and signing new and existing conventions. The United Nations (UN) and other Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) are dedicating substantial resources to developing more effective solutions. However, the relative absence of government initiatives and assistance for trafficking victims means that it is NGOs who have taken up the challenge of organizing locally, nationally, and internationally to advocate for and meet the needs of victims, despite their limited resources. She provides through the article an overview of NGO activity against trafficking in women for sexual exploitation that is based on an exploratory study undertaken by the Change Anti-Trafficking Program (ATP) in 2001 (Tzvetkova, 2002: 62).

'Trafficking, Migration, and the Law Protecting Innocents, Punishing Immigrants' by Wendy Chapkis, documents the Trafficking Victims' Protection Act of 2000 has been presented as an important tool in combating the exploitation and abuse of undocumented workers, especially those forced into prostitution. Through a close reading of the legislation and the debates, the writer argues that the law makes strategic use of anxieties over sexuality, gender, and immigration to further curtail migration. The law does so through the use of misleading statistics creating a moral panic around "sexual slavery," through the creation of a gendered distinction between "innocent victims" and "guilty migrants," and through the demand that aid to victims be

tied to their willingness to assist in the prosecution of traffickers. As a result, the legislation is less a departure from, than of a piece with, other recent anti-sex and anti-immigrant policies (Chapkins, 2003: 926).

‘Sex, Maids, and Export Processing: Risks and Reasons for Gendered Global Production Networks’ by Jean L. Pyle is an article which gives a detailed description of increasing numbers of women have become sex workers, maids, or employees in export production networks-all largely female sectors-to earn incomes in the restructured global economy. Many must migrate domestically and internationally. Women encounter many risks and much insecurity in these sectors such as low wages, no benefits, long hours, harassment, health hazards, and lack of rights or legal recourse. By examining work in these three sectors simultaneously, it is found that, as a result of globalization, economic restructuring, and crises, women have increasingly been forced into such income-earning activities and many governments have been pushed into strategies that foster these occupations (Pyle, 2001: 61).

In the article ‘Dancing across Borders: 'Exotic Dancers,' trafficking and Canadian Immigration Policy’ by Audrey Macklin, University of Toronto analyzes a Canadian immigration program that authorizes issuance of temporary work visas to 'exotic dancers.' In response to public criticism that the government was thereby implicated in the transnational trafficking of women into sexual exploitation, Citizenship and Immigration Canada retained the visa program *de jure* but eliminated it *de facto*. Using a legal and discursive analysis that focuses on the production of female labor migrants variously as workers, as criminals and as bearers of human rights, the writer argues that the incoherence of Canadian policy can only be rendered intelligible when refracted through these different lenses (Macklin, 2003: 472).

A working paper on ‘Trafficking in Workers: the Human Rights Paradigm to Trafficking in Persons and the Challenge of Labor Rights’ by Hila Shamir deals with the witnessed growing interest in the legal category of human trafficking in international and national law in the past decade. Anti-trafficking laws and policies that proliferate around the globe are influenced predominantly by a transnational crime framework, and a human rights framework to trafficking. Surprisingly, although human trafficking is defined in international instruments as an issue of labor exploitation, anti-trafficking policies are not informed by a labor rights framework. The researcher argues here that the language and methods of human rights do not suffice to

effectively counter human trafficking and that for anti-trafficking efforts to become effective trafficking needs to be understood predominantly as an issue of economic labor market exploitation that should therefore be dealt with using the tools of labor and employment rights (Hila, 2007: 37).

It is argued that there is a conceptual tension between labor rights and human rights concerning trafficking. The two frameworks pursue different goals, operate under different assumptions, and use different legal strategies to bring about change. The deep tension between the human rights and labor rights frameworks suggests that in order to incorporate a labor framework into the current human rights framework to anti-trafficking significant adjustments to the current regime both discursive and structural are required.

Trafficking is seen through the frame of criminality. There is little sense of trafficking as a human rights issue, and virtually no reflection of the ways in which it is embedded in and reflective of pervasive gender discrimination. Commercial sexual exploitation is sketched as a business, and a highly profitable one at that.

Each presents one representative woman who asserts her choice to be engaged in commercial sex work, in contrast to the women and children who are trafficked, thus entering into debates between abolitionists and those who assert sex worker agency. Neither text addresses the issue of demand. The men who buy the bodies of women and children are virtually invisible, and there is certainly no accountability and no consequences for these users. There is absolutely no punishment for them (Bickford, 2009: 43).

The full extent of modern sex trafficking is extraordinarily difficult to document because the sex industry includes a combination of both legal and illegal activities. Moreover, the victims of this crime are often reluctant to come forward for fear of the legal system or their captors. These sexual predators use violence, threats, and deception to subjugate their victims. “Bonded laborers”, “sex slaves”, “victims of organized crime”, identified as victims of trafficking, these are the terms commonly used to describe migrant women and men in abusive labor relations/conditions. The lack of definitional clarity and the constant slippage between “illegal immigration”, “forced prostitution”, and “trafficking” diverts attention from the role of the state in constructing poor work and vulnerable workers. In discussing trafficking in relation to the

politics of sex, the politics of labor, and the politics of citizenship, the language of trafficking needs to be recognized as part of a more general attempt to depoliticize migration and struggles over citizenship (Anderson & Andrijasevic, 2008: 141).

Rutvica Andrijasevic in her essay 'Beautiful dead bodies: gender, migration representation in anti-trafficking campaigns', addresses the link between sex trafficking and European citizenship by examining several anti-trafficking campaigns launched in post-socialist Europe. In illustrating which techniques are used in the production of images, it points to the highly symbolic and stereotypical constructions of femininity (victims) and masculinity (criminals) of eastern European nationals. A close analysis of female bodies displayed in the campaigns indicates that the use of victimizing images goes hand in hand with the erotization of women's bodies. Wounded and dead women's bodies are read as attempts to stabilize the current political and social transformations in Europe by capturing women within the highly immobile boundaries of the sign 'Woman'. The essay suggests that the representation of violence is thus violent itself since it confirms the stereotypes about eastern European women, equates the feminine with the passive object, severs the body from its materiality and from the historical context in which trafficking occurs, and finally confines women within the highly disabling symbolic register of 'Woman' as to maintain an imaginary social order in Europe (Andrijasevic, 2007: 42).

Chandra Kant Jha and Jeanne Madison in their study 'Antecedent and Sequalae Issues of Nepalese Women Trafficked into Prostitution', explored by using a qualitative descriptive methodology the experiences of Nepalese women trafficked into prostitution in India. The study found that poverty and lack of awareness about being at risk for trafficking are the major precursors for their trafficking experience. Abduction, fake marriages and the seduction of a better job were the major approaches adopted by pimps to traffic the women. The study also showed that after returning from the Indian brothels, they were rejected by their family and community. Such rejections occurred as family and community perceived these young women as at high risk for HIV infection. Strategies should be put in place to assist the women to reintegrate into their family and community (Jha, & Madison, 2004: 47).

Ashwini Tambe, Georgetown University says in her article 'The Elusive Ingénue, a Transnational Feminist Analysis of European Prostitution in Colonial Bombay'; about European prostitutes occupied an important intermediary status in colonial Bombay's racially stratified

sexual order. In this article, the author offers a transnational feminist analysis of how the colonial state managed its racial and spatial location. The colonial state individuated, fostered, and monitored European prostitutes much more closely than others involved in the sex trade, and "coercive protection" by the police and brothel mistresses kept European brothel workers within their assigned spaces. Paradoxically, international anti-trafficking efforts in colonial Bombay consolidated, rather than undermined, these relations of coercive protection. The League of Nations' anti trafficking measures in the 1920s encouraged the police to focus on cross-national cases and third-party procurers and to overlook women who were deemed insufficiently pure. Comparing police, missionary, and social workers' records, the author offers a critique of both international anti trafficking discourses and the Indian colonial state's interests in sustaining the sex trade (Tambe, 2005: 173).

‘Searching for justice for body and self in a coercive environment: sex work in Kerala’, India’, is an article by A.K. Jayasree. It states that Sex workers in Kerala, India, live in a coercive environment and face violence from the police and criminals, lack of shelter, lack of childcare support and have many physical and mental health problems. This paper documents the environment in which women have been selling sex in Kerala since 1995 and their efforts to claim their rights is pathetic. It is based on sex workers' own reports and experiences, a situation analysis and a needs assessment study by the Foundation for Integrated Research in Mental Health. Involvement in HIV/AIDS prevention projects first gave sex workers in Kerala an opportunity to come together. Some have become peer educators and distribute condoms but they continue to be harassed by police. Most anti-trafficking interventions, including rescue and rehabilitation, either criminalize or victimize sex workers, and sex workers reject them as a solution to sex work. They understand that the lack of sexual fulfillment in other relationships and their own lack of access to other work and resources are the reasons why commercial sex flourishes. Sex workers are not mere victims without agency. They have a right to bodily integrity, pleasure, livelihood, self-determination and a safe working environment. Sex workers are organizing themselves for these objectives and demand decriminalization of sex work (Jayasree, 2004: 62).

Rehabilitation and a decent and safe placement of the trafficked victims in society is more important job, on a par with others. However, the agents, the brothel-runners and the traffickers

in the trade of Prostitution come under his scathing attack and reprehensible condemnation, for these wolves, the world over, have made this ignoble profession into an industry, the third major lucrative global industry, next only to arms-smuggling and trade in narcotics. Prostitution is carried out from rooms, apartments, small hotels and exclusive clubs under the guise of call centers, friendship clubs, beauty and massage parlors, and along national highways. A new category that seems to be emerging is that of 'flying prostitutes' (Mishra, 2012: 10).

Other players in the sector are pimps who are considered to be the 'pillars of the sex industry, viewed as protectors and more welcome than the police. Clients are profiled as men separated from their families, visitors in tourist and religious centers, other abusers, businessmen, politicians, transport operators, drivers, cleaners, migrant laborers and students. The nexus between prostitution, politicians and government officials is frequently revealed by press reports (Parida, 2011: 7).

Usually women and girls belonging to the most deprived sections of society are found in prostitution. Nearly 50 per cent are from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and 12 to 27 per cent from other backward classes. The plight of the children of prostitutes is reported to be dismal (Mahapatra, 2013: 8).

Rekha Pande states in her article "Globalization and Trafficking of Women and Children", trafficking is a multidimensional problem encompassing a whole range of economic, social and cultural issues which are varied and highly complex. Most of the victims trafficked with the promise of better jobs, better career prospects and false marriage. Some are also induced forcibly through abduction, poverty and deprivation, status accorded to women in society, prejudice against the girl child, weakening of the family structure, and changing public attitude against the girl child and moreover urbanization, migration and growing consumerism are some of the major factors that are contributed to trafficking. She also argues that most of the victims of sex trafficking in Andhra Pradesh come from drought prone areas. The conversion of large tracts of agricultural land for commercial aqua productions, the diminishing viability of traditional livelihood skills, lack of education and skills for alternative means of income all reduce such victims to a situation where there is no other option but to enter into the sex trade (Pande, 2006: 44).

Jyoti Sanghera elaborates in her study 'Trafficking of Women and Children in South Asia: Taking Stock and moving Ahead: A Review of Anti Trafficking Initiatives in Nepal, Bangladesh and India' that the feminization of poverty and migration increases women's vulnerability to traffickers. Driven by the pressing need for gainful employment and by the scarcity of jobs in their home bases, women and children are easy preys to the designs of unscrupulous agents offering choices and assistance with jobs, particularly across the border (Sanghera, 2000: 29).

"Harsh realities: Reasons for women's involvement in sex work in India" by Niranjana Saggurti, Shagun Sabarwal, Ravi K. Verma, Shiva S. Halli and Anrudh K. Jain, is a detailed study of various factors behind the involvement of women in sex work and their health risks. This study documents the reasons and processes for involvement of women into sex work in India. The study is based on in-depth interviews with a cross-section of commercial sex workers in four Indian states – Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. It shows that most women enter sex work due to a complex set of reasons as opposed to any one single over-riding reason. While abject poverty was cited as the main cause by almost three-fourths of the women interviewed, lack of education, financial freedom, domestic violence, family responsibility, lack of support by family members and harassment and abuse in society and in the workplace, were other inter-linked factors facilitating involvement into sex work. Some women reported that they were pushed into sex work by deception or force by known or unknown persons. Many women who initiate sex work are not forced physically, but do so because of reasons over which they had little or no control. In this sense, initiation into sex work is far more complicated than a simple distinction of 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' as explained by other studies in India and around the world (Saggurti et.al. 2011: 49).

Mohini Giri states in her book 'Kanya: Exploitation of little angels', that besides being stigmatized as outcasts and facing moral and legal isolation, trafficked people are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection, drug addiction, high-risk abortions and teenage pregnancies, which may affect their reproductive health for life. More than 20 percent of street children prostitutes die before reaching at their adulthood. Almost 22 percent become physically invalid and are fit only for begging. Since such Psychological trauma usually remains unaddressed and unresolved. Then the result becomes a real hazard. Because the abused become the abusers, with a high probability

of them becoming criminals. The consequence of being a child laborer and its adverse impact on the development of the children is well documented (Giri, 1999: 88).

There is a high rate of trafficking in women and children within Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Delhi and Goa are among the main destinations of trafficking from other states. The socio-economic context is one of deep economic deprivation and social discrimination. Women and children in households that are simply unable to cope with the pressures of life are those who face a high risk of being trafficked. Girl children are the most vulnerable. The phenomena get accentuated in times of acute economic distress, such as droughts and floods. The traffickers lure, deceive, threaten and/or coerce their victims to submit to commercial sexual exploitation or other forms of bondage. The study found that 68 per cent of the sample of the victims of trafficking who ended up in brothels were lured with the promise of a job, while 16.8 per cent were enticed by the promise of marriage. Deception thus seems to be the main instrument of the traffickers at the source. While for the girl victims of trafficking the end point is a brothel, for boys it is hard labor in poor working conditions at abysmally low wages. On being “procured” the children are subject to a chain of traffickers who exploit them en route, instilling fear through threats and punishments so that the victim eventually becomes submissive and obeys all orders. One can only imagine what the trafficked adolescent goes through in her/his mind – negative experiences of abuse and trauma, thoughts and feelings of malevolence and helplessness, the sense that a person who has been brutally raped and traumatized makes of her/his sexuality, etc (Bhargav, 2006: 24).

Trafficking in the form of selling children and girls in the grab of adoption is also thriving in Orissa and traffickers are well networked with similar traffickers in other states like Andhra and Karnataka. In Odisha women and children are not only trafficked to other states, but also a lot of intrastate trafficking into prostitution. Red light areas exist in several districts of Orissa including Puri, Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Khurda, Balapara, Bolangir etc. and other modernized form of commercial sexual exploitation in grab of beauty parlours, call girl rackets, and escort services run unregulated in the capital and tourist cities. Families, irrespective of castes, sell their children for mere Rs 100 so they can get their next meal. The children are either married off to old men or they work as bonded labour. The incidents of child trafficking increased after multinational

companies took over large areas of fertile land for mining and to set up other industries. In other cases of sexual abuse, harassment at work places to incidents of acid throwing on women is common (Trafficking in India Report, 2004: 37).

1.14) Research Gap

Being a complex phenomenon, trafficking can be viewed from different perspectives. Thus, it is important to acknowledge the standpoint from which it is being approached from. The problem is deeply rooted in the socio-economic, political and cultural reality of the context in which it occurs. This study addresses the causes of vulnerability and the demand factors which drive sex trafficking of women in Odisha. Sex trafficking of women in Odisha is a subject wrapped in layers of silence. The voices of the trafficking survivors has been suppressed. Literature on trafficking is completely dominated by the factors and modes of trafficking without concentrating on the plight of the women who fall prey to this heinous crime. This study is focused on the journey, experience and condition of the trafficking survivors before, during and after trafficking, the social implications and the attitude of the police, NGO and the media.

1.15) Feminist Research Methodology

The study adopts a feminist research approach to understand and analyses the experiences of the survivors of sex trafficking of women in Odisha. Feminist research is primarily ‘connected in principle to feminist struggle’ (Sprague & Zimmerman, 1993: 266). By documenting women’s lives, experiences, concerns, illuminating gender-based stereotypes and biases, and unearthing women’s subjugated knowledge, feminist research challenges the basic structures and ideologies that oppress women. Feminist research goals foster empowerment and emancipation for women and other marginalized groups, and feminist researchers often apply their findings in the service of promoting social change and social justice for women (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007: 4).

Feminist research is a holistic endeavor that incorporates all stages of the research process, from the theoretical to the practical, from the formulation of research questions to the write-up of research findings. Feminist researchers emphasize the synergy and interlinkages between epistemology, methodology, and method are interested in the different ways that a researcher’s

perspective on reality interacts with, and influences, how the researcher goes about collecting and analyzing the data (Hesse- Biber & Leavy, 2006: 6).

An ‘epistemology is a theory of knowledge’ that delineates a set of assumptions about the social world and about who can be a knower and what can be known. The researcher makes decisions rooted in these assumptions that influences what is studied (based on what can be studied) and how the study is conducted. A methodology is a theory of how research is done or should proceed. Finally, a method is a ‘technique for gathering evidence’ (Harding, 1987: 5).

Feminist researchers are increasingly open about their own positionalities, perspectives, and worldviews and engage in collaboration with their respondents throughout all phases of the research process, from data gathering and analysis to writing and authorship (Horne & McBeth, 1998: 32).

1.16) Reflexivity: The feminist, reflexive researcher’s perspective begins with an understanding of the importance of one’s own values and attitudes in relation to the research process. This recognition begins prior to entering the field. Reflexivity means taking a critical look inward and reflecting on one’s own lived reality and experiences; this self-reflection or journey can be extremely helpful in the research process (Hesse- Biber & Leavy, 2007: 129).

Reflexivity is the process through which a researcher recognizes, examines, and understands how his/ her own social background and assumptions can intervene in the research process. Like the researched or respondent, the researcher is a product of his or her society’s social structures and institutions. Our beliefs, backgrounds, and feelings are part of the process of knowledge construction. To practice reflexivity means to acknowledge that ‘all knowledge is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced and that it is grounded in both the social location and the social biography of the observer and the observed’ (Mann & Kelley, 1997: 392).

The research that is mindful of the researcher-researched relationship and the power and authority imbued in the researcher’s role are some of the issues that engage the feminist researcher. The feminist researchers practice reflexivity throughout the research process. This practice keeps the researcher mindful of his or her personal positionality and that of the respondent. Feminist researchers are also concerned with issues of representation of the researched (Hesse- Biber & Leavy, 2007: 117).

Sandra Harding illuminates the concept of strong objectivity called ‘strong reflexivity’, which resonates with the feminist emphasis on situated knowledge. Strong reflexivity is the manifestation of strong objectivity through method. It requires the researcher to be cognizant and critically reflective about the different ways of the researcher’s positionality can serve as both a hindrance and a resource toward achieving knowledge throughout the research process. (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007: 15)

The study adopts a collaborative method of interviewing. Collaborative Interviewing method is the ‘interaction’ between researcher and respondent ‘produces the data’ and the researcher draws from her own lived experience to ‘co-construct’ new words that more accurately reflect her respondents feelings and experiences (Anderson & Jack, 1991: 17).

Reflexivity goes to the heart of the in-depth interview; it is a process whereby the researcher is sensitive to the important ‘situational’ dynamics that exist between the researcher and the researched that can affect the creation of knowledge. The positionality of the researcher has a strong impact on what biases the researcher brings to a research, and what specific power and privilege the researcher might impose onto the research, the types of questions asked and formulation of objectives in research (Hesse- Biber & Leavy, 2007: 130).

Sandra Harding introduces the concept of ‘strong objectivity’ and argues that considering one’s own standpoint during all phases of a research project ‘maximizes objectivity’ for the researcher. This also ensured the researchers voice is represented, listened to, and understood throughout the research process. Harding urges researchers to examine the questions they ask during interviews and notes that these questions are not ‘value free’, for they often reflect the values, attitudes, and agendas of the researcher (Hardings, 1993: 56).

The concept of reflexivity becomes important when it is discussed studying across difference. Reflexivity can be an important tool which allows researcher to be aware of his/her positionality, gender, race, ethnicity, class and any other factors that might be important to the research process. Reflexivity enables the researcher to gain new insight into the data from the perspective of difference. (Hesse- Biber & Leavy, 2007: 144).

1.17) Methodology of the Study

This study makes an attempt to bring together the scientific literature available on the subject of trafficking of women for the purpose of illuminating the negative impacts of women and children's trafficking. The need for this research is for insight into improving interdiction, enforcement, and prosecution of traffickers and for knowledge relating to the victims' needs for support and services.

The most important and relevant part of collecting as well as assembling data is about the selected area of the study is the method of review of the literature which helps the researcher to a fundamental knowledge and the primary idea on the particular area. The researcher can collect information and make the study more factual by observing the respondents. The researcher can also adopt action research method as it needs to be interactive and effective for both the respondent as well as the researcher.

The study is carried out in Odisha, a state located in the eastern part of India. It is a study based on various sources of information such as secondary literature, newspaper reports, NGOs consultation, Police stations and respondents. The selected reviews of literature identify, annotate, and synthesize research studies, projects, and interventions related to trafficking in order to serve as a tool for future planning to combat trafficking. The study adopts an ethnographic method as well as both quantitative and qualitative method. The study adopts participatory interview, focused observation and case study method to collect information regarding the causes and outcomes of woman's trafficking. The study is done by selecting a particular number of respondents or selecting the sample size, collecting the required information for the study through questionnaire and interview method. Data on the NGOs involved in rehabilitation work is also collected. Participant observation methods are applied to collect data besides interview schedule.

1.17.1) Statement of the Problem

Women and girl children are the most vulnerable group in the issue of trafficking of women. They are being fooled and abducted to be engaged in sex work, and are exploited both mentally and sexually. Gender discrimination and patriarchal mindset are important constituents and catalysts of the vulnerability of women and girl children. This manifests itself in several serious violations

of women's rights such as high incidence of female foeticide and infanticide and the discrimination against women in healthcare, education and employment.

Trafficking violates the human rights of women by abusing and depriving them from various basic privileges of life. They are fatally affected by the existing discrimination and stigmatization by the society. Trafficking is an issue which is well associated with gender discrimination, poverty and deprivation. Poverty and social compulsions are two of the key factors to push women and girls to prostitution.

1.17.2) The relevance of the study:

- ❖ Sex trafficking of women is the most alarming crime in contemporary Odisha. Very few studies signifies the plight of trafficking survivors before their trafficking and after their rescue.
- ❖ The present study concentrates on commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) Its documentation in terms of causes, consequences, and the intricacies of the phenomenon.
- ❖ The study seek to put forth the experiences of the survivors of trafficking in the regions of Odisha.
- ❖ This study attempt to bring out the different voices of the survivors, thereby in the process seeking to make a scientific study on sex trafficking.

1.17.3) The present work is carried on with the following objectives:

- ❖ To gather in-depth information on the magnitude and prevalence of sex trafficking of women in Odisha.
- ❖ To study the factors leading to sex trafficking of women in Odisha.
- ❖ To assess the profile of victims and perpetrators, methods of recruitment of trafficking of women in Odisha.
- ❖ To study the forms of abuse and exploitation faced by survivors of trafficking.
- ❖ To analyze the social implications for trafficking in Odisha.

1.17.4) Research questions:

- ❖ What are the major factors behind women's trafficking?
- ❖ How are the Women driven by the trafficking and get involved in the business of sex trade?

- ❖ How is their life affected by this phenomenon? Do they live a dignified life as other citizens in the society or the profession impacts their life style adversely?
- ❖ Do the social and cultural norms in the society accept them as the other women in the society?
- ❖ How far the legal provisions and the government concern about the issue of trafficking?

1.17.5) Area of the study (Odisha):

Odisha is one of the poorest states of the country. Agriculture being the primary source of livelihood in most parts of the regions, the state has to go through harsh phenomenon of human trafficking in different parts of the state. Different regions have their own factors for aggravation of trafficking as a crime influencing the poor and adverse population. Factors like gender disparity, lack of employment, abject poverty, and frequent wrath of natural disasters, early marriage, dowry demands, and unawareness are some of the major reasons of accelerating trafficking of women in Odisha.

The study is carried out in 16 different districts of Odisha Name Of the districts are: Khorda, Puri, Cuttack, Baleswar, Kendrapara, Sundergarh, Ganjam, Gajapati, Kalahandi, Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Dhenkanal, Nayagarh, Mayurbhanj, Kandhamal (See appendix II).

Rescued survivors of trafficking living in shelter homes were interviewed. (The researcher has visited the districts along with the NGO research teams. Visited the local NGOs, police and media personnel. Trafficking survivors hailing from various districts of Odisha are interviewed.)

1.17.6) Source of data collection: The study is based on both secondary and primary sources. Primary sources include data collected through interviews, participatory and non-participatory observations, informal discussions, and case studies. Secondary sources include clippers from mass media (such as newspaper, reports from news channels), published articles, reports and books as well as websites related to sex trafficking.

1.17.7) Techniques of data collection:

- ❖ The methods that the study adopts is ethnographic method which includes case study method, participatory and non-participatory observation, structured and unstructured interview with survivors of trafficking, NGO staff, police officials, and media persons.

- ❖ An interview schedule that guided the study was carefully prepared and administered.
- ❖ In-depth interview technique, formal and informal discussions, life stories, and participatory and non-participatory observations were employed to collect data.

1.17.8) Methods of Sampling

The study adopts two types of sampling methods;

- ❖ Snowball sampling method: The study adopts snowball sampling method which is also called referral or chain sampling method, as gaining access to the survivors of trafficking is very difficult and got through the reference of NGOs,
- ❖ Purposive sampling method: This method is also named as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling, focuses on techniques where the units that are investigated are based on the judgement of the researcher, like police, NGO, and Media persons interviewed in the study.

1.17.9) Sample size of the study: Four broad categories of respondents were interviewed:

- ❖ 175 survivors of trafficking
- ❖ 30 NGO persons
- ❖ 30 media persons
- ❖ 30 police personnel.

1.17.10) Data Analysis

The study is ethnographic in nature so the data has been analyzed scientifically by considering the voices, experiences, perceptions and beliefs of the respondents. The plight of the survivors of trafficking is the center of the study/ analysis. The method of feminist standpoint epistemology is adopted and used for analyzing the data.

1.18) Feminist Standpoint Epistemology: is a unique philosophy of knowledge building that challenges the researcher to (a) see and understand the world through the eyes and experiences of oppressed women and (b) apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change. Feminist standpoint epistemology requires the fusion of knowledge and practice. It is both a theory of knowledge building and a method of doing research- an approach to knowledge construction and a call to political action (Hesse- Biber and

Leavy, 2007: 55). Feminist standpoint epistemology requires to place women at the center of the research process: women's concrete experiences provide the starting point from which to build knowledge.

1.19) Limitations of the Study

As trafficking of women is sensitive issue, it is very important to note that safety of a female researcher is required. Safety of the researcher to interview the trafficked women and get a proper interpretation of the information is one of the most common problems of doing research on women's sex trafficking. The issue has a very little literature in the regional level for which it is a little difficult to get a clear idea about the background information pertaining to the concerned issue. Finding the respondents and get a scheduled time to sit with them or interview them requires a great process and sometimes even most of the times become possible with the help of networking. To get the required information from the respondents the interviewee or the researcher has to get the trust of the respondent because of the sensitivity of the issue.

1.20) Chapter scheme:

The present thesis is divided into eight chapters, including the introduction and the conclusion.

- ❖ The first chapter '*Introduction to Trafficking: Situating the Issue*' begins by introducing the issue of 'Sex Trafficking of women in Odisha' thereby giving a brief idea of the basic debates in sex trafficking. The final part of the chapter discusses in detail the methods and methodology employed for the study.
- ❖ The second chapter '*Background of the Region*' to establish the setting of the discourse of sex trafficking in the regions of Odisha discusses the socio-economic status of women in the state.
- ❖ The third chapter '*Background of trafficking*' tries to give a detail account of the international, national and regional debates in human trafficking.
- ❖ The fourth chapter '*State Responses to trafficking: A Critical Analysis of Government Initiatives on Trafficking*' critically discusses the state responses to trafficking.
- ❖ The fifth chapter '*Trafficking in the Districts: A Background*' gives an analytical profile of districts which are vulnerable to trafficking in Odisha.

- ❖ The sixth chapter ‘*Voices and Experiences of Trafficking Survivors*’ discuss the findings based on the testimonies of the survivors of trafficking.
- ❖ The seventh chapter ‘*The Approach of Police, NGO and Media towards Trafficking*’ critically analyses the response and approach of police NGO and media to trafficking.
- ❖ The eighth chapter ‘*Conclusion and Recommendations*’ summarizes the findings by giving some suggestions that can combat and prevent the transgression of trafficking. It also discusses the scope of further research that can be conducted in this study. Further, some limitations about the study has been outlined.

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CHAPTER-II

BACKGROUND OF THE REGION

Odisha being one of the poverty stricken states of the country stand vulnerable to trafficking of women and children. Factors that make the state susceptible to sex trafficking are- geographical, demographical, socio-economical, gender discrepancies and natural disasters that altogether have contributed towards making Odisha vulnerable to the delinquent of sex trafficking.

The chapter discusses the factors and dynamics of trafficking in Odisha. It gives a detailed account of the regions so as to encapsulate the occurrence of sex trafficking in the region. The chapter begins with giving a detailed account of Odisha and then proceeds to discuss the geographical, demographical. Socio-economical dynamics of the state that indeed plays a vital role in providing a fertile space for the crime to augment.

2.1) History of Slavery in Odisha

Slavery was a phenomenon which was widely practiced in Odisha. The buying and selling of slaves was according to the hierarchical structure of the social milieu. Feudal exploitation was very common to tribal society in Odisha. Evil practices such as *goti*, *bethi* and *begari* were prominently practiced to make the tribal and lower caste people slaves. The *goti* system was one of the chief abuses found in the tribal society. It was a kind of slavery or may be called debt slavery. In Rayagada district it was known as the *Kambari* system. In this system a poor tribal man would usually take a very small amount of loan through a written or oral agreement from the money lender. Then the debtor became contract bound to work for the usurer at his home and on this field until the loan was repaid in full with due interest. (Pattnaik, 1997: 333)

Very often, even though fully paid, the shewed money lenders would not relieve the unlettered bonded laborer by taking up the accounts. Consequently the poor tribal had to spend his whole life in the service of the money lender. On many occasions, the *Mustadars* of Koraput playing the usurer exploited the villagers. Surprisingly, *Goti* system was a time honored custom which in its original form was no doubt unobjectionable enough (Pattnaik, 1997: 383).

Bethi and *Begari* were other forms of feudal servitude which existed among the tribals of Odisha. The tribals contributed free labor for the local feudal chiefs or the kings, the royal staffs, the landlords, the *matha* chiefs and the government officials. In return they got little or no wage at all. Sometime they were given free food and in some cases they owned rent free lands. The aboriginals recognized as reasonable the demand that they should render certain customary services for those who have authority over them. So various duties were performed regularly by them. They were entrusted by their masters with work like grazing their cattle, collecting wood from the jungle and constructing their buildings (Padhi, 1992: 142). The feudatory kings and the government demanded free labor from the tribals in thatching rest houses and other public buildings, carrying belongings of officers in camps and the like. This type of work in some cases was attached to particular villages by rotation. Very often this free labor was converted to forced labor. The tribal people were compelled to work at any time as the *Amalas* wished. They were employed without payment for clearance of jungle (Benn, 2000: 311). Roads were often constructed with forced labor from the tribal people. According to the old custom of the *Daspalla* State, tribals like the *Khonds*, had to supply under this *Bethi* System, all the woods required for the cars of Lord *Jagannath* on the occasion of the famous car festival of Puri. The *Bethi* and *Begari* were misused by the underlings who were oppressive to the tribal people. The life of the bonded laborer under this *Bethi* or *Begari* was highly pathetic (Pattnaik, 1997: 341).

2.2) Devadasi System in Odisha

The system of *devadasi* (temple dancers) is the historical evidence of prostitution and sex slavery in Odisha, holding a socio-cultural and religious corroboration. The origin of the practice of Devadasis in Odisha is historically traced to the reigning period of the Bhaumakar dynasty from the 8th Century A. D. to the 10th Century A.D (Mishra, 2014: 34). The Devadasi practice was prevalent in the Buddhist Centers of learning (Mahavihars) in Solonapur and Ratnagiri during this period. D.C. Sircar states that the practice of Devadasis was maintained in the Buddhist Shrines of Odisha in the early medieval Period. He further maintains that the virgins dedicated to the noble cause of Buddhism led to the lives of Buddhist nuns, were gradually degenerated into temple dancers and were allowed to defile the temple of God (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 209).

A.P. Shah writes that “devadasi system was originated in South India and seems to have traveled to Odisha from there”. Kanhu Charan Mishra maintains that the devadasi system was transported to Odisha from Srikuraman Kshetra or Present Sri Kuruman in Andhra Pradesh to Odisha in the early medieval period which became known as the popular Mahari system in Odisha (Sadasivan, 1993: 56).

The dancing girls served the Gods in temples by way of performing dance and music also during the reigning periods of the imperial Gangas from the 12th century A.D. to the middle of the 15th century A.D. and the Suryavamsis from the middle of the 15th century A.D. to the middle of the 17th century A.D. During these periods this became much popular. During this time the Natamandaps (dancing halls) were added to the temple of Lingaraja in Bhubaneswar, the Sun temple at Konark and Jagannath temple in Puri, and to the host of temples all over Odisha. It is sadly observed that the Devadasi system was gradually polluted which in the process encouraged the institution of prostitution in the social sphere in Odisha in the medieval Times under the Muslim rulers (Mishra, 2013: 23).

2.3) Advent of Colonial Period

Later on with the advent of the Europeans in Odisha, the port towns of Balasore, Pipili, Hariharapur, Puri, Ganjam, Gopalpur, etc. came under this influence. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English had their commercial settlements in such port towns. The influence of the foreigners greatly increased the problems in the social sphere of the border districts. These commercial centers really fell under all evil influence of the modern cosmopolitan society. The institution of prostitution took new dimensions and it became a large scale business (Chakrabarthy, 2000: 49).

The main cause of the prevalence of such practices were poverty, destitution, restriction on widow remarriage and illiteracy. From a study of historical source materials it is found the system of Devadasis was in vogue in temples in Odisha and the practice of prostitution was in vogue in the towns or the Nagaras. The prostitutes were all versed in the art of music, dance and singing. They performed dance during the marriage ceremonies particularly of royal households.

They entertained the "Bitapurushas, (debauched male persons) by cutting lustful jokes with them. This practice continued all through the medieval times (Rajguru, 1960: 57).

The Devadasis were a special class of women supposed to have been dedicated in the services of the temples. Symbolically they are united in marriage with some Gods and it is their chief duty to dance and sing before them (Gods) as to please them. But this practice is said to have developed unholy connection with people and the pilgrims visiting temples. They came to be looked down as prostitutes. However, this system proved to be a good source of income for the temple. The temple made a living out of this practice (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 97).

2.4) Geographical Features of Odisha

Odisha, situated in the eastern part of India, is divided into 30 administrative districts and the districts share a common factor of trafficking, which is poverty notwithstanding that they are distinct in their own ways. Bhubaneswar, being the capital of the state, plays a role of a transit point for trafficking in the state. Odisha shares borders with for other states, namely, West Bengal on the North East, Jharkhand on the North and Chhattisgarh on the West, Andhra Pradesh on the South and Bay of Bengal on the East. These four neighboring states helps accelerating the occurrence of inter-state trafficking in Odisha (Odisha Reference Annual Book, 2014: 35).

2.5) Demographic Features

The Population of Odisha according to the 2011 census stands at about 41 million. Odisha accounts for 3.47 per cent of the total population of country, making it the 11th most populated state in India. The population density of the state is 269 as against the national average of 382 per sq.km. The sex ratio (number of Female per one thousand male) of the state encouragingly stands at 978 against the national ratio of 940. However, urban sex ratio of Odisha remains lower at 934 as against the rural sex ratio of 988. The total decadal growth is 14.05 percent. Whereas it was at 16.25 in 2011 census. The Birth rate of Odisha during 2009 is 23.2 which is much less than that of India i.e. 25.0 (Odisha Economic Survey, 2015: 23).

2.6) Human Resource Development

From the demographic profile of the State it is clear that the State being over populated does not lack human forces. As a resource, people are abundantly available as factors of production to work in combination with other factors. But a large population may not necessarily contribute to economic development when they lack education, skill and technical knowledge, etc. In Odisha literacy rate is 73.6%, which is lower than all India average of 75.4%, and particularly the same is much lower in rural areas and for females. The functional literacy rate, for which no statistics is available, is considerably much lower than the existing literacy rate. The picture of technical and vocational education, a bare necessity for increasing efficiency of labor, is gloomy and feeble. This speaks of the very poor quality of human capital in the State and indicates widespread poverty (Odisha Economic Survey, 2013-14: 19).

“Human Capital Formation” is one of the poorly nourished sectors in Odisha. The quality of education in the state is fairly low and the content less relevant to the ‘needs’ of the individual and the society. The prevailing educational system does not aim at conveying knowledge and skills necessary for self-employment or for developing entrepreneurship, but is more concerned with certification and credentialing for government job (Fact Sheet of Odisha, 2011: 31).

2.7) Education and Literacy Rate

Literacy rate in Odisha has seen upward trend and is 72.87 percent as per 2011 population census. Of that, male literacy stands at 81.59 percent while female literacy is at 62.46 percent. In 2001, literacy rate in Odisha stood at 63.08 percent of which male and female were 71.28 percent and 50.51 percent literate respectively. In actual numbers, total literates in Odisha stands at 26,742,595 of which males were 15,089,681 and females were 11,652,914 (Odisha Economic Survey, 2013-14: 18).

Despite of the numbers/percentage in the government records, it is a matter deficiency in the educational advancements which eventually leads to a crippled condition with regard to human trafficking in the state. Lack of education and awareness makes a person incapacitated in terms of understanding the rigidity of a circumstance. Rural area is more vulnerable to trafficking because they are mostly unaware of this rampant crime. This does not mean that this crime

happens only in rural areas but it has a great execution in urban places too. Insufficient facilities of education drags the career aspirants to an urban area for pursuing their education in a better academic set up.

2.8) Education of Girl Children in Odisha

Lal, M. (2005) found that among all school dropouts, tribals and *dalits* form the biggest group. Further, the largest group amongst them is girls (Lal, 2005: 24).

The percentage of literacy of tribes was only 8.54 per cent in 1961 which has increased to 58.96 per cent in 2011. But female literacy of tribes is only 49.35 per cent compared to male literacy of 68.53 per cent (Odisha Economic Survey, 2013-14: 43). During the post-Independence period, the Indian government implemented legislation and allocated funds to facilitate access to enrollment in primary education (grades I-V) in India. As a result, both literacy rates and gross enrollment ratios of boys and girls across the general population have increased substantially during the past 60 years. This indicates that tribal of Odisha are in deep lag behind in educational status (Behera, 2015: 47).

K. Sujatha (2002) contends that the perspective adopted for educational development of tribal communities fails to adequately address the specific disadvantages characterizing the tribal population. She found that one of the major constraints of tribal education at the planning level is the adoption of a dual system of administration (Sujatha, 2002: 66). Rani, M (2000) observed in her study that due to the language barrier the tribal children are unable to establish communication link with the teacher and thus leading to the termination of their education in some point or the other (Rani, 2000: 70). Vaidyanathan and Nair (2001) suggested that teacher motivation contributes more to teaching -learning process than teacher competence (Vaidyanathan & Nair, 2001: 41). Sujatha, K. (2002) revealed that though education was not a critical demand among Scheduled Tribes, government policy focused on education as the main avenue by which to integrate them into „mainstream“ society. Jha & Jhingran, D. (2002) have strongly advocated the use of the mother tongue or home language as medium of instruction in early stages of education. This assumes greater significance in the context of education of tribal children because their mother tongue is often quite distinct from the prominent languages in the

state or regional languages and it is desirable to have a local teacher from the same tribal community (Jha & Jhingran, 2002: 32). The Praitichi Committee Report (2002) identifies cost of schooling, lack of motivation of teachers, lack of inspection, and the increasing dependence on private tutoring to be the main hurdles in the path of education for tribal children (Sen, 2002: 22).

2.9) School Drop outs

Dropout is the main problem of education in Odisha. The dropout rate among the girls is high than the boys. Gautam, V. (2004) in his article found that high “dropout” rates (61%) among tribal children (Gautam, 2003: 16). Lal, M. (2005) found that among all school dropouts, tribals and dalits form the biggest group. Further, the largest group (41%) amongst them is girls (Lal, 2005: 24).

The economic condition of tribal people is so poor that they do not desire to spare their children or their labor power and allow them to attend schools. As education does not yield any immediate economic return, the tribal parents prefer to engage their children in remunerative employment which supplements the family income (Behera, 2015: 48).

2.10) Unemployment and Migration

These two mechanisms can be considered as the foremost outcomes that are brought up from various disabilities of the state’s economy. These factors lead the vulnerable groups to destinations where they find themselves in crippled conditions. The status of unemployment is higher than the national rate of unemployment. The lack of job opportunities, steady economic developments, non- accessibility to government programs lead to the aggravation of trafficking in Odisha. Poverty and search for employment is the principal propellants of the survival of trafficking.

2.10.1) Migration: Odisha stands among the major states from where considerably large scale out- migration from state occurs both in regular and seasonal forms. The compulsion to migrate emerges from widely prevalent poverty, small size land holdings, insecurity of food, lack of employment opportunities, and frequent occurrence of natural calamities and so on (Acharya, 2001: 12).

Odisha has a large number of migrant female laborers who leave their villages in search of livelihood. The underdeveloped agricultural economy of the state which makes its population unemployed in lean season creates a deficit household economy, which gets further accentuated due to persistent natural disasters such as droughts and reduction of forest resources in tribal areas. Along with this, globalization has resulted in reduced market facilities and lack of employment opportunities for people. So more and more women are forced to migrate periodically to urban areas or to other states in search of work. They migrate with family members, relatives and friends. Earlier only the male members used to migrate but now a days the whole family migrates in search of employment (Behera et.al. 2002: 31).

Migration leading to trafficking of women and children is an issue of the state, which requires urgent and concerned responses. A comprehensive approach is essential to address the political, social, economic, legal and institutional dimensions of trafficking.

2.10.2) Poverty is explained in terms of cultural and personal disabilities rather than the structure of economic opportunities. But these tendencies can be challenged by organized groups and social movements and to be reinforced (Brenner, 2006: 53). There is a great disparity in the severity of poverty in the districts of Odisha. All the regions are not same in terms of their economic standard. The rural poverty ratio in the southern region is more than two and half times that of the coastal region and the ratio in the northern region more than one and half time that of the coastal region. The intensity of poverty in the southern region of Odisha is almost twice as high as it is in the coastal and northern regions (Human Development Report, 2004: 17).

The KBK region of Kalahandi, Balangir, and Korapat (now divided into 8 districts Kalahandi, Nuapada, Balangir, Sonapur, Korapat, Malkangiri, Nabarangpur, Rayagada) in the south-west Odisha, comprising 30.6 per cent of the state's area, is among the poorest regions in the country. It constitutes nearly 20 per cent of the state's population; and the SC and ST populations account for 38.7 per cent and 15.8 per cent of the region's population respectively (Odisha Reference Annual Book, 2014: 59). Agriculture is the mainstay of the region's economy and kharif paddy cultivation (with very low yield of less than 1.5 tonnes per hectare) is the principal means of livelihood. However, the rice economy of the region does not provide adequate livelihood to the majority of the agricultural labor or cultivating households. Chronic drought conditions, high

levels of food insecurity, and chronic income poverty resulting in absolute hunger, regular distress migration, and periodic allegations of starvation deaths characterize this region. (Human Development Report, 2004: 29). Therefore the districts constitute major susceptible factors for protracted human trafficking.

Food Insecurity Atlas, p. 82, places Odisha in the category of ‘very low’ food access mainly due to poor entitlement on account of high incidence of poverty, inadequate employment opportunities in lean seasons, and poor economic access to public distribution of subsidized food grains. Odisha has been put in the category of ‘severely food insecure’ regions. Severe food insecurity in Odisha is primarily due to the presence of a vulnerable rural population with poor livelihood access or livelihood susceptible to natural disasters (Human Development Report, 2004: 46)

Condition of chronic poverty, high levels of food insecurity, drought conditions, lack of income options, inadequate employment opportunities in lean seasons, and poor economic access to public distribution of subsidized food grains, poor infrastructural development resulting in absolute hunger, large scale and regular distress migration, strategized trafficking of women/girls, increasing incident and numbers of child labor, low and insecure wages, indebtedness, and periodic starvation deaths makes the population of state by large highly vulnerable to compromises and exploitation for their survival. Consequently, trafficking crops up from the prevailing adversaries thrive mainly on distress and helplessness. Since the agents of trafficking majorly are native locals, then they tend to sniff the desperation of people for a better livelihood and sound life, hence the regions turns out to be one of the source states of human/women’s’ trafficking in the country (Mahadevi, 2002: 22).

There is a considerable regional disparity between areas and communities with regard to education that puts a remarkable impact on getting a good job. This further forces the people of state to migrate in search of low level manual work. Action Aid on the basis of a micro study of migration from Balangir noted approximately one lakh workers; migrate each year to the brick kilns of Hyderabad, in periods wherein livelihood options were unavailable. Nuapada district, bordering the state of Chhattisgarh is largely rural, drought prone, has meager resources, poor public health facilities, low literacy and a considerable scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population. A considerable proportion of the adults are marginal workers or agricultural laborers

and many of these migrate to Raipur in Chhattisgarh, the industrial towns of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh during the lean season for earning their livelihood (Sethi, 2007: 14). Migration makes both men and women exposed to trafficking, as to earn a living for surviving in a strange place puts the migrants into the tricks of the traffickers. Women/girls become the worst sufferers in this regard, as selling them for sexual exploitation gets more profit to the pimps.

2.11) Dysfunctionality of the Government and NGOs:

Insufficiency and corruption in the implementation of the various anti-poverty schemes are also a major cause for the persistence of acute poverty. Though the government is the principal offender here, the civil society also cannot abdicate its responsibilities. Ranjit Guru indicates that a number of NGOs, claiming to be working for the uplift of the marginalized, are becoming willing partner of government agencies in exploiting the poor. Though it can't be applicable for all, as there are NGOs, doing excellent work in difficult conditions, but the number is very small. The level of insufficiency and corruption in some interior areas is such that it mostly leads to a situation of anarchy, where the government appears to be totally nonexistent (Guru, 2011: 31).

The growing shadow of red terror in the state, particularly in the tribal dominated poor and backward areas, bear the chilling testimony to the complete failure of the agencies in delivering the relief goods during adversities. This indicates the gravity of corruption and how the money or facilities meant for poor are siphoned to the pockets of politicians, contractors and local dealers. The insufficiency of the government agencies is demonstrated in the non-utilization of funds, earmarked for the socio-economic welfare of the downtrodden (Guru, 2011: 31). With no prospects of development, poverty and underdevelopment become a major factor for trafficking.

2.12) Economy of Odisha: Sources of Livelihood and the Standard of Living

The economy of Odisha is predominantly dependent on agriculture and the performance in this sector becomes essential for the economic growth of the state. The prevalence of small farmers having small sized land holdings (According to Economic Survey of Odisha, (2005-06), 50% of the total operated area falls under marginal (less than 1 hectare) and small (1-2 hectare) category), seasonal unemployment and lack of implementation of modern technology in the production of agriculture in Odisha forces most people to find an alternative source of livelihood.

People of rural Odisha try to shift to urban areas to get a better standard in their economic life style. They always eye for a single opportunity that bring stability in their earning. ‘Since rural work is seasonal and intermittent, people of rural area perennially long for getting short term work/job in the urban areas. When they find it, it is often of the exploitative and hazardous kind’ (Brasted, 1996: 43). This is when trafficking of women takes a higher strand.

2.13) Labor Market in Odisha

The extent of rural non-farm employment opportunities, constitute only 12.63 per cent of rural main workers in southern Odisha (Human Development Report, 2004: 51). A greater percentage of female workers in rural Odisha are engaged in manufacturing, with the reverse being the case for the rural tertiary sector. As in rural Odisha, in urban Odisha as well, a higher percentage of female workers are engaged in manufacturing than male workers. The degree of casual employment is greater in the case of female workers than male workers. There are nearly 14.01 lakh tribal women engaged in forest based occupations (Human Development Report, 2004: 51). Women are predominantly employed in labor intensive and unskilled jobs with less security of tenure and lower wages. Their presence is more pronounced in the unorganized, informal, unskilled, and low-paid inferior jobs. Women continue to earn less than men in the labor market even when they have the same education, technical skill and years of work experience. The majority of women workers in rural areas are engaged in agriculture, while the urban women workers are primarily employed in the unorganized sectors such as household industries, petty trades and services, building and construction work (Sharma et. al 2014: 37). Whereas, the stipulation of women labor force to unorganized and unskilled employment which are mostly unregistered opens the gate for trafficking and sexual exploitation.

2.14) Climatic Conditions and Natural Calamities:

Climatic condition is the prime cause of natural calamities in Odisha. The susceptibility of trafficking exacerbates due to the consistent stroke of natural disasters in the state. The state is the hot bed of natural disasters like cyclones, floods, droughts and famines. The coastal region is more prone to cyclones, floods whereas the western districts and southern region are vulnerable to droughts and famines and have created a vacuum in livelihoods. The manifestations of disasters are seen in the poverty, malnutrition, distress sale of paddy, property and even children.

Landlessness, indebtedness and lack of livelihood force the people to seek survival options in other far way places (Behera et. al. 2002: 76)

Odisha lying just South of the Tropic of Cancer, has a tropical climate. Standing on the coastal belt, the weather in Odisha is greatly influenced by the sea. On the contrary, the Eastern Ghats of the state experience an extremely cold climate (Odisha Reference Year Book, 2014: 9). The extremity of the climates often affects adversely to the agriculture of the state. As Odisha is agriculture dominated region and most of its habitants grossly depend upon agriculture, the earning gets a hit by the rage of the climate. Irregular agricultural production and the loss of crop is one of the driving factors of trafficking in Odisha. It increases the adversity of the farmers, whereas they turn to the local money lenders who later force them to be enslaved.

The economy of Odisha, most likely, suffers due to the wrath of nature. Either the crops do not grow due to lack of rains or there are floods following excessive rains and the crops and houses are washed off; hence there is always a near famine in the state. The average rainfall is 150 cm, experienced as the result of south west monsoon during July-September. The month of July is the wettest and the major rivers may get flooded, though the state consists a fair amount of water bodies. The state also experiences small rainfall from the retreating monsoon in the month of October-November. January and February are dry. During these extreme weather conditions the worst affected are the agricultural farmers. The traffickers take an ample advantage of this situation to perpetrate seasonal trafficking in the region (Odisha Reference Year Book, 2014: 11).

Monsoon influences the climate of the state and creates havoc with its erratic and uncertain behavior. As a result, the state faces flood and drought, now and then, and even both drought and flood in the same year. 'Wrath of Nature' is a major curse for the people of the state. Devastating floods, terrible droughts, disastrous cyclones and torrential rains often visit the state and scrape all the gains of toil and hard labor. These kinds of uncertainties in the climate give a strong reason for seasonal trafficking in the state. The aftermaths of natural calamities makes the affected people more vulnerable to trafficking. The pimps/the middle men take the advantage of the wretched condition of the people and lure them easily by various fake promises to get them a better life.

2.15) The Aftermath of Natural Disasters

Migration and trafficking are the outcome of the repeated disasters that strike Odisha at regular intervals. Cyclones, floods, droughts and famines hit the state at diverse times in different regions. There have been more than 45 natural disasters during the period 1963 to 2013 (Odisha Economic Survey, 2013-14: 15). The coastal regions are more prone to cyclones and floods whereas the western districts and southern region are vulnerable to droughts and famines and have created a vacuum in livelihoods (Sethi, 2007: 24). The manifestations of disasters are seen in the poverty, malnutrition, distress sale of paddy, property and children and mostly girls. Landlessness, indebtedness and lack of livelihood force the people to seek survival options in other far way places.

People, households and settlements experience same disaster in different ways owing to different degrees of vulnerability that they have. Some are more vulnerable than the other in terms of the impact of a disaster. So the degree of susceptibility to trafficking also varies with respect to the influence of the disaster. Impacts on people also differ depending on the social and community roles they play, their economic conditions, geographic positioning, and access to resources for survival and restoration of normalcy.

Interplay of various physical, socio-economic and political factors determine a population's vulnerability and also their ability to respond to them. Women are the worst sufferers during disasters (Hans & Patel, 2012: 23). Their vulnerability arising from their already precarious social status, which limits their access to resources, to information, and what is most important- the recognition and understanding that they suffer so. People from urban areas are less vulnerable than people from rural area because both have a different source of livelihood.

Insufficient support from the government during and post natural disasters affects grossly in the perpetuation of trafficking in Odisha. The high disaster prone areas in the state have to face threat of communicable and contagious diseases, food scarcity, destruction of house, loss of agricultural fields and forests (as many of the tribal zone people solely depend on the forest for their livelihood). In this case government fails to meet the need of the people in providing food, health care facilities, shelter and employment. The trafficking agents take advantage of the

circumstances and succeed in alluring the people. Women and girls become more vulnerable in such situations and get trafficked in the name of marriage and employment or for better prospects (Guru, 2011: 55).

2.16) Worst Sufferers in Disaster

The interplay of various physical, socio-economic and political factors determines a population's vulnerability to natural disasters and their ability to respond to them. Worldwide experience shows that people with low incomes are generally more vulnerable: they generally live in low quality houses, at ill-equipped locations, and have limited opportunities to recover from disasters. The vulnerability of a household is caused by its unsafe conditions and limited capacities it has in coping with consequences of a disaster. (Human Development Report, 2004: 32).

Scheduled population, marginal farmers, landless laborers, women and children are at highly vulnerable these circumstances and therefore at high risk of being trafficked or exploited. These groups together also constitute the majority of state population and thus as a whole majority of the state population is vulnerable to trafficking and therefore exploitation physical, moral, economical and sexual (UNDP, 2008: 41).

Women sufferer the most from poverty and calamities. Under the given socio cultural framework their roles are not designed to cope the adversaries on their own and even if needed they hardly find any support in form of socio- cultural or economic forces. As result of increased impoverishment and burden in their family due to the cyclone in 1999 a large number of women left their homes to fend for themselves and some of them ended in sex-work (Gangoli, 2001: 54)

In the patriarchal society, women are excluded from inheritance of property, most notably land. Therefore, households headed by women are more likely to fall into chronic poverty than those headed by males (Human Development Report, 2004: 34). Women faced discrimination in relief and rehabilitation after a natural disaster. Women are vulnerable on account of: (i) poor representation in the household and community level decision making processes, (ii) poor access to information, skills, resources, and finance (iii) rise in vulnerability for sexual exploitation due to collapse of physical space (shelters) and subsequent social dislocation, (iv) grave risks to pregnant women who face the problem of acute congestion in shelter (Behera et. al. 2002: 53).

The large-scale destruction of dwelling houses and lack of rural infrastructure cause severe inconveniences to women in their day-to-day activities like bathing, washing, and defecation (Swain, 2002: 44). Adverse socio-economic and cultural conditions increase the likelihood that women and children will be easily lured and fall prey to situations of high vulnerability towards abuse, exploitation and trafficking. Poverty and lack of equal opportunity reduce the status and quality of life for many girls (Pandey & Kant, 2003: 15).

2.17) Tribes in Odisha

According to the 2011 Census, scheduled tribes comprise 22.84 per cent of the state population. Further, about 45 per cent of Odisha is classified as Scheduled Area under Schedule V of the Constitution, which identifies special privileges for those areas where the majority of the population belong to Scheduled Tribes (Odisha Reference Year Book, 2014: 51). Out of 30 administrative districts of Odisha, 6 districts like Koraput, Rayagada, Nabarangpur, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh are declared as fully Scheduled districts. Whereas there are seven other districts declared as partially Scheduled districts (Behera, 2015: 46).

The occupational structure of the tribes is woven around forest and forest related activities. They collect their basic amenities from the forest and their economic life is interwoven with the forest eco-system. Food gathering, hunting and fishing continue to be major activities for earning their livelihood, although some of the larger tribes have become agriculturist (Mohapatra, 2011: 18).

This is driven by the fact that Odisha's current source of growth, i.e. mineral resources lie predominantly in areas where the tribals reside. Setting up mineral based industries in these pockets has therefore resulted in large scale displacement of tribals from their traditional land with accompanying problems of resettlement and rehabilitation, when they have to lose their livelihood and shelter. This becomes a vigorous opportunity for the traffickers to allure them for a better urban life (Choudhury, 2004: 22).

2.18) Caste System as an Instigator of Trafficking

Caste system has been created due to division of labor in the society. The Scheduled Castes predominantly, 88.4 per cent reside in rural villages. Lower literacy rate among the lower castes has an impact on trafficking in the state. Higher caste unemployed people refrain to do lower

grade jobs which are socially assigned for lower caste people and fall into the trap of trafficking agents for better career prospects. Whereas, in the case of lower caste people in rural Odisha unemployment, poverty, and distress sustains so as they become vulnerable to trafficking (Naik, 2012: 2)

2.19) Status of Women in Odisha

Women occupy a vital position in the development of every society. Development in the status of women is considered as an important element of social development. The intricacies of the status and empowerment of a woman involves the decision making power of their own, access to information and resources for taking proper decision, to exercise assertiveness in collective decision-making and involvement in the growth process. Empowerment of women could be only achieved if their economic and social status is improved.

Gender violence, disparity and exploitation has a major connection with the operation of trafficking of women/girls. Trafficking being a strategized crime is determined by social context, social norms and structures. Household composition, gendered ideologies and social contacts and networks determine who the targeted groups are (Haan, 2000: 24). Domestic violence, girl child abuse and physical as well as sexual exploitation of women/girls in the household instigates the women to run away and fall prey to sex trafficking.

2.20) Fake Marriages

There is an increase in marital migration and migration for better marital prospects. Sending daughters to far away marital homes can be a household strategy to escape dowry, achieve marriage for the daughter and smooth consumption for the remaining members of the household (Kaur, 2004: 2597). Today it is difficult to differentiate trafficking in its first part from willful migration. For coerced marriage girls from Odisha are taken to Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab. Women and girls from the state are trafficked to Haryana and Punjab for domestic work, bonded labor like condition and slavery, and to fill the shortage of brides. Girls from Odisha are also trafficked for labor purposes in brick kilns, and construction work and are subjected to all sort of physical, economical, moral exploitation including sexual and prostitution (Pandey & Kant, 2003: 6).

There is a high rate of movement of women outside the state in the name of marriage. So there are different patterns of women's movement from one place to another, outside the state of Odisha, in different forms and not necessarily just migration.

There are three different categories in movement of women. First, lots of girls from Odisha get married out of Odisha, particularly to the northern states of India where there is low sex ratio, for example states like Haryana and UP. What is a matter of surprise is as to why so many girls are marrying in UP where the language and culture are different. The consistent pattern is found that families of the girls in Odisha are very poor. They do not have money for dowry to marry off their daughters. So whoever comes with proposal to marry without dowry they are more than happy to send their daughters away. Some "grooms" even offer money and take care of the marriage expenses. Once the girls are married, and sometimes they are not even married, they find themselves often in difficult situation when they arrive home, including forced labor and sexual exploitation. The second pattern is the movement of particularly tribal girls as domestic helps in big cities of India like Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore and Pune. The third pattern is the self-migration of women. Due to lack of work in Odisha, women are migrating to places where they can find work, mainly landing up in brick factories or construction works. At work, often women found themselves in trafficking like situation where they are not paid wages but just given a weekly "ration". Even when they wanted to leave, they are not able to or allowed to leave (Kaur, 2008: 112)

2.21) Gender Disparity and Trafficking

Sex ratio, work participation, age at marriage, educational level, health status, gender violence, access to social, administrative and economical; structures are few of the measures which reflect upon the status of women in any given society and accordingly their safety or vulnerability to abuse and exploitation.

There has been a decline in the gross enrolment ratio of girls after 1992–93, which has increased gender disparity (Govinda, 2003:33). Girls are not given equal opportunity to education and are made to work at home as well as outside to assist in household earning. A substantial proportion of child labor is girls. 'There are twice as many girls as boys in mining and quarrying' (Brasted, 1996: 55). The number of female children engaged in nursing and care giving activities in the family is higher than the number of male children. However, the time spent for education by

female children (19.11 hours per week) is less than the time spent by male children (28.63 hours a week) (Human Development Report, 2004: 67).

Girls are subject to early marriage as they are not only seen as burden but also due to their clearly defined role of bearing children and housekeeping, in patriarchy. In Odisha also early marriage in tender age is preferred due to various socio economic, cultural reasons all of which have their root in gender discrimination and adverse position of females in social and domestic structure. (Pandey & Kant, 2003: 18).

2.22) Violence against Women and Gender Discrimination

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women states in its preamble that violence against women is a product of the “unequal power relations” that characterize gender relations in all parts of the world. The declaration recognizes that in addition to individual acts of violence, it is this history of unequal relationships that is at the core of widespread and pervasive nature of violence against women. Violence against women is a universal reality but at the same time it is invisible. Yet such violence is underreported if not “normalized” as acceptable social behavior (Coomaraswamy, 2005: 26).

Violence against women is a major consequence of every crime that occurs in society. This particular feature exists everywhere irrespective of caste, class, culture and locality. No matter what the crime is, the woman suffers at the end. Violence persists along with the birth or before the birth of a girl child (Sharma, 2007: 88).

Economic and social exploitation of women and their labor also contributes to violence against women. Women are often employed as bonded labor and as low paid labor in many economic enterprises around the world; as migrant workers they face enormous hardship. The refusal to recognize women’s economic independence and empowerment is one of the main reasons for violence against women, accentuating thereby, their vulnerability and abuse (Coomaraswamy, 2005: 28).

2.22.1) Family and Domestic Violence: Subordination of women has led to violence under this head to rise. Incidence of domestic violence crosses all the barriers of class, income, culture and religion are in a high under reported crime (Das, 1995: 19). Domestic violence is one of the

greatest obstacles to gender equality. It obstructs women to secure their fundamental rights to equal protection under the law and the right to life and liberty. Owing to the violence and exploitation inside the house women long for freedom and in search of solace they fall into the trap of the traffickers.

The role of family and community members has been vindicating in flourishing trafficking in Odisha (Sharma, 2007: 92). Factors include violence by husbands and other family members, marital separation or abandonment, with the interaction of poverty and gender-based mistreatment (Silverman et. al. 2007: 224).

Traffickers are often family members, both immediate and distant. Trafficking takes place in the guise of false employment or marriage-brokering, as well as the direct selling of children into prostitution by their families (Sarkar et. al. 2008: 227).. Women who face discrimination within their family and are often ill-treated or subjected to domestic violence are also easy victims for traffickers. Orphan children, especially girls, single and divorced women, and widows are highly vulnerable to trafficking as, being dependent on their families for support, they are often considered a burden (Sen & Nair, 2004: 38).

2.22.2) Dowry System: Dowry, which is highly prevalent in Odisha, is a social evil and a cognizable offence under law. Unemployment and the vogue to earn easy money, are some of the factors responsible for increasing dowry offences (Das et. al. 1991: 7). Nowadays, men consider marriage as a good source of getting easy money and property from the parents of brides at the same time dowry has taken a picture of social status.

There has been an increase in dowry-related violence in spite of the enactment of the Dowry Prohibition Act 1991 by the state government. Dowry related violence is of three types, viz. dowry suicide, and dowry homicide and dowry torture (Das et. al. 1991: 8). The women who are victims of violation and abuse inside the house, become highly exposed to trafficking due to their condition of helplessness. These women become easy targets of traffickers. The women are re-victimized being trafficked and have to go through a worse circumstance.

Dowry system plays one of the perpetrator of several other gender discriminations and gender based violence in society, to name those, female feticide and infanticide, discrimination in girl's education, and also women/girls trafficking. The burden of dowry and marriage makes the parents desperate, when the traffickers succeed to lure them for either selling their daughters either knowing or unknowingly in the name of marriage. It is still a practice in most parts of the rural Odisha, that 16-18 is the ideal age for a girl to get married (UNICEF, 2012: 22). The haste for getting the girls married often provides a fair opportunity to the trafficking agents to allure the parents. Parents pay least heed to the intention of the traffickers than protecting their family name as a girls remain unmarried for a longer time after poverty is a shame to the family.

Son preference in Odisha is less compared to other states in India, yet there is a discernment and deride for the girl child. The birth of a daughter is considered inauspicious and at the same time, an additional socio-economic burden to the family. A wife who happens to give birth to girls in succession is despised and cursed. The birth of girl children are unwelcomed which leads to gender discrimination.

2.22.3) Child Labor in Odisha: Children are more likely to be poor than adults. When the population living below the poverty line is high, 'children arguably have to work' (Policy Brief, 2005:126). More economically backward and drought prone the area, the greater the incidence of child labor. Child labor not only further perpetrates poverty, it also constitutes its fundamental cause. To the extent that each generation of poverty-stricken children become the next generation of poverty-stricken adults they have a point (Brasted, 1997:31). The magnitude of child labor is very high in Odisha. Most of the child laborers belong to SC, ST, and Other Backward Castes (OBC). This is caused by poverty and low social background. In Odisha, it is supply rather than demand that determines the number of child laborers in the state. So it becomes apparent that most of the victims of trafficking happen to be under age.

2.23) Conclusion

Odisha is the poorest among the states, with more than half of its population living below the poverty line. Poverty being one of the strongest cause in the exacerbation of trafficking in the state, there are different sub aspects which can be marked as debt burden, crop failure due to

erratic monsoon, and so on. Lack of attention or support from the government during disasters and insufficient livelihood opportunities makes the condition of the poor worse by landing them in adverse situations like trafficking, bondage labor and exploitation. The state suffers from highly prevalent gender disparities and there is domestic violence, dowry system, early marriage, inequality in education (girl children dropping out from school), male child preference etc. These are the primeval factors which establish an expedient platform for the traffickers to allure the girls as well as the parents for the execution of trafficking in the state.

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CHAPTER- III

BACKGROUND OF TRAFFICKING

The trading of human beings is thousand years old phenomenon and runs like a red thread through human history. At its core lie intentions of exploitation, coercion, enforcement and deception. On a global dimension, people are often sold from developing regions to developed ones, as well as within a country's borders. Therefore, trafficking of human beings is a global crime and a violation of human rights (Government of India Report, 2008: 11). It is crucial to mention that one of the majorly established forms of sex trafficking in which primarily women and children are coerced or deceived for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE).

Estimates range widely, with the US department of state's trafficking in persons (TIP) report 2015 stating that around 8,00,000 women and children are trafficked each year across international borders; 80% of trafficked persons end up in forced sex work. The United Nations (UN, 2015: 5) estimates the number of trafficking victims at more than 30 million, with the largest number originating in Asia, and an estimated 1, 50,000 annually in south Asia alone (ILO, 2014: 25). The Indian governments' Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD, 2007: 10) estimates the number of persons trafficked for CSE in India to be around 2.8 million and about three million prostitutes in the country.

The chapter discusses the age old phenomenon by throwing light upon the historical development of human trafficking in the society. It discusses the national and international perception and perspectives of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, the evolution, establishment and magnitude of slavery system in the past and present society.

3.1) White Slave Trade

At the beginning of the 19th century, there was a great public outcry against 'white slavery' in Europe and America. 'White slavery' referred to the abduction and transport of white women for prostitution (Louise, 2010:16). In a manner similar to today's campaigns, the issue was covered widely in newspapers, a number of organizations were set up to combat it, and national and international legislation was adopted to stop the 'trade'. The international debates around 'white slavery' were highly concerned with the issue of consent.

Many campaigners against the white slave trade saw all prostitutes as victims in need of rescue; others argued for the importance of distinguishing the 'willing' prostitute from the victimized white slave. The distinction between 'white slaves' and willing prostitutes was maintained by campaigners of differing ideological bent. On the one hand were so-called 'purity' campaigners, who aimed to rid society of 'vice' and who focused in particular on youthful sexuality (Masika, 2002: 57). For example, the US District Attorney Edwin W. Sims wrote in the preface to the influential 1910 tract, *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls or War on the White Slave Trade*, 'The characteristic which distinguishes the white slave traffic from immorality (prostitution) in general is that the women who are the victims of the traffic are forced unwillingly to live an immoral life.'

The term "white slave" includes only those women and girls who are actually slaves' (Bell, 1910: 14). 'Purity' reformers' relationships with prostitutes themselves were ambiguous: while professing sympathy for the lost innocents sacrificed by white slavers, they were severe in their judgement of girls and women whose immodest behavior led them into a life of shame. On the other hand were the so-called 'Regulationist', who believed that the 'necessary evil' of prostitution should be controlled by stringent state regulations. Dr. Parent-Duchatelet, whose 1836 study of French prostitutes was a model for regulationists, wrote: 'Prostitutes are as inevitable in a great conurbation as sewers, cesspits and refuse dumps. The conduct of the authorities should be the same with regard to each' (Roberts, 1992: 223). Harnessing rational scientific arguments to moral disapproval, 'regulationists' argued that state regulation was the only way to control venereal disease. 'Innocent' women and girls needed protection from immorality; however, once fallen, it was society that needed protecting from the immoral woman.

The best way to protect society, argued regulationists, was to register and medically control prostitutes. Other campaigners, particularly women's rights activists, made little distinction between 'white slavery' and prostitution itself. These early feminists' attempts to break down the distinction between 'innocent' victims and 'immoral' prostitutes started with Josephine Butler's campaign against the regulation of prostitution through the Contagious Diseases Acts in Great Britain (Hiersche, 2014: 31). Under these Acts, any woman who was suspected of prostitution could be detained by the police and forced to undergo an internal

examination. Butler and other 'abolitionists' argued that men were responsible for prostitution, placing the blame for prostitution squarely on the shoulders of unbridled male lust. No women could be said to truly consent to prostitution: if a woman appeared 'willing', this was merely the result of the power that men held over her. By turning all prostitutes into victims, Butlerite feminists undercut the rationale for regulationist systems. When the Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed in 1886, Butler and her followers turned their attention to the fight against 'white slavery'. In the abolitionist vision, prostitution and white slavery would come to an end if laws targeted those who made money from prostitutes, rather than the prostitute herself. No woman would enter prostitution of her own accord, they reasoned: with no one to lure or deceive her, woman's innate moral superiority would ensure her purity. (Doezema, 2001: 22)

In this, feminist abolitionists shared a view of women's sexuality that was common to all the various anti-white slavery campaigners. Women were considered sexually passive, which made them more 'virtuous' than men, but, paradoxically, once that virtue was 'lost' through illicit sexual behavior, women's sexual nature became dangerous. Consequently, calls for the need to protect women's purity alternated with attempts to reform and discipline prostitutes. Feminist abolitionists displayed a curious mixture of a progressive refusal to condemn prostitutes, and a moralistic, middle-class urge to protect the virtue of young, working class, and immigrant women. This ambiguity is clearly illustrated in the work of the notable US feminist campaigner, Jane Addams. In her book on *'White Slavery', A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil*, Addams argues forcefully against police harassment of prostitutes and for improved wages for working women (Addams, 1912: 57). While she relates with heart-rending pathos the stories of poor girls whose only hope of feeding their families is by giving in to the blandishments of 'white slavers', she is scornful and dismissive of those girls who would contemplate selling their virtue in slightly less desperate circumstances: 'Although economic pressure as a reason for entering an illicit life has thus been brought out in court by the evidence in a surprising number of cases, there is no doubt that it is often exaggerated; a girl always prefers to think that economic pressure is the reason for her downfall, even when the immediate causes have been her love of pleasure, her desire for finery, or the influence of evil companions' (Addams, 1912: 60). According to Addams, "these moral failings made young working-class and immigrant

girls 'easy prey' for white slavery. Certainly, belief in these girls' innate moral weakness made them the ideal target of the reforming impulses of middle-class feminists.” (Doezema, 2001: 23)

Recent government actions seem to indicate that the repressive potential of the Protocol will prevail. In a number of countries, anti-trafficking measures have led to restrictions on movement and migration for women, increased surveillance of sex workers, and increased deportation of migrant sex workers. This point was made forcefully by Radhika Coomaraswamy, the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences, at a recent conference (Coomaraswamy, 2000: 48).

3.2) Abolition and Regulation:

The core message of the regulationist approach is involvement in the sex industry is a form of labor like any other, and requires the same rights and protection as any other form of work. On this principle, many sex workers have joined trade unions, or become involved in campaigning groups. Internationally, activists have defended the right of sex migrants to cross borders in pursuit of work (Weeks, 2011: 139).

Based on the argument of exploitation and vulnerabilities one would try to argue that in a highly competitive and capitalist market the potential discrimination and exploitation is an essence and every worker in any capitalist sector undergoes it. There is a danger that they obscure the potential discrimination and exploitation of any worker in a highly competitive market economy. Whereas, “Abolitionism, originally concerned with abolishing the international white slave trade, has increasingly become concerned with eliminating prostitution, overlapping with new forms of prohibitionism that seeks to cut off the supply and the demand” (Weeks, 2011: 139- 140).

3.3) White Slave Traffic a Myth

To develop a critical feminist knowledge of current anti-trafficking practices we need to examine the history of past efforts of women reformers to regulate the lives of women they saw as victims and how their efforts worked to maintain these women's subordination. One of the key aspects of the anti-trafficking discourses of a hundred years ago was the

invention of the White Slave Trade by moral reformers and its link to anti-immigrant politics (Kempadoo, 2005: 92).

Brock et al. note that "In late nineteenth and early twentieth century anti-trafficking discourse[s] in Canada, traffickers were generally portrayed as individual migrant/'foreign' men" (Broke et. al. 2000: 87). Their immoral and illicit activities were said to have deceived untold numbers of unsuspecting White maidens coerced into acting as sex slaves. In Canada, men identified as Chinese were particularly targeted as the purveyors and benefactors of this unlawful trade (Backhouse, 1999: 74). Not coincidentally, this was the period of virulent anti-Chinese beliefs and practices. The simultaneous portrayal of Chinese men as both effeminate-not man enough to be builders of the nation-and as the sexual predators of White women contributed enormously to their popular identification as an overdetermined threat to the character of the White Canadian nation. Anti-trafficking campaigns of this period were therefore very much a part of the racist effort of keeping Canada White (Sharma, 2005: 98).

Campaigns against the White Slave Trade also advanced a highly patriarchal model of gendered relationships. Mariana Valverde notes that during this period White women were defined as "mothers of the race" whose responsibility was to produce the White nation (Valverde, 1992: 13). For this to be possible, the racialized "purity" of their sexual activities had to be protected. This involved racializing relationships between women and men. In Canada, fears of miscegenation between White women and Asian men were rampant during this time. These underpinned anti-White Slave Trade campaigns aimed at demonizing Chinese men and separating White women from them. (Sharma, 2005: 99)

3.4) Feminist Movements

For some early, first-wave feminists, often in alliance with social purity campaigners, the target was male sexuality, linked to campaigns against the state regulation of vice (Walkowitz, 1980: 27). For others, the main concern was the rescue of 'fallen women', often overlapping with the protection of women's rights. These shades of emphasis have been replicated in the attitudes of second-wave feminists. It is fair to say that feminist interventions have radically transformed thinking about prostitution since the 1960s, but the debates have frequently been most heated

amongst feminists, and with prostitutes or sex workers themselves. For radical feminists there is a continuity between socially respectable institutions and prostitution: marriage has often been seen as a licensed prostitution. For polemicists like Kathleen Barry prostitution is the product of male sexual violence and an inherent assault on the dignity of women, and has taken particularly vicious form through the international sex trade, or human trafficking (Barry, 1995: 123).

“Contemporary prostitution is a global phenomenon, and illustrates the uneasy coexistence of many different forms, from the individualized casual selling of sexual favors, through more collective forms akin to small businesses, to large scale brothels and vast international criminalized networks” (Weeks, 2011: 139).

3.5) The Varying Approaches to Sex, Body, and Selfhood

Liberal feminists do not examine in the same depth the nature of sex work but defend the right of sex workers to practice their profession without harassment” (Tambe, 2009: xv). “In the radical feminist view, prostitution is an emblem of female sexual servility and male coercion. As an institution, it denotes a group of women set aside for attending exclusively to men’s sexual needs” (Tambe, 2009: xv). “In the socialist feminist view, prostitution is one among several pink-collar occupations that economically needy women rely on to survive. Prostitution can nonetheless represent a particularly intense form of alienation because, as Alison Jaggar (Jaggar, 1985: 354) notes, rephrasing Marx, it takes away from women that which is most their own—their sexual selves. Socialist feminists such as Carole Pateman examine in depth the nature of the contractual exchange in commercial sex, arguing that its most troubling aspect is that it relies overwhelmingly on making available for exchange a specifically servile feminine body” (Pateman, 1988: 96).

“The socialist feminist view that in feigning desire, as potentially occurs in, transacted sex, sex workers enact a form of deception and self-denial that is consistent more generally, and problematically, with femininity... the sex radical celebration of sex work as curiously silent on the modern historical ascendance of a market-based common sense that accepts all forms of exchange without probing their embedded in-commensurabilities. The exchange of sexual services for money instantiates gendered social and economic hierarchies in multiple ways—large numbers of those who sell sex are women, poor, and belong to subjugated

racial/ethnic groups and therefore any blanket celebration of such exchange seems to be premature and jarring. However, it becomes incomprehensible with the radical feminist certitude that all prostitution is rape and therefore violence (Barry, 1995: 126), which denies the heterogeneity of the forms and contexts of prostitution.”

“In the poststructuralist view, sex work is a heterogeneous field of meaning because sex, and its relationship to the self; is itself indeterminate and multivalent. Wendy Chapkis (Chapkis, 1997: 77) and others argue that the denigration of sex work relies on viewing sexual activity as the expression of an authentic self. If sexual activity is delinked from selfhood, however, and seen in performative terms, then sex work can potentially be, understood as a source of agency-depending on the control that the sex worker exerts over the transaction (Bell, 1994: 48). In sex radical arguments, commercial sex can destabilize normative gender prescriptions such as female passivity.”

“Sex workers can, through their ability to set the terms of the exchange, invert male dominance, enhance sexual exploration, and, through a sense of their own erotic autonomy, subvert the heteronormative sexual order”(Tambe, 2009: xv & xvi).

“The figure of the prostitutes performs so many metonymic functions- standing, alternately, for the heartlessness of exchange relations, the triumph of utilitarianism, the ills of industrialization, moral degeneracy, pervasive male sexual violence, declining public health, female deviousness, or even sexual empowerment-that state intervention in prostitution appears to affect not only specific bodies but entire polities” (Tambe, 2009: xiv)

Agents that have sought to make laws in sex work and prostitution “Laws aimed at curbing sex trafficking and medically monitoring prostitutes have engaged those across a political spectrum ranging from religious missionaries, nationalist social reformers and military officials to feminists and labor organizers. In the radical feminist view, the state should not endorse the in-egalitarian sexual relations that prostitution typifies-after all, the argument goes, the sex trade overwhelmingly caters to only men's sexual desires, and indeed reifies these desires.” (Tambe, 2009: xvi)

3.5.1) Liberal and Sex Radical View: “In the liberal and sex radical view, when the state criminalizes prostitution, it is abusing its power by targeting an already vulnerable population.

After all, those who most suffer the brunt of the criminalization of prostitution are not clients but sex workers. In yet another version of the liberal position, any welfare-conscious state should protect its population from ill health and hence oversee the sex industry in order to keep epidemics of venereal diseases in check. After all, regardless of their status before the law, sex workers are citizens and bearers of basic human rights, such as the right to life.” (Tambe, 2009: xvi)

3.6) A BRIEF ABOUT THE STATE

“In the context of prostitution, regulation and criminalization are not contrasting state approaches but, rather, different modalities of state coercion. In particular, the current public health preference for regulation (expressed by Dr. Gilada's influential Indian Health Organization and shared by the Indian National AIDS Control Organization described in the Conclusion) belies the history of state abuse of regulation. Whereas state recognition of sex workers as an identifiable group in need of public health intervention might seem an improvement over previous trends of either ignoring or criminalizing sex workers, the state-both the colonial and post-Independence developmentalist version-is not a benevolent entity. The state's position is marked by an instrumentalist approach toward sex workers; it is much more committed to preventing ill health among the client population than among sex workers. It has been, and still is, likely to use measures that compromise the dignity and well-being of sex workers in service of the majoritarian goal of reducing infection rates across a 'national population'-a goal to which sex workers have no necessary obligation, given the elitist and historically limited construct of the nation. What is sharply needed is the reminder that the state is an interested entity, a rhetorical actor performing for audiences, both domestic and international; international funding agencies, for instance, are crucial arbiters of state policies in neoliberal times. And the state is an entity with historically accrued prerogative and bureaucratic power that is very easily abused by its law enforcers.” (Tambe, 2009: xvi)

“The very goals that drove state regulation-preserving public health and public order-led to the criminalization of women who did not work in state-sanctioned forms of commercial sex. Ultimately, the story of lawmaking and law enforcement in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Bombay underlines the role played by state actors in nurturing specific

forms of prostitution while simultaneously increasing coercion of prostitutes.” (Tambe, 2009: xviii)

3.7) HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION: INDIAN PERSPECTIVE.

3.7.1) Devadasi System India: A devadasi was popularly known as devoted temple dancer. She used to perform her dances with a view to entertaining the Lords or Gods, but certainly not the human beings. But because the people used to witness such dances, Devadasi became a source of entertainment for the folk. In the ancient times the devadasis were divided into seven categories. They are known as Dutta, Hruta, Bikrita, Bhrutya, Alankara and Gopika or Rudraganika. Such categories reveal the origin and status of the devadasis (Mishra, 2014: 34).

When a sacred man offered his daughter to a temple as a devadasi, she is known as “Dutta devadasi”. But when a lady was kidnapped and subsequently employed in a temple, she is known as “Hruta devadasi”. Sometimes when a lady was sold to the administrator or the priest of a temple, she is known as “Bikrita devadasi”. If a lady voluntarily worked in a temple as a devadasi, she is known as “Bhrutya devadasi”. Some women who devotionally offered themselves to serve the temple are known as “Bhakta devadasi”. When a woman after attaining a certain degree of competence, is offered to the temple with ornaments, she is known as “Alankara devadasi”. The devadasis who were getting remunerations for offering dance and music in the temple in a particular time became identified as “Gopika” or “Rudraganika” (Mishra, 2014: 34-35). These classes of the devadasi were receiving fixed remunerations and some landed property for their personal use.

“The custom had come into vogue by about the 3rd century A.D. Some scholars also opine that probably the custom of dedicating girls to temples became quite common in the 6th century A.D. Kalidasa, in Meghadoot, refers to dancing girls present in Mahakala temple of Ujjayani at the time of evening worship” (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi 2009: 95). “The practice of employing women in temples began from the medieval period. But the devadasi system as an integral part of the temple administration, came into prominence from 11th century A.D. Devadasis, meaning slaves of God. They were not permitted to marry. (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 134).

“Childless parents would often vow to dedicate their first born child to a temple, thus increasing the number of temple girls. By sixth century A.D. this custom was reasonably common among people but not among common people. However, the practice of dedication of girls to temples and ‘Devadasi’ system found its presence prominently from medieval times and lasted till the second decade of the 20th century in south India. (Mishra, 2014: 33)

There can be no denial of the fact that by the end of tenth century, the total number of devadasis in many temples was in direct proportion to the wealth and prestige of the temple. During the medieval period, they were regarded as a part of the normal establishment of temples; they occupied a rank next only to priests and their number often reached high proportions. For example, there were 400 devadasis attached to the temple at Tanjore; so also at Travancore (Chawla, 2002: 12).

The devadasi tradition was prevalent in the Hindu Temples of Southern India. There was a custom amongst the Korea (weaver) community of Chigalput district of Madras that they had to donate or offer their eldest daughter to a temple. These girls were called “Basava” in Telugu and “Murali” in Maharastra (Chakrabarthy, 2000: 64). Some of them were actually led a sacred and celebrated life devoting themselves to God. Some others became the victims of the sexual lust of the priests and other people from temple administration and sometimes even of the influential people of the community. The devadasi tradition was prevalent in Karnatak, Maharastra, Madras, Kerala, Goa, and Andhra Pradesh. In the inscriptions of southern India some kings, queens and royal families donated lands for the perpetuation of this holy tradition in a particular temple. There are some information available regarding devadasi traditions in the temple inscriptions of Korangunathan, Pipilikeswar and Sundereswar of Trichinapalli district. In 12th century, Chalukyaing Vikramaditya I established a holy temple in the name of Chandaleswar and collected some beautiful ladies from different countries and employed them as temple-dancer or devadasis (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 104).

This tradition was also prevalent in some places in the eastern India. Now in the Garo hills of Assam there is a tribal community who has known as “maharies”. There are some similarities between the maharies of Puri, Odisha and Garo hills. In the holy temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri, this dancing girl tradition was prevalent too. There is a dancing ritual in the temple of Lord Jagannath at the time of the Lord’s retirement to sleep. For this purpose special sebakas were

employed. They were known as devadasis and their dance was known as devadasi dance or mahari dance (Mishra, 2014:35).

“Many of them were proficient in the field of fine arts, especially music and dance. The dancing and playing dramas of the devadasis were encouraged and drew large crowds of devotees to the temples. From the 7th century A.D. onwards their programs received popular support” (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 134).

It is evident that the fact about the attachment of dancing girls to temples was registered in inscriptions. “Devadasi in north India is found in the Yogimara cave inscription. The cave is in the Ramgarh hill in the erstwhile Surguya state, central Provinces”. Inscriptions of Kulottunga-I in Andhra Pradesh (A.D. 1088) refers that some dancing girls were taken into kings’ household and were branded as his personal insignia. Sometimes devadasis were sold and purchased by the priests and royal authorities and also they are, often presented to the temple as gifts by somebody. It suggests that devadasis used to entertain the kings, and priests of the temples. They dance in front of priests, kings, and get proposed to have sexual liaisons with them. Kings used to build houses for devadasis near the temples. “These girls, for all practical purposes are treated as saleable, buyable and transferrable commodities” (Chakrabarthy, 2000: 53).

Many times, devadasis or dancing girls used to be appointed by the kings in temples. The dancing and singing art had a strong influence even on the royal women of that time (Mishra, 2014: 36). The rain-dance of Rajabansi of Kuchvihar, West Bengal, bears resemblance to the devadasi dance. They called this dance as nude-dance. Some women were dancing nude in front of their holy deity in a forest (Sinha & Basu, 1993: 43).

Originally the devadasis were employed in the temples for cleaning the temples premises, washing the vessels, preparing the flower garlands and doing other jobs. But in the due course of time they took to dancing, music and made to work as slaves of the kings and priests (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi 2009: 135). This devadasi practice later on had degenerated mainly into a life of immorality and prostitution, which in many cases became common by reason of the custom that a girl so dedicated could not opt for a valid marriage. In due process, these artists dedicated to the temples inevitably came under the category of prostitutes and were

misused by the temple priests in various ways. They were patronized by kings, *zamindars* and the rich. (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi 2009: 263).

This sacred devadasi tradition was responsible for the establishment of prostitution as an independent service. So in the temples, temple-dancers or devadasis, in the courts the court dancers, and city dancers in cities were seen. After the conquest of British and due to change in administration, the position of the Devadasis too had undergone a change. The old temple towns and cities lost their importance due to the emergence of industrial and commercial centers. The young women migrated to the cities in search of education and employment. The system took a gradual transformation of modern day slavery, commercial sexual exploitation (Chakarabarthi, 2000: 76).

3.8) Slavery system in India:

“Slavery was an inhuman practice practiced in the medieval Tamil society. Devadasi system was an ancient form of slavery. Women were sold in the bondage or let themselves in for that condition mainly due to the play of economic forces. In the region of Rajaraja-II is recorded as sale, in 1175 A.D. of four women to the temple of Tiruvalangadu for a sum of seven hundred devadasis.” (Roy, 1977: 59).

“In another case a Vellala woman and her daughters sold themselves to the temple at Tiruppaamburam to escape starvation in 1201 A.D. Most of the sales are recorded in the inscription are sales of persons to temples. Sometimes these were voluntary” (Roy, 1977: 59).

“The Kalingattupparani mentions that women were given as gifts to the victorious kings. These women served in the palace of the kings. The defeated kings and their queens also worked as servants to the victorious kings. (Menon, 2004: 87).

“Slavery was prevalent in the mediaeval period, both affluent Hindus and Muslims had personal slaves. There were markets where slaves could also be purchased like cattle. The Hindu *smritis* speak about 15 classes of slaves, chief among whom are: (i) born of the domestic slave girls (ii) secured by purchase (iii) obtained as a gift or charity (iv) saved from starvation during famine (v) insolvent debtor (vi) a recluse returning to the life of a house holder and taking employment (vii) one who sells himself (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 165).

“The slave had no right to do anything without the permission of the master. Maid slaves were required for domestic service and cohabitation during the rule of the Delhi sultans. Al Barani, a contemporary writer states the fairly faced girls were trained in singing gazals (love songs) and the art of blandishment before their breasts fully developed” (Roy, 1977: 43).

In Indian society slavery could in no context be a matter of pride. It only symbolizes suppression, exploitation and domination of lower class/ caste people by the upper class/castes. Women hailing from lower strata have to face a multiple domination/exploitation as poor- lower caste-women (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 166).

3.9) WOMEN IN THE SMRITI AGE

During the Smriti age, a woman, from her childhood to her old age, was kept under subjection. Society used to disapprove unrestricted freedom offered to a woman. “Manu says that women must always be honored and respected by the fathers, husbands and brothers-in-law who desire their own welfare”. “The dictates of Manusmriti are harsh in defining the duties of a woman. This strictness however has been adopted to promote the chastity of the women. A woman must stay in the guardianship of her father in childhood, of her husband in youth, and of her son after she has been widowed. But in no circumstances she should live independently” (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009:49- 52).

“Only those women are respected who live in the society within the limits of their family norms. If she deviates from these norms, she is addressed as characterless, immoral and unchaste. A characterless/ deviated woman not only loses her own honor but also of her family as well”. (Jessie and Nayak, 1983: 44) Evidently, the situation remains the same till yet, branding of ‘good’ woman and ‘bad’ woman by setting codes of conduct for them.

The position of women in general was subordinate to men. The function and the position of women were distinctly subordinate and were dependent on males at every stage of life. The girls were considered a liability right from the time of their birth. A mother giving birth to a number of girls in succession was despised. Amongst some of the Rajput clans the girls were killed at the time of their birth (Sangai & Vaid, 1989: 79).

3.10) SEXUALITY: Sexuality is a form of power. Gender, as socially constructed embodies it, not the reverse. Women and men are divided by gender, made into the sexes as, by the social requirements of heterosexuality, which institutionalized male sexual dominance and female sexual submission. If this is true, sexuality is the linchpin of gender inequality (Mackinnon, 1982: 533). The work of Freud at the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries is so important precisely because it documents the acute conflicts around gender and sexuality of a society which seemed to treat masculinity and femininity as unproblematic. It is history, culture and society that gives prominence and meaning to sexuality in the modern world (Weeks, 2011: 117).

Sexuality has become a terrain of acute uncertainty, and moral panics are spaces where certainty is fought for. The moral panic which is created by religious leaders, moral entrepreneurs, politicians, media columnists, escalates the fear and leads in the development of moral barricades, sides are taken and absolutist positions are taken. The term moral panic was popularized by Stan Cohen in his book *folk devils and moral panics* (1972), which was used specifically to analyze reaction to youth revolts in the period (Cohen, 1972: 85). But with the development of a new politics of sexuality from the 1970s, it soon became apparent that the concept could be used fruitfully to explore a recurrent phenomenon of panic responses in the history of sexuality. Moral panic around sexuality abound in the history of sexual modernity since the eighteenth century. These moral panics weeks (2011) call it sexualized panics which also account to the fear of the white slave traffic in the late nineteenth century (Weeks, 2011:119).

‘Anatomy is destiny’ (Freud, 1916-17:178). The phrase appears to underpin the intractability of our social arrangements, to justify sexual division, to impose a tyranny of the body over the mind. For Freud, the relationship between the dynamic unconscious and the drives and the demands of civilization was always complex, unfinished, never fully resolved, and yet structures by necessity. Freud in the end does believe that civilization requires normal progression to a heterosexual object choice, and any failure to achieve that is a problem- for the individual and culture. Once a goal-directed version sexuality is introduced, however clandestinely, then the whole laboriously constructed structure of sexual variety begins to stagger. Sexuality is not shaped within history, but outside and beyond it, whatever is reliant forms. The release of sexual

energy is seen as humane and liberating in a way which is strongly indicative of pre-Freudian romantics (Weeks, 2011: 142-43).

The unbounded hedonism the pursuit of pleasure in a post-modern society is at the disposal of men. "...hedonism, the pursuit of individual pleasure unbounded by moral restrictions, has triumphed in late modern societies. But even as Secularization has eroded the certainties of religious traditions, sexual pleasures continue to be shrouded by a sense of encroaching threat" (Weeks, 2011: 131). "For Freud, the pursuit of pleasure, or at least the avoidance of unpleasure, was a, if not the driving force of civilization and of individual life. The libido, the sexual drive, provided the energy, human energy for human development. But it could never be unbounded, because it came up against the restraints necessary for the building civilization. The tragedy of human existence was that pleasure had to be constrained by necessity" (Weeks, 2011: 132).

"But if pleasure can so readily be colonized, where is the focus of resistance? For a thinker who is skeptical of the idea of liberation of sexuality, Michel Foucault, and who sees the apparatus of sexuality as a locus of power, governance and surveillance, the site resistance lies in new forms of relationships, and in the body and its multiple possibilities of pleasure" (Foucault, 1979: 246). It is apparent that pleasure was highly gendered.

3.11) Sexuality in Indian Context:

Sexuality encompasses many ideas and has many facets. The definition of sexuality has been evolving along with our understanding of it. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, practices, roles and relationships. Sexuality means different things to different people. For some people, it could mean the act of sex and sexual practices, for others it could mean sexual orientation or identity and/or preference and yet for others it could mean desire and eroticism.

Sexuality in Indian history is a closed affair, which is only restricted to the institution of marriage. A woman has been depicted as a symbol of pleasure and possess the power of inebriating a man. Manus say it is the nature of women to seduce men in this world and for that reason the wise never remain unguarded in the company of females. Women are able to lead astray not only the ignorant, but even a learned man, and make him a slave of lust and anger.

Therefore one should not sit in a lonely place with even one's own mother, sister or daughter. He calls women temptress, *Pramad* (to intoxicate). (Chandrababu & Thilagavathi, 2009: 50)

When discussing women's sexuality it is important to recognize that it is extremely difficult to avoid talking at the same time about marriage, love, family and children. Female sexuality can only be fulfilled inside a monogamous, heterosexual, legally sanctioned union, this is (not) the common-sense view of women's sexuality. Female sexuality outside the regulated and authorized boundaries of the legal contract of marriage is unacceptable forms of female sexuality. Women and girls who have sex outside marriage are still regarded as promiscuous, or more colloquially as slags and sluts; unmarried mothers are still unable to legitimize their children without getting married. (Smart, 1995: 55)

3.12) Discourse of Power

Pleasure and power function as mechanisms with a double stimulus. The pleasure that comes of exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light; and on the other hand, the pleasure that kindles at having to evade this power, flee from it, fool it, or travesty it. The power that lets itself be invaded by the pleasure it is pursuing; and opposite it, power asserting itself in the pleasure of showing off, scandalizing, or resisting.” (Foucault, 1984: 324). The double impetus of power and pleasure is very dynamic. By engaging in pleasure, it sorts of inverses the power which seeks to control, monitor, question, spy, examine, by fleeing and evading the power. “Power does not repress sexuality rather produces it through a provocation to discourse” (Scott, 2007: 53). Hence forced prostitution and trafficking is a sheer display of power inherited from sexuality.

Male sexual domination is a material system with an ideology and a metaphysics. The sexual colonization of women's bodies is a material reality; men control the sexual and reproductive uses of women's bodies. The institution of control include law, marriage, prostitution, pornography, health care, the economy, organized religion, and systematized physical aggression against women for instance rape and battery and trafficking.” (Dworkin, 1981: 48). The ideology supports the material reality of male domination of women; an ideology based on the notion that men are superior to women because they have a penis, and its men's natural right to have possession of women and to use women's bodies for sexual or for reproductive purposes. This

metaphysical presumption that all women are whores and are there for men's use means that rape or prostitution are not, cannot be seen as wrong (Freedman, 2002: 64).

3.13) The Concept of Agency:

“Agency is about the capacity of individuals to act as free and self-determining actors, and as such has been a central, if highly debated, concept for both sociology and philosophy. Inevitably questions of agency also raise questions about limitations, and constraints” (Weeks, 2011: 6). Agency is never totally free, and that there are limits to the free play of self-making and social experimentation. (Weeks, 2011: 150). The structures that inhibit sexual autonomy are shaped by the interlocking of a range of social and psychic forces, to the extent that agency is heavily classed, racialized and gendered (McNay, 2000: 194).

Agency is also deeply embodied. Bodies are objects of social practice, in the sense that they are acted upon, and inscribed with meaning; and agents in social practice Raewyn Connell (Connell, 2009: 67) describes this process as body- reflexive practice, that is human conduct in which individual bodies are both subject and object. Gender and sexuality are particular, powerful forms of embodied practice, realized in different ways through particular configurations of power, and powerfully delimit the possibilities of agency (McNay, 2008:195).

The problem with many of the initiatives against trafficking is that they see those at the sharp end only as victims of exploitation and male violence with no effective agency. Critics have argued that a preoccupation with sexual violence tends to reinforce a traditional patriarchal view of female passivity, and childhood innocence, and to reinforce a cultural essentialism about the nature of non-western societies (Correa et al. 2008: 181). The reality is more complex, and a more nuanced view would stress the possibilities for agency and change in even the most difficult and exploitative situations (Weeks, 2011:216).

3.14) Agency or Victimhood?

Neo-abolitionists/anti-sex work groups operate within the victim paradigm, giving women nothing but victimhood and hopelessness and blaming men, traffickers, and the political economy for the plight of these women. Pro-sex work groups argue that this victimization label

denies women's agency, and call for their empowerment by approaching the issue from the women's perspective, particularly human rights and health perspectives (Doezema, 1998: 63).

In India, Jayasree (2004), arguing from sex workers' own reports and experiences, underscores the finding that sex workers do not accept either criminalization or victimization as an option. Noting the demand of sex worker organizations for decriminalization of sex work, she highlights sex workers' rights to bodily integrity, pleasure, livelihood, self-determination and a safe working environment as worthy goals. (Jayasree, 2004: 61)

Similarly, the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee (DMSC) of sex workers, based in Kolkata, is of the view that trafficked women should not be viewed as passive victims, subjected to manipulation by others, but as "human agents, who can – and often do – fight to gain control over their lives" (Jana et. al. 2002: 73). The authors argue that a political struggle for the rights of sex workers including their right to self-determination is the most effective solution to trafficking. The critical element, they argue, is neither the process through which a person is trafficked, nor the nature of the work, but rather the outcome of a process that leaves the person with little or no option to exist.

3.15) Consent: The concept of 'consent' is very precarious in the discourse of sex trafficking. In the legal discourse of sex trafficking it is very important for a woman under trafficking laws the burden on a women to prove that she did not consent for sexual trade is very vital. Nivedita Menon (Menon,2000: 36) in her text on 'embodying the self' while noting on rape laws have very rightfully stated that "redefining 'consent' was one of the major thrusts of the campaign since the case had shown that it is extremely difficult for a woman to prove that she did not consent". The same notion lies in the legal discourse of sex trafficking (Butler, 1990: 94).

For Katheleen Barry (Barry, 1995:76), there is no doubt that prostitution is quite straightforwardly exploitation, a violation of the human right to dignity, whether prostitution are consented or not. There can be no distinction between free and forced prostitution, only sex slavery. This position has had major impact on the attitudes of NGOs and of many governments (Weeks 2011:215). Barry argues, women have no inherent right to prostitute themselves nor can they give meaningful consent to the violation of their own rights. For this reason radical

feminists are usually vehemently opposed to self-organized groups of sex workers and their supporters campaigning for their sexual rights.

The widespread adoption of the term sex workers by those involved in the sex industry implies a rejection of the traditional shame associated with selling sex, and of the sense of 'victimhood' sustained by radical feminist discourses. Prostitutes rights group, such as the English Collective of Prostitutes in the UK and COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) in the USA emerged in the 1970s and have inspired international networks defending women's rights, calling for changes in penal laws and for the decriminalization of sex work. It is at least debatable how free any Choice to enter the sex industry can be in a world of advanced capitalism, embracing dramatic economic and social inequalities, extremes of poverty and wealth, and the continuing subordination of women and children, both within rich countries and between the West and the Global South. These are conditions in which choices are confined to a set of alternative which are not of the sex worker's choosing. Sex work is not separate from but an integral part of wider social relations (Weeks, 2011: 139).

3.16) Sex Work and Capitalism

Marx viewed labor as central to what it means to be human. Labor is first and foremost, the activity through which human beings produce their world, reshape their surroundings, and secure their survival. But labor is also the means by which people create and re-create themselves by developing new skills, creatively solving problems, and enhancing their capacities. For Marx, labor is the process that makes us fully human. "Workers must sell... their labor-power in exchange for a wage if they are to survive. Once sold, they lose effective control over the deployment of that labor" (Buechler, 2011: 10-12). Like any other worker sex workers also sell their labor for an exchange of wage and since they sell their labor to do sex in a brothel set up they do not have effective control over the deployment of that labor.

Like under capitalism workers do not own or control the products of their labor, similarly in a sex market mostly the owners of brothel own and control the labor of the sex workers and more so in case of forced sex workers. Marx too seemed to be moralistic in his approach to prostitution, however this line shows how Marx thus likened wage-labor to prostitution in that a

vital human capacity is reduced to a commodity serving the instrumental goals of the purchaser and violating the humanity of the seller” (Buechler, 2011: 13).

This shows how any other work is “Work becomes a mere means of existence rather than an opportunity for self-development. Under these conditions, people are coerced to labor in order to live rather than living in order to labor and develop their capacities for self-reflective activity. Capitalism thereby promotes social dynamics that dehumanize workers and systematically deny their most distinctive attributes. (Buechler, 2011: 15)

3.17) Sex Market in Indian Perspective

The ideological debates on whether sex work should be considered as work have resonated in discourses of Indian scholars as well. Ratna Kapur (Kapur, 2001: 21) for instance, shows that debates on trafficking in India have centered on the issue of prostitution – whether prostitution constitutes violence against women and contradicts Indian cultural values, and whether the women involved are victims of sexual exploitation, incapable of choosing to engage in sex work. Geetanjali Gangoli (Gangoli, 2007: 13) notes that feminist groups in India have addressed the issue of prostitution in essentially three broad ways - (a) keeping silent over the issue given the primary focus of feminists in India on heterosexual monogamy within the context of marriage; (b) viewing prostitution through the prism of coercion, violence and victimhood particularly with reference to child prostitution, and rejecting the argument of sex work as labor; and (c) holding sex work as a matter of choice and identity as argued by sex worker collectives such as the DMSC and critiquing the “rehabilitating urge” of policymakers and feminists.

Sathyamala and Priya (Sathyamala & Priya, 2006: 205) compare Nalini Jameela’s *The Autobiography of a Sex Worker* with an earlier narrative of Ramamirthammaiyar, a woman who rebelled against the devadasi tradition in the 1930s, and point to the articulation of a range of approaches by the women involved from one of total rejection to glorification of sex work as an occupation “like any other”. Citing examples of pro-sex worker projects including the Sthree Shakti AIDS Nivarana Sangam (SSANS) in Andhra Pradesh, that works to reduce trafficking in women and to campaign against child trafficking, the authors suggest that SSANS’ aim to bring about reforms within the occupation leaves unquestioned the underlying structures that create conditions for trafficking.

Disagreeing with this position and relying on the personal reports and experiences of sex workers, Jayasree (Jayasree, 2004: 58) argues that sex workers “are not victims without agency”. She attributes the perpetuation of sex work to the clients’ failure of sexual fulfilment in other relationships as well as to sex workers’ lack of access to other work. Similarly, others argue that trafficked women should be viewed not as passive victims manipulated by others, but as “human agents, who can – and often do – fight to gain control over their lives” (Jana et. al. 2002: 70). They state that a political struggle for the rights of sex workers including their right to self-determination is the most effective solution and that the most critical element of trafficking is not the process through which a person is trafficked, nor the nature of the work, but rather the outcome of the process that leaves the person with little or no option to exit.

3.18) Conclusion

Sex trafficking and forced prostitution has their roots connected to medieval era. White slavery system, devadasis and courtesans are the examples of existence and practice of female sex slavery in society. Freedom and rights of women on their body, right to choose their profession ought to be a necessity for the functioning of their agency. Trafficking- prostitution, coercion and choice are the contradictory debates have been there since inception. Body, power and sexuality are interconnected with each other; these are the impetus which help in the division of femininity and masculinity and also gives a source of power to men and regulates patriarchal norms in society. Commercial sexual exploitation maneuvers by the strategized impetus of capitalist ideology and maintains the hierarchical structure of powerful and powerless, inferior and superior, exploiter and victim.

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CHAPTER- IV

STATE RESPONSES TO TRAFFICKING: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES ON TRAFFICKING

Trafficking of women and children is one of the grave organized crimes, extending beyond boundaries and jurisdictions. Combating and preventing human trafficking requires holistic approach by all stakeholders and integrated actions on prosecution, prevention and protection.” (Sen & Nair, 2005: 5). “Moreover, trafficking is not only an international law and criminal law issue, but also a human rights, labor law, migration, gender and morality issue (Lansink, 2006: 46).

The women who are the victims of commercial sexual exploitation tend to be the target of the society as well as the police. The official treatment of prostitutes as a problem population, especially with regard to disease control and public order, means that while relevant official records extensively mention prostitutes, they keep the latter voices muted (Tambe, 2009: xvi). Traditionally, prostitution has been seen as a response to male sexual needs, a biological necessity which shapes the inevitability of selling sex and makes it a universal institution. This has tended to let men off the hook, and penal codes and social contempt have generally focused on the female prostitute rather than the male client. She has been the target of endless prosecutions, exploitation and violence, seen as the vector of disease, up to and including HIV, and has been the subject of hostile labeling, recurrent stereotypes and high-minded pathologization (Weeks, 2011: 138).

4.1) International Perspective and National Perspective:

Phases to the construction of prostitution laws which eventually led to the construction of anti-trafficking laws “the phases can be outlined of official approaches to prostitution thus: (a) the **Regulationist phase** of the Contagious Diseases Acts, from around 1860 until 1890; (b) the anti-trafficking phase, emerging at the turn of the twentieth century and lasting into the 1920’s; and (c) the **Abolitionist phase**, combining anti-trafficking and nationalist discourses, from around 1917 to 1947” (Tambe, 2009: xxvi). The law on decriminalization or rather the demand for decriminalization came in the 1970s with organization such that English

Collective of Prostitutes in the UK and COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) in the USA (Weeks, 2011: 139).

As sex work changes, so the search continues for more effective forms of regulation, local, national, and international. Experiments in decriminalization of prostitution are tried, and then retreated from under pressure from local inhabitants, moral campaigners or radical feminist enthusiasm. As the socio-cultural environment changes with Neo-liberalism and Globalization so does the institution of sex work changes and which in turn requires the change in formulating effective laws of regulating local, national and international laws on trafficking (Weeks, 2011: 140). “Feminist historians Amrit Srinivasan (Srinivasan, 1988: 26) and Judy Whitehead (1995) have analyzed the criminalization of prostitutes in the colonial period as a dimension of Victorian sexual restrictiveness” (Whitehead, 1995: 52).

4.2) National Laws

Colonial administrators resolutely characterized prostitution as a long-standing and invariable Indian custom, even though the forms and scale of the sex trade underwent a deep transformation in the colonial period (Tambe, 2009: xxiii). The anti-trafficking laws or laws regarding sex work in India are rooted to colonial era, dating back to the Contagious Disease Act of 1868, which ghettoized sex trade workers in brothels and non-brothel set ups. The Act allied sex trade workers as trajectories of disease and subjected them to police harassment as part of a larger process of the criminalization of sex work within the colonial world. The movement which led to the repealing of the Contagious Disease Act in 1889 positioned sex workers as victims within colonial and missionary discourses, wherein white women were situated as saviors ‘rescuing’ sex trade workers and trafficked women (Baksi, 2005: 15-17).

Post-Independence, India joined the global movement to abolish trafficking. In 1956 in New York, India signed the All India Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (SITA), which stemmed from the nation signing the UN Declaration on the Suppression of Trafficking in 1950. SITA was amended both in 1978 in which it was renamed the Prevention of Immoral Trafficking Act (PITA) as well as in 1986, in which it received its current title, the Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act (ITPA) (Baksi, 2005: 18).

As under SITA, sex work is not illegal per se but activities surrounding third party involvement such as soliciting (section 8), brothel keeping (section 3), living off the earnings of prostitution (section 4) and procuring (section 5) are illegal. This essentially renders the practice of sex work legally impossible. In addition, soliciting and practicing prostitution in a public place are also illegal (section 7). Moreover, by including sex work and trafficking in the same law, the ITPA creates a legal context in which there is no distinction between consensual and non-consensual sex work, thus conflating all sex work as trafficking. Specifically, the definition of a trafficked person as in a “position of vulnerability” (section 5) is highly ambiguous and could easily extend to the many sex trade workers who engage in sex work because of systemic gender and economic inequality (Bose, 2008: 28).

The laws under ITPA have direct impact on the lives of sex workers and their children. The criminalization of third party acts relating to sex work and the illegal status of street based sex work fail to address the root causes of why women enter into the sex trade. Instead, the laws create a context in which the sex trade is driven underground and sex work continues in unsafe environments in which workers are more likely to experience violence and marginalization. It also inhibits HIV/AIDS prevention programs, as the assessment of clients and negotiation of safe sex becomes difficult when sex workers fear police surveillance and harassment. Further, condoms can be used as evidence for charges of the promotion of prostitution. These factors are compounded by the vast powers granted to the police under the ITPA in terms of raids, eviction and detainment (section 18), of which there is documented human rights abuses and corruption (Bose, 2008: 43).

The majority of trafficking convictions have been towards consensual adult sex workers for soliciting. Consequently, this legislation is not effective in battling trafficking. The ITPA reinforces the deeply embedded stigma surrounding sex work, which further allows trafficking to flourish. Moreover, criminalization positions the state as an adversary for sex trade workers. This is highly problematic in that the participation of sex workers in anti-trafficking initiatives, such as self-regulatory boards, is essential (Eberstadt, 2002: 29- 32).

Amendments to the ITPA were put forward by the Department of Women and Children's Welfare in 2006, which focused on eradicating the exploitation of children and the extortion of sex trade workers. Sex trade workers' collectives and legal advocates argued that the

amendments would not be effective in combating trafficking or upholding the human and labor rights of sex workers. Due to activist mobilization, these amendments were not passed. However, the ITPA remains largely unchanged and continues to position the millions of women involved in the Indian sex trade in a precarious legal position as well as failing to effectively address trafficking (DMSC Report, 2009: 27).

Many prostitution-related activities that Indian law rules as offenses remain unchanged in description since the formulation of the 1860 Indian Penal Code (Tambe, 2009: xii). “In some cases, parallels between laws can be found within the span of a single decade. In June 2004, for example, the state governor of Maharashtra presented the case for licensing sex workers as a response to the spread of AIDS. The proposal created a furor, and a variety of contrasting responses were encountered to it, but by the end of the year the proposal had receded from public view. Although it had appeared novel, it in fact echoed an almost identical attempt made a decade earlier: in 1994, the proposed Maharashtra Protection of Commercial Sex Workers Act had mandated compulsory registration and medical testing of sex workers. It had commanded great public attention when announced and died quietly after months of discussion, in the Legislative Assembly. In retrospect, the real purpose of such announcements seemed to be to remind the public of the state's commitment to a “cleaner” red light district, rather than to usher in changes in the sex trade. The target of these proposals, in other words, was not prostitution as much as public opinion.” (Tambe, 2009: xii).

The history of prostitution in Bombay is riddled with such measures. Across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the colonial government formulated laws that were enormously repetitive: activities such as procuring women and girls for prostitution, pimping, and soliciting men for prostitution elicited nearly identical legal measures in multiple eras. (Tambe, 2009: xii- xiii)

4.3) International Perspective: White Slave Traffic

The first movement against sex trafficking was launched in England by Josephine Butler (1828-1906), with the goal of repealing the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDAs). The CDAs required

women in prostitution to be registered and periodically examined for sexually-transmitted diseases. If a woman was determined to be infected, she could be held until she was deemed to be “clean.” (Rao, 2013: 32)

It should be recalled that these practices took place before the development of germ theory, the scientific discovery that certain diseases were caused by “germs.” At that time, there were no antibiotics to treat the infections, nor was sterile equipment used for internal exams. Many women reported being abused and injured during exams. A “cure” meant that external symptoms went away. Police had the power to label a woman a prostitute and have her forcibly registered and examined, which meant the end of any social respectability and status a woman may have had (Rao, 2013: 33).

Many of the reformers who joined the campaign against the CDAs came from abolitionist families, who had been opposed to the trade and enslavement of Africans. They saw the exploitation of women in prostitution, particularly the transportation of women and girls from one country to the other for use in brothels, as another form of slavery. Like their reformer ancestors, they also called themselves abolitionists. In 1875, international activists joined together to form the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF) (Farley, 2004: 56).

In the early years of the new abolitionist movement, the focus was on Europe where the victims were primarily white. While the confinement of women and girls to brothels was seen as a form of slavery, the victims were not black Africans: they were white women and girls. Thus arose the terms, “white slave trade” and “white slave traffic” (Farrior, 1997: 231).

The first victory for the abolitionists within England was the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in 1883. The international movement then lobbied for changes in other nation’s laws and for international agreements to ban the white slave trade. In 1904, the kings and queens of Europe signed an agreement entitled, the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. They agreed to combat the traffic of women and girls in their countries and colonies. A few years later, in 1910, thirteen countries signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. The convention stated: “Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a

woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished.” A second article of the convention prohibited the use of fraud, violence, threats, or abuse of authority to compel a woman or girl into “immoral acts” (Rao, 2013: 57).

After World War I, the newly-formed League of Nations took up the anti-trafficking work and passed another convention. Going into the 1920s, the fervor of the women and reform movements was fading, and with it went the energy to continue the battle against the traffic in women and girls (Rao, 2013: 57-58).

Importantly, campaigns against the White Slave Trade wielded tremendous influence as cross-border regulations of people began in the late nineteenth century (Torpey , 2002: 45). Two international instruments (1904 and 1910), both entitled The International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, were enacted. Shortly thereafter, the recently founded League of Nations weighed in with two Conventions regarding trafficking in women and children. These were The International Convention to Combat the Traffic in Women and Children (1921) and The International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age (1933). Following World War II, the newly formed United Nations arrived at the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others that superseded all previous international agreements” (Kempadoo, 2005: 37).

The two Conventions against trafficking adopted by the League of Nations took place in the context of growing cross-border networks facilitating people's mobility following World War I. Similarly, the United Nations 1949 Convention was adopted in a period of heightened displacement and growing international migration following the end of World War II. Condemning and criminalizing the illicit movement of peoples, it was thought, would ensure that the full weight of nation-states would be used against anyone who dared move without official permission.” (Sharma, 2003: 58).

The issue of trafficking was again addressed in article 6 of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child also advocates measures against child trafficking and for rights of the girl child. Global anti trafficking measures were more comprehensively addressed in the

United Nations Transnational Organized Crime Protocol Against Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, and its Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2000. The latter Protocol (referred to as the UN Protocol on Trafficking) entered into force on 25 December 2003, when it was ratified by 40 member states” (Samarasinghe & Burton, 2004: 52). “Combatting the incidence of trafficking in persons are designed around the three P’s strategy: prevention of the act of trafficking, protection of the victims of trafficking, and prosecution of the perpetrators of trafficking. The three P’s is the basis of the global anti-trafficking strategy. The anti-trafficking strategies are guided strongly by the aspect of its human rights abuses meted out to trafficked persons, therefore strategies focus on the protection of victims; the punitive measures set in the anti-trafficking measures act as a deterrent and preventive measures. (Samarasinghe & Burton, 2004: 53)

Immediate or reactive preventive measures are circumstantial measures: such as providing shelters to women. While strategic or structural preventive measures aims at redressing female vulnerability at the source as well as curbing the gender dynamics of demand at destination. And, as many have noted, the most effective prevention campaigns appear to be those that are organized by or in close co-operation with local organizations, and that are reaching particular communities or target groups (UNICEF, 2002: 39).

Article 6 of CEDAW imposes an obligation on states: 'States parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.' Trafficking is incompatible with the equal enjoyment of rights by women and puts women at special risk of violence and abuse. Article 4 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa' obliges states to take appropriate and effective measures to prevent and condemn trafficking in women, prosecute the perpetrators and protect women most at risk. The heads of state and government of the African Union, agreed on a Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004): 'to initiate, launch and engage within two years sustained public campaigns against gender-based violence as well as the problem of trafficking in women and girls [and] reinforce legal mechanisms that will protect women at the national

level and end impunity of crimes committed against women in a manner that will change and positively alter the attitude and behavior of the African society' (Lansink, 2006:48).

4.4) The United Nations Palermo Protocol

In the 1980s, trafficking was put back on the international agenda and, at the end of 2000, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its three Optional Protocols were adopted by the UN General Assembly. The main focus of the convention and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children is crime prevention and combating transnational organized crime. The protocol entered into force on 25 December 2003. (Lansink, 2006: 51)

The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2003), Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (the Protocol) set out in the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) contains the internationally agreed definition of human trafficking and sets the standard for national legislation to follow. Prior to agreement of the Protocol, there was no universal instrument addressing all aspects of human trafficking. The Protocol represents the international community's recognition of all forms of human trafficking, including the trafficking of men, women and children for the purpose of exploitation (UN GIFT Report, 2008: 37).

Exploitation in the Protocol encompasses, at a minimum, acts of trafficking involving forced labor, slavery, sexual exploitation and removal of organs, not only the sexual slavery of women and children (UN GIFT Report, 2008: 39)

The Protocol recognized that prevention of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, requires a comprehensive international approach in the countries of origin, transit and destination. This approach must include measures to prevent such trafficking, punish the traffickers and protect the victims of such trafficking, including the protection of their internationally recognized human rights. (UN.GIFT Report, 2008: 40)

4.5) TVPA: The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act 2000

The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act 2000 (TVPA) was the first comprehensive federal law to protect victims of trafficking and prosecute offenders. The TVPA accomplished five main goals: 1) defined a specific crime of human trafficking; 2) enhanced the penalties for slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage from 10 to 20 years; 3) created a new visa category which allows trafficking victims to receive benefits and services in the United States; 4) ordered a report which ranks countries based on their response to trafficking and specifies sanctions which can be applied to those countries whose governments have not taken adequate steps to prevent trafficking; and 5) provided significant funding for enforcement of anti-trafficking provisions and new assistance programs (Farrell, McDevit & Fahy, 2008 :18).

The TVPA provides mechanisms for non-citizen victims of human trafficking who participate in the investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases, or who are under 18 years of age, to apply for nonimmigrant status through a special visa created for trafficking victims (T-visa). Potential trafficking victims receive certification through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement which will provide access to benefits including employment authorization, medical services, mental health services, housing and Supplementary Security Income (SSI). (Farrell, McDevit & Fahy, 2008:18)

The TVPA classified human trafficking into two main categories – sex trafficking and labor trafficking. Sex trafficking involves the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person forced to perform such an act is under the age of eighteen years old (TVPA2000). Labor trafficking is defined as the recruitment harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery (TVPA2000)” (Farrell, McDevit and Fahy: 19).

The TVPA was reauthorized in 2003 and 2005 increasing the investigative powers of law enforcement and providing additional funding to combat trafficking involving U.S. citizens. Additionally, the 2005 reauthorization directs the Department of Justice to carry out a biennial comprehensive research and statistical review and analysis of severe forms of trafficking in

persons and unlawful commercial sex acts in the U.S. In addition to federal efforts to combat trafficking, 29 states have passed legislation criminalizing human trafficking and directing law enforcement agencies to adopt training programs to enhance identification and interdictions efforts (Farrell, 2006: 48).

When implementing the Protocol, States parties should consider the following recommendations:

Prevention 1. To establish, together with NGOs and civil society, comprehensive regional and national policies and programs to prevent and combat human trafficking and to protect the victims. 2. To implement, together with NGOs and civil society, research, information and media campaigns and social and economic initiatives to prevent and combat trafficking in persons. 3. To take measures to alleviate the vulnerability of people (women and children in particular) to human trafficking, such as measures to combat poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal opportunity. 4. To take measures to discourage demand that fosters exploitation, that in turn leads to trafficking in persons. 5. To provide training to relevant officials in the prevention and prosecution of trafficking in persons and in the protection of the rights of the victim. 6. To exchange information on human trafficking routes, modus operandi, trafficker profiles and victim identification. 7. To take measures to prevent means of transport operated by commercial carriers from being used in the commission of human trafficking offences. 8. To strengthen cooperation among border control agencies by, internal establishing and maintaining direct channels of communication. (UN GIFT Report, 2008: 34)

Prosecution 1. To take measures to ensure that travel and identity documents cannot easily be misused, falsified, unlawfully altered, replicated or issued; and to ensure the integrity and security of travel and identity documents and to prevent their unlawful production, issuance and use. 2. To enact domestic laws making human trafficking a criminal offence. Such laws should also establish as criminal offences attempting to commit human trafficking; participating as an accomplice in human trafficking; and organizing or directing other persons to commit human trafficking. 3. To ensure that such legislation applies to victims of all ages and both sexes; and to distinguish clearly between trafficking in persons and other forms of irregular migration. 4. To ensure that the system of penalties is adequate, given the severity of the crime. 5. To protect the privacy and identity of victims in appropriate cases. 6. To establish measures to protect victims from re-victimization. 7. To implement measures providing to victims information on

proceedings and assistance to enable their views and concerns to be presented and considered at appropriate stages of criminal proceedings. 8. To implement measures that offer victims the possibility of obtaining compensation.

Protection1. To implement measures to provide for the physical, psychological and social recovery of victims. This should include housing and counselling in a language the victims can understand, medical, psychological and material assistance, as well as employment, educational and training opportunities. The special needs of victims, in particular children, are to be taken into account.2. To provide for the physical safety of victims following rescue.3. To adopt measures that permit victims to remain in the territory, temporarily or permanently, in appropriate cases, giving consideration to humanitarian and compassionate factors.4. To facilitate preferably voluntary return of the victim without undue or unreasonable delay, with due regard for the safety of the victim. (UN GIFT Report, 2008: 35)

4.6) Critic of UN Protocol

The inclusion of the reference to prostitution in this definition (set by the UB Protocol) was hard fought for by members of CATW and was seen as a victory for them over other feminists who wanted to remove any such reference because it would contribute to the further policing of sex workers. In keeping with the 1949 UN definition of trafficking, this newest one again focuses special attention upon migrants working in the sex industry (although these migrants constitute a small minority of women migrants). Moreover, by making the consent of the migrant in her/his movement across borders "irrelevant" if they experience any form of deception, coercion, or abuse in the process, this definition also dramatically expands the scope of trafficking (Sharma, 2005: 90).

So the principal critic of the laws on sex trafficking is that the discursive anti-trafficking laws make illegal migrants turn to trafficked people. As a result of being positioned as victims of trafficking, for the vast majority of migrants, the focus on smugglers/traffickers has made their clandestine journeys more expensive and more dangerous. (Sharma, 2005: 91)

Illegal routes of migration usually require some group of people to act as forgers and smugglers. By demanding that the state further criminalize those who assist clandestine migrants, anti-

trafficking campaigns also function to circumscribe people's movements and hence serve as another immigration control. (Sharma, 2005: 91)

Anti-trafficking laws have a moral branch. Thus, anti-trafficking campaigns, instead of focusing on the sufferings created by state practices of illegalization, have focused on the suffering of women at the hands of the only group seemingly willing and able to help them cross borders. The decision to focus on one type of suffering over another is, of course, a question of politics. By choosing to mainly focus on traffickers, anti-trafficking campaigns, function as the moral regulatory branch of anti-immigration movements. (Sharma, 2005: 92)

In the 1980s, when anti-trafficking campaigns reemerged, women engaged in sex work in the North had already mounted serious and sustained challenges to radical feminist theorizations of prostitution as always a universal form of male violence against women (United Nations Report, 1979:19). As such, it became increasingly difficult for feminists sharing a victimization perspective of sex work to impose their view on women from within the global North (Brock et al. 2000: 88). A new victim was produced: the third-world woman migrant. The radical feminist bias against sex work has therefore led to the view that any migration of women to work in the sex industry is a moment of trafficking." Such a moral panic is built into the latest UN definition of trafficking since exploitation is understood to "include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation" and where the consent of the trafficked victim is rendered "irrelevant" (United Nations Report, 2000: 47). Thus, as sex work is seen by definition as always a coercive form of sexual exploitation, the lived realities of sex workers are easily ignored, even have to be ignored, by anti-trafficking discourses of rescue (Sharma, 2005: 102-3).

This anti-sex work bias was evident in the work done by some feminist organizations advocating for women migrants from China arriving in 1999. A minority of women in this group (5 out of 24) either had been sex workers in China and/or planned to be in the United States believing that this would allow them to earn the highest possible income. The sex workers emphasized that working in the sex industry was a key part of their migration strategy. However, many feminists advocating for these migrants were wholly unable to accept that sex work could be a legitimate aspect of a woman's migratory project. Instead,

as in many anti- trafficking frames, it was imagined that the only reason women migrants would work in the sex industry was out of fear of the traffickers. The "solution" that emerges out of such imaginations is to further criminalize prostitution. In this there is again much historical continuity with past anti-White Slave Trade efforts. As Brock et al. note, the ways in which a 'traffic in women' discourse was first deployed by social reformers during the late nineteenth century in Canada, the United States and Britain was through the mobilization for an expansion of criminal code legislation, particularly the procuring and bawdy house provisions, allegedly for the protection of women and girls (Brock et. al. 2000: 88).

Contemporary anti-trafficking campaigns unproblematically rely on the same state-centered strategy, perhaps without reflection on what these accomplished in the past or perhaps fully cognizant of the fact that such strategies did indeed police women's engagement in sex work and in international migration. This can be seen in government programs in Italy and Belgium, often touted as the most progressive in helping victims of trafficking. For these governments, helping the victims' means "rehabilitating" sex workers (Andrijasevic, 2003: 72). Thus, Italy allows for social protection and legalization of trafficking victims only on the condition that the rescued agree to leave prostitution and participate in a social protection program. If caught in sex work again, they can be deported. Suggestively, anti-trafficking groups do not see such regulations as a form of coercion against women and thus deny the reality that for some women sex work is a part of their migratory project (Kempadoo, 1998: 5). Such "progressive" anti-trafficking measures, then, are about regulating women's mobilities and sexuality. (Sharma, 2005: 103)

In the United States a somewhat similar program was passed in 2002. It offers temporary "T-visas" for a maximum of three years to those who testify in court against their traffickers. The visa is only available for a limited period during the criminal proceedings and only to those who can show that they would suffer extreme harm or hardship upon return to their 'home' countries. They must, of course, also cooperate fully with the law (Kempadoo, 2005: 43). "As of mid-2003, there were 200 applications in the United States for T-visas: only 24 were accepted (44)" (Sharma, 2005: 104).

The greater problem, as Rutvica Andrijasevic notes, is that such laws establish “a normative narrative of victimhood” (Andrijasevic, 2003: 74). They demand that women applying for legal status both denounce and leave sex work. Women who do not perform the role of trafficked victim or whose performance is not believed by state authorities cannot legalize their status and are often deported. Even more important, they are seen to have been legitimately deported. Within this anti-trafficking frame, the good girl/bad girl dichotomy that works against sex workers goes on to organize the good migrant/bad migrant trope (Doezema, 1998: 38).

4.7) A Critic into the Law

Historically, efforts to combat trafficking have ended up justifying repressive measures against prostitutes themselves in the name of ‘protection’ for women and children. With increasingly restrictive migration policies in many countries, criminal elements seize opportunities by facilitating migration by demanding large sums of money for border-crossing with promises of employment. They extract further profits by exploiting the labor of the ‘migrated’ person at the place of destination. Trafficked forced laborers generate huge profits, according to ILO (ILO Report, 2005:55) estimates more than \$30 billion annually” (Lansink, 2006:54).

Laws on prostitution that are in a way related to sex trafficking paradigm has ‘distinct imperatives’ and serves to the interests of different constituencies, and not necessarily for the wellbeing of sex workers (Tambe, 2009: xiii). Those in irregular situations, such as persons trafficked into exploitative labor situations and held in debt bondage or servitude, are worse off. Women, in particular, are vulnerable to labor exploitation in the sectors they are typically employed in, including domestic work, child care, looking after the elderly and sex work (Lansink, 2006: 54).

Laws on trafficking undercut the constitution idea that law works in sovereign ways. In terms of laws on sex trafficking and sex work laws are often highly influenced by bias towards the moral code of the society. Many of those engaged in formulating laws that either prohibit or regulate the sex trade assume that the law works in sovereign ways to achieve its intended results. At a time when public health officials declare in alarmist terms that licensing sex workers is the only way to stem the AIDS pandemic, when the might of major

intergovernmental bodies such as the UN and EU is arrayed against the shadowy figure of the transnational trafficker, and when feminists of an abolitionist bent have gained the power to change laws in countries such as Sweden and the United States, greater reflection is warranted on the relationship between lawmaking, law enforcement, and the scale of the sex industry (Tambe, 2009: xv).

Yet experience has shown that anti-trafficking legislation and initiatives are most often used to deport women. Feminists have either initiated or supported such moves, refusing to admit their effect on the women they are supposed to protect (Adams, 2003: 135). The police and immigration raids in Soho, London, in 2012 on over 50 flats, graphically illustrate this. Over 60 asylum seekers and immigrant sex workers were arrested, paraded in front of the media and held in detention. Some were summarily removed despite pending asylum claims (Adams, 2003: 135-36).

All the women were working independently of pimps, many had young children to support and some were sending money back to their family in other countries. The anti-trafficking discourse has no clear demarcation between forced and voluntary sex workers, which may lead to the deportation of any immigrant women. “The police figures on the numbers of ‘victims of trafficking’ fails to distinguish between women forced into prostitution and immigrant women working for themselves. As a result, any immigrant women can be labelled as a victim of trafficking and deported” (Adams, 2003: 136).

4.8) False Reporting of Trafficking Cases:

The police notoriously exaggerate the extent of trafficking to justify increased powers and resources. In June 2001 they claimed that the “Albanian mafia is controlling around 70% of massage parlors in Soho, despite evidence from women working in the area that this was untrue.”. Therefore the laws make no distinction between consenting and non-consenting relationships and often are designed against consenting sex workers. In the context of this massive attack on people's right to escape from torture and persecution, it is astounding that some anti-trafficking organizations are calling for 'appropriate and safe repatriation and reintegration for trafficked persons'. Adding 'appropriate and safe' will not stop this legislation being used to send women back against their will. Whereas traffickers more

often face a lenient punishment and manage to escape prosecution not because of a lack of applicable laws, but as with domestic violence and rape, because protecting women is not the priority (Adams, 2003: 136-8).

Anti-trafficking legislation is part of anti-immigration legislation which represents an enormous onslaught on all our rights and is primarily being used to keep out women from poorer countries and deport immigrant women and children, often to situations where our lives are at risk and where we experience great hardship (Adams, 2003: 136-8). In the years between World War II and the 1980s, anti-trafficking efforts were relatively dormant (Doezema, 2000: 36). Not insignificantly, such campaigns reemerged during a period of growth in anti-immigrant discourses and practices in Canada. In particular, the supposedly nondiscriminatory "points system" of Canadian immigrant selection came under increased attack for being too liberal. Replacing the pre-1967 discriminatory legislation that allowed the Canadian state to select immigrants based on a value scale of "preferred races and nationalities," the seemingly more meritorious "points system" offered certain (mostly middle-class, English- or French-speaking) nonwhites from the global South entry to Canada as permanent residents. Immediately after 1967, complaints of this having resulted in the entry of "too many" nonwhites were commonly heard (Sharma, 2000: 66). These complaints have only intensified since the 1980s. Anti-trafficking campaigns within Canada (and the United States) emerged, therefore, as the permanence of nonwhites in these societies was being attacked and as governments in the relatively affluent global North began to implement more restrictive immigration policies" (Sharma, 2005: 100).

"Anti-trafficking campaigns also resurfaced at a time when neoliberal policies of globalization-privatization, deregulation, and trade liberalization-proliferated. These policies resulted in massive increases in the numbers displaced in the global South and the consequent growth in the number of people migrating across national borders. Together these two policies-growing displacement and increasing restrictions on legal, permanent migration-shaped the contemporary context for the legitimacy of anti-trafficking campaigns." (Sharma, 2005: 100)

The majority of trafficked women are migrants who have made a conscious decision to migrate while only a small percentage of trafficked persons are abducted or sold (Lansink 2006: 46). "Notwithstanding the UN Protocol, the SALRC (2006) takes a different approach. It

proposes to make action and purpose by any means or by abusing vulnerability sufficient to fulfil the elements of trafficking. If the SALRC proposal in the present format goes to parliament, South Africa will be turning back the clock to the position of the - not very effective - 1949 Convention.” (Lansink 2006: 52)

The SALRC (2006) and others have argued that the tolerance of prostitution in society leads to trafficking. However, this line of reasoning is never extended to other sectors in which trafficking occurs. Why is it that no one suggests the abolition of domestic work, marriage, agricultural or factory work because of abuse and exploitation in these sectors? Why should a distinction be made between forced economic exploitation and forced sexual exploitation as end purposes of trafficking? Issues of consent and abuse of power and vulnerability should be explored in all forced labor situations and not be confined to sexual exploitation. Marjan Wijers and Lin Lap-Chew state that the nature of labor is confused with the conditions of labor. They point out that the abolition of slavery did not deal with the abolishment of a certain type of work but with the abolition of a certain type of power relationship - namely ownership of one individual over another individual - which is considered a violation of human rights (Wijers & Lap-Chew, 1999:39). After the abolition of slavery, people still work in the cotton-fields, and domestic work is still being done. It is only when prostitution is discussed that the aim becomes the abolishment of the activity as such, rather than the abolishment of certain power relations (Lansink, 2006: 53-54).

On the other hand, while the Protocol makes an implicit distinction between 'coerced' and 'non-coerced' migration for prostitution, it offers very little in terms of human rights protections for trafficking victims, and nothing at all for (migrant) sex workers who were not coerced. If the Protocol leaves the way free for governments to treat sex work as labor, it also in no way prevents governments from persecuting, criminalizing, and denying equal protection of the law to sex workers in the name of fighting 'trafficking' (Doezema 1998: 24).

In order to understand the ways in which trafficking violates people's rights and restricts their control over their lives it is needed to be focused on the outcomes of trafficking rather than debating the processes through which trafficking takes place. Those who have been trafficked should not be perceived as passive victims of their circumstances,

manipulated by others, but as human agents, who can – and often do – fight to gain control over their lives” (Jana et al. 2002: 69).

The ways in which the dominant discourses on trafficking are framed are based on certain assumption and beliefs which have now come to be taken as the ‘truth’, without being challenged. These discourses usually define trafficking as a process where a person loses control over their own life they equate sex work to trafficking, and stress the restriction of movement of weaker and vulnerable sections of society. Police rescue and so-called ‘rehabilitation initiatives’ become the cornerstone of most of the programs arising out of this thinking. At international conferences on trafficking, as well as in the popular media, those who are involved in anti-trafficking efforts contend tenaciously that the trafficking of people across international borders has escalated dramatically in the last decade” (Jana et al. 2002: 69).

4.9) Consent of the Victims:

Viewing trafficking merely as a criminal offence and a law and order matter tends to relegate the related issue of demand for cheap and exploitable labor within globalizing markets to the margins. This raises questions of what the dominant anti-trafficking discourse is, whose interests it serves and, more specifically, how it informs the law. The issue of women's consent to work in the sex industry, for example, has been highly contested and divided feminists into two -strongly opposing - camps. Not surprisingly, it is also the most controversial aspect of the proposed Draft Bill Combating Trafficking in Persons of the South African Law Reform Commission (SALRC) (Lansink, 2006: 46).

Article 3(b) (of UN Protocol on Trafficking) provides that the ‘consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used’. This means that even if the victim initially consented to migrate and work for a low wage or work in the sex industry, it becomes irrelevant if the victim has been forced, coerced or deceived (Lansink, 2006: 50).

“It is clear, that there is no consent when one is forced, coerced or deceived into prostitution, domestic work or marriage, but when there is an abuse of vulnerability. According to the trafficking protocol, consent is irrelevant if coercion, deception, fraud or

the other listed means are used. In all other instances, consent is relevant. However, in the case of children, all consent is irrelevant. Thus, the UN trafficking protocol, and rightly so, clearly distinguishes between children and adults. Deviating from the UN trafficking protocol, the SARLC proposes, in Discussion Paper 111 and the Draft Bill Combating Trafficking in Persons, that all consent is irrelevant for adults and children alike and requires only action (such as transport, receipt) and purpose (exploitation) by any means. This is particularly relevant in the context of linking trafficking with prostitution. The proposed South African Trafficking Bill opens the door to including voluntary adult sex work in the scope of trafficking. According to the United Nations Interpretative Note, the terms 'exploitation of the prostitution of others' and 'sexual exploitation' were intentionally left undefined so that each state can decide for itself how to deal with laws regulating adult voluntary sex work or prostitution. Unfortunately, the SALRC (2006) has proposed a broad definition of sexual exploitation. Although the SALRC has indicated it would not anticipate the outcome of the discussion around prostitution in general, the proposed legislation increases the probability of including voluntary adult sex work into the definition of sexual exploitation and thereby trafficking. It would have been better if the SALRC had made use of unambiguous terms only - terms which are defined or accepted in international law, such as forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery and not included the controversial term sexual exploitation. Forced prostitution would already be covered by forced labor or services or practices similar to slavery” (Lansink, 2006: 50).

4.10) Jailing Women is a Form of Giving Protection:

The trafficked women are often put into the jail for protection and in the threat of the traffickers. “The immigration minister used the label of "trafficked women" to rationalize keeping them in jail. She said that "the snakeheads and their emissaries are always waiting in the shadows to retrieve their clients upon their release from immigration custody" (Foster, 1999: 24). Jailing these women was thus presented as a form of protection. Although never stated in this way, those feminists using the anti-trafficking framework shared the belief that the traffickers were the greatest threat facing these women (Sharma, 2005: 93).

The women migrants were imagined as vulnerable to the traffickers once released from jail or if returned to China. For some feminists, this vulnerability became the rationale for

demanding the women migrants be allowed to stay in Canada. The idea was to let them stay lest they be re-trafficked. The government did not accept this argument. The fact that anti-trafficking discourses were mobilized to simultaneously help illegal migrants as well as maintain and legitimize the state's repressive actions toward them is telling. This convergence of feminist and state practices points not to the hijacking of the anti-trafficking agenda by the state but to the fundamental, anti-migrant assumptions embedded within it. The state can adopt the anti-trafficking discourse precisely because it identifies smuggler/trafficker-aided migration as the problem. Thus, while the women migrants were not necessarily being portrayed as dangerous, their illegal migration to Canada was (Sharma, 2005: 94).

Women migrating to Canada were not forced but their decision to move was mostly an attempt to better provide for themselves and their families because they were unable to take out a living in China. They believed that moving to Canada (or the United States, which is where they intended to go) offered them the best chance for a new livelihood.' Significantly, none of these women could meet the criteria established for immigration as permanent residents to Canada, either through the points system, family reunification program, refugee determination system or the business and entrepreneur recruitment programs. For them, entry into "the immigration queue" was therefore impossible (Sharma, 2005: 94).

Contrary to widely circulated beliefs that these women were exploited by loan sharks forcing them to pay steep interest rates, most of the women (20 of 24) borrowed money for their migration from relatives or friends (Foster, 1999: 27). Also in contrast with prevailing views of "trafficked women," the women were not trapped in debt-bondage to those who moved them. None of the women were allowed to pay their cost of being moved over time. All had to pay the smugglers upon arrival at their destination point. To pay these fees, the women borrowed money from family or friends-those whom they could pay back over a longer period. Moreover, despite the rhetoric of "Chinese triads and tongs" being the ringleaders of trafficking rings circulated by the mainstream media, Canadian immigration officials, and even some feminist advocates, the women revealed that the smugglers organizing their movement were not closely linked with criminal gangs (Wong, 2004: 23). They were not part of a powerful mafia; rather the smugglers were generally small business owners. Like the

migrants themselves, the smugglers were motivated by poverty. As a recent New York Times article put it, "the smugglers ran a business built for the poor by the poor" (Sharma 2005: 94-95).

Indeed, recent studies show that in the majority of cases smuggling is a service handled without violence. A report by the solicitor general of Canada acknowledged that migrant smuggling did not have a significant violence generation impact (Crepeau, 2003: 210). The smuggler's role characteristically ends with the delivery of the individual safely to the particular stage of the journey the smugglers are handling. Another report by the International Labor Office discusses how many smuggling operations are "sometimes difficult to distinguish from legitimate work of travel agencies or labor recruitment agencies and may include assisting migrants with obtaining a passport, visa, and funds for traveling (travel loans)" (Torpey, 2002: 24). For these reasons and others, the Canadian Council for Refugees, an umbrella organization for refugee-serving agencies, states that: people smuggling, despite its evils, has also been life-giving. It has made it possible for significant numbers of people to flee persecution and reach a place of asylum when no government was willing or able to offer an escape route. It has allowed them to exercise their human right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution (United Nations 2000: 41). For others, smugglers have offered a way out of a situation of misery and an opportunity for a new life of dignity. Even some of the people who are trafficked, knowing the wrongs of their situation of bondage, may still prefer it to what they left behind, either for themselves or for what it enables them to do for family members. This of course does not in any way justify the abuses perpetrated by the traffickers. But it is relevant to any discussion about solutions to the problem of trafficking" (Sharma 2005: 95).

4.11) A Critic to the Three Tier Divisions of Countries in TIP Report

The US State Department ranks countries according to tiers. Tier Three comprises countries that the State Department says are heavily involved in human trafficking and thus should face heavy sanctions from the American government. Tier Two includes countries where trafficking is a problem but which the State Department (2004) says 'are making significant efforts bring themselves to compliance'. Tier One comprises countries with little engagement in human trafficking. South Africa is currently placed on the Tier Two watch list, which

means that it faces being moved up to Tier Three should government not take imminent steps to combat trafficking. The ranking system is informed by the State Department's Trafficking In Persons (TIP) reports. Nobody really knows how research for the TIP reports is gathered. The TIP reports have been criticized by Human Rights Watch for lacking 'adequate analysis backed by concrete data' and it has 'noted that the US document did not include facts about tried, prosecuted and the conviction rate of traffickers in countries with which it America has close ties' (Weekes 2006:33). For example, Venezuela, whose diplomatic and trade relations with the United States are at an all-time low, has suddenly found itself on Tier Three. Analyst Gabriel Garcia (2006) from the Washington DC-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs has criticized the TIP reports as being 'little better than fabrications to meet the political requirements of Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice. Depending upon whether the Secretary of State wants to complain about an ideological adversary or praise a loyal ally, the architects of the reports are prepared to spotlight phantom offences or ignore arrant abuses'. (Weekes 2006: 34)

It is often possible for a country to get off a watch list simply by enacting a law which represses non-trafficked sex workers. The director of the US State Department released a fact sheet stating that 'the demand that leads to the trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry is not distinct from the demand for prostitution' (Jordan et al, 2005:23). This ideological approach is having an enormous impact on the current drive by governments around the world to enact anti-trafficking legislation. Anti-trafficking institutions and academics voiced their concern about the US State Department's fact sheet in an open letter circulated last year. The signatories said that the US State Department had 'produced a document which asserts as matters of proven fact a number of statements, which, given the state of information on both trafficking and prostitution worldwide, are unsupported or unproven by valid research methods and data. It is a deep matter of concern that the current fact sheet is misleading and therefore potentially damaging to ongoing efforts globally to prevent trafficking and protect the rights of trafficked persons. Our concern, however, is with the government's propagation of policies based on unsupported or unproven assertions that unique links exist between trafficking and prostitution as compared to any other sector into which people are trafficked. Our analysis of the sources cited to support the assertions made in the fact sheet lead us to conclude that the fact sheet is not based upon valid

research' (Jordan et al, 2005: 24). Because it is known that the State Department conflates all sex work with human trafficking, it is often possible for a country to get off a watch list simply by enacting a law which represses non-trafficked sex workers. For example, Weitzer (Weitzer, 2006: 21) noted that 'after the State Department included South Korea on the Tier Two watch list, the South Korean government passed a law that increased penalties for non-trafficked sex workers. Subsequently the State Department's 2005 Trafficking in Persons Report declared that the Korean government "showed leadership" by passing the anti-prostitution law, and Korea was then rewarded by being removed from the watch list'. It is hard to imagine a scenario where increased fines for non-trafficked sex workers could have any kind of effect on reducing trafficking. Instead, if non-trafficked sex work is driven further underground, this creates a better climate for trafficking to flourish. (Weekes 2006: 34)

Earlier this year, the United States government, various sex work abolition groups and some church groups released a petition that 40,000 women and children from Eastern Europe would be trafficked into Germany as 'sex slaves' for the soccer world cup. This petition arose directly in response to an initiative by the German government, which set up a sex work venue with private booths, free condoms, security and shower facilities for sex workers and their clients. It was unclear how the German sex work industry, which has been legalized since 2002 and is highly regulated, would be a possible destination for underage trafficking victims or trafficked women, given that the sex work venue would be secured and policed. (Weeks, 2006: 34- 35)

Nevertheless, the US State Department said that the German government's approach to sex work was encouraging human trafficking and put strong pressure on Germany to repress the industry ahead of the world cup. This contradicted the State Department's own 2006 TIP report on Germany, which detailed the German government's strong commitment to anti-trafficking measures, including allocating over \$5.4 million to anti-trafficking organizations in the past three years. Since the beginning of the TIP report, the State Department has consistently ranked Germany a Tier One country because it 'fully complies with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, including making serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking with respect to law enforcement, protection of

victims and prevention of trafficking (Arnold, 2006: 34). At the same time, sex workers involved in movements and sex worker unions in other European countries indicated their intention to go to Germany to work legally at the world cup. Project Hope International criticized the campaign against the sex work industry in Germany. The organization stated that there would not be enough men to 'seek the services of an additional 40,000 trafficking victims' on top of the thousands of legal and voluntary sex workers registered with the German government. Petra Burcikova, the national coordinator for La Strada, a pan-European anti-trafficking organization, also summed up the implausibility of this figure. She said, *'I think the guys who are coming to watch the championship would not have time to watch any games because they would have to be engaged in having sex with all of those prostitutes all the time'* (Arnold, 2006: 35).

In August 2006, a report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Swedish development agency Sida confirmed that there was no 'marked increase in human trafficking to Germany during the World Cup. Only in Munich did an extra 300 non-trafficked sex workers join the '500 already working there'. It is much easier to deem illegal workers to be victims requiring rescue than to have to address difficult issues of working conditions IOM claimed that the anti-trafficking campaign was to be credited as it 'led to more police raids on sex shops and brothels, which also helped keep legal and illegal prostitution down'. Yet, their report does not say how many of the illegal sex workers were found to be victims of trafficking. What is admitted is that the frequent police raids actually repressed legal, non-trafficked sex workers. This is frequently the case in anti- trafficking work. Logically, one can conclude that if any state's resources are focused on raiding agencies where non-trafficked sex workers work, the real victims of trafficking are not receiving the attention they need. Women's freedom of movement would be greatly enhanced if countries would address the working conditions of the sectors that migrant women frequently find themselves working in - all the service rendering sectors. However, it is much easier to deem illegal workers to be victims requiring rescue than to have to address difficult issues of working conditions, especially in the sex work industry. Studies show that this approach is misguided. In a British medical journal study of 100 migrant women sex workers in Cambodia, many 'expressed dissatisfaction with their work conditions, such as clients who refused to use condoms, coercion from brothel owners and violence from

both clients and local police' but none expressed the desire to be rescued and returned to their home countries (Weeks, 2006: 35-36).

Anti-trafficking legislation should not threaten the rights and health of women migrant workers. The same researchers in Cambodia said that local and international non-governmental organizations conducted raids on brothels during which sex workers were taken to "rehabilitation centers", often against their will. Police sometimes assisted in these raids, although they also conducted arrests independently. Our research found that "rescued" women usually returned to their brothel as quickly as possible, having secured their release through bribes or by summoning relatives from Vietnam to collect them. Furthermore, police presence in the raids scared off customers, thus reducing earnings, increasing competition for clients and further limiting sex workers' power in negotiating improved work conditions. Bribes and other costs were added to sex workers' debts, increasing their tenure in the brothel and adding pressure to take on additional customers or agree to condom-free sex to maximize income. Raids and rescues could also damage the relationship between service providers and brothel managers who restricted sex workers' mobility, including access to health care, to avoid arrest' (Busza et al, 2004: 320). In brief, campaigns that work towards abolition of the free movement of sex workers between countries simply increase the exploitation of sex workers and add to their discrimination.

Otherwise, there is a real risk that the legislation becomes another tool to target and police the sex work industry and 'rescue' and 'rehabilitate' sex workers. The SALRC indicated as far back as 1998 that it was reviewing sex work legislation. Sex work is still legislated by the 1957 Sexual Offences Act. The review of sex work legislation should include consideration of the element of trafficking to ensure that the legislative climate is conducive to preventing and offering protections to the victims of trafficking into the sex work industry. It should not create conditions that are conducive to causing further rights infringements and harms on adults working in the sex work industry. There is a need to lobby the SALRC to ensure that anti-trafficking legislation does not violate fundamental human rights and increase stigmatization of migrant women workers and that it does not limit the focus on human trafficking only to sex work, thus leaving traffickers free to hold women in forced labor,

slavery or servitude in street begging, factories, farms, domestic work and other sites (Weeks 2006: 36).

4.12) Conclusion

Legal provisions are indispensable for the eradication of trafficking in the contemporary society. Thus, the use and implementation of the law has to be closely analyzed. Many feminists argue that law only cannot disperse trafficking but it should be implemented equally and unbiasedly for a better outcome. Lack of scrutiny into the trafficking law bridges the lacunae, which later works in favor of the perpetrators and most likely against the victims of trafficking.

Prostitutes, though are the marginalized and vulnerable sections of society and are in frequent contact with the police and the judiciary. The attitudes and biases of the enforcement agencies have a profound impact on the ways in which the prostituted women carry on their professions, and the way in which they view themselves and their profession. The hypocritical attitude of the legal system in India towards both trafficking and prostitution projects its perplexed state whether the law are formulated to give justice to the practitioners of prostitution or it wants to eradicate commercial sexual exploitation. They are only about penalizing and controlling it. The law explores the boundary between private, moral conduct and public order and decency.

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CHAPTER- V
TRAFFICKING IN THE DISTRICTS – A BACKGROUND

This study examines the magnitude and prevalence of sex trafficking of women in Odisha. An attempt has been made to capture the age, religion, marital status and caste profile of the trafficking survivors, major push and pull factors and methods of recruitment of sex trafficking in Odisha.

This section of the chapter gives a detailed overview of the scenario of women's sex trafficking in 16 different districts of Odisha. It discusses about various factors and vulnerabilities of regions in Odisha. Different districts constitute discrete dynamics and causes of trafficking depending on the diversities in lifestyle, population, education, and source of livelihood, wrath of nature, gender disparities and social system.

The study has been conducted in sixteen different districts of Odisha by interviewing the survivors of trafficking in shelter homes. The districts are selected in terms of the vulnerabilities to women's trafficking and the access/availability of the trafficking survivors. The data has been collected by structured, semi- structured and participatory interview, scientific observation method. The sample size of the study constitutes 175 trafficking survivors and each 30 samples of police, NGO, and media personnel. It is found that the economically backward districts are the highest trafficking affected regions.

Table – 1. The following table chronologically provides the collected data.

Sl. No.	Name of the Districts	Trafficking Survivors	NGOs	Police	Media
1	Khorda	8	5	4	5
2	Puri	9	3	2	2
3	Cuttack	8	5	3	4
4	Baleswar	8	1	2	1
5	Kendrapara	7	2	2	2
6	Sunderdarh	14	2	2	3

7	Ganjam	11	2	2	2
8	Gajapati	10	2	2	2
9	Kalahandi	13	1	1	1
10	Koraput	12	1	1	1
11	Rayagada	14	1	2	1
12	Malkangiri	13	1	1	1
13	Dhenkanal	10	1	2	1
14	Nayagarh	13	1	1	1
15	Mayurbhanj	12	1	2	1
16	Kandhamal	13	1	1	2
Total		175	30	30	30

Odisha is a prime source state for women sex trafficking due to its socio-economic backwardness. There are certain prominent factors that help in the aggravation of trafficking in the state; Factors like poverty, unemployment, lack of education, natural disasters, gender disparities, social evils (dowry system), and male child preference. Sex trafficking of women/girls on the pretext of providing employment as well as arranging marriage, has been rampant in the Kalahandi, Bolangir, Mayurbhanj and Baleswar districts.

Poverty and unemployment are two major common factors of trafficking in every districts of the state. The major vulnerable factors in the coastal districts like Khorda, Cuttack, Kendrapara, Puri and Baleswar are the uncertain climatic condition of the region and a concurrent natural calamities. The destruction of crops and seasonal unemployment worsens the economic conditions of the farmers, and expose them for seasonal trafficking. Districts like Klahandi, Keonjhar, Koraput, Balangir, Mayurbhanj, Nayagarh and Dhenkanal are the most economically, educationally and socially backward regions of Odisha. The situation of abject poverty hinders the education of the children, since earning a living is the notable requirement for survival. Education and other awareness are secondary for these people, whereas girl children are the first to discontinue their study due to various socially attributed gender implications. Spending money on girl's education is still considered futile in many parts of Odisha as they are supposed to be married off to another family. The gravity of dowry system is another reason for girls

discontinuing their education half way because education, economy and dowry demands are connected to one another.

Ganjam, is the border district of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. So the migration rate is higher and the influence of Andhra increases the prevalence of dowry system in the region. Rayadaga, Kandhamal and Malkangiri are the tribal populated districts of Odisha susceptible of trafficking due to the threat of Maoism and economic adversity. Persistent religious communalism between Hindu and Christians of Kandhamal depreciates the condition of women and children, as they are the worst subjects in violence or disasters.

Different districts in Odisha have distinctive features of trafficking. In districts like Nayagarh and Kendrapara, trafficking, majorly, operates in the form of marriage or bride trading business. Sundergarh district is the source where young girls/ women are trafficked as domestic help and are often found themselves in exploitative situations. The remote tribal belts and coastal districts are known for seasonal trafficking due to frequent hit of natural calamities. Ganjam is the southernmost coastal district of Odisha with archetypal costal and tribal belt together. Coincidentally this district also has the highest HIV infected population and is the highest populated district in Odisha, whereas this is one of the highly vulnerable districts for trafficking. In some parts of Balaswar district, it has become nearly a tradition for families to sell their daughters into prostitution due to abject poverty .Sundergarh district is a tribal populated region. The indigenous inhabitants of the district are the most trafficking vulnerable groups due to poverty, lack of education and unawareness.

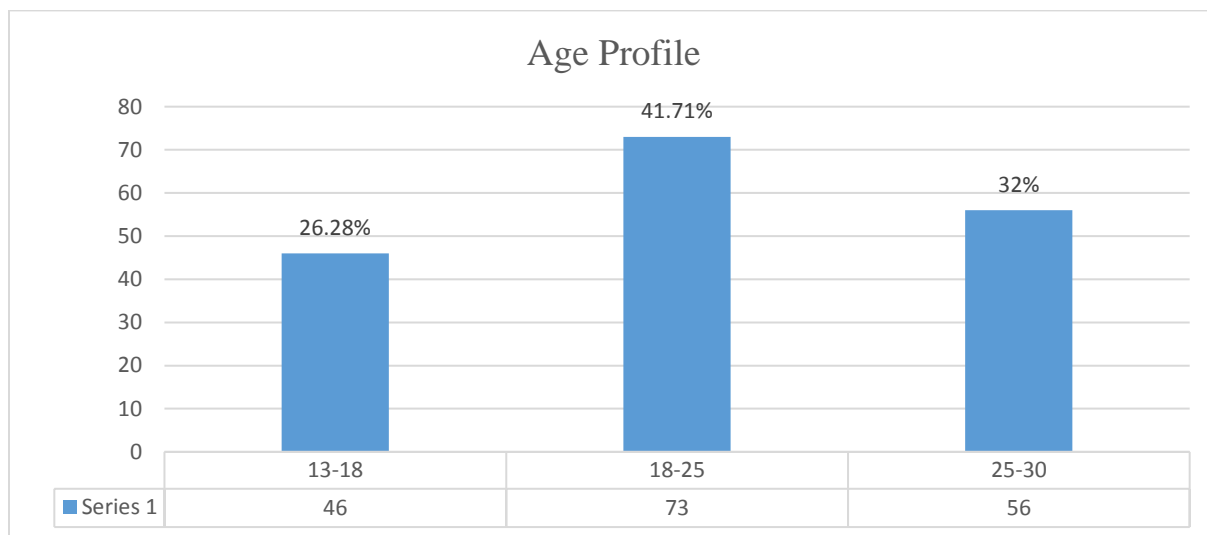
Major Limitations of the study

Sex trafficking of women being a highly sensitive issue, access to the survivors is extremely difficult. The denial of the survivors, the government officials like police and also the shelter homes authorities regarding the existence of sex trafficking in the state as well as their presence in the homes make it more challenging for the researcher to locate the survivors. One of the major challenge being the non-cooperation of the NGOs in lending any information for the access to the trafficking survivors. Most of the NGOs denied to share any information regarding their study on trafficking. The researcher was asked to work as intern in the NGOs for doing her

own study without expecting any help from the organization, instead she had to help them in report writing, documentation and other official works without any help from the other end.

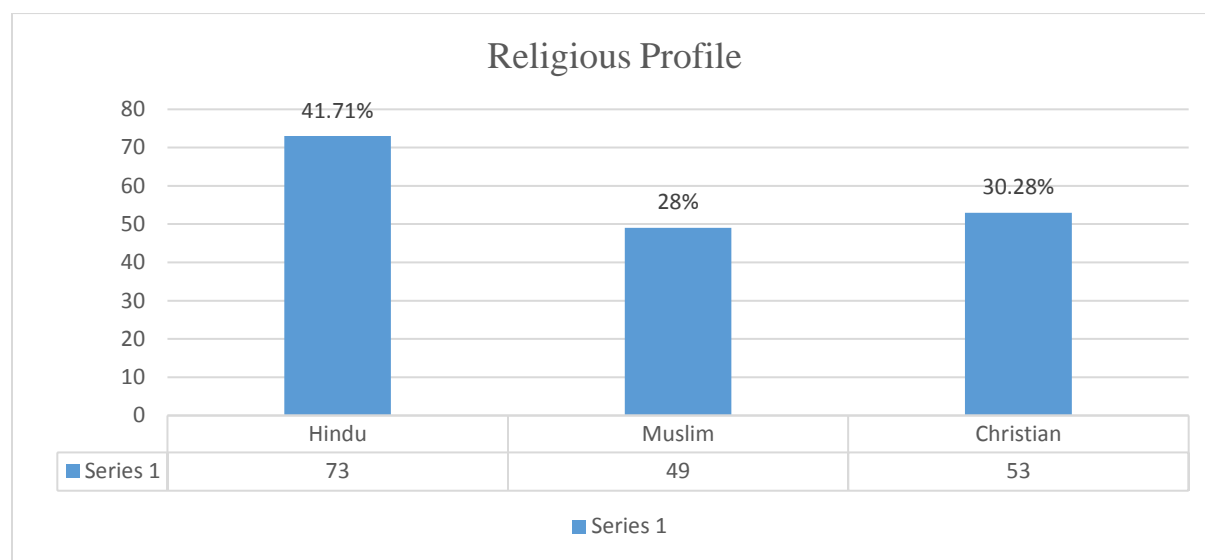
The researcher being an outsider, found it more challenging to establish interaction with the survivors of trafficking. It took several meetings to gain the trust of the survivors of trafficking. The experiences of the trafficking survivors used to be emotionally wrenching for the researcher, so it was a great task to keep oneself unaffected by understanding ones reflexivity. Language barrier was another limitation because the survivors hailing from the districts such as Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Mayurbhanj, Rayagada, Kandhamal, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput speak in different languages with different accents. The researcher had to take the help of the NGO staffs for translation.

Table.2. Following is the age profile of the trafficking survivors.



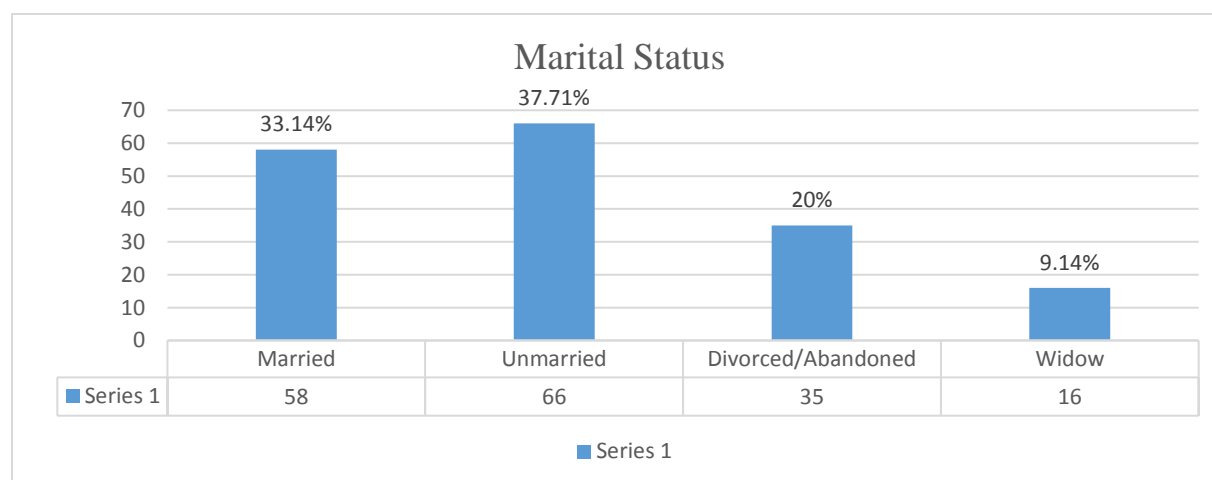
Trafficking occurs to women/girls in their youth. Many of them get old in the course of searching a way to escape. Women/ girl from the age group 12 to 30 are the most vulnerable groups of trafficking. Protracted occurrence of child labor and child trafficking upshots a wide exposure to forced prostitution, makes the young girls more vulnerable.

Table.3. Religious Profile of the Survivor



Religion based trafficking is prominently visible in Odisha. The study notes that there are in-depth communal tensions between Hindus - Christians and Hindus - Muslims, which results in trafficking of women/girls in certain regions like Kandhamal, Gajapati, Kendrapara and Kalahandi, in Odisha. Consistent occurrence of communal violence makes the women/girls from each community exposed to trafficking.

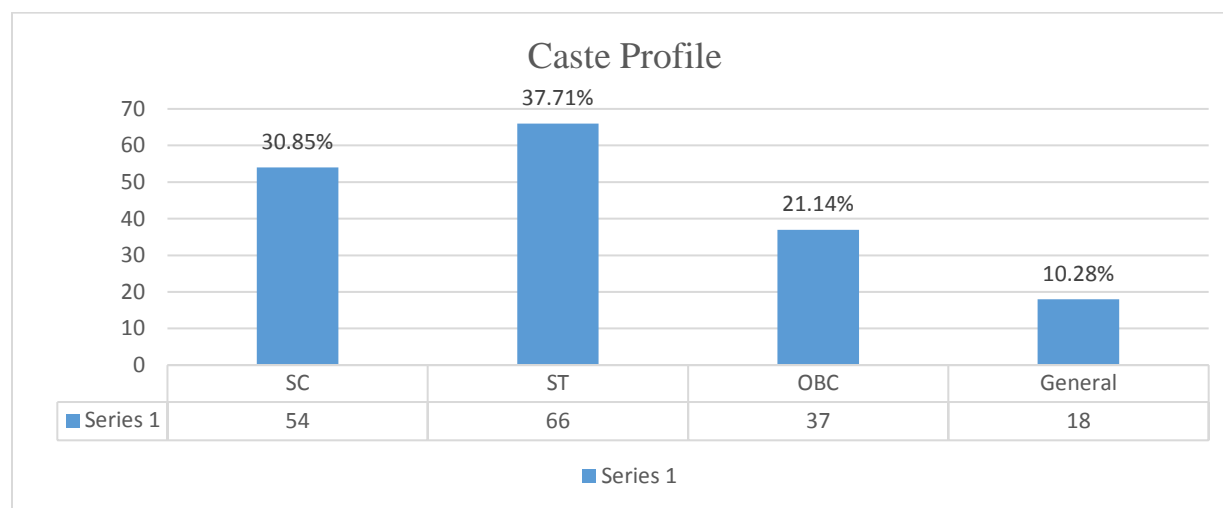
Table.4. Marital Profile of the Survivors.



As the study reveals that fake marriage is one of the most practiced means to trap the women/girls in trafficking, so marital status is a primary indicator to show the vulnerability of

the trafficking survivors. Single, abandoned by their husbands, and widows are equally targeted by the traffickers by taking advantage of their tormented condition, helplessness and poverty.

Table.5. Caste Profile of the Survivors.



Trafficking, certainly, operates irrespective of caste, whereas the study shows that girls/women from lower castes and minority communities are the vulnerable groups for trafficking in Odisha.

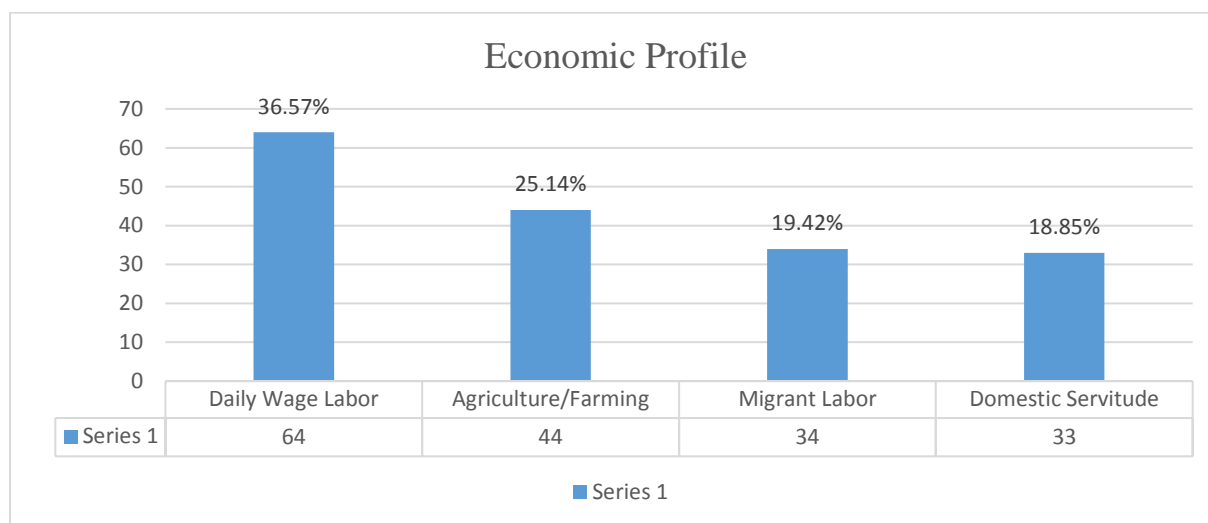
Caste based trafficking: The study observes that caste plays a crucial part for aggravating unemployment, poverty and perpetuating trafficking. The social taboo attached to caste system strengthens caste based hierarchy in society which restrains people from higher castes to adopt any work that seems inappropriate in accordance to their caste.

A media person from an Odia daily says *“there has been no tradition of dowry in western Odisha but in the last three decades it has become prevalent forcing poor parents to look for cheaper options like marrying off their daughters in distant land’. The worst hit by this are the agrarian Brahmins and educated families of other castes who have ruined their farming as they do not get labor for agriculture – due to NREGA and migration – and they themselves cannot go and work in fields due to social taboo.”* (Personal Interview: 23. 3. 2015).

Most of the local agents are village leaders, educated unemployed youth, hotel managers, a grocery merchants who fixes the deal with counterpart agents accompanying the groom. The

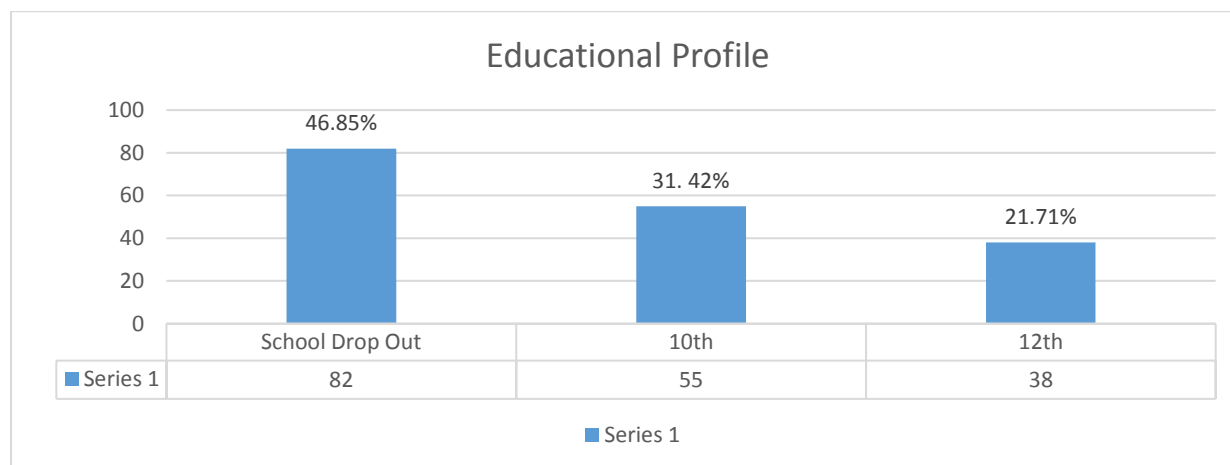
local agent plays an important role in motivating the girl parents and mobilizing local support to get the victim married to the groom in some temple or before a local notary with help of a lawyer.

Table. 6. Economic profile of the survivors.



The table shows the source of family income of the trafficking survivors. The economically adverse sections are the most vulnerable groups to trafficking. It is apparent in the study that poverty and meagre family income is the major cause to push the women/girls to trafficking.

Table. 7. Educational Profile of the Survivors.



Lack of education and unawareness becomes a prime factors of vulnerability of trafficking gin Odisha. Education and literacy rate in rural Odisha being extremely less, the traffickers tend to

target the least educated and unaware sections. Education of a girl child still is secondary in many remote areas of the state.

Impact of Technology: It is found that a wide access of technology, in present times, has bridged the economic gap of rich/ poor and upper class/lower class division with regard to trafficking. The study observes that not only the poor, distressed, and unaware tribal/ coastal girls/women are trafficked but the urban, middle class/upper middle class are getting trapped and deceived by the traffickers in the name of glamor, roles in films, modelling, and love.

A NGO personnel testifies: *“young girls being threatened and blackmailed for their mms and getting into the trap of traffickers, being forced to do sex work is prevalent in present times. These video clips are shot by their boyfriends, or other people involved without the knowledge of the girl. Later these video and photographs are used for exploiting the girls/women”* (Personal Interview: 14. 5. 2014).

Trafficking is no less in semi- urban and urban areas in Odisha. Women/girls are promised for acting jobs, modelling career opportunities by the traffickers. After the girls are trafficked, the traffickers blackmail the women/girls by threatening to reveal the truth that they are working as sex workers or making MMS clips to obstruct them from escaping. ‘Meena’ (name changed) testifies: *“They were staying in our neighboring house on rent. They told me I can be a model as I have good features and a decent figure so I went to Mumbai with them. They shot videos saying it is required for modelling then later they asked me to wear short dresses and pose for the videos. There were four- five men, whom I had never seen before. They told I have to have sex with them if I want to be a model. After a few days I was sold to a lady, who ran a house brothel”* (Personal Interview: 12.6.2013).

Sundergarh:

Maoist hit Sundergarh District of Odisha is one of the most vulnerable districts to women’s trafficking. This is largely due in part to a significant rise in the domestic help population, most of whom are from tribal backgrounds and are sent to work in big cities where they often suffer from physical and sexual harassment from their employers and also don't get a fair deal from placement agencies. These are the unregistered agencies which recruit the women as domestic help or supply domestic maids. Hence the women/girls who are recruited as domestic helps also unregistered. However it becomes difficult for the police and NGOs to locate them.

Sundergarh District is a tribal dominated district and rich in natural resources. But it is still plagued by abject poverty due to the Maoist menace prevalent there. Most of the tribal population have few work-related options, and because of this, middlemen often lure away girls from their native villages and they end up as sex workers. Moreover Maoist presence has also deterred the development works and educational processes for the local tribals in the area to a large extent.

According to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) data about 5000 tribal girls have gone missing from the Sundergarh district in the last five years. Police also feel that the local tribal people need to be made aware of the reality of the trafficking of young girls as domestic help and has been making efforts in this regard.

A social activist said: *“Because there is no work, there is abject poverty here, this is why people go out of here for work. The labor is cheap and the tribal girls of this region are innocent and not much educated. The middlemen from outside come and take advantage of this situation”* (Personal Interview: 12.5. 2014).

Inspector General of Police (IGP) in Odisha's western range told us, *“Through these cells we are trying to focus our preventive and retentive efforts and other efforts in close collaboration with other departments such as the women and child development department and the SC/ST department, the educational department, the labor department to address this issue in a holistic manner. At the ground level, as far as awareness is concerned, we have identified vulnerable pockets in the area and we are in touch with the PRI members. Our police teams make regular visits to such villages where contact is established with the community members and we try to address their issues and also at the same time make them aware about the problem of human trafficking”* (Personal interview: 3. 3. 2015).

Lily Kujur who is a President of Adivasi Mahila Suraksha Mandal in Rourkela in Sundargarh district states that more than 40,000 tribal women were trafficked to work in big cities from the district. Out of these women whereabouts of around 15000 is unknown. Although there is a special cell empowered under the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1956 to look at human

trafficking but they are quite reluctant to do anything (Personal Interview: 14. 4. 2015).

Ganjam:

Traffickers and pimps taking advantage of the poverty and destitution in southern region of the state, are deceiving the adolescent girls by luring them of jobs and well-being in neighboring states, later they are allegedly being sold in brothels there. In maximum cases, girls are being subjected to sexual exploitation causing dreaded diseases like AIDS, besides mental and physical strains. Girls are being sent to places such as Goa, Surat, Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Jhansi, Jodhpur and Hyderabad. The girls are being taken there in the name of jobs and marriage.

Women pimps are active players of trafficking of women and girls (mostly teen age girls) from different places of the district and engaging them in various sexual and non-sexual works in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and Kerala without proper remuneration. They are appointed in places like garment factories, brick kiln industries and as domestic helps. They are not paid wage and exploited both physically and sexually when asked for the wage. Sometimes the agents take the girls without even informing their parents by giving false promise of a better life in cities. Whereas they are made to live in the slums and paid a meagre remuneration, and the rest of their wages taken by the agents who bring them. When they want to return home, the owner and the pimp threatened of selling them to brothels. They are not incorporated in the permanent unit of the factory workers but rather made to work for the contractors in an adverse condition.

The superintendent of police from Berhampur district states “...*lack of coordination among different departments is a major hindrance in curbing human/women’s trafficking. In most cases due to lack of strict action against traffickers, the persons involved in the racket were repeating their offence without any fear*” (Personal Interview: 22. 11.2015).

Bride Market: The study notes that trading of girls/women as brides is one of the most rampant mechanism for women’s trafficking in Odisha. There is prolific, and invisible bride market operating in high pace where girls of all kinds are available. It is ranged over a number of districts of Odisha this ‘market of girls’ operate through network of agents expert in persuading insolvent and innocent parents, who have many daughters to marry off. These agents work in partnership with local leaders, lodge owners, temple priests and police who facilitate quick marriage of the girls to grooms of a distant land speaking different language. Odisha is a center

for men from central India buying girls for marriage from impoverished families. These girls are sold from Sambalpur, Bargarh, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sundergarh, Jajpur, Koraput, Rayagada, Nuapada and Mayurbhanj districts. The bride hunt proliferates during the time of hardships, post the hit of natural calamities, during the time of famine, flood and cyclone. Taking advantage of this situation several crooked and deceitful agents on both sides come up who lure susceptible parents to marry-off their girls to males coming for bride hunting here. *“These agents paint a very tempting picture of the distant land where the brides would be sent and give examples of families who had sent their daughters”* states one NGO personnel (Personal Interview: 10. 6.2013).

Kendrapara, the percentage of bride trafficking is very high in this district. This excerpt from a NGO personnel testifies the magnanimity of bride trafficking in Kendrapara district in Odisha. *“There are lot of trafficking cases found in the remote villages of Kendrapara, which are mostly in disguise of marriage. There are many remote places in Kendrapara district where there are around 30 returnees who managed to escape from their married life, majority were married off to Uttar Pradesh. The status of families of these women are very poor and with multiple daughters to marry. So, in these kind of intra state marriages, parents did not have to worry about expenses of wedding nor dowry. The parents find it easy to get their daughters married off to people and places they are completely unaware of. Many of the girls are unable to tell the name of the places they were married to even the parents are unaware of the place where their daughters are married to. They have no clue about where their daughters are and what is address of the place”* (Personal Interview: 14. 2. 2014).

Puri: Child Sex Tourism

In Puri trafficking materializes extensively but it constitutes a different feature. Puri is the prime hotspot for women and child sex tourism in Odisha. Children between the age group of 8- 16 years are exposed to vulnerabilities in the form of sex tourism, trafficking and in-community abuse. The immigrant families lead a life of refugees with denial of basic human rights. These families are mostly susceptible to trafficking and sex tourism.

Sex Racket run in Urban and Semi Urban places: Many trafficked women/girls are trapped in sex rackets run in various urban and semi-urban places in Odisha. A police personnel states

testifying a police raids in beauty parlors, hotels: *“...secretly run sex rackets are innumerable in number in Odisha. They are more in numbers in places like Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, Puri, Berhampur, and Baleshwar.”* (Personal Interview: 19. 4. 2015).

Missing women/girls are found in sex rackets: A police personnel says, *“Missing women/girls, whose complaints are filed by their family members or relatives, are mostly found in brothels /sex rackets”* (Personal Interview: 19. 4. 2015).

The study found that women/girls mostly coming from remote villages for higher education or career prospects get involved in sex racket business. Due to their ignorance and unawareness the pimps target them. In the urban set ups like Bhubaneswar and Cuttack the sex rackets are found running in beauty parlors, Hotels, rented house/flats. According to a Professor and a social activist in Utkal University, *“...education and awareness are not the solution to this problem. There are many female students in the university and certain other educational institutes in and around the city who are also involved in this business. They migrate from other under developed districts or remote areas of Odisha to avail a better education in a better equipped set up but end up entering into sex trade. It becomes a part time source of earning for them. Most of the cases are voluntary in this regard”* (Personal Interview: 22. 5. 2015).

Baleshwar: The district is one of the worst affected regions of frequent natural disasters like cyclone. Due to abject poverty and scarcity of livelihood it has become a tradition for parents to sell their daughter for a few thousand rupees. ‘Sikha’, a survivor of trafficking states, *“I came to know from the agent that my parents have sold me for money”* (Personal Interview: 11. 10. 2015).

A NGO personnel states: *“It has become a tradition in this district to sell girl children, the most important point is all these happen sneakily. Most of the cases are not reported to the police”* (Personal Interview: 2. 4.2014).

Trafficking in **Kandhamal** and **Gajapati** districts is mostly fueled by religious and communal tensions between Hindus and Christians. Rape, abduction and kidnapping rate is comparatively high according to the police. A police personnel states: *“There is always a communal tension among the people. Each community targets the other. Physical and sexual violence are a*

common occurring in these regions. Women and children are the worst affected and frequent targets” (Personal Interview: 22. 3.2015).

Adversities in KBK Districts:

There are multiple push factors of trafficking in the most backward districts of Odisha, Kalahandi, Bolangir and Koraput (which are known as KBK regions of Odisha). Lack of basic proper basic facilities (like health, food, shelter), recurring natural calamities (drought, famine), poverty, landlessness, distress, and Maoism, are the causes of people getting trapped to trafficking easily.

With unproductive landholdings and very few means of sustenance, the rural poor are plunged into crisis every year. Their only option is to migrate to other States in search of work. A well-entrenched chain of labor contractors and middlemen, starting from dons based in Andhra Pradesh and going down to touts located in the interior villages of the KBK districts organize the labor trafficking and sex trafficking from these villages to the cities. They smuggle the whole family, one male, one female and children. All members are engaged to bonded laborer and the female members including the female children have to go through a dual bondage including sex servitude.

The multiple sufferings of the women in a disguised bonded labor is awful. They are left unnoticed even by their family members present there. The husband and other male family members are beaten up if they oppose the women being raped or sexually exploited. The women are forced to give sexual service to the factory owner and staffs. They are kept inside a confined compound with extremely tall boundaries. The boundary walls are no different from jails. If they attempt to escape or resist, they have to go through ruthless reprisal, brutal punishment.

Language Barriers increase vulnerability: Most of the districts in Odisha have their different spoken language. A few districts have a completely different language. So the girls/women trafficked from Sudargarh, Mayurbhanj, Balangir, Rayagada face difficulty in speaking and understanding the conversation between the traffickers. There this barrier increases the chances of betrayal, coercion and decreases the scope of reaching to the outside world.

The slums:

The slum area in and around Bhubaneswar, the capital of Odisha are very much instrumental to trafficking. These places are both source and transit points. The perpetrators use these places as their absconding hideouts. They secretly run their smuggling business by transporting girls both from various other parts of the state and also from within the slum itself with the help of some people from the slum. Both the parties get a monetary commission out of it. They sell the girls from here and also use the place to keep them in captive.

Girls from most of the house in these slums are taken or sold to somebody who happens to be a crude pimp. Their parents are least bothered about this fact that after their daughter is sold she might end up in a brothel where her life would be a hell. This kind of attitude of the parents results from the burden of poverty and the notion that a girl has to live her life in misery. The slum dwellers live their life in acute filthiness. So when they get chance to get into another world, they don't think twice about any type of adverse outcome.

In slum areas, migration rate is also very high. People of the slums generally earn their money by doing petty works like rickshaw pulling, petty trading, hawking, doing domestic jobs like house and utensil cleaning etc. Many of them work as bonded laborers under some contractors in construction sites, brick kiln industries, and other kind of places like biscuit and cake factory, detergent powder factory, soft drink factory and so on. In the case of small girl children, when their parents go to work the small kids (especially girls) get sexually and physically exploited back home either by the neighbor or by some the passerby who has a regular access to the locality and known to them. Maximum of the male members of the family are alcoholics so female members or mothers have the sole responsibility of the children. They are driven away by threat of rape, physical and sexual harassments so they feel helpless to protect the young girls in the slums.

Salia Sahi is the slum which tops the crime chart in Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha. Perpetrators of trafficking rule the roost in here. This is one of the slums which has earned the notoriety of being a safe haven for trafficking agents/pimps over the past few years.

“One major reason behind the proliferation of felonies in Salia Sahi is the lack of regulation on tenants, who migrate here from other districts. After committing crimes at other places, the

offenders use the slum as hide-outs. Since it is a slum, they easily get shelter at very cheap rates”, A Local Police Officer said (Personal Interview: 15. 5. 2015).

Malisahi, (the red-light area of Bhubaneswar): This is a slum area of house brothels situated at the center of Bhubaneswar. Though prostitution is their business for earning livelihood, the past story of some women living in the area is rooted to sex trafficking. Prostitution and sex trafficking are different at the same time related with a thin line. One is selling sex and the latter is the process of getting into flesh trade. Here, after being trafficked, exploited, silenced and rejected the women chose to take up sex work as a profession.

A sex worker in the slum states, *“I was sold to a brick kiln industry by my uncle, the owner of the industry always used to sexually exploit me. He threatened that I won’t get my wages if I don’t stay with him at night. When I denied he raped me and sold me to another man. After being bought and sold several times I came here with an aunty”* (Personal Interview: 6. 4. 2014).

A sex worker living and working in this slum says, *“I am sending my son to the school near the railway station. I know the company he is getting here is bad and he will not be able to escape from his past that easily but this the best I can do for him. I cannot see him becoming a pimp or part of this muck”* (Personal Interview: 6.4.2014). This testimony show the unhappiness, longing for living a life free of dejection, exploitation and betrayal.

The study observes that women from slum in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar sell women/girls between the age group of 11 to 25. They have channels of buying and selling girls from various districts of Odisha then transporting them to cities like Pune, Bangalore Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai, Haryana and goa for sex work.

The Transit Points of Odisha: The study reveals that Bhubaneswar and Berhampur act as the transit point of the state and the huge amount of girls/women are trafficked here from various part of the Eastern region. The trafficked victims are reported to be taken to Bhubaneswar and then transported to other big cities of the country.

‘Soma’ (name changed) states, “...One of our friends offered us a job in Mumbai. He was earning good money there. My two friends and I thought of accepting the job offer, however our parents would not agree, so we decided to elope from our house. Our friend brought us to an apartment in Bhubaneswar. A person sat in the reception where we had to register our names and accordingly we were given ticket numbers. Then we were taken to one of the rooms and asked to wait, our friend told us that he would come after some time. After some time a man came and separated three of us and locked us in three different rooms...” (Personal Interview: 7. 10 2014).

One of the NGO staffs states: “... this is a common mode in trafficking of women to lure girls from various other states to here in the name of higher education, other random works and employed into sex trade” (Personal Interview: 15. 2. 2016).

A police officer testifies by saying, “Berhampur has a good road connectivity with some of the most trafficking prone districts named Gajapati, Kandhamal, and Ganjam. So the traffickers get an easy transportation from Berhampur railway station which directly connects to Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, and Goa. So they come here in buses to take trains to these places” (Personal Interview: 11. 1. 2016).

The above statements made by various respondents show how trafficking operates in Odisha. The study observes the organized and coordinated nature of the business and how Bhubaneswar and Berhampur serve as the transit points for trafficking in Odisha.

Trafficking of Under Aged Girls: The study shows that women/girls turning into products by getting sold mostly before attaining their poverty. Most of the survivors barely know their real age.

“I did not know my real age when I was trafficked, and don’t know it now too. I was very young then. He told me I was 18 years old”, (Personal Interview: 14. 11. 2015). says ‘Sudha’ (name changed). It reflects the state of ignorance they are in and many a times they are lured about their age. The traffickers sell them by branding them above eighteen to avoid punitive complications.

In- Trafficking from other Neighboring States: The study finds that there are in-trafficking from other neighboring states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal to Odisha. A

police personnel states: *“we get trafficking cases from other states. Poor migrant girls/women are targeted by the local pimps. The female construction laborers, students from other states, domestic helps, and job seekers are the vulnerable ones”* (Personal Interview: 20. 5. 2013).

A NGO staff testifies: *“girls from West Bengal, and Bihar transported to Bhubaneswar, they are sold in a higher price”* (Personal Interview: 8. 4. 2014).

A media person patently states: *“Girls are kept in rental houses disguised as students, whereas they are used for sex work. Sex rackets run in many places of Bhubaneswar in similar ways. The girls are sent to hotels or men come to the rental house to buy sex”* (Personal Interview: 10. 12. 2014).

Hence, it is evidently notified that there are not only out-trafficking but also a visibly high in-trafficking occurs in the state.

Major Driving Factors:

There are certain driving factors which play prominent roles in the proliferation of trafficking in Odisha. Poverty is one of the major dynamics that perpetuates trafficking in Odisha considering the economic backwardness of the state. *“I wanted to earn money to pay off the debt that my family has borrowed from a village landlord”* (Personal Interview: 3.4. 2013) states Milli (name changed). Unemployment: meagre sources of livelihood and lack of employment is a serious issue in the state. By testifying this ‘S’ says, *“I was jobless in my village and came to find a job in the city”* (Personal Interview: 11. 06 2013). Lack of Education and awareness: The study reveals that most of the trafficking survivors are from uneducated families, neither of the parents are educated and aware about trafficking. Lack of education results lack of access to information, and knowledge, then the uneducated mass become the major target groups of trafficking.

Industrialization: Economic growth comes along with adversarial ramifications. *“I was forced by the contractor to work as a bonded laborer in a brick kiln Industry”* (Personal Interview: 11.06. 2013) states ‘Milli’ during the interview. Due to industrialization the people are displaced and have to lose their livelihood, leave their lands and other belongings. Hence, with the desperation of finding a new source of livelihood they get misguided and trafficked.

Natural Calamities: The geographical location and unpredicted climatic condition of the state

causes havoc for the poor farmers. *“As flood washes off our agricultural fields almost every year, we lose our crop and desperately need an alternative way to feed our family”* (Personal Interview: 06.04. 2013). Said ‘Radhika’ (name changed).

Abject poverty and diversity makes the people from rural areas crave for a better urban life so they get be fooled very easily by the embellishing of lures. They become victims of false promises and fake allures by the traffickers. This excerpt testifies how trafficking operates in the pretext of fake job promises. ‘Geeta’ (name changed) says, *“I and my best friend came to Delhi with my (supposed to be) uncle with this promise that we will be given well paid jobs but found ourselves landed in brothel”* (Personal Interview: 15. 11.2014).

According to Sasmita, a social activist, women/girls trafficking in Odisha is an open secret. According to her, *“families, irrespective of their caste, sell their girls for mere rupees 400-500 so they can buy their food for a month. The young girls are either married off to old men or they work as bonded laborer”* (Personal Interview: 5. 4. 2015).

Gender inequality is one of the major factors that hastens women’s/ girl’s trafficking in Odisha. Girls being the secondary with regard to education, health, food and other basic necessities in a family are given first priority in the case of trafficking. Though the girls/ women are chosen over boys to be sold by the parents for money and getting rid of debt. *“My brother was sent to school and encouraged to study well, whereas I was sent to work in the fields and help my mother her work in other households”..... “I was beaten up by my father if I insist to go to school. My mother teaches me that I should look after my younger siblings because that’s what I am going to do in future”*, (Personal Interview: 7. 5 2013) narrated ‘Soma’ (name changed). Dowry demand is rampant in most parts of Odisha. Particularly in the western parts of Odisha (due to the influence of Andhra dowry demand is very prevalent. So girls seek for jobs to earn money for their own dowry. ‘Preeti’ (name changed) says, *“I wanted to work because my parents were unable to give dowry for my marriage”* (Personal Interview: 11.9. 2014).

Peer Pressure and Life style: Peer pressure and social life style becomes a pull factor for trafficking and driving the contemporary, educated women/girls into commercial sexual exploitation. The study shows there are students who come to pursue higher studies to

Bhubaneswar and Cuttack and fall into the trap of traffickers. A social activist testifies this stating: “...girl in the college and university level get fascinated by their rich friends and to match up to the social status/life style they get lured by the pimps” (Personal Interview: 12. 8. 2015). Here the excerpt makes one argue how the influence of class structure and dominance of capitalism over powers the social set up.

Conclusion:

It is evident that the conjoint cause of women’s trafficking in Odisha is gender discrimination, and distressed situation of women in the state. There are different dynamics of trafficking in different districts/regions of Odisha with a varied ground of susceptibilities. Due to economic and social backwardness the state is witnessing a speedy growth of trafficking market. Life style, traditions and language plays a pivotal role in the process, means and recruitment of trafficking.

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CHAPTER - VI

VOICE AND EXPERIENCES OF TRAFFICKING SURVIVORS

This section of the study seeks, to put forth the experiences of the survivors of sex trafficking of women and girls in Odisha. This chapter attempts to bring out the different voices of the survivors by adopting different research methods such as case study method, participatory and non-participatory observation, structured and unstructured interview with survivors of trafficking. It also discusses the various observations and experiences made throughout the study.

Dynamics of Women's trafficking in Odisha

The structural dynamics of trafficking are a complex process of the linkages between poverty and gender discrimination, globalization, culture, migration and feminization of poverty that increase the vulnerability of women and girls, stimulating push factors and demand in specific sectors:

People with backgrounds of socio-economic vulnerability/poverty are ideal targets for trafficking because of the driving need for survival and yearning for betterment. They are less likely to understand or question the motivation of people who offer economic/educational assistance and they are less likely to be protected, or searched for, by people who have any influence within the country.

The study demarcates some of the most primordial factors of women trafficking in Odisha. The combination of poverty and gender discrimination is frequently cited as a major reason for trafficking, which is the combination of brokering, lack of consent, and exploitative working conditions. People seeking income willingly and without understanding the consequences often follow promises of employment or sell family members. Therefore, the common trend which traps people into human trafficking, are the promises of fake employment. This is inevitably an outcome of poverty. When viewed through the lens of gender, one would discern that women of marginalized class often fall prey to counterfeit employment opportunities. Further, women being subjected to untold gender discriminations are also sold by their own kith and kin.

Lack of education among women and girls, particularly in the poorer and more tradition-bound parts of the world, not only denies them opportunities for earning, it leaves them ill-informed, illiterate and ignorant of the risks of migration to unknown regions. Owing to the cultural preference for male children, girls are seen as an additional economic burden that makes them more vulnerable.

As level of education, knowledge and awareness add a great deal for increasing or decreasing the vulnerability of trafficking. Girls/women mostly of the marginalized class are found to be illiterate, or educated to primary/ secondary level. There are more school dropouts in case of girls belonging to economically backward families. One would argue from the perspective of gender discrimination, which families choose to educate boys rather than girls. Either, they are employed to work in the domestic or low skilled public sector jobs. The girls of single mothers, and lacking family support are more vulnerable to human trafficking. Some girls are such who never have had access to education outside a household/ not gone to school, raise in an environment from childhood in domestic servitude or sexual exploitation. Therefore, these girls become the chief vulnerable targets of human trafficking. One of the trafficking survivors says when asked about her how she got trafficked and what was the reason behind it,

“.....from my childhood, I had worked as a domestic laborer in the households, shops, road side hotels. My family was poor, I had four younger siblings, three sisters and one brother. My mother used to work in the field and in houses as a maid. My father worked as a daily wage laborer, but he was addicted to alcohol and ganja (opium). Due to poverty I could never go to school and my father used to say I am an unlucky child who could not bring a son to him but three daughters followed me as I was the eldest. My mother told me we need to survive first, then aspire for the luxury of education. School is not a place for a poor girl child” (Personal Interview: 21. 5. 2014).

Another survivors narrates her plight about the sexual exploitation she had been going through since her childhood, *“These things were never any strange to me. I was acquainted with it, but not aware of it. When got to understand the touching and caressing, the language of gaze, intention of a small wink I realized since I am a girl, I had been suffering this ever since”* (Personal Interview: 30. 5. 2014).

Although trafficking of girls and women is by far more common, rural women and children between the ages of eight and twenty-five, who are either illiterate or discontinued their education in the primary/secondary grades, are found to be most vulnerable to trafficking. Factors include violence by husbands and/or other family members, marital separation or abandonment, with the interaction of poverty and gender-based mistreatment. Traffickers are often family members, both immediate and distant. Trafficking takes place in the guise of false employment or marriage-brokering, as well as the direct selling of children into prostitution by their families. Women who face discrimination within their family and are often ill-treated or subjected to domestic violence are also easy victims for traffickers. Orphan children, especially girls, single and divorced women, and widows are highly vulnerable to trafficking as, being dependent on their families for support, they are often considered a burden.

Another group of vulnerable women and girls who are internally displaced either because of internal discord or mega-development projects. Calamity-stricken areas hit by earthquakes, floods, cyclones also draw traffickers who promise jobs to aspiring women and girls of calamity stricken areas.

PRE-TRAFFICKING VULNERABILITIES

The study shows, issues like domestic violence, gender discrimination, sexual harassment, child labor, child marriage are some of the prominent push factors that proliferates trafficking of women.

A trafficking survivor when asked about the reason she ran away from home states, *“I ran away from home because my husband and mother-in-law used to beat me every day”* (Personal Interview: 25.3. 2015).

A survivor insisting on gender discrimination is one of the cause of women’s trafficking says, *“I was always sent to the landlord’s house for working as a domestic help, whereas my brother was told not to worry about the debt and poverty but concentrate on studies”* (Personal Interview: 22. 3 2015).

A survivors narrates the vulnerabilities operating inside the family, *“My uncle used to touch my private parts and threaten me to sell me if I tell this to anyone”* (Personal Interview: 8.5.2015).

A girl of 19 years old tells her story of trafficking by affirming the practice of child marriage in the state, *“I was married with a 30 years old man when I was 15”* (Personal Interview: 13.10.2015).

The agents of trafficking supply chain take an advantage of their adversities. Pre-trafficking vulnerabilities impacts the survivors' later life. Some are already exposed to sexual and physical exploitation much before they are trafficked. Due to the hardship they get lured easily to get rid of a distressing life. The longing for a better life forbids them from questioning the intention of the trafficker.

Gender Disparity: Some of the inside driving factors like prejudices for girl child, gender discrimination, male child preference, dowry demands, so child marriage/ early marriage becomes the biggest driving force for trafficking of women.

Girls, especially in rural areas, grow up in a restricted environment starting from her birth. They are not allowed to attend high school or college in the fear of a hike of dowry demand in their marriage. As it is an eloquent practice that the more educated a girl becomes the better qualified groom their parents need to find and the dowry scrambles according to the salary and family status of a groom. The practice of dowry has hideously become a socio- economic status than sheer marriage gift.

Girls are considered as liabilities to the family because, they are called as ‘someone else’s property’, who never provide any economic benefit to the family post their marriage. Here the use of the word ‘property’ signifies the mentality of considering a girl as a transferable object, which is controlled and owned by men. A trafficking survivor and a victim of fake marriage recollects,

“my mother and grandmother always used to tell me, you are a girl what benefit you will give us, one day you are destined to go to someone else’s house, so there is no need of spending money on her education. It will only increase the burden for us” (Personal Interview: 10.10.2015).

Due to the high prevalence of dowry demands and persistent poverty women are to face the discrimination because of the dowry burdens to the family. On the basis of a girls’ marriage she is always disowned by the family. As after girls are taught from the inception that her real home

is her in-laws place, so it indicates the attribution of a deep rooted gender discrimination in the society. The study found that education, and health care of the girls/women always remain secondary for parents compared to boys/ male children of a family.

A survivor states by testifying gender discrimination in education in society, *“In our place only boys were allowed to go to school and for us it’s just a waste of money,”* (Personal Interview: 4. 9. 2014). While citing this the respondent remembers being dropped from school to finance her brother’s education.

The pre-conceived notion about the only social responsibility of parents towards their daughter is to find a suitable groom as early as possible to get rid of the (dowry) burden. The haste of getting rid of daughter’s marriage makes the girls fall prey to the plight of trafficking.

Dowry Murder: Women/ girls are victims of deeply rooted demands for dowry. The declining and incapability to meeting with the demand have led to incidences of dowry murders. One of the respondents says:

“My in laws tried to kill me twice and I was beaten up every day. So I ran away” (Personal Interview: 23. 4. 2015).

“I had come to Bhubaneswar to find a job to support my parents for my marriage, but the man who promised to give a well-paid job ditched me and tried to sell me. I was molested and raped several times by many of his friends”, (Personal Interview: 18. 4.2015) another respondent states.

The study notes here, that the whole nexus of the society, stands in support of dowry, which further accelerates this deep rooted the social evil. This, henceforth turns women into a social burden, which makes them vulnerable to various physical and mental violence, which inevitably is a product of the system of dowry.

Early Marriage: Early/Child Marriage, one would like to state as another social epidemic which is predominantly present in some parts of Odisha. As is Early or child marriage against the constitutional norm, it is present sneakily.

While conversing with a survivor states; *“I was bought and sold by more than one agent when I was 15, and then transported to other state (Haryana) for marriage”* (Personal Interview: 11. 1. 2016)

The study implies that women in most of the deprived parts of Odisha are sold in the name of marriage at a tender age. The evil torments their childhood, kills their innocence leaving them in distressing condition. Childhood adversities, including poverty, mental-physical-sexual harassments could be the cause of vulnerability and easy penal transportation of trafficked women.

Sex and Non-Sex Trafficking: There are certain states like Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Chhattisgarh where the sex ratio of the place is measurably low so they constantly hunt for women especially young girls who can be purposeful for both sexual servitude and do domestic chores. The study indicates that such trades are also given the name of marriage and the woman ends up satisfying the sexual appetite of all the male members of an entire family.

A NGO person states: *“the racket thrived on the area's abject poverty. Parents also agree to their daughters to marriage with the money lender as a substitute of repaying debt”* (Personal Interview: 20.4. 2013).

In the name of domestic maid many of the girls are captivated, sent outside the state and sold. They are kept in disguise of domestic help but are forced to work as sex workers. The sex rackets are run inside the house/ rented house itself to be protected and befool the police and women's organizations.

Debt Bondage: Debt bondage is a means to ensure that the trafficked person will endure enslaved in the fright of repaying the due amount. It's a contract and a pattern which binds a person to work for another, under specified conditions, for a specified time. It is bonded sex slavery that many survivors of trafficking have faced and gone through. The below testaments by the survivors of trafficking are explaining the rambling practice of this pattern of slavery, *“...I could not escape because I was bound by the money he had lend to my parents”* (Personal Interview: 24. 8. 2015).

A survivor who has been sold several times by the traffickers states, “...*the man who bought me from my parents is considerably an old man, around his mid-50s. He promised my father that I will work as a domestic help in his house in Kolkata. Later I found there were five very young caged girls in his house. All the girls are bought in the same means and for same purpose that is to satisfy the old vicious man’s sexual urge....nobody can escape from his cage we were sold as a substitute of our family’s debt*” (Personal Interview: 24. 8. 2015).

Sometimes after the death of the parents, children are lured and trafficked and kept captive bonded laborers. Particularly orphan girls are sold to brothels.

Domestic Bondage Labor: Selling girls to brothels is not the only practiced mode of recruitment of trafficked girls but they are kept inside the domestic sphere where they have to face both physical and sexual violence concurrently.

Orphan girls, poor-tribal girls, girls from economically deprived regions, uneducated/illiterate girls are the exceedingly vulnerable clusters. They are bought for dual purposes, to perform household chores and serve sexually to the male members of the family. The exploitation is equally heinous here as in the case of slave trade. A 18 year old girl narrates her experience,

“....*after the death of my mother I went to Pune with my aunty (mother’s cousin). I was doing all the household work and also aunty was sending me to her neighbor’s place and friend’s place to work for them. I was also looking after their small kids. But I always used to get scared whenever the male members of the families used to appear. Most of them touch me here and there, I was raped many times... don’t remember how many times...they beat me if I resist or complain.*” (Personal Interview: 22. 1. 2014).

A survivor said, “....*madam used to push me and bash me at the bathroom wall, then ties me with wires, stop giving me food if I complain her that her son harasses me and rapes me every night*” (Personal Interview: 2. 2. 2014).

An NGO staff exclaims: “...*very often trafficked women/girls employed as domestic help in other states, are thrown out by the employers after getting pregnant at the age of 15-16*” (Personal Interview: 3.2 2014).

Punishment: Traffickers apply various forms of coercion in order to sustain the exploitation and to prevent the trafficked woman/girl from escaping. The gruesome punishment the survivors have to go through is unimaginable. They carry scars and bruises all over their body, their fingers get chopped off, bear burn and cut marks on their skin. Their pain and the trauma become irrepressible for life. They are punished both for obeying and disobeying. When they don't obey they are punished by the traffickers/ brothel owners/ costumers and when they obey they are ostracized in society. The survivors bear deep physical wounds, punishment for breaking rules set by those who appoint them. They are held captive in windowless rooms for days, months, and years without release. They have been kept in vehicles, warehouses, factories, flats, and hotel rooms. The following excerpts by different trafficking survivors testifies the physical violence and exploitation they have to go through by the traffickers.

"...she put me in a very small and dark room which had no windows, for days, she did not give me food, beat me, and scared me to surrender" (Personal interview: 10.2. 2014).

The respondent was petrified with the sheer name of trafficking and the question related to the incident, she cringed her face into her knees and did not speak to the researcher for hours.

"I could not complain, resist or refuse to obey as they say, if I did they used to punish me by beating, restricting to move, not giving food and water" (Personal Interview: 13. 3. 2014).

The respondent asked the researcher not to ask questions about her past life (her journey to trafficking), instead she would immediately stop giving interview. Many a times the respondents show reluctance by hearing the word interview or by seeing a questionnaire. So the interviews were mostly taken in the form of interactions and conversations.

"...he threatened me that he won't send money to my family if I don't obey him" (Personal Interview: 14. 3.2014).

When asked about the violence and abuses by the traffickers the survivors used to stop giving interviews and deny to talk about the matter initially. They open up after a long conversations and several meetings.

Place of Captivity: The study reveals that rented house, trucks, ware house, undergrounds and store rooms of houses are the places where the traffickers keep the girls in captive. There are

other places like *dhabas* in deserted places, far away from the cities are places for caging trafficked girls. Those *dhabas* are mostly located for running sex rackets, captivating trafficked girls. These *dhabas* becomes lively at nights. It is a conglomerate business run by police and touts/dalals. Both earn money out of it.

Marriage disguises women's trafficking: The study notes that women/girls in Odisha are trafficked in the form of marriage. This is an extensive practice resulting from acute poverty and high dowry demands in the state.

A 20 years old young girl recounted her plight. *"I was the eldest in the family with four girls. My father was a fisherman and the grandparents lived with us. The father was not in a state to spend money for the marriages of the daughters and got me married to a person from Mathura helped by a middleman in the village. After the wedding, I was put in a train and when I reached Baleswar, I was told that the person I was married to was not my husband but it was another older man. After reaching home, I found that the mother-in-law was the only female member of the family with eight male members. I had to work in the huge field during the day and in the evening provide sexual services to almost all male members of the family. When I pleaded with my mother-in-law, the mother-in-law said that she also did not know who fathered her own sons. It seemed to be the practice there. I stopped eating and asked them to send me back. One day while working in the field I managed to escape"* (Personal Interview: 14.5 2015).

Another woman said her in-laws forced her to have sex with other men in the village and they tortured her, including her husband, until she agreed. There were also cases, mostly in Nayagarh and Balasore where women returned to their villages to lure other girls. So there are lots of such cases found in various districts in Odisha (Personal Interview: 22. 5.2015).

The study reports that one of the survivors who was from Mayurbhanj district of Odisha stated that her stepmother sold her sister to a man in Haryana. Her stepmother got a huge amount of money in exchange of her sister. The respondent however survived the brokerage of herself.

"An old man from Haryana came for me too, but I ran away from my house..." (Personal Interview: 24.2.2015).

The excerpt starts an instance of bride trafficking where a woman on the pretext of marriage is sold to a man in the exchange of money.

“There are shops for under-aged brides in the back lanes of Berhampur district, sometimes for contract wedding” (Personal Interview: 18. 3. 2016) an NGO personnel states. He says that the places look like small betel shops, but they are non-official marriage bureau, which transports brides to other states and make odd match fixing jobs. They are run by local petty criminals, being the locals, they have all the knowledge about the marginalized and economically deprived families who cannot afford to give dowry and which family has daughters of what age so they target the families and operate their business accordingly.

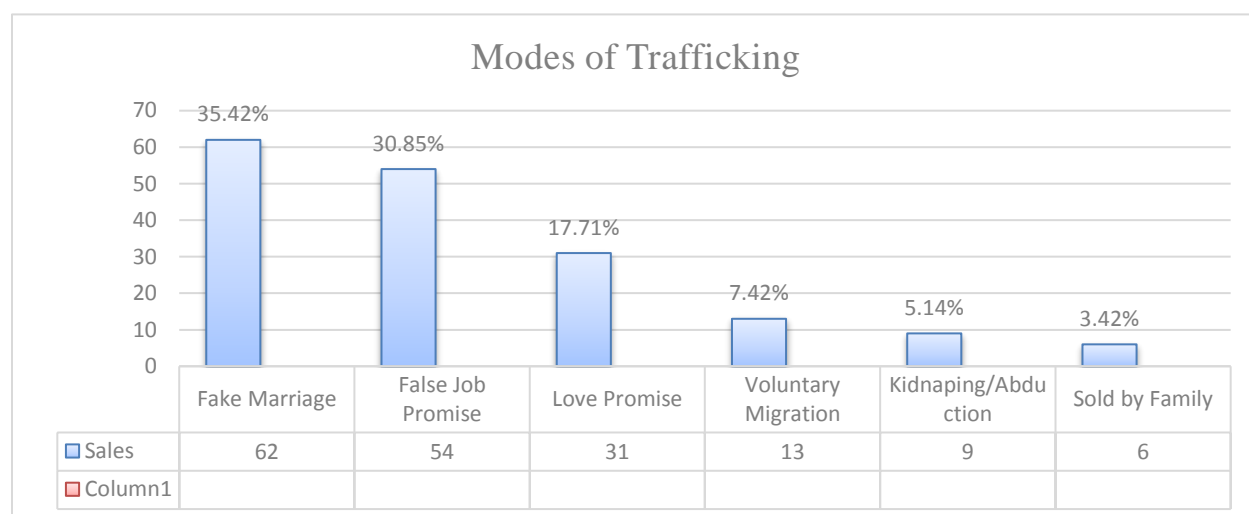
Vulnerabilities based on Religion: Muslim women are the next vulnerable group for sex trafficking. Most of the cases go underground due to the ingrained religious bias. Muslim women/girls are specifically preferred by the customers for the reason that women from this community are believed to be untouched or less touched, as virgins are in high demand in the sex slave industry.

Muslim girls are forced to get married at an early age. They are tortured, trapped, captivated and raped time and again until they give their consent for going with the male family members wish. They are raped amidst family members and forced to walk naked in the house before consenting to sexually attend to her husband’s friends.

... *“I was forced to have sex with my brother in laws and their friends too, when resisted, they removed my clothes and made me walk in the house”* (Personal Interview: 16. 5. 2015) a survivor resurrects her plight.

Mode of Recruitments: Recruitment of women and children for trafficking can take different forms in terms of the person or persons involved and the methods used to lure the potential victims. In most cases, the recruiter is known to the potential victim. A large number of recruiters are local brokers followed by friends and relatives.

Table no. 8: Modes of Trafficking.



Methods recurrently used to traffic women/girls to a new place include job offers, promise of education/training, and fake marriages. Sometimes, recruiters target parents or guardians to coerce the potential victim.

A trafficking survivors narrates, “...*I had often seen the afternoon train in the small station of my village is full of people I never thought that, one day I would have to take the road out of my village and board the train. I wondered where I was being taken to. I had asked the man several times he seemed to be unclear to me, I was baffled because my parents told me this person is going to protect me from all dangers and give me food, shelter and job too. Day after day it headed to an unknown world to me. I was put in a house where there are two other girls, but they barely speak, and stare at me and make me uncomfortable*” (Personal Interview: 14.2.2015).

The above excerpt of a survivor of trafficking who was rescued from Uttar Pradesh shows the obliviousness of the trafficked woman who falls into the trap in the process of recruitment.

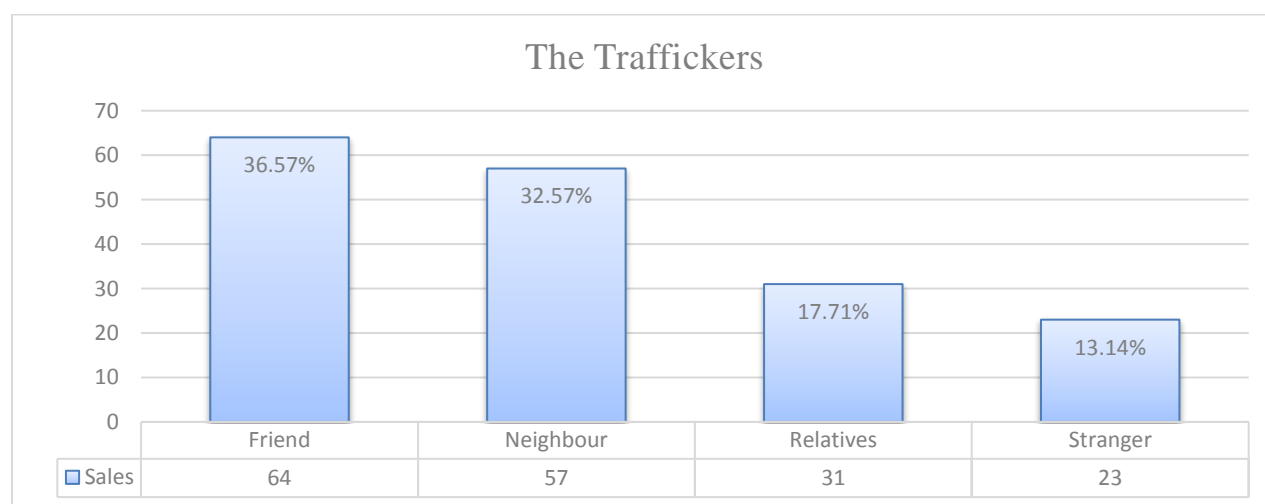
The sex trade and trafficking for sexual exploitation provides earning to a chains of people, such as the vehicle owner/driver, the agents/pimps, the traffickers, the brothel owners, hotel/ *dhaba* owners, so and so forth Says a NGO person. Their livelihood is earned by tampering the future of the trafficked women/girls (Personal Interview: 30.9. 2015).

At various stages of the trafficking process, the women/girls are often gang raped by the vehicle drivers who are accounted for transportation of the victims. The vehicle halts at some deserted, anonymous places. They are let out of the truck gathered for finishing their toilets. Then they are queued for sale, the ‘pimp’ comes to take up the better and younger looking ones who are game for a higher price. The sight becomes extremely terrifying when they run the torch light on every girl’s body from tip to toe. If anyone starts to panic and bursts out crying she is ferociously beaten and raped then and there. The survivor narrates this recounting her dark memories and throwing light on the exploitation on the process of recruitment in sex trafficking.

A police officer states, *“the morning local trains are seen full of domestic maids. Nobody knows where they go and work. They are all unregistered employees. As a result when they are trafficked or sold for sexual exploitation it becomes difficult to trace them or gather any evidence”* (Personal Interview: 28.8.2015).

So it indicates the non-registration of domestic helps becomes a major loose end in the prosecution of the traffickers, which gives opportunity to then for getting absconded and execute the crime audaciously.

Table no. 9:



Agents/Traffickers: The agents of trafficking can be relatives, neighbors, auto rickshaw drivers, hotel owners, shop keepers. These people are the primary source of the survivors’ exploitation. Agents become more adept in their work, coaxing, conning and coercing during the time of displacement, distress, despair and disease.

“.....There were two men and a woman who lured me and sold me. When I resisted I was raped inside the car they were taking me... Then I tried to push the car door and jump out of the car the woman slapped me until I fainted,” (Personal Interview: 24.5.2014) states a survivor of trafficking who was rescued from Tamil Nadu.

“They have deadly instruments to kill whoever comes their way”, (Personal Interview: 8.3.2014) say a 21 years old trafficking survivor with panic

The above statement testifies the connection and the influence of criminals in the operation or execution of trafficking chain in Odisha.

Women Traffickers: The study indicates that there are a number of women traffickers or pimps who are directly involved in this chain. The commonality among them is that they had been worked as sex workers in their early life, testifies a survivor saying:

“...The dhaba, I was captive in, was run by a woman who was working as a prostitute earlier...” Another respondent who had worked in a brothel in Kolkata: *“Most of the brothel owners had been worked as prostitutes in their past. The power that reflects in their way of talking is a symbol of domination, the raising voice, talking in raucous tone, the brothel owner does not care who you are if you are inside the brothel premise”* (Personal Interview: 13.2.2014).

The practice of authority and power play by the traffickers and brothel owners epitomizes the subjectivity of a trafficked survivor.

“... I and my cousin sister were sent to Goa along with Kamla aunty. She was from the neighboring village and comes every year and takes some girls along from the village. She sold us in a brothel com spa/massage parlor (where girls were used for sex work).... she was also working there in the same place” (Personal Interview: 12.2.2014).

Another survivors relates, *“...one overtly decked up aunty came to our house to meet my mother. She was from the adjacent village. She was extraordinarily friendly with me and asked me about my liking and disliking of food, what am I studying, what do I want to be in future, marriage and so on. My mother was also very interested about her illuminating jewelries and saree. She used to come to our house twice or thrice a week...one day my friends broke this news to me that they, including me are going with Kamala aunty to Mumbai. She is proposing us job with*

accommodation and food. My friend told with excitement it will so great that we all will be working and living together at a same place” (Personal interview: 12.2.2014).

The above testament reveals the extensive involvement of women pimps in the sex trafficking chain. Women who have worked or are working as sex workers are active agents for perpetrating women’s trafficking in Odisha.

Deception and Betrayal:

Many victims fall prey to hard trafficking, that is, they are sold parents, relatives..., husband, and brothers. Similar incidents are very common in the coastal belts of Kendrapra where natural calamities are very recurrent. After each flood which comes almost every year the people become homeless and without any source of livelihood. Several poor villagers sell off their daughters to middlemen from Uttar Pradesh on the pretext of marriage. While some land in brothels, others get exploited by their purported husbands/ boyfriends.

An 18 years old survivor recounts, “...my *stepfather says girls should be sent out for earning because they have more precious things to sell than boys have. They can feed their family more easily than a boy because a man needs to work hard to earn money where a woman just has to please others....*” (Personal interview: 14. 3 2015).

Elopement with boyfriend is one of the method of trapping women/girls in the recruitment process of trafficking. Lured by love, she runs away with her presumed boyfriend, move to live with him. Initially he gives her accommodation, with very cordial treatment, finally traps her. The traffickers befriend the women/girls with fake identities or fake names. The mode of coercion is often executed by drugging the women. A police officer says, “*The traffickers mostly drug the women in food to trap them*” (Personal Interview: 25. 7. 2015)

Parents, relatives, friends of the victim may be unwittingly complicit in the case of trafficking. However, there are also cases in which family members are knowingly complicit or actively involved. A victim who has been intentionally trafficked by people with whom they have a close or familial relationship may find it impossible to believe that they could be responsible for any

serious harm inflicted upon them, even when faced with all the odd facts of their trafficking situations.

“ ‘G’, a 15 years old girl (when trafficked) lost her childhood when her family was persuaded by a neighbor to send her to the city of Mumbai hundreds of miles away from her poverty-stricken, interior remote village in Kalahandi, Odisha . They promised her a well-paid job as a housemaid to help feed her family, which was not the case. She, instead ends up serving in the servitude in the red light districts to become a sex worker. Trafficked by her neighbor, she arrived at a brothel. She was raped by a customer and spent the next three months in hospital” (Personal Interviews: 24. 3 2014).

Parents sending their daughter with a relative to study in a better place are instances where girls are sold, pushed to slave trade. One of the respondents reminisces her past, *“I am traveling in a car for the first time....uncle and aunty brought me from home saying I will study in a better school then my future will be secure to support my poor parents in their old age..... But, what is it, we are not reaching, it seems endless. When I asked they told me we will reach in a couple of hours, then in two hours, one hour. Then we are in a train. I have been sleeping after having food. Where are we going? We have not yet reached! It’s night. Why am I missing my home, my parents so badly? I should be happy. I am going to study in a good school. I am thirsty. Aunty is so sweet and nice, she gave me water without even me asking her. I am sleepy, my head is bursting, maybe I am tired...tired of the long journey.it’s so dark here. Where am I sleeping, on the floor? I don’t know where I am. Nobody is around. A voice, loud male voice is audible. But what language he is speaking? I am scared to death.....That voice has crushed mine....my body is rumped.... I am bleeding....I am sold... I am bought...” (Personal Interviews: 8.9. 2015).*

Demand and Supply: with regard to the demand side of the sex trafficking of women, the booming sex industry is fueled by the purchasing of sexual services. The study consists a sample of respondents between the age group of 13-30 years, with the largest age group of 15-25 years are the most vulnerable groups but girls who have barely reached their teens are a lucrative catch for the pimps. The following is the statement by a social activist from Bhubaneswar:

“...Virgins are auctioned to the highest bidder among the traffickers and buyers [...] some men pay a premium for teen aged or young girls” (Personal Interview: 24.7.2015).

“...a girl has no other possession through which she can fulfill other’s demand or need or fulfill any duty but her body itself...”(Personal Interview: 2.2.2016) states a female pimp.

By quoting a pimp who supplies girls/women in a slum in Bhubaneswar, an NGO person states: *“The demand and price a young virgin gets in the market is very high. Under aged girls are highly preferred in the sex selling market. They are easy to handle, easily manipulated and sold in higher price. So it becomes a profit for the agents”* (Personal Interview: 11. 3. 2016).

EXPLOITATION

Physical and sexual harassment is an important constituent of the process of trafficking. Victims get constantly beaten and repeatedly raped if they resist or disobey the order of the trafficker. Due to constant harassment they succumb to depression and mental imbalance.

They are abused and ill-treated in every step by the trafficker/ owner/patrons/pimps/transporter. The girls are tortured by beating, burnt with cigarettes, given inadequate food to make them helpless for agreeing to please the men who come to buy their body. The survivors come to shelter homes with big scars, deep wounds and bruises given by the evil sex trade. Some carry bruises and choke marks inflicted by customers and pimps.

Physical Exploitation: Trafficked women living a life of prostitute repeatedly experience pronounced forms of physical and emotional abuse. Such abuse is aggravated by the living and working conditions as well as socio-cultural factors that make them more vulnerable.

Girls working as prostitutes in the streets maintain that they are frequently exposed to physical abuse, in particular, when they resist sexual harassment. The most common perpetrators of physical and emotional abuse are clients and street gangs.

Body is the essential part of selling sex whereas the trafficked woman gets bruised and beaten in every part of the body but not the face. Face is protected to attract customers. They get scars and wounds in all over the body including the private or genital areas. The face is least affected or get temporary/light scars that can be covered with make up easily which is also a way to escape from the police and outside world too.

“..They repair my face like a machine before presenting me to the client” says a survivor. (Personal Interview: 30.5. 2014).

In the case of sexual exploitation, traffickers avoid inflicting visible injuries not to jeopardize the sale of the bodies.

“....they ask me to cover my wounds in front of the customer/ buyer”, states the respondent (Personal Interview: 3.6.2014).

“...they beat on my head, fingers, toes and nails”, states another survivor (Personal Interview: 3.6.2014).

Sexual Exploitation: Trafficked women and children living in prostitution experience a range of sexual exploitation which includes sexual harassment, sexual deviances and rape. Although sexual abuse, especially rape, is perpetrated by customers, owners of bars and hotels where the victims work besides street gangs and strangers.

“ ... I was repeatedly raped and harassed in the vehicle when they were taking me to Mumbai”, resurveys the survivor (Personal Interview: 13. 4. 2015).

Different survivors have endured different kinds of exploitation. The sex workers are tortured sexually, mentally and physically too as they are controlled by the pimps who provide them clients. The traffickers/pimps/brothel owners demand a share from their earnings. Many a times they are unpaid by the clients rather beaten up if asked for money.

Often they get pregnant at a tender age then either they are forced for an unhealthy abortion or they have to give birth to the child and suffer in pain, There is no medication for them as they are in captive, moreover without being considerate to their health during this period they are forced in continuing to serve the costumers. A respondent says,

“I got pregnant when I was 18, for which I had to go through innumerable sufferings though I was not given any proper food, and physically and mentally harassed” (Personal Interview: 13.5.2014).

Psychological Exploitation: Some of the survivors are so emotionally and mentally manipulated that they have come to believe that their abusers are their protectors. An NGO person states:”

“... when they come in they are just exhausted, the lifestyle wreak havoc in their bodies. They have to be in a constant state of awareness for survival... after the beating, sexual assault and

the life threatening moments they slip to post-traumatic disorder” (Personal Interview: 23.4.2014).

Physical torture is not always necessary to sustain the trafficked women in captivity. Some are enforced to endure in insufferable circumstances for long periods of time without being physically restrained or incapacitated. This is owing to the traffickers’ psychological manipulation of emotions/ relationships, control through the concept of “debt bondage” or psychological entrapment within exploitative work.

Repercussions of Exploitation: Physical, emotional and sexual abuses create a range of consequences for the victims. The most visible consequences are physical in nature such as broken bones, burn scars, temporary bleeding and bruises. All forms of abuse, especially when recurrent and severe, also lead to severe psychological and emotional problems. The victims, especially those engaged in prostitution, are often exposed to addictive habits such as drinking alcohol, and smoking cigarettes, which in turn lead to health problems. The majority of trafficked women also suffer from the effects of psychological problems including low self-esteem, constant and severe feelings of sadness, frequent nightmares and excessive crying, suggesting intense psychological distress illnesses.

Low Self- esteem, Shame, Self- blame: Survivors of trafficking frequently suffer from low self-esteem due to the experience of enslavement, psychological abuse, deprivation and violence. Sexual physical and mental violence radically alters qualitatively the terror and pain of the victim.

This study observes that survivors of trafficking often blame themselves and very reluctant to face the world, and lack of confidence to resume and lead a sound life.

“...we are low rank people, we don’t have anything to get respect for, why will anybody respect us...” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015), a survivor who has been working as a sex worker in Mumbai red light areas states.

The young people trafficked both for domestic servitude and commercial sexual exploitation have to endure filth language and verbal abuse from their traffickers. This continuous attempt of

reducing and slaying them to nothing directly affects their self-esteem and self-image. The following is an excerpt from a survivor.

“...we are meant to be called by such names, there is nothing derogatory or nasty about it...because we are of this filth...” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

The survivors become conditioned to take orders, feeling afraid, not asking questions about their health, needs and rights by having been exploited and forced in various forms. The following quote from a respondent justifies it.

“...How can we complain about anything, when we are not treated as humans...this is the normal life for us, let this go on because I know our voice are not to be heard but we are to hear them...”(Personal Interview: 26. 4. 2015).

In contrast the study observes that there is another extreme symptom which develop within the trafficking survivors from the wrath of trafficking. The consequence of long, recurring exploitation makes the women adopt the characteristics of their exploiters. An internee testifies pointing to an inmate who is the senior most in the home in terms of the duration of her staying:

“...She is the leader here. No inmate goes against her. She operates and dominates them and she is like a spokesperson. They all take her orders and never dare to raise voice in front of her or speak against her”(Personal Interview: 30.5. 2014).

Sometimes women after being controlled and exploited for long likely adopt the same tactic to show their power upon others by dominating, and controlling their fellow inmates. They try to be the governing figure, the superior one, probably emulating the trafficker or the exploiter.

Some women perceive their own body, particularly sexual organs which have been abused as despoiled, foul and in pain. They keep cleansing it continuously in an abnormal manner. One of the shelter home staffs states:

“.... They take bath for hours and a number of times a day. They even talk to themselves while taking bath...” (Personal Interview: 22.5. 2014).

A survivor of trafficking says: *“I feel unclean all over my body but the dirt does not go no matter how often I rinse my body”* (Personal Interview: 12.2.2014).

Obstacles to Memory: The study shows that many survivor of sex trafficking suffer from difficulties with memory and the ability to accurately recall their harrowing experience. An NGO person describes,

“...When the women are asked who these people are, there is always a vague reply. They are either reluctant or find it difficult to pinpoint exactly who helped them enter the profession...” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

Dreams of the inmates: The study accounts, that the dreams of the survivors give a perception to their mental and psychological conditions. It reminds them of their past and replicates their present.

“...some men were running behind me to kill me. I was screaming to escape and fall into a well...” (Personal Interview: 15. 5. 2015), the survivor says remembering her frequently horrifying dreams in sleep.

The dream that one of the survivors cited indicates her fears and anguish. Probably gives one an idea of the violence or threat she has received as a victim of trafficking.

“...I was inside a dark confined place where there was nobody to help me out of there...I was only getting beaten up...” (Personal Interview: 15. 5. 2015).

The dream cited by one of the other survivors shows her longing and her worries for her parents. She wonders whether she can meet her parents for the second time in life. Further, one can also observe the lack of confidence in the survivor and her negativity towards her life.

“...I saw my parents were dying...and I am caught by a chain unable to free myself...” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

Power: Traffickers seek power and control over whom they purchase. Controlling some one's life and overthrowing her existence is the portrayal of power display. To use one's powers one craves to stamp down the other.

One of a member of an NGO's rescue team testifies by narrating some instances as follows: *“Girls are hand cuffed or both their hands and feet are tied during the time of rape just to get an extra pleasure. Here rape and inhuman torture is synonymous with male sexual pleasure.”* The NGO personnel continues, *“...They are found in such fierce conditions one cannot even see...,*

the survivors come with disfigured face, fingers cut, severe injuries in vaginal area...most of them are mentally unstable... their suffering never stops it goes on”(Personal Interview: 29. 2. 2016).

The trafficked girls/women would be woken up at any hour, raped, tortured, beaten sometimes forced to endure hour long gang rapes, given very little food and then forced back to repeat it all over again day in and day out, all resistance met with either brutal physical violence or straight execution of the slave refusing to submit herself. How many rapes, how many crimes, how much brutality the sheer scale of the savagery makes numbers merely meaningless because suffering seldom had an end. Gang raped day after day, the slaves would often be sold to other units of the guys in other towns for the horror to repeat itself all over again.

Trafficker’s Control over the Victims: The study observes, the traffickers and pimps initially strategize to control the trafficked women/girls by building up conversations, pretending to be amicable for confirming their obliviousness. This following quotation affirms this,

“...in the beginning he was very generous, asking me to call my parents, taking care of my food and other particular as if he is the only person in the world who cares for me, concerned about me. I felt more protected with him than my parents. He stealthily interrogated me about my family, relatives, and contact numbers of my family, got to know all. But after he got the whole information about me everything changed. He told me that he had called my parents and told me that I am working as prostitute. They have no problem with it. He will send money to them each month, that’s what they need, he said” (Personal Interview: 20. 3 2014).

The survivors of trafficking are deprived of the basic functioning, private space/freedom of movement by the traffickers. The basic functioning like going to toilet, menstruation (while held in sexual exploitation), eating, sleeping, personal representation, response to own illness/injuries and medication are controlled by the traffickers. In such cases autonomy, and validity of ‘self’ is violated.

“My body was numb, unable to move due to hunger and weakness during my menstruation cycles”, says a survivor (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

“I was not allowed to take bath, clean myself, left without food during my monthly cycles”
(Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

Masculinity: Men don’t distinguish between ‘free’ and ‘forced’ ‘women’ or ‘girls’. Though there is an increased preference and demand for young girls in the sex industry, yet factors such as coercion, exploitation and non-consented sex render women/girls vulnerable across all ages. Explaining the condition and despair of trafficked women, a social activist states:

“....They rape her to break her, to tear her apart. They continue doing so until she loses herself completely and cannot gather it back, then they over ride their male sexual urge...”(Personal Interview:22. 2.2016).

The reiterating sexual exploitation in every level resurrects the mark of terror and suspicion, in the mind of trafficking survivors’. They tend to get afraid of men. The study denotes that the body language of the survivors is visibly withdrawing. They never commonly look straight and talk during any interview. The following citation from one of the survivors reveals the cause of their certain behavior:

“...That eye is very marauding, lustful eye, follows us everywhere, be it brothel, be it street, be it shelter home, and be it the police station...”(Personal Interview: 8.9. 2015).

The following paragraph narrates the experience of a survivor who had become pregnant after being gang raped by her traffickers and later on was sold to brothel. She expresses remembering the pain she had gone through when she was compelled to work as a sex worker even after an insalubrious and forceful abortion done by the brothel owner.

The woman/girl in front of them is suffering from innumerable pain, torture, and ill-health. She is weak, drained, and sick after repeated rapes, unhealthy abortion, incapable to lift her pale face, unable to move her feet but here is the man who does not pay any heed to her uncountable pain but his urge for sex. Her sufferings are negated and uncounted.

“I was not captive in chains, no locked doors were there but the walls itself were sufficient to vigil on me.... The man puffing a bidi sitting outside armed with an unseen power of the male power could stop me with a look. In any case where could I have escaped to?” (Personal Interview: 22.5. 2015).

The quote of a survivor who was incarcerated for four months in one place resurrects the power of a sheer glance (of a man, who was appointed to keep an eye on her moves) that works as a vigilant guard, restrained her from moving let alone escaping.

Fear & Threat: The study shows, survivors fear reprisals by traffickers and trafficking networks against themselves and their family members long after they have escaped from their ignoble ordeal. As a result, they felt reluctant to provide details which would help in identifying and locating the trafficker.

Whether the fear is idle or real, they are of great significance to the survivor which is why they hesitate to come forward to talk about it or take any help. A survivor excerpts,

“.....They threaten me to sell me to another man and to brothel if I don't obey them. So I get very scared and they also beat me severely every night. The men who come also beat me if I cry during the rape-cum-sex” (Personal Interview: 24. 3 2014).

“...I was unable to leave the brothel because they told me they would hurt my family and make my other siblings do it too if I escaped.”

“...they threat us of getting arrested by the police if we step out of the captive place.”

“...The man always used to tell me that he has a good contact in police. His friends work in police. If I disobey him he will hand over me to police” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

These statements by the survivors of trafficking denote the severity of the threat and fear they face.

An NGO person states, *“...the fear is so engraved in their mind that they start to withdraw from the world. They don't want to face anybody”* (Personal Interview: 23. 4.2014).

The traffickers use various methods to keep the trafficked women in captivity. They use methods such as threat of the police, physical abuse, and manipulation.

Eloquent Silence: The survivors are enforced to be silent throughout the process. They are never allowed to speak in front of anybody. They are so used to being silent that speaking out seems to them is a crime. They get frightened in the name of speaking to someone. They threatened if they open out their ordeal they themselves will lose the dignity of being a human being, being a woman.

The following excerpt reveals the testament given by a survivor how they are forbidden, pushed away, ignored. She says that everybody who comes to them only see their pale, silent, numb body not the agony flooding inside.

“To you and me that world is forbidden, to you and me those words are taboo, to you and me those windows reveal nothing during the day. Many who visit this world wearing darkness know our stories but they never tell. The customer will not tell, the accomplice will not tell the victim is voiceless” (Personal Interviews: 24. 3 2014).

The survivors speak their agony after they get friendly. They open up about their inner pain. These quotations speak about their hollowness and suppressed longing for an unbiased social life as they are unheard and sidelined by the society.

Commercialization of Body in a Brothel: Brothel is a world of business quarters, often existing in the heart of the cities. The people who visit this place are no strangers. They are the similar ones who hover around women find a piece of chance to attack her. The same lecherous male sexual urge which only look for its sole satisfaction. A sex worker states, *“...I was taught how to talk in their language and drag the costumers”* (Personal Interview: 24. 8. 2015).

A sex worker says poetically *“...after the dark day the night becomes illuminated to sink us to darkness by guising our bruises with colors”* (Personal Interview: 28. 8. 2015). This statement expresses the agony succumbed inside the woman. She tries to unravel the eccentric hollowness in her life. The living being breathing inside is nonexistent, what matters the most is the body that sells sex and that sells pleasure.

The following statement of a survivor who had worked in a brothel in Tamil Nadu expresses about the use of women as items for commercial pleasure in brothels.

“...we are never seen, hidden behind our painted face wrapped in mysteries.....the over painted faces are to cover the human being within us...we are never told and heard of” (Personal Interview: 18. 4. 2015).

Woman as Commodity: The concept of selling and transporting women is sheer example of the ideology that treats women as commodities. The body is bought and sold, treated as an object without being considerate of their human self.

“..I felt like a commodity, worthless as a person [...] we are human beings not commodities to be bought and sold,” says a trafficking survivors (Personal Interview: 5. 2. 2014).

*“.....girls here are with price tags like vegetables in the market to be bought and sold according to the demand of the purchaser and as per the tenderness and texture of it, ”*states a female pimp earlier working as a prostitute in Sonagachi (Personal Interview: 27. 10. 2014).

Survivor’s take on Prostitution as a Livelihood: In the fear of being outcaste, being treated as untouchable or abandoned many women agree to accept the blunt truth of their life and take up sex work as their profession. Then they drop all the past sufferings, pain, exploitation and move ahead to take it as any other labor for earning ones living. There is no difference; it is a profession like any other for them.

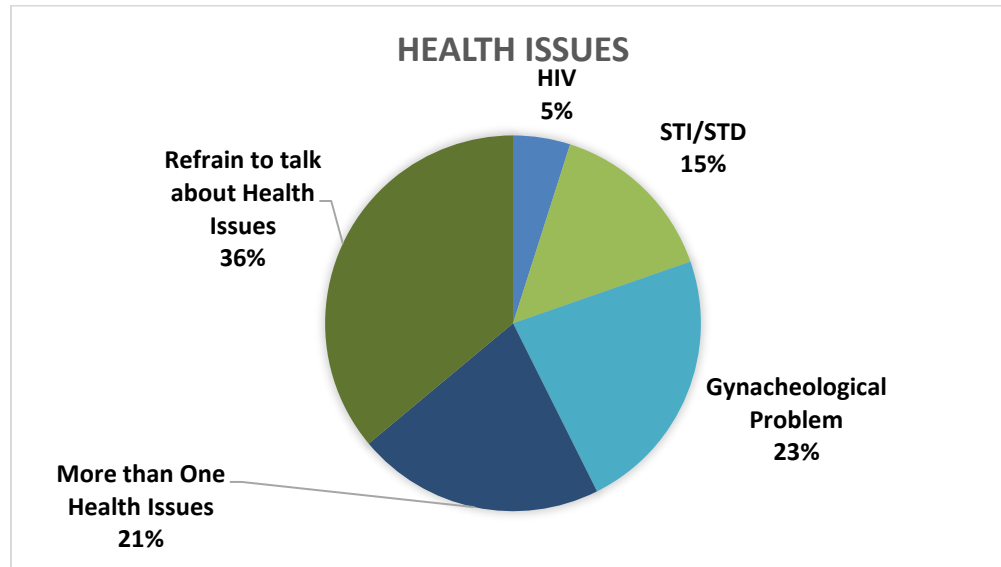
As working on sex trafficking of women it is but necessary to understand the nature of prostitution as well though they are two different phenomena. But migration, prostitution and trafficking, they all have a fine linkage between themselves. One calls for another some way or the other.

“.....to give myself a better life and to debilitate poverty I wanted to work and earn more and more money so that no member in my family would starve, wear torn clothes, won’t be homeless after a natural calamity”, states a sex work in the red light area of Berhampur (Personal Interview: 13. 6. 2014).

HEALTH (HIV/STD/STI)

The survivors of trafficking refrain to talk about their health problems. It indicates their fear for stigma associated with disease like HIV and STI/STD are considered unacceptable in society.

Table. 10. Health Issues of Trafficking Survivors.



The clients with HIV infection or an STI are ready to pay a heavy sum for a young virgin, believing that this will cure him of his disease. This is a persistent belief among the buyers of sex. This way many survivors suffer from STDs and STIs passed on by the men who purchased them for sex. The women/girls are thrown out once they get affected by HIV and STD.

“...I had HIV/AIDs. I had lost many friends in the red light district to this disease, and I am worried about my adopted daughter's future”, states an HIV affected, who has been working as a sex worker (Personal Interview: 2.10. 2015).

The HIV infected survivors have a limited span of life. Poor physical life, disease, infection, injury, emotional collapse and addiction overpowers them. The study indicates that there is a constant demand for girls in slave trade because many of them are murdered, die of beating/injury, brutal gang rapes, and chronic diseases like HIV / AIDS and commit suicide. If the women/girls are affected by HIV, they are thrown out by the brothel owner or the agents who control them and their work without considering their health and mental conditions.

A PICTURE OF SHELTER HOMES

It is indispensable to describe shelter homes, from where the survivors of trafficking were interviewed in the study. Most of the shelter homes are located noisy and disturbing

environment. The study notes of similarities between the construct of a shelter home and that of a brothel. Similar to the description of brothels, rescued victims in the shelter home were sneaking through the railings of the home. Besides, like the construct of a brothel with guards and security appointed at every step for restricting the movement of victims; likewise, the home was also securely locked. One can find a lock at every entrance of the home and the keys to the lock were authorized to stay only with the superintendent and the guard.

Hierarchy within Shelter Homes:

The study notes that there is very conventional hierarchy within the shelter homes. The order of hierarchy goes like coordinator-social worker- the counselor- the caretaker- the guard- the inmates. The coordinators of the NGOs as well as the shelter homes never agree to reveal any information regarding sex trafficking survivors. They strictly prohibit cameras, recorders and mobile phones inside the home. The interviews take a prolonged time and require a lot of persuasion, meetings and negotiations to get access to the survivors of trafficking in the shelter homes. One of the staff from the home has to be around the researcher during each meeting with the survivors. This is one of the reasons why the survivors are afraid of expressing themselves.

Therefore, inmates being lower in the hierarchy, have no autonomy over their lives. Anything and everything they do is in accordance to the orders of the people higher in the hierarchy. The construction of the home is based on this hierarchy. Certain spaces of the home are only meant for the coordinator and the staff of the organization. Such spaces are not allowed to be accessed by the inmates of the shelter home.

Lack of Basic Facilities in Shelter homes:

The quality of shelter homes ranges from acceptable to very poor, with women in some states being left to languish in these homes, with poor nutrition and medical care, and few opportunities to improve their skills for the future. It is found that improper sanitation is another major issue in the shelter homes. The beddings are not properly cleaned. The bed covers are dirty and stained, in most places the survivors sleep on the floor. There are no beds for them.

Exploitation and Violence in the Homes: The study indicates the shelter homes are no secure place for the trafficking survivors. They are re- victimized and outcaste by recurring exploitation, violence and abuse inside the home. A survivor of trafficking expresses,

“....we get offended to speak out openly about the pain that we have gone through or are going through because of that particular look which constantly surrounds us with a sting that we are outcastes, we have got maligned ourselves so we can no longer be a part of standardized moral character in this society” (Personal Interview:14. 5. 2015).

The study indicates that the survivors of trafficking are sexually exploited in the shelter homes. The male workers in the home sexually harass the inmates and threaten them keep mum.

“These homes are no less than jails. They treat us like criminals. They say you are a sex worker, you are used to all these, so why are you pretending as if you don’t like this”, a survivor hurriedly spoke about it by lowering her voice (Personal Interview: 2. 4. 2015).

After the rescue of trafficking survivors, they are stigmatized, look down upon, ostracized by the NGO staffs and the other inmates who self-brand themselves as non sex trafficked survivors. They are manhandled and ill-treated during the course of treatment/counseling. They are verbally and physically abused, sneered derogatorily and again caged in dark cells.

Escape from shelter homes: The study indicates that there are 2-3 cases of runaway inmates from the shelter homes every month. They run away to their respective families and sometimes get caught. One would be compelled to think why the survivors try to escape? The statement made by a survivor accentuates the rationale of survivors fleeing from homes:

“This place is dingy...they threaten us to be mum. I don’t want to stay here... they are treating me as dirt...feeling pain all the time. My heart is always aching...” She describes her pain by pointing to her heart (Personal Interview: 19. 4. 2014).

There are other aspects bellow which evidently validates the absence of support/association of the survivor from the organization and the coercive repression in the shelter homes.

Shelter home as a Cage: The study found that sexual captives, caged, traded survivors who faced hell and tried to escape and raise a voice, they face unspeakable brutalities, and their life has turned into a dark unimaginable existence.

“...My heart is breaking. I feel cold all over, there is no warmth in my life. Nobody is here to care for me...” utters a survivor (Personal Interview: 11. 3. 2014).

A respondent says, *“Life itself is a cage for us. Starting from the day when we are trafficked we are caged and will be for life. Post the rescue there has not been any change, even we go back home then we are ostracized and caged inside the four walls branded a loose, prostitutes, nobody wants to see our face, we are called impure, witch, inauspicious. That moment when everybody run away from us, the thought, may be longing strikes in mind, I was better off in brothel?lost and found then tortured around in every step”* (Personal Interview: 24. 11. 2015).

Bond of Sisterhood: While talking about the brothel they often become nostalgic about their bond with the other girls staying there. Their memory of having fun together, watching movies and sharing laughs, dancing to raunchy movie songs, putting make up to each other. *“...we shared our pain, sufferings, and churned some happiness out of it too. They are my soul friends. I can never forget them”* (Personal Interview: 7. 4. 2015).

A sex worker narrates her experience when she encountered a fellow sex worker in the brothel she was working: *“... the first time I saw her up the dingy staircase, along the way she came. She was different, a sex worker though. There was something about her that made me comfortable to reach out to her, for the first time there seemed no mal-intention and for the first time, I felt like trusting someone. I felt like calling her ‘sister’...”* (Personal Interview: 18. 12. 2014).

Construction of families amongst the inmates:

The study notes inmates constructing families within themselves. The inmates pair up themselves as couples and live like husband and wife inside the shelter homes. The below excerpt by an inmate in the shelter home testifies that the inmates maintain a similar atmosphere of hierarchy that a family constitutes in our society. The inmates of shelter home talk about their bonding with each other inside the home:

“‘C’ will never have food before ‘M’ ” ... (‘C’ is the wife here)

Simultaneously there are familial bonding, responsibility and empathy for each other here also which is evident from this excerpt:

“...these two girls are never separated, they behave like each other’s body guard”

The statement shows the kinship bonding among the inmates, that keep them associated with each other. Further, one of the staff members commented that:

“When ‘B’ tried to escape from the home ‘M’ was crying unceasingly refusing to take food for two-three days” (Personal Interview: 9. 8. 2014).

Hence, the statement notes the social influence of having or necessity of a partner and longing for a family in one’s life. They try to link themselves to each other and form a family and a world within themselves.

Sexuality: The study observes that most of the women trafficking survivors chose their sexual partner in the home itself. The internees and the staff members of the NGOs testify about it saying:

“...in the middle of the night they create weird sounds and in the early morning it’s hard to even look at them, they are found half naked...” (Personal Interview: 13.10. 2014)

One inmate states that she was sexually harassed by her fellow inmates at night so she is staying with the caretaker of the home.

“... I could not stay with them...they touched me everywhere even my private parts... They do bad activities at night” (Personal Interview: 20.3.2015).

This indicates the re- victimization of the survivors in shelter homes itself. The urge of sexuality of some older and senior inmates in the home analogically displays power on the weaker ones.

Further, the study adds that in the course of time sex workers become bisexuals and chose sex partners among women. One of the NGO interns stated as follows:

“...sex workers chose to have sex with women, because after repeatedly being raped, sexually harassed they get exasperated and refrain to establish any sexual contact with men. Therefore to even up sexual need they start having sex with women...due to all the experience of exploitation a feeling of hatred towards men developing sex workers mind, also at the same time they get scared of men...” (Personal Interview: 26. 4. 2015).

Therefore, it appears intricately hard to apprehend sexuality of survivors of trafficking. However, the study finds this a distinctive aspect of the shelter home and shows how inmates seek out for a partners among themselves.

There is a deep refrain and hatred for sex among most of the sex workers. They say it is worst feeling, An inmate who was working in Mumbai red light area says...*I don't know what I hate most the feeling of having sex, or having sex with men* (Personal Interview: 19. 4. 2014).

Discrimination based on religion in the Homes: The study notes that inmates in the shelter homes belonging to minority sections face discrimination by the staff members. There are women/girls from Muslim and Christian communities, who are doubly exploited. A poor-muslim/Christian- girl, the vulnerability conjoins like this. They are excluded and discriminated for belonging to the minority group not only in pre- trafficking stage or in the process of trafficking but post their rescue.

“...Christian girls are no stranger to sex because it is permitted for them, according to their religion. It's not a sinful for them unlike for Hindu girls” (Personal Interview: 24. 8. 2015). The statement made by an NGO person denotes their biasness towards other religions.

The below comment suggests the distinction made inside the shelter homes:

“They are Muslims so they eat so much ... Their body stinks, I cannot bear their presence beside me let alone sharing their dress”(Personal Interview: 24.5.2014).

“I can't share food with these women because they are Muslims. My religion does not allow me to have food with them” (Personal Interview: 24. 11. 2015).

Similarly, the above statement shows how the caretaker and staffs in the home show indifferent and discriminatory attitude among inmates of the home. Therefore, it can be argued here that the organization that are seeking to provide justice and resettling the lives of trafficked survivors ought to be free from these biases. However, the study shows the staff members casting prejudiced attitude towards the survivors and signifying them as the ‘Other’ would make it difficult in reinstating the rights and freedom of trafficked women.

Stigma associated with Sex Trafficking and Sex Work: Inside the shelter homes among the staffs there are a customary prejudice for the survivors who have gone through sexual exploitation, raped and worked as sex workers. The very word sex is stigmatized there too as everywhere else. As an organization dealing with an issue like trafficking they should be free from all kinds of bias and predispositions. The below excerpts evidently explains an impudent attitude of the staffs of the shelter homes.

“.....they are getting what they are entitled of what can anybody do more about it except for sympathizing” (Personal Interview: 13. 4. 2015).

“...they are prostitutes, they should not come to anybody’s eye especially men, they can attract men instantly” (Personal Interview: 24. 3 2014).

“...They have done such stinky thing to their body and themselves who will give keep them instead of this shelter home. They have only two options in their life...this rehabilitation home or brothel” (Personal Interview: 13.10. 2015).

“.....they are destined to be like this, me or you can do nothing about. It’s all their deeds that have dragged them here” (Personal Interview: 22. 5.2015).

An old lady in a slum in Bhubaneswar who has worked as a prostitute in her early life and now states from her social experience:

“...women are expected only to be pious, pure, submissive and domestic. No matter where a woman is whether inside a domestic sphere or into a bondage she is always a sexual object but nothing else” (Personal Interview: 23. 5. 2015).

Unwelcomed in Family and Society: The girls who are trapped in sex trafficking through false marriages are the one who are barely welcome by their parents/family after getting rescued. In the fear of social excommunication, their family are of little help for giving her a sound, healthy life post the trauma. In this kind of case the survivor slips into depression and loses her mental stability, mostly becomes suicidal.

“....a daughter who has been raped, worked as a prostitute, sold her body, exposed sexual harassment is a matter of shame and reason for the ruin of her family and parents” a NGO person states (Personal Interview: 21. 9. 2013).

Similarly, a police personnel states, “...*Families are hesitant to accept their lost daughter because of the fear of ruining family name and to secure the future of the other girls in the family...*” (Personal Interview: 20. 2. 2015).

Children of trafficked sex workers: Women who are into sex trade business are likely to be conscious about the future of their children. Most of them who are now senior professional prostitutes don't want their children especially girls to get maligned to the same brutal profession knowing and experiencing all the odd horrors of the profession. They want to raise their girls untouched by this reprehensible life. A sex worker working in Bhubaneswar red light area says, “*I will never let this evil (my past/present) touch my daughter, I want to educate her and she will work for the welfare of trafficked women/girls*” (Personal Interview: 16. 1. 2016).

The study notes, in spite of their great effort many a times their children also get affected by the surroundings and environment that they live in. The agents/ pimps, also the clients who often visit their homes tend to harass the girls in absence of their parents (mothers). According to a NGO staff, “...*children of sex workers face sexual and physical exploitation by the pimps as well as costumers. They are the most vulnerable group*” (Personal Interview: 24.7.2015).

“...*my daughter is not safe here. I want to send her to a better place to secure her future,*” a survivor of trafficking says (Personal Interview: 16. 1. 2016).

A social activist who runs a vocational school for slum and sex worker's children states: “...*teachers get afraid of taking classes because the children used to throw calk pieces to them, tear books, lock the teachers inside the class room and run away. They do so because of their disinterest in studies. Rather they insist to drop out from school and go for rag-picking, begging, pickpocketing. With a strong influence of their surroundings, they most likely to adopt felonious habits such as behaving abnormally, use slangs/ derogatory phrases while talking at the age of 8-9*”(Personal Interview: 9.8.2014).

However, it again reiterates the fact that the learning and environment in childhood affects the later life of sex workers and trafficking victims.

Conclusion

The survivors of trafficking are subjected to a ritualized subjugation and discriminated from the society. The association of the word 'sex' in sex trafficking creates an impression of impurity

and immorality, especially towards the women trafficking survivors. They are imperiled to multiple discriminations and exploitations, in terms of their caste, class, gender and religion. Trafficking and deception makes the life of the survivors hazardous through the continuous malicious treatment. They are often silenced and their existence is ignored or overlooked by considering them meagre. In this case, it becomes crucial to make the voices of trafficking survivors heard and resurrect their life.

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CHAPTER - VII

THE APPROACH OF POLICE, NGO AND MEDIA TOWARDS TRAFFICKING

This section of the chapter scientifically analyses the approach and response of the NGO, police and media personnel who play a pivotal role in the rescue and rehabilitation of the trafficking survivors, persecution of the traffickers and establishing knowledge and awareness about trafficking respectively.

The study has been conducted through the help of NGOs as the primary obstacles in the field was to get access to the survivors of trafficking. Role of the NGOs become crucial with regard to the rescue and rehabilitation of the survivors of trafficking. The NGO persons were selected and interviewed by applying purposive sampling method, in terms of their work in the field of trafficking. The NGOs interviewed work in various vulnerable districts in Odisha in the field of trafficking.

Table. 11. The number of NGOs and NGO persons interviewed.

Number	Name of the NGOs	Location of the NGO/ Interview	Number of Respondents Interviewed
1	Vasundhara	Cuttack	4
2	PECUC	Bhubaneswar	4
3	Ruchika Help Line	Bhubaneswar	2
4	Aaina	Bhubaneswar	3
5	Spandan	Puri	3
6	Swaraksha	Berhampur	2
7	Patita Udhar Samiti	Bhubaneswar	3
8	Maa Ghara	Bhubaneswar	2
9	Child Help Line	Rourkela	3
10	Sanjeevani	Kendrapada	2
11	Actionaid	Bhubaneswar	2
	Total		30

Attitude of the NGO towards the Trafficking Survivors:

The study observes the indifferent and uncaring attitude of NGO officials toward the survivors. There is a notion among all NGO and Police personnel that for trafficking survivors are improper and women who have lost their dignity.

In an awareness raising program on trafficking the speakers from various field spoke condemning trafficking as an immoral act, they mentioned the inflaming escalation and means to eradicate and control the crime. By distinctively addressing women as mother, daughter, sister and wife, they probably intended to signify the perceptual categorization of ‘good woman’ and ‘bad woman’, which is deep seated in our society.

The social moralistic framework of NGO personals on sex trafficking and further an approach of looking down upon or degrading attitude towards the rescued women. The workers of the shelter homes express during an informal interview:

“...they have come from brothels and once a woman touches that place she becomes impure, thereafter she can never be an ideal woman...” (Personal Interview: 15. 4. 2015)

“...I cannot believe they know everything about sex at this young age...” (Personal Interview: 13. 4. 2014).

“...For us having sex without marriage is an immoral act but for them it is too easy...” (Personal Interview: 2.4. 2015).

“...these women can take sex so easily. At first, when they are forced to perform sex with many men they find it difficult they cry a lot but after sometime they think that already their respect is gone and there is no use to fight and get beaten up...” (Personal Interview: 22. 10. 2015).

The statements made at various points of the study inevitably make one to argue of the deep moral codes embedded within the perspectives of NGO personals. It shows not only the outlook of the organization but also the society, stating of how society perceives women who are forced into the sex trade. These outlooks constantly outcast women from the mainstream world and it lead to the ‘Othering’ of women by the organization and the greater society.

One can argue that- with these idealistic moral codes, it stands dubious for the organization to perform their role directed towards the well-being of survivors of trafficking.

Controlling attitude of NGO personnel:

The study notes the overprotective attitude of inmates of the shelter home by NGO personals. They constantly deny the support of survivors of trafficking. This can be made clear from one of the statements made by one of the NGO personnel:

“...they need protection so that they do not run back to the brothels...” (Personal Interview: 12. 11. 2014).

*“... They are sex workers, they cannot be set free, and if we leave them like normal women they will seduce other men and pollute the surroundings...”*states another NGO person (Personal Interview: 2.4. 2015).

The excerpt shows the overprotective attitude of NGO personnel. It also directs one to state that, probably women of the home were rescued against their will or perhaps they are not satisfied with their condition within the shelter home. Further, based on the quotation one can argue of the forcible confinement of women in the shelter home. It should be on the survivors to choose what they want to do and where they want to go and stay. Thereby their stay in the shelter home ought to be voluntary and not forcibly. Decision of staying in the home should be based on the desire of the inmate and further it should be beyond the directions of the NGO authorities and staff members.

“These are trafficked women and so they cannot be taken out because they get attracted to boys easily and that they cannot live without having sex”(Personal Interview: 6. 11. 2014).

“...You cannot let them watch cable TV because the channels play songs which are vulgar and if they watch it...it would be difficult for us to control them”(Personal Interview: 18. 2. 2015).

“...these women worked as prostitutes in Mumbai, they were in the business, and if they see guys they get carried away. It is difficult to control them. They are simply difficult to manage...” (Personal Interview: 13.5. 2015).

The excerpts state the overprotective attitude of staff members of the organization. It shows the inherent loss of freedom by the trafficked woman under both conditions, i.e. pre-rescue and post rescue conditions.

Escape from the shelter home:

The study reports eight cases of runaways from the home. They have been reported to flee to their respective families. One out of eight, had been caught in the railway station, she was returning to her home, however was not aware of the route. A statement made by the guard makes it evident:

“...The cut on my hand is while climbing the wall to catch the girls that tried to escape...”
(Personal Interview: 11. 1. 2016).

The question that arises here is that: “Why do they escape from the home?” The guard answers: *“Who will like to live in this cage?”* (Personal Interview: 11.1.2016).

The statement here as the above discussions makes evident the inherent lack of agency of victims and their forcible confinement in the shelter home. The shelter homes are no less than a cage or jail. The survivors of trafficking have to suffer from multiple exploitations based on their social status such as caste, religion, and ill-treated in the pretext of being sex workers. The plight of victimization and exploitation becomes a never ending phenomenon for them inside the home. Recently there were four reported cases of escapes from another home of the organization. Therefore, a serious consideration has to be made for the causes behind the escapes of inmates and further pondering on issues of forcible confinement of inmates in the home.

Indifferent attitude of Government officials:

The researcher had an opportunity to be present in the home for the celebration of International Women’s Day 2014. The research notes the ‘uncaring’ attitude of the officials. The following is a discussion of how Government officials showed indifferent attitude towards the inmates.

Different officials gave speech on trafficking condemning it as an immoral act. Their speeches included statement, which patronize woman as a daughter, a wife, and a mother and thereby condemning an act like that, which destroy the dignity of being a woman. None of these officials even recognized the fact that some of these girls had landed into trafficking for no fault of theirs. However, one can argue that a gender-based approach to trafficking problem barely addresses to the concerns of trafficked women and children

Further, the following are some of the statements made by the officials: *“...You should study...You should shine like stars...”* (Recording of Speech: 8. 3. 2014).

“...girls are the respect of family, we should protect them” (Recording of Speech: 8. 3. 2014).

Based on the above account one can state that merely stating advice hardly benefits victims of trafficking. Therefore, without any concrete effort one cannot seek for the emancipation of victims.

Here it also arises a question whether girls are only to be protected and saved from trafficking and sexual exploitation because they are supposed to protect the respect/ dignity of the family as well as the society. This statement again preaches the patriarchal ideology.

Fund Raising as a Major Intention: The interior overview of a NGO is no different from a corporate capitalist office. The focus ushers more on competition for bagging funds than working for the upliftment of the downtrodden and marginalized sections.

NGOs often rescue the trafficking survivors for raising their funds strategically by showing record and preparing reports to the sponsors.

The NGOs claim to provide vocational training to the trafficking survivors, educational facilities to their children. Conducting awareness programs, celebrating International Women’s day and Independence Day.

The activities done in the events are more analogical than calling for a solution. The speakers would compare women with goddesses, talk about the richness of the culture and tradition and instruct about the code of conducts for women. The common thing which remains missing is the voices and existence of the trafficking survivors.

The following are some of statements made by the coordinator: (Personal Interview: 25. 3. 2014).

- *“We give them vocational education.”*
- *“A workshop was done on making of incense sticks, candles.”*
- *“A workshop on weaving and knitting was also held at the shelter home.”*
- *“We sought to seek help from the government, so that we can give our girls a better life”* (Personal Interview: 22.3. 2014).
- *“We run a school to give them free education and conduct awareness/ counselling programs every six months”* (Personal Interview: 6. 6. 2015).

Therefore, one can apprehend the statements as fund-raising act by the organization. The concerns were not directed towards victims but rather to the self-interest of the organization. The study reports that one of the voluntary educations mentioned by the coordinator was barely carried out; and hence, bogus statements of these kinds outlay the fake attempts of the organization.

Thereby when the speeches were over one of the inmate of the home states as follows:

“People just came and left, they did not talk to us, anyways why would they talk to people like us” (Personal Interview: 8.3 2014).

The statement shows the feeling of despair by the inmates of the shelter home. They did realize that they were neglected and overlooked by the officials. Besides, the inmates to show how unkempt they were in the shelter home, they busted most of the bulbs, and it was darkness all around. The coordinator was embarrassed. Moreover, he too did not have a word with the inmates and like the others; he too came and left the shelter home.

Henceforth, one can argue of utter negligence of the officials. They should have had a word with inmates of the home, because it gives them comfort and boosts their confidence towards life. They start believing, that the world is with them and they can fight the upheavals of their life. However, the official’s response towards inmates of the home were distressing and displeasing.

Irresponsible behavior of the organization:

The study notes that a handicapped inmate, all by herself was sent back to her place of origin. None of the staff member of the organization accompanied the victim. The accounts of the staff member are stated below:

“I went to the bus station to drop her. Once she reaches, there I asked her to go to the police station and say her story and then the police can help find her home. I had also given Sir’s and Madams’ number and asked her to take someone’s help to call in these numbers. I had asked the driver and the conductor to take care of her. I do not know what will happen to her. She does not understand anything. She was creating too much problem in the home so Sir asked to send her” (Personal Interview: 13. 6. 2015).

The excerpt shows the utter carelessness of the organization because they ought not to send a victim back to the place origin without an escort. It should have been the responsibility of the organization to accompany the woman to her destination.

Further, no news of her was heard, the organization is not sure whether she reached the destination or not. Thereby one can argue that such instances make victims susceptible to re-trafficking and re-victimization.

Most often the survivors post the rescue are taken to their home with false promises and incorrect or partial information so that their family would accept them but sometimes they get even more depressed after being not accepted by the family. One of the survivors said:

“They said my parents wants me to return home, but when I reached home my father denied to accept me and asked not to show my face again” (Personal interview: 18. 6. 2015).

The above excerpt indicates the lack of responsibility of the NGO staffs towards the survivors of trafficking. It can further be understood that the NGOs work for raising their funds through showing successful rescue operations without paying heed to the plights of the survivors.

Sex Trafficking as a Taboo: The study observes many of the respondents from the category of police and NGO workers still try to deny that trafficking happens in their area is for the purpose of sex trade.

There is a strange sense of peculiarity in the mindset of the people who run the shelter homes (coordinators, superintendents) that they are overtly secretive about the matter sex work and sex trafficking.

One of the shelter home personnel said when asked about the profile of the survivors sheltered in their home: *“...there are hardly any sex trafficking survivors in our organization, mostly there are survivors who were into domestic servitude.”* (Personal Interview: 12. 11. 2013).

The above citation from the coordinator of one of the shelter homes in Sambalpur states the repulsive attitude of society towards the survivors to sex trafficking and sex workers.

But after interacting with the survivors, the data which came out was completely opposite of the NGO personnel's information. There were such survivors who had been sexually harassed, exploited, raped and also forced to sell sex. Such taboos are also there among the workers themselves, despite of their area of work and content of work they are still hypocritical, skeptical and have a prejudice of associating the word 'sex' anywhere in their sphere.

The study finds that many of the trafficking cases go unreported due to the social essentialism. Parents of the trafficked women/girls conceal the incident in the fear of social condemnation. Parents try to protect the future of other girls in the family by naming a trafficking case as missing or kidnapping case. Most of the time trafficking cases are not registered in the fear of maligning family reputation.

Experiences of NGO Workers in the Process of Rescuing Trafficking Survivors:

The agents or traffickers have a very strong network and most of them are hooligans. The risk for the organization (NGO and shelter homes) increases as they target the rescue team members and field workers. Many a times they threaten the NGO officials. The below statement give an expressive example of these kind of incidents:

One NGO person describes, "*... They threat to kill us, destroy our organization if we expose them [...] they carry deadly instruments with them all the time. They are no less than gangsters. They have connections everywhere, even in police*" (Personal Interview: 23. 12. 2014).

Another NGO staff shares: "*....once we had rescues a 23 years old girl from Chhattisgarh. She was captive there for one year and forced to have sexual intercourse with four brothers of the family. They had kept her in a single room house divided by a cloth. One side of the cloth was the area where they rape her one after another...when we, along with the police went to rescue the girl and arrest the culprits the brothers threatened us pointing the gun. They even shouted to throw acid on the survivor's face there itself*" (Personal Interview: 14. 1 2015).

From the researchers' experience, many traffickers live in disguise in the slums and out skirt areas of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar, Puri, Baleshwar, Berhampur. The NGO persons had warned the researcher to hide her identity as a research scholar and not to carry any instruments like recorder, camera and like so that they can suspect. The researcher could only observe the deadly instruments they carry audaciously.

Incomprehensiveness: The police and the NGO narrates about the guilelessness of the survivors who has not fully understood the graveness and the entirety of their own trafficking, the deception they have gone through even after or during the rescue. Sometimes they think the apparent lover, friend and the person they have trusted is their well-wisher. They try various means to remain in contact with the person such as to get in touch with the person sneakily, don't reveal the real identity of the trafficker, and try to run away from the shelter home.

"... 'S' has tried so many times to run away from home to her lover...because she thinks this place is restraining her to meet her boyfriend. She does not believe that the bruises on her skin are given by the same boyfriend, maybe she does not remember anything about her past because she was drugged every time she was raped and abused" says a staff in the shelter home (Personal Interview: 2. 5. 2014).

One NGO staff exclaims, *"....Most of them are unaware of the fact that they have already been sold"* (Personal Interview: 24.3. 2014).

Response of the Media

Respondent from different print as well as electronics media houses were interviewed. The sample has been selected by using purposive sampling method. Media reporters were the major respondents for this part of the study. The reporters were selected as they deal with the issue directly like police and NGO personnel. Total 30 media persons were interviewed in the study. Table no. 1 give the details of the sample size of the media persons in the first part of the analysis chapter. The following table gives the details of the media personnel interviewed in the study.

Table – 12. Details of the Media Personnel Interviewed.

Serial No.	Name of the Media/ News Paper	Location	Number of Respondents
1	Times of India (English Daily)	Bhubaneswar	3
2	The Telegraph (English Daily)	Bhubaneswar	3
3	Samaja (Odia Daily)	Cuttack	3
4	Sambada (Odia Daily)	Bhubaneswar	4

5	Pragativadi (Odia Daily)	Bhubaneswar	2
6	Dharitri (Odia Daily)	Bhubaneswar	3
7	Etv Odia News Channel	Cuttack	4
8	Otv Odia News Channel	Cuttack	4
9	Kanak TV (Odia News Channel)	Bhubaneswar	2
10	Focus News	Bhubaneswar	2
	Total		30

Misrepresentation and Under-Representation by Media

The study observes, no media person ever try to talk to the survivors of trafficking. They report the cases as another trafficking case. The data, a news report contains is purely based on the police record, the voice of a survivor is never recorded by the media.

*“... No media reporter ever talk to us, they only talk with police and NGO teams....”*a survivor of trafficking states (Personal Interview: 7.3. 2013).

The above statement indicates how the media treats the trafficking survivors as voiceless objects. It also directs one to state that the survivors are unheard and silenced by the media.

The media reports trafficking to rather sensationalize the issue: Most of the times the cases are not reported and unreachable also. Media present the cases for selling their tabloid giving less hid to the severity of the matter. Media reporting of trafficking cases are more sensationalizing than educating. The trafficking, rather, gets a casual treatment and an irresponsible approach from the media.

“.....instead of putting in efforts to eradicate trafficking our society is rather getting accommodated to it,” stated a media person from an English daily (Personal Interview: 5. 5. 2015).

“.....it is really hard to measure the number of trafficking in a place because once they enter into slavery they almost disappear”, says another media reporter (Personal Interview: 5. 5. 2015).

Role of Media in Victimizing the Victim

The role of media is a virtual proliferation in the world of women's sex trafficking. It has a bigger hand in propagating the phenomenon. The career aspirant, ambitious, needy girls step out of their home trusting the advertisements put up on the web, newspapers that ditch them in due course and push them to a dark corner for living a heinous life.

Media representation of a trafficking case is highly objectionable in terms of a right of a woman. The report, instead of making the perpetrator a culprits, victimizes the girl.

Silencing and Segregating the Survivors

The depiction of trafficking survivors in media is limited to indifferent photographs. They are treated as silent objects whose voice is suppressed. The media never approach a survivor or pay any importance to their right for expressing themselves. The police, NGO persons including the media speak on behalf of them without allowing them to stand up for their right, voicing their plight. A survivor of trafficking states, *"Nobody talked to us, we were asked to sit in one side together and some people came and took our picture"* (Personal Interview: 13. 4. 2014).

The media, like the other two stakeholders, concentrate on publicizing the issue rather than taking action towards its eradication. The alliance of the NGO, police and media is the principal reason in under reporting of trafficking cases. The news on trafficking are controlled by the influence of these three patrons, who only focus on enduring sponsorship, justifying their duty and publicizing their brand respectively.

POLICE

The data has been collected by structured and semi-structured interview methods. The sample size has been selected by purposive sampling method. Total 30 police officers were interviewed from all 16 districts. The details of the samples or the number of police interviewed in the study is give in table no.1, in the first part of the analysis. Police personnel from various grades/ ranks such as sub-inspectors, inspectors, and IPS, SP and DIG were interviewed in the study.

Table – 13. Police Officers Interviewed

Rank of The Police Officers	Number of Respondent
DIG	1
SP	6
Inspector	12
SIP	11
Total	30

Getting time and access to the police officers was one of the limitations of the study. The police personnel were reluctant and disinterested to talk about trafficking. Due to their work environment and it consumed a lot of time and persuasion to interview the police officers.

The study shows, most of the police personals possess a vague idea of trafficking. They are reluctant to talk about sex trafficking in particular. If they are questioned about sex trafficking, sex work and sex rackets they will start talking about migration in the state instead.

A police officer states, “... *they are not trafficked but migrated, trafficking least occurs here [...]* it is difficult to believe that a girl of 18-19 years old can be drugged and forced” (Personal Interview: 9.2. 2015).

The police think all trafficked women are prostitutes. So they criminalize the survivors and re-victimize them by exploiting further. They hardly knew the distinction between voluntary and forced sex work.

“... *these women have great manipulative skill, they very much know what they are doing but when caught they pretend to be innocent...*”the police personnel state (Personal Interview: 22.2.2015).

When enquiring about the current report on women’s trafficking, a police personnel gave some good advice to the researcher: “... *young female researchers should not chose a sensitive topic like this for their study because it’s too risky for them, anything can happen with them...*” (Personal Interview: 11. 3. 2015).

The researcher has been asked not to work in such a topic where criminals and most importantly (as per the statement of the police) women of immoral characters are involved. They said “you belong to good family, educated and civilized, you should not get into such degrading issues.” It can be easily noted from the language used for women in this excerpt, terms such as immoral character, good family, educated and civilized reflect the mindset of categorizing women as good women and bad women by framing them into a pre-decided code of conduct by the patriarchal structure in society.

There are a few other police personnel who could demarcate the voluntary and forced trafficking and migration and trafficking are two different phenomena. They testify by asserting as:

“...many under aged girls are shown as adults by false birth certificates and employed as sex workers for high demand factor” (Personal Interview: 9. 4. 2014).

“.....The number of cases that are reported on women’s trafficking are very meagre. Later on these unreported cases turns into sex rackets and get caught in some random places then the women involved are no longer looked at as innocents....” According to a police officer (Personal Interview: 8. 10. 2015).

The study notes that survivors of trafficking often are scared of police and be reluctant to talk about police. The survivors reveal that they are exploited, raped by the police who again sell them in the name of rescuing.

The women put into domestic servitude face multiple trafficking. The people who come to rehabilitate are, in reality, pimps. They resell the survivors with the help of police and NGO. They are kept captive by the agents where the police personals buy sex from.

A social activist in the Mahila Mandal in Mayurbhanj district states, *“Police are directly involved in the process of trafficking and re-trafficking. They sell the rescued girls to the agents for a lump sum amount”* (Personal Interview: 15.6.2015).

This statement by a member of a SHG in Rayagada district testifies the injustice done by the police, *“Police blame the person who reports about the trafficking case. They use abusive words for the person who files the case; accusing that persons’ involvement in the case”* (Personal Interview: 12.2. 2014).

Non-cooperation of Police: A social activist from Kandhamal district reveals that police often does not cooperate with NGOs. The number of trafficking complaints are registered in police station, all are not informed to NGOs and not taken required action but simply ignored the cases by naming the women/ girls as missing cases (Personal Interview: 30. 5. 2014).

A police officer says, *“Parents and family members don’t reveal that the woman/girl is trafficked but kidnapped or missing from home. As the future of the girl is at stake we don’t force them to reveal the detail”* (Personal Interview: 25. 1. 2016).

Further a police personnel adds that insufficient man power in police department the reason for the inability to eradicate trafficking and locate every trafficking case. He states, *“Every trafficking case is different. Traffickers adopt various innovative means to trap the victims. So it requires a lot of man power to locate each and every case”* (Personal Interview: 6. 9. 2015).

Corruption has an Impact: The study indicates that there is direct and indirect cooperation of lawyers, police and NGOs for the proliferation of trafficking. All of them search for money making routs to resolve the case. A lawyer states: *“There are innumerable cases of trafficking, it is unnecessary to take every case to the court”* (Personal interview: 21.12. 2015).

Most of the times cases on trafficking are settled by bartering money, bribing money to the lawyers. The cases don’t go to court generally. The involvement of police, NGO and lawyers make the escape means easier for the culprit. So they never get caught but run their business carefree.

Shifting of Blame

The police and NGO play a strategy of shifting blame to each other. The police accuses the intention of NGOs is to obtain money in the pretext of reviving the survivors of trafficking. The shelter and rehabilitation is compassed in terms of the feasibility and strength of the shelter homes. NGOs, many times, worsen the sufferings of the trafficked women/girls. The number of survivors would be rescued is decided in accordance with the vacant accommodation space in shelter homes.

Police claims about unregistered NGOs using trafficking survivors for sex racket/ sex work deceitfully. Whereas the NGOs strongly denounce of police criminalizing the victims of

trafficking, exploiting and re-trafficking them without informing the NGOs regarding the whereabouts of the traffickers or the trafficked. Therefore it conveys a clear account of the dubious intentions of both police and NGOs.

Unawareness and insensitive attitude of educated/elite class towards trafficking:

The study captures the views of some educated, urban mass regarding sex trafficking in the state in course of field work. The following excerpts dictates insufficient knowledge about gender issues and double standard attitude of women in contemporary Odisha of the educated and elite class people.

“....are there such women in our state? “, a student from Utkal University asks (Personal Interview: 10.1 2016).

“...sex trafficking does not happen in the present time, it’s a myth now...” states a corporate employee (Personal Interview: 4.1.2016).

*“...after all these women sell their body irrespective of their circumstances or compulsions, how can they talk about women’s empowerment....”*a teacher says this during an informal interaction (Personal Interview: 4.1.2016).

“... They wear a mask of dignity audaciously to disguise their indecent work [...] they are prostitutes, they should stay in their limits....” discussed by a group of homemaker women (Personal Interview: 18. 2. 2016).

“...these things happen only in big cities”, states a business man (Personal Interview: 5.2 2016).

It shows the unawareness, insensitive and discerning attitude of the educated people who on the one hand ignore and trivialize the issue and on the other hand subscribe to the moral codes of conduct constructed for the women in society.

These are the information collected by informal discussions and interactions with people. The attitude and impression towards sex workers and trafficking survivors are so prejudiced that one can understand the reason and gravity of their plight in society after they are branded as prostitutes.

Conclusion

The study observes the insufficient government interventions, insensitive attitude of the police and media personnel, profit gaining attitude of the NGO are the major shortcomings that come in the way of stopping the flourishing of the trafficking market in Odisha. The reflection about sex workers and the survivors of sex trafficking remains unchanged among the police, NGO and media. This attitude becomes a great hindrance for the survivors to resurrect from their past and start a normal life.

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Chapter: VIII

Conclusion and Recommendation

Human trafficking has been defined as the recruitment, transportation or harboring of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud or deceptions for the purpose of exploitation. Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation is a subset of the worldwide phenomenon of trafficking in persons, affects almost all parts of the world in the increasingly interconnected but economically disparate world, sex trafficking is recognized as one of the fastest growing, consolidated crimes. Besides being a criminal act, trafficking tends to be understood as an issue with serious public health implications as well as a violation of human rights. More precisely, the simultaneous human rights abuses, the substandard living condition during servitude, and the deprivation of basic human needs from which the victims who are trafficked are suffering, have profound health consequences.

The present study has been carried out in sixteen different districts of Odisha. Though there is a dearth of literature on sex trafficking of women in Odisha, the study attempts to analyze the voices and experiences of the trafficking survivors. There are very few academic research conducted in this aspect due to the educational backwardness and lack of interventions of the government run institutions and universities. The study made an attempt to analyze the current scenario of women's sex trafficking and its various dimensions in contemporary Odisha, with the aim of understanding the trends and patterns of trafficking, studying the demand situations and the vulnerability factors, and looking into the response by the various concerned agencies, such as police, media and NGO. The study found that poverty and illiteracy and lack of awareness are conditions that push and pull women into commercial sexual exploitation and they end trapped into the market of sexual slavery. Sex work was found to be one among several options available to women in the labor market.

Odisha is a state with miserable poverty, lack of education and unemployment. These three are the major issues deriving from several other factors like recurrent natural calamities, socio-economic backwardness, gender discrimination, caste systems and so on. The wrath of nature wanes the economic condition of the state, hence frequent seasonal migration and trafficking

occur. The agents of trafficking take advantage of the situation to allure the vulnerable or economically deterrent sections. Abject poverty forces the children to drop out from schools and help the family to earn a livelihood. The society being a male dominated sphere, the women/girls become the worst sufferers of poverty. Women/ girls are put in the secondary place in terms of their health, education and end up being trapped in trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in the pretext of fake marriage, false job/ career opportunities for getting a better life.

The study has brought to light that trafficking, though not reported, is happening almost in every districts of Odisha. The situation is worse in areas which are underdeveloped and economically adverse. Most of the parts of the state, trafficking cases are unreported and unrevealed by the parents in the fear of society and for protecting the future of the girl. The study is conducted in 16 districts of Odisha, from which districts like Koraput, Kalahandi, Balangir, Baleswar, are more prone to trafficking in the name of domestic labor and bondage labor. Coastal districts like Khurda, Puri, Kendrapara, and Cuttack are vulnerable to trafficking due to a recurrent natural disasters. Poverty, unemployment. Poverty and gender disparities are the common factors of trafficking in every districts of Odisha. Rayagada, Malkangiri and Sundargarh districts are susceptible to women's trafficking because of their tribal dominated population, as the tribal are the most retrograde, subjugated and unaware in the state.

The study shows that the rural and tribal regions are mostly the starting point for trafficking of women where the end point could be within the same state but mostly other states such as Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Tamil Nadu, and Goa. The victim of trafficking is a complete stranger to the place where she is brought to and may not even know the language spoken there. These exacerbate the vulnerability of the women/girl child for further exploitation. The survivors indicate that almost 50 per cent of the traffickers are females but it doesn't reveal the larger dimensions and networks of traffickers. The fact that 68 per cent of the victims in brothels were lured with promise of jobs and 16.8 per cent by promise of marriage, makes it clear that deception is by far the most frequent means used by the traffickers to ensnare their victims. The organized connections of the trafficking chains are sneakily contributed, supported and supplied by some police. The threat of police among the survivors indicates the inhuman

treatment and unlawful actions of the police towards them. The local goons, and petty merchants of the rural villages play as agents for trafficking of women/girls to commercial sexual exploitation.

Social mobility is the crude reality of today but how it is safe is a huge question mark, considering the gravity of trafficking and its disturbing impact on the survivors. Mobility for the purpose of livelihood, education, and economic progression has a dual implication; both positive as well as negative. It sources a rout for economic advancement at the same time brings an adversarial lucrateness in the form of trafficking, exploitation, bondage labor, and forced sex slavery. Poverty, human-made and natural disasters, gender disparities, dowry system are the major factor which clear path for trafficking in Odisha. Child marriage and girls falling prey to trafficking in the pretext of marriage at the age of 14-16 is a major process of recruitment in Odisha. Majority of the survivors were trafficked at a very young age. Girls are considered suitable for marriage immediately after their attainment of puberty. The haunt of dowry system in the condition of abject poverty, makes the parents assume that marrying their daughters in a far off place will secure their future. So trafficking in the pretext of marriage is one of the foremost dynamics in districts like Kendrapara, Baleswar, Cuttack and Ganjam.

Women/girls being subjected to sexual, physical violence as children and periled to domestic violence after marriage makes them more vulnerable to trafficking. The survivors who had experienced sexual and physical assault in childhood become more mentally traumatized in the course of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. More than 80 percent of the survivors are from the socially deprived sections of society and majority of them come from dysfunctional families. Perversions and exploitations meted out to the trafficking survivors by multiple abusers often makes them highly susceptible to serious health hazards, including high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease at a very early age.

As regards to health issues, many of the survivors had been suffering from more than one ailments, including HIV, STD/ STI infected and other gynecological problems. This revelation is despite the fact that many of them were not willing to speak about their health status, mostly out of fear or stigma. The conditions in the shelter homes left much to be desired. It becomes impossible to cure their disease and other transmitted infections as there is no proper sanitation,

and health facilities for them. In the name of discipline they are caged in a place where they are evidently denied of basic rights or needs.

The prejudice for sex trafficking survivors make their voice unheard whereas the insensitive attitude of police, NGO and media complies with it. The irresponsible behavior of these three polar patronage system helps to push the trafficking survivor re-victimization and sometimes re-trafficking. Women trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation are victims of continuous sexual assault and extreme perversions. The extent and depth of exploitation of the trafficked survivors have never been fathomed by the agencies concerned and, therefore, the response scenario has been dismal. It is a common perception among the police and NGO persons, that the rescued trafficking survivors are 'prostitutes' who indulge in imploring and make profits in this 'trade', has been thrashed by uncovering the reality of the situation. These hapless women/girls are victims of grave human rights violations, having been trafficked by vested interests by lure, deceit, compulsion, threat, coercion and, thereafter, pushed into the world of commercial sexual exploitation.

According to the study, the exploitation of women/girls takes place not only before trafficking, but also during and after trafficking. Vulnerability situations and gender discrimination, which prevail in society, have not only been promoting and facilitating trafficking but have also been perpetuating it. The rights of the trafficked women/girls are violated with impunity. They are subjected to physical and emotional harm, from sexual assault to economic deprivation, and violation of human dignity. The post-trafficking scenario finds the victim at the end of the tunnel, with almost no hope of survival. She is subjected to different types of conceivable and inconceivable acts of perversion and exploitation. The strong nexus of vested interests ensures that the victim is caught in a spiraling debt bondage, which is one of the many strategies adopted by them to keep the girl in constant servitude.

The untold misery the survivors have to face before, during and after they are trafficked hardly receives any attention rather the prejudiced attitude of the society makes the survivors more suppressed, marginalized and vulnerable. Society has a greater hand in the aggravation and execution of trafficking as one of the most lethal crimes in the current period. Discrimination

based on religion, caste, and class is instrumental post their rescue, rehabilitation and inside the shelter homes. Trafficking cases are, in many circumstances registered as missing or kidnapping complaints. The sexual violence and rape of the girl is concealed by the family because of social stigma attached to it. The survivors of trafficking are unable to escape from exploitation and prejudice after they are rescued. The process of rescue and rehabilitation precipitates similar torture, social stigmatization and re-victimization of the survivors.

The study demystifies the fact that law enforcement, in most places, violates the rights of the trafficked women. It is a common practice to arrest, prosecute and convict the trafficked victims. The current legal situation leads to moral endangering of the sex trafficking survivors, who often find themselves trapped in the situation due to lack of substantial help after the post-rescue operations. Government interventions for the rehabilitation of the trafficking survivors seem to be deficient to secure their life post rescue. Human rights violations are rampant during the rescue and post-rescue efforts. Hence, there is a need for radical change in the law enforcement practice and methods. The response by government departments and agencies, and non-government agencies also emphasize the need for radical improvement in many respects. The present approach, which victimizes the victim further, has to be immediately substituted by a firm commitment to protect the human rights of these victims and, at the same time, ensure stringent action against the traffickers and other exploiters.

There is a power relationship that operates in the sphere of trafficking. This power could be due to the exploiter's position of authority, economic well-being, social 'status', or sheer manifestation of a criminal mind. As regards trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, the power equations have the additional dimensions of gender bias, female discrimination and the culture of patriarchy, which are explicit in the social systems. It is a crude manifestation and demonstration of male authority and power, whether of the traffickers or the clients. Therefore, the bottom line in trafficking is the exploitation of the powerless by those in power or those who can command power, even temporarily. Undoubtedly, the connivance and complexity of the authorities exacerbate the situation.

Number of other places other than brothels in urban areas, where commercial sexual exploitation are made available. The shifting of commercial sexual exploitation from brothels to non-brothel-

based situations has been observed in urban and semi-urban areas of Odisha. The latter manifests itself under the façade of massage parlors, friendship clubs, etc. These emerging trends are visible not only in the projections in certain segments of the media but also in the form of internet pornography. These activities create demand for sex, which is instrumental in perpetuating trafficking of women. They need to be addressed immediately. Moreover, information technology could be properly utilized not only to combat cyber pornography but also to generate public attention in addressing these issues.

The response of the government and non-governmental sector is more or less ad hoc and individual-oriented, and seldom institutionalized. It is to be noted that women trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation are victims of continuous sexual assault and extreme perversions. The extent and depth of exploitation of the trafficked survivors have never been fathomed by the agencies concerned and, therefore, the response scenario has been dismal. The study also shows that post-rescue programs lack the essence of reintegration and empowerment of the survivors. The welfare approach, which is commonplace, has to be replaced by a rights-based approach, where the survivors, the victims as well as the vulnerable groups should be involved not only in developing strategies but also in implementing them. A participatory and holistic approach can be in the best interests of the victim, survivor and all concerned.

Controlling and authoritative attitude of the shelter home personnel make the survivors more marginalized and subdued. The mental or psychological trauma that they have to go through capitulate them from within where as they gradually start to refrain from the outside world. The stringent operation of discrimination based on gender, caste and religion inside the shelter homes creates a feeling of distress in the mind of the survivors. After going through an innumerable sufferings and exploitation the survivors become mentally and physically weak. They lose self-confidence and courage to stand for their rights.

The shelter homes are no different from jails. The survivors are kept like criminals without any access to the outside world. The resentful social implications of sex trafficking push them to the same obscurity even after they are rescued. They are treated as the 'bad' women with immoral characters, with an impression that all survivors of sex trafficking are prostitutes and they have tendency of enticing men. The detention and involuntary shelter gratifies them with no more than an impaired and a life without agency.

The ignominious and incarcerated condition of the trafficking survivors during and after their rescue are seldom projected. They are rather treated as immoral, indecent and deviants who pollute the moral disciplines of society. It should be a conscious responsibility of the media to represent the infirmity and afflictions of both the survivors as well as vulnerable sections of trafficking. Media becomes a crucial part in the trafficking phenomenon as a result of its multi facet role. It prevails a dual impact on the survivors of trafficking, both negative and positive concurrently. It has the capacity to make a trafficking survivor languish or resurrect. Notwithstanding that the awareness it spreads among people makes them cognizant about trafficking, it also increases the prospect of the survivors re-victimization by sensationalizing the issue. Changing mindsets, creating awareness, breaking myths and removing stigmas should be the aim of the media.

Suggestions and Recommendations:

Sex trafficking of women is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The focus of the government initiatives to eradicate trafficking are singularly thrusting upon the process and modes of trafficking than the root causes of its inception. The major driving factors like unemployment, poverty, dowry demands, unawareness, gender disparities and violence need immediate attention for preventing trafficking.

There are several loopholes and shortcomings in law-enforcement, which need to be amended. A few of these issues can be listed out as below: (a) Lack of priority in dealing with the problem of trafficking, (b) Unwarranted arrest of victims, (c) Gender discrimination in law-enforcement, with an overwhelmingly high percentage of women being arrested and even convicted and a very low number of males being arrested despite the fact that they constitute a large chunk of exploiters, (d) Ignorance of laws on the part of various agencies; (e) Lack of training, orientation, skills and knowledge, (f) Failure to initiate action against traffickers; (g) Overall dissatisfaction with the working of the criminal justice system; (h) The yawning gap between reported crimes and unreported ones and (i) Lack of partnership of police with civil society and other government departments in addressing the issues of trafficking. So there is an urgent need for a proper amendment of trafficking laws to suppress trafficking in present time.

There should be an active implementation of GIS (Geographical Information Service) technique by government/ police to locate both in and out trafficking cases from different districts of the

state. Stringent legal action should be taken against people, who give and take dowry. The law and order always is limited to only pen and paper. There are many such law which only for documentation. They have applied implementation of them. One of those is anti-dowry law.

Even the most competent legislation is not enough if the will and resources for implementation are lacking. The large volume of sex trafficking, the manifold routes used for trafficking, and the flexible organization of the crime makes it impossible to close all the routes and eliminate all the networks. It is more practicable to concentrate on the main source regions and the most important junctions of the trafficking routes. This will require more efficient police and intelligence cooperation regionally and internationally.

Since a visibly highest number of respondents in the study refrained to talk about their health issues and denied to reveal whether they are suffering from any sexual transmitted disease, it evident that talking about SDT/STI and HIV is a taboo that averts the survivors to express about it. To reduce health hazards among the survivors of trafficking and provide proper medical treatment there should be easy home test kit for HIV/AIDS for sex workers like easy pregnancy kits. Simultaneously there should be awareness campaigns to extinguish the idea of sexual transmitted disease/ infections as immoral and it is a matter of shame to be vocal about it.

Efforts against the crime networks should be combined with developing and strengthening effective protection and assistance mechanisms for victims of trafficking and with strengthening socioeconomic support programs and awareness-raising activities in both source and destination point.

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Odisha is one of the educationally backward states. Illiteracy, unawareness and ignorance are some of the driving factors that makes the women more vulnerable to trafficking. There ought to be extensive educational support to the vulnerable group of children, who are often forced to enter the profession. So the young generation can be conscious, aware about the magnitude of the phenomenon and contribute to its prevention.

Proper supervision of poverty eradication programs is an urgent need as most of the basic facilities provided by government never reach to the needy and downtrodden due to a corrupted management system of the government itself. As a result the condition of the poor deteriorates.

Fake marriage is one of the prime mode of trafficking of women/girls in Odisha. Due to high dowry demands and abject poverty parents are allured to marry their daughters in far off places without dowry. Therefore, to eliminate fake marriages and to stop bride trafficking it is necessary to implement the law for a compulsory registration of marriage.

When people migrate, it's only the male members of the household who are registered, not the accompanying females. So it becomes difficult to know the exact data of migrating women or what happens to them. The study shows many of the migrated women trapped into the clutch of traffickers and are victims of forced prostitution. Therefore migrant women should be registered as well to keep a track of their whereabouts and to safeguard them from traffickers.

The shelter homes need to be upgraded and the police need to be sensitized police so that they act with speed when they have credible information on trafficking. There has be sensitization programs for the NGO and shelter home staffs during their recruitment. To do their jobs the shelter homes need a violence free atmosphere. They should be free of any kind of discrimination irrespective of caste, religion and gender.

Providing protection to the survivors of trafficking there should be proper introduction and implementation of vocational training programs to provide them economic livelihood and educational support, housing, health card, ration card and electoral cards by the government.

In the long run, the best ways to prevent sex trafficking and forced prostitution as a whole are to support and facilitate general social and economic development which are on the losing side of the current globalization process and work to achieve a more equal and balanced economic and social development. Once there is an overall economic development one hope that a gender discrimination would be reduced along with the vulnerability of girls and we can hope towards making Odisha free of sex trafficking.

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APPENDIX - I

CASE STUDIES

In order to give a detail picture to the life of the trafficking survivors, here are a few case studies that narrate the life stories of few survivors of trafficking. Each of the case-studies is based on a distinctive aspect by exploring the concealed experiences of the survivors' life, sufferings and feelings. The real names of the survivors are changed in order to conceal their identity as most of them have consented for the interview with a condition of not disclosing their identity.

1) Daughter Turning a Prostitute

Sobha is a 29 year old sex worker who is also victim of sex trafficking. She lives in the red light area called Malisahi situated in the centre of Bhubaneswar. She carries exuberance along herself yet a gloom prevails on her face. She had draped her saree in a peculiarly stylish manner.

She was forced to take up prostitution as a profession after being abducted by the man who later forced himself on her and proclaimed to be her husband. He used her to earn his bread- butter and to buy his drinks. Later when she became pregnant he sold her to a brothel owner. She decided survive the pain and hardship because of the life of the child living inside her. She states: *"I told myself, I have this little girl; I don't want the same lifestyle for her. I took up prostitution as my source of earning to feed my child. I never dreamt of the same life as of mine to be rehearsed for my daughter"*. She never wanted her daughter should come across the filth, the disgustedness that she has gone through. She reveals that the real reason she went to the streets was because she wanted to give a different life to her child. But when her daughter got halfway through high school and saw the kind of money she was making, she followed her to the same profession. Sobha says *"I cannot make her stop now. The only objective of my life has crushed"*.

2) HIV Infected

Neela is a 26 year old from Balangir district. She was looking so weak and ill that the weariness shows on her face. She was looking much older than her actual age. She is a HIV patient now living in Salia Sahi slum in Bhubaneswar along with her four year old son in a small one room hut like house.

She was trafficked around the age of 17 while working in a garment mill. She was in the brothel for around 6 years. When the brothel owner came to know about her disease she was thrown away from the brothel saying she is no more needed for the business. She stated: *“They took all my earnings and did not take the responsibility of my treatment”*. She was staying in a shelter home during her pregnancy for one year. Even though she got medical treatment by the NGO but she was not happy and satisfied with discriminatory attitude shown by the fellow inmates as well as the staffs in the home. So she decided to leave the shelter home and lead an independent life with her child. Now she is working as a tailor master in a ladies tailoring shop in Bhubaneswar. Neela says, *“As I was working in a garment factory I had some experience in tailoring so I could manage to become an independent woman. The money she earns suffices her son’s education and her own medical treatment. She again states, I and my son lead a normal life now. I pray God that I can give my son a decent upbringing so that he will never be like these filthy criminals who sell and treat women like trash. I will teach my son to respect women”*. When asked about her disease she says her son does not know about it and neither can he understand at this young age. She says, *“I will confide in before I die, as I know I don’t have a very long span of life”*.

3) A Traumatic Life

Tina is a 21 year old Christian girl from Kandhamal district. She is unusually silent, speaks very little. When asked about her temperament of not being friendly with others she puts her head down. She was one of the most unusual cases in the shelter homes. She could hardly answer the questions without looking down. It can be an upshot of her deep and prolonged trauma that she had experienced. She immediately covers her face whenever she see anyone unfamiliar to her.

She was trafficked after her family migrated to Hyderabad for better living. She was abducted by an auto rickshaw driver. She was in a brothel for two years. She has a cut mark on her face which she got when resisted from being raped by a client in the brothel. She has a tendency of committing suicide. She has tried to kill herself twice after her rescue. When asked about the same she says, *“I don’t want to live, I am neither fond of any place or any person, nor do I long for my family. I cannot trust anyone”*.

4) **Sold by Parents**

Roma is a 22 year old trafficking survivor from Kalahandi district. She is a confident girl but cries whenever mentioned about her parents or family. She was very quiet initially but slowly started opening up after seeing her fellow inmates talking about themselves.

She was sold by her parents when she was 14 years old to repay the debt that they had taken. She came to know about it from the trafficker when she cried out for coming back home. She was devastated after knowing that her parents don't need her and want to get rid of her. She recounts, *"My father was never happy with me because I brought two more girls to them. He was saying because of me the family is burdened with debt so I have to repay it"*. Whenever Roma narrated her plight she broke down. Due to mental stress she frequently falls sick. She has spent 2 years in a brothel. As she was exposed to sexual intercourse at a very tender age, raped numerous times and gone through unhealthy abortions many times, now she is suffering from several gynecological and virginal infections for which she gets treated by the NGO. She states, *"I don't want to go back to my parents because I know they don't need me but I am hopeful about my future. I want to complete my college degree and learn computer to lead an independent life on my own"*.

5) **Extreme physical Torture**

Lakshmi is a very cheerful yet shy girl. She was taking pause several times while talking. She has a hobby of putting make up and getting dressed up nicely. Though the desolation shown on her face reflects the trauma that she has gone through has crushed her innocence to an extent, she is still a confident girl longing to learn new things. She also likes drawing, painting and decorating things. To look back to her story;

Lakshmi had a hard life in a remote village Kalahandi, Her family's rice paddy was at the mercy of the weather, and her stepfather gambles away what little money they had. For the family to survive, her stepfather told Lakshmi that she was going to the city to work as a maid, whereas in reality, he had sold her into prostitution. When Lakshmi journeys from her home to a brothel in Mumbai and her new path sets in, she sinks into despair. She was there in the brothel for about 3 years. In the course of her journey she suffered extreme mental, physical and sexual torture. She showed the cut marks and the

burn marks on her body which were given by the traffickers, brothel owners and clients as well. She still dreams of that horrific experience of beatings, pressing burning cigarettes onto her skin, threatening to put pins into the nails and cry out in terror in the middle of the night. She states, *“I used to get scared of sleeping so that these dreams will again come to me. Now I am a little better after ‘Didi’ (she addressed didi to the counselor appointed by the NGO) helped me to erase those brutal memories”*.

6) Pre- Trafficking trauma/ Vulnerability

The factors that puts many women/girls into a risk zone are more often incited from the domestic sphere. Suman’s story begins in a similar way. She is a married woman of around 27 years. She had ran away from her in-laws place after one and a half years of her marriage. She confides, *“I wanted to get rid of the beatings and physical violence of my husband and his mother”*. So she ran away from there only to be sold to a brothel. She was spent a fairly long period of time in the brothel (5 years).

Suman is now living in the tribal slum area in Rourkela and earns her living by giving tuition to around 30 children of the slum and tribal areas in Rourkela. She is married for a second time, though did not reveal much about her marriage and husband except for her little son who accompanies her to the tuition classes. She states, *“I am happy and content in my life today, I have no regret for anything. I only pray to God for giving my child a healthy life”*.

7) Drug Addiction

Sunanda looks about 25 years, but she cannot say her real date of birth. It was very difficult to make her participate in the interview initially. She often prefers to be alone, cut off from everyone else. When asked about her story she first stared with anger and did not consent to sit for the interview. After several visits she stated sharing her story reticently.

She was addicted to drugs as she had been drugged for a quite long time, about for 2 year. She recounts, *“I was drugged even when I was trafficked for the first time”*. In the beginning she could not understand what is happening to her because she would be unconscious. Sunanda recounts her the days when she was trafficked; She was taken to a flashily decorated building. She barely knew the place because she has been unusually sleeping all the way. *“I felt intoxicated. After a couple of hour, observing the*

ceremonious negotiation between the relative and a lady who was sitting on a king size sofa with full of overdone makeups, I was hinted by a bystander that I would be working as a prostitute in brothels. It was then that I realized that my family's contact was a madam/lady pimp”.

She was drugged every day before being raped or sent to the clients. Slowly she got addicted to it. The worst suffering started after her rescue and when she was to leave the drugs. The withdrawal symptoms that she narrated were horrific and victimizes her even more. She became more vulnerable during the course of time. *“I was finding ways to run away from the shelter home because they were not giving me drugs. I wanted to go back to the same traffickers just for getting drugs”.* With the help of medical treatment and counselling Sunanda is now recovering and trying to lead a normal life.

8) House Trafficking

House Trafficking is where the trafficked woman is captive in a household either married to any family member or unmarried but constrained to have sex with every male members of the family. Tara, 21 year old girl having scars and burn marks all over her skin narrates her story which very similar to this.

She was married in Haryana or rather sold by her step mother. The family was in an ardent remote village. There was no female member in the family except for five male including the father. She was guarded by men wherever she goes. She was a house maid cum prostitute for them, according to Tara. There were one room with door rest are open hall and verandah. That room was there for the purpose that they can lock me in and rape me one by one including the father whenever they want. *“I managed to escape from there with the help of the local police and NGO and sent back to my state. But I cannot go back to my family because my brothers don’t want me back. I have now one dream in life to study and learn computer to get a good job for securing my future”.*

9) Mental and Psychological repercussion

Meena is a very mature and out spoken girl. She narrated her story without much hesitation. She was friendly among her other fellow inmates. She was trafficked at the age of 14.

Meena discovered she had been sold by her boss while riding in an auto-rickshaw headed to New Delhi’s red-light district. The 14-year-old was working as a domestic

servant in Kolkata when the homeowner told her about a good-paying job at his sister's house in India's capital. But instead, she was sold to a brothel owner and forced into prostitution for little more than a place to sleep and the occasional meal. Her ordeal lasted four years and she is now 21. She says, *"It left me a very angry person. The anger comes suddenly"*. Her childhood before being sold into prostitution was filled with long days of domestic work in her native district Balangir in the state of Odisha. She received little or no pay, she said, *but "I was so poor, I could not leave."* At the urging of her mother, she moved to Kolkata for what she was told would be a paid maid's position. When her boss then sent her to New Delhi, Meena never found out the price she was bought for on the human trafficking market. She was bought and sold several times by more than one trafficking agents.

The constant physical and sexual exploitation has turned her into maniac. She herself believes that she sometimes behaves as a lunatic. She explains her state of mind, *"I sometimes feel my body is unclean so I continuously clean it for hours. Sometimes I feel lonely and the other moment I hate being surrounded with people. I don't know if I could ever lead a normal life."*

10) Losing her Child

Sarika is a 26 year old trafficking survivor who was comparatively enthusiastic and active in responding to the questions during the interview. She had a different story to tell. She was trafficked to Pune when she was in her 8th standard. She did not know the language, neither could she make out the place where she was. Her painful cry went unheard of in the brothel.

But she does not complain much about the story of her trafficking and the exploitation that she had gone through rather she moans about her child that she had to leave behind in the brothel. She had not suffered any ill-treatment from the police except that they did not rescue her infant child. She said, *"I repeatedly asked them to bring my child so that I could take her along with me to the rescue home. The policemen said they would get all the children"*. Her daughter was not rescued nor brought to the home. When the orders for her release from the home came to her, she refused to move out till her daughter was brought back to her. She did not want to go back to the brothel to collect her out of fear that the brothel madam would not let her go. Sarika, denotes, *"I*

insisted that the superintendent of the rescue home should get my baby. I can never be happy in my life because I know my child will face the same misfortune as me”.

11) Love/ Elopement and Deception

There are cases of girls trapped into the vicious cycle of sex trafficking and re-trafficking. Swati is one of such girls who has been deceived time and again by the people she trusted. Swati was trafficked at the age of 17 from her native district Balaswar in the pretext of enrolling into a better college. The relative who she went along with forced her to engage in sex trade in a beauty/ massage parlor.

When she managed to escape from that place with the help of her so-called boyfriend. She loved him and trusted him as he promised to marry her and release her from this agonizing life. Swati state, *“when I came out from that parlor I thought my life is going to be a fantasy that I have ever dreamt of, but no sooner I landed in a brothel I realized it was no love but the deception that has come in my share again”*. Swati is now learning computer and planning to do her graduation in correspondence. She does not want to marry because she says, *“I can never trust anyone for my life”*.

12) Trafficking left Her Handicapped

Trupti lives with her mother in Berhampur. She shows her left thumb has been chopped off by the contractor of a brick kiln industry four years back. She is now 20 years old, completed her school. She states, *“My schooling was dropped in between due to our poor economic condition but I again had resumes my school and completed it”*.

She was a migrant labor in the beginning. Later, she thinks because of her good looks the contractor and his fellow partners started expecting sexual services from her. She was raped several times, gone through innumerable physical exploitation that led lose her left thumb. She notes, *“They chopped my finger and raped me when I was dying in pain. The contractor asked me to marry him or he will cut all my fingers”*. After she was rescued by the police she and her mother have been hiding themselves from that contractor because he is influential and rich fellow. Trupti’s mother says, *“I am afraid that man might follow my daughter once again”*. So they have changed their city and earn their living by doing many seasonal work like selling flower garlands, selling tea in morning and evenings etc.

13) A Success Story

Minakshi is about a 36 year old woman. She is living in a slum in Cuttack. She says it was not her choice but compulsion to enter into sex trade. She was trafficked at the age of 15 by her neighbor and captive in a confined room for months after that she was sold to a brothel. She says, "Life was easy after getting out from a dark cage like brothel. I had to suffer innumerable pain and deception by every side.

She wanted to live with her family, her parents so she had gone to meet them. Minakshi narrates, "*They closed the door on my face, my brother denied to keep me in the house. They said go back to the place where you have come from*". She was upset and hurt. During the course of staying in the shelter home she got training in tailoring till the NGO people arranged her marriage and got her married. She is running a tailoring shop along with her husband. Minakshi says, "*I have forgotten my past life but I still miss my parents, especially my mother.*"

14) Exploitation in the Family

Sandra is a Christian girl who was sexually assaulted by her step father repeatedly before she was sold. She is one of the youngest members of the shelter home in Sundergarh. She has got scars all over her body and cut marks on her hands or palms. She is extremely scared of talking, during the initial few meetings she was only staring when asked any questions,

She reveals, "*Since the time that man was married to my mother and came to our house he had been sexually assaulting me*". Her step father had sold her to one of his friends in 10,000 rupees, later she got to know about it from the person who bought her. She has a brutally traumatic life till present from a very young age. Since she has been exploited even before getting trafficked, she get afraid of unknown persons especially men. She often breaks into tears in small things and even cries in sleep by calling out her mother's name.

15) Health Implications

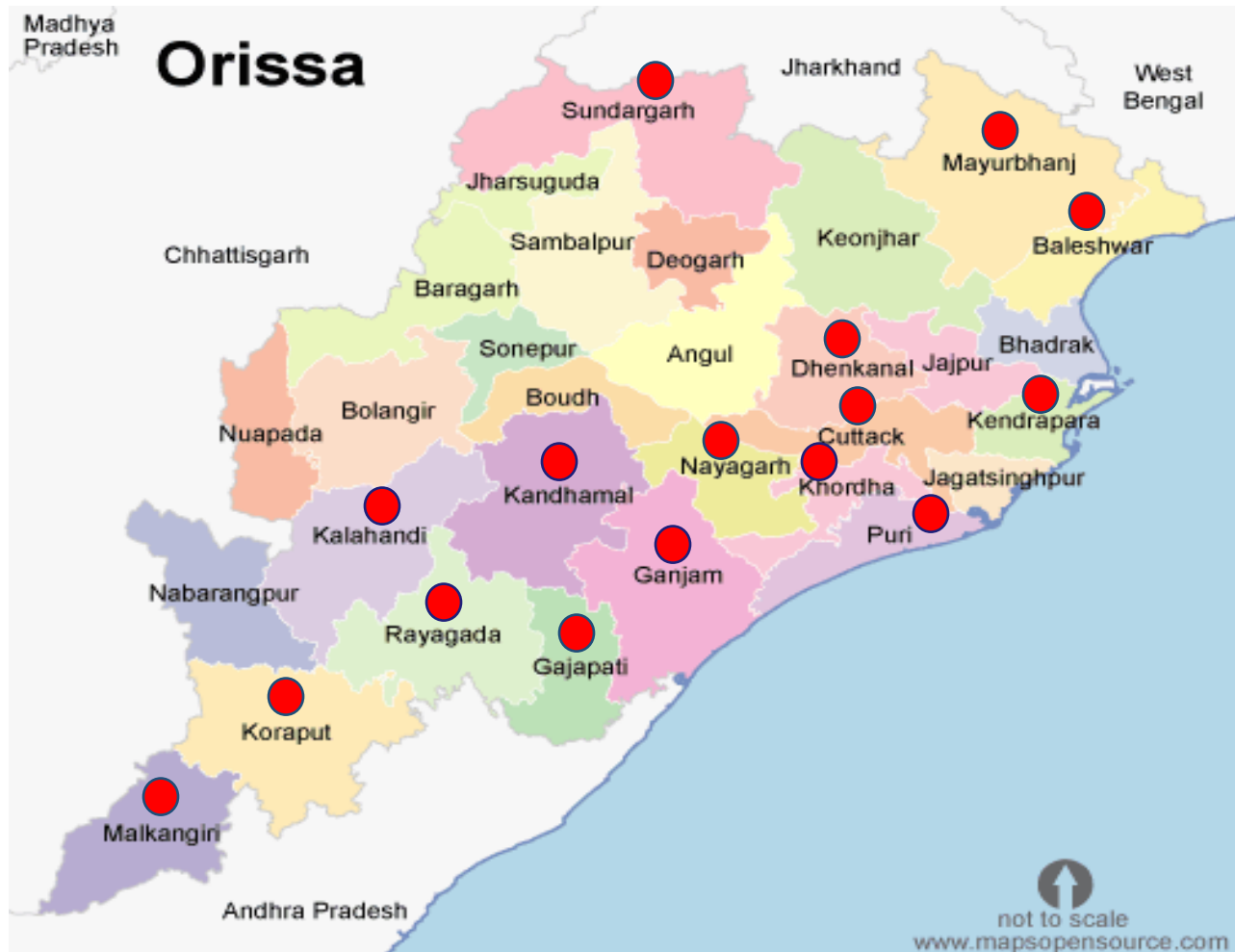
Geeta had fallen in love with a truck driver and eloped with him at the age of 17. That man deceived her and sold her to another trafficking agent who again re-sold Geeta to a brothel. She had spent about four years in that brothel until she was diagnosed with a sexual transmitted disease. She could not say the exact name of the disease but according

to her she had gone through frequent abortions, almost once in every month, due which she started bleeding for fifteen to twenty days each month. Initially she thought she is suffering from blood cancer and is going to die soon. Geeta says “*when (the) doctor said it can be treated and I can be healthy again, I was relaxed and happy thinking I can now go back to my parents after the treatment*”. But her to utter disappointment her parents denied to accept her saying she is dead for them as it was her choice chose this kind of life for herself.

She had to face discrimination also in the shelter home. She was segregated and treated like an untouchable. Geeta States, “*people in the shelter home thought my disease will come to them so they did not come near to me*”. Now that she is recovering from her disease, she has joined in the vocational training program offered by the NGO. She says she is fond of making household materials like pickle, *papad*, candles etc.

APPENDIX- II

This map of Odisha indicates the 16 districts where the study has been conducted and the survivors of trafficking found and interviewed.



APPENDIX – III

These are a few pictures of trafficking survivors from the field.



Girls who have been trafficked in pretext of marriage from kendrapara district, odisha.



An awareness and counselling session going on in Swarksha NGO, Bhubaneswar.



Some of the victims sex trafficking, sex workers and their children in the slums of Bhubaneswar.



A girls from Balangir district were being trafficked. They were rescued from Berhampur railway station by Maa Ghara NGO with collaboration with the police.



Girls rescued from a sex racket in Telenga Bazar, Cuttack.



Girls from Kalahandi, Koraput and Balangir districts are taken for domestic labor to other state.



Slavery and migration in Kalahandi District. Women/ girls trapped in the name of fake work promises end up in a miserable circumstances.



Girls being trafficked located in Khurda railway station.



A group of Trafficking survivors in an awareness program organized by PECUC NGO working in the field of trafficking and migration in Odisha.



Trafficking survivors while attending a workshop organized by PECUC NGO in Bhubaneswar.

APPENDIX – IV

The below are the questionnaires used for the data collection in the study. There are four separate questionnaires for trafficking survivors, NGO Persons, Media Personnel and Police.

Questionnaire for the Trafficking Survivors in Odisha

The purpose of this questionnaire is for the fulfillment of my PhD research work that is based on 'Trafficking of Women in Odisha'. The information will be used in a pertinent way in the thesis. It is to promise you that the identity of the interviewee will be confidential or won't be revealed. The consent of the interviewee will be respected in terms of her response to the following questions. Thanking you

Sarmistha Kabi

PhD Scholar

University of Hyderabad

Basic Information:

Name of the Respondent (with surname)	
Date of Birth	
Place of Birth	
Date of Interview	
Place of Interview	

1. Marital Status:

Married	
Unmarried	

2. Literacy Level of the Respondent:

No school	
Primary	
Secondary	
High school	
Graduation	
Above	

3. Age of the Respondent:

10-17	
18-24	
25-40	
Above 40	

4. What are your parents do?

	Father	Mother
Farmer		
Self employed		
Government employee		
Employee in Private Sector		
Other		

5. What is your approximate monthly family income?

Below Rs. 5000	
Above 5000 to 15,000	
Above 15,000 to 25,000	
Above	

6. How did you come to this place?

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7. Who brought you to this place?

Friend	
Neighbor	
Relative	
Husband	
Other (Specify)	

8. Why did you come to this place?

To study	
To get a job	
To stay with relatives	
After getting married	
Any other (specify)	

9. What kind of work do you do here?

Domestic help	
Daily Wage Labourer	
Construction Labourer	
Brick kiln Labourer	
Any Other (Specify)	

10. Have you ever heard about trafficking?

Yes	
No	

11. Source of knowledge about trafficking and smuggling in persons?

Television	
Radio	
Print Media	
Friends	
Neighbors	
Rumours	
Others (Specify)	

12. Have you been personally involved in cases of smuggling and trafficking in persons?

Yes	
No	

14. If yes, please tell us about it in detail.

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15. What forms of exploitation do you know or have you heard about?

Forcing to work without payment or with a miserable payment	
--	--

Trafficking in children for labour or for any other purposes	
Forced Prostitution	
Removal of organs	
Compulsion to transportation of narcotics	
Others (specify)	

16. Who do you think are engaged more in trafficking in persons for the purpose of exploitation?

Female	
Male	
Children	

17. What, in your opinion, are the main reasons of smuggling and trafficking of women for the purpose of exploitation respectively?

Ignorance/Unawareness	
Poverty	
Unemployment	
Any Other	
Any Other	

18. What, in your opinion, are effective measures of combating of smuggling and trafficking of women for the purpose of exploitation respectively?

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19. What kind of informational and educational programmes will help in combating trafficking of women?

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20. How contact was initiated between the individual and her/his recruiter?

Personal contact	
News Paper Advertisement	
Radio Advertisement	
Internet Advertisement	
Television Advertisement	
Sold by Family Members	
kidnapped	
Other (Specify)	

21. What kind of work did the individual believe s/he was going to be engaged in following arrival at the final destination?

Baby Sitter	
Agricultural Work	
Domestic Work	
Daily Wage Labour	
Selling	
Begging	
Dancer/ Entertainer	
Sex Worker Waitress	
Other Form of Criminal Activities	
Any Other	

22. What was the individual told would be her salary following arrival at final destination?

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23. Did the individual pay any money to the recruiter in advanced?

Yes	
No	

If Yes How much?

24. Are you willing to come back to your home?

Yes	
No	

If yes, then why?

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If no, then why?

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25. What are the major health risks do the trafficked victims face?

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26. What are the major consequences of trafficking?

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27. How does the society as well as the police behave with the victims of trafficking?

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28. Does the Government provide good of facilities?

Yes	
No	

29. What are the facilities the government provides to safeguard the victims of trafficking?

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30. Do you think the outer world is safe and a better place for you to live?

Yes	
No	

31. Do you suffer from any sexual transmitting disease?

Yes	
No	

If yes, then what?

--

32. How does your family react to the fact that you are into this profession?

--

33. Do you want to go out of this profession or be a part of it?

If yes then why & If no then why?

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34. Is there any kind of psychological or emotional pressure on you by this incident?

If yes then what?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLICE

Name:

Designation:

- Which are the areas your police station covers?

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- How many trafficking cases are reported in a month?

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- What is the basic procedure after getting a FIR from a trafficked victim?

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- Who the most come to report on a trafficking case?

Family Members/ Relatives	
Friends	
NGOs	
Unknown People	
Any Other (Specify)	

- How do you deal with a trafficking case?

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- What do you do with the trafficking victims after getting their whereabouts?

Take the help of the NGOs	
Send to Shelter Homes	
Send to their Home	
Any Other (Specify)	

- Which are the most prone areas of trafficking in Odisha according the records and why?

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- What are the primary facilities available for a trafficked victim to get out of the arena?

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NGOs

- Name of the Organization:
- Location of the Organization:
- What are the major objectives that your study focusing into?

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- **What are the kinds of work your organization do to help the trafficking victims?**

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- **Which are the areas your organization working in?**

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- **What are the major causes of trafficking?**

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- **What is the tentative age group of the victims those who are trafficked mostly?**

Below Eighteen	
Above Eighteen	
Between 20- 30	
Above thirty	
Any Other (Specify)	

- **Which are the major transit points of trafficking?**

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- **Is there any social categorization or any particular section people who are more vulnerable to trafficking?**

If Yes, then who and Why?

- **Are there any child trafficking found in any particular areas in Odisha?**

If Yes, then where?

- **Which are the districts that are considered as the most prone areas for trafficking of women and why?**

- **Does your organization receive any report of trafficking within or outside?**

- **Do you participate in any working groups to monitor human rights violations? If yes, please indicate the name of the groups, locations, and what violations they monitor.**

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE MEDIA PERSONS

Name:

Designation:

Name of the media you Work in.....

- **Which are the areas in Odisha that more prone to women's trafficking according to you?**

- **Why do you think those areas are the most vulnerable areas of women's trafficking?**

- **Which are the areas where you get maximum chance of media coverage of women's trafficking cases?**

- **Which are the places in urban set up where most of the sex- rackets are located?**

- **What happens to the victims after they get arrested?**

- **How far do you think the media reporting affects the victims?**