



**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)**

**Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 2
Nepal
Trafficking in Girls With Special Reference to Prostitution:
A Rapid Assessment**

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Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

Acknowledgements

The undertaking of this rapid assessment has been a learning experience for the research team at CDPS, Tribhuvan University. Despite the short time allocated for obtaining often very difficult data, the research offered many surprising moments where the research direction had to be readjusted. This is in itself a challenging process for researchers, and has given insight into some new methodologies outlined in the ILO/UNICEF Manual on conducting rapid assessments among the worst forms of child labour. Trafficking undoubtedly is one of the most difficult worst forms to research given its dynamic nature.

The team had many difficult times but also many personally rewarding moments of exchange with survivors of trafficking and key informants. In particular, we wish to thank all the girls who willingly shared many of their worst experiences with us.

We also thank the ILO-IPEC team in Kathmandu for their moral and technical support to the research.

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Acronyms

AATWIN	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal
CBO	Community Based Organization
CWIN	Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre
HMG/N	His Majesty's Government of Nepal
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
INSEC	Informal Sector Service Centre
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MWCSW	Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NNAGT	National Network Against Girl Trafficking
RA	Rapid Assessment
SEC	Sexually Exploited Child
TBP	Time Bound Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Assistance
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VDC	Village Development Committee
WOREC	Women's Rehabilitation Centre
WHO	World Health Organization

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Executive Summary

Background

The exploitative practice of child labour has come to be recognized as a major socio-economic problem. Child labour jeopardizes children's potential to become productive adults, robbing them of their health, their education and their prospects for a better future. It is an affront to the principles of social justice, child rights and to the protection of human rights. Children are among the most neglected, abused and exploited segments of the population, exposed to such worst forms of labour as trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The need to restrict and eradicate such intolerable forms of child labour has become an essential element of a national development strategy to achieve sustainable growth and protect human rights. His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N) has repeatedly expressed its commitment to eliminating the worst forms of child labour, and the government is currently in the process of ratifying the new ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 182.

This Rapid Assessment aims to shed new light on the plight and lives of Nepalese girls trafficked within their country or across the border to India, for sexual exploitation. The findings of this study will help complete the vast gaps in knowledge and information on this topic, and thus provide invaluable background to future action programmes aimed at eliminating this worst form of child labour. More specifically, the study focuses on uncovering the causes, characteristics, magnitude and consequences of these children and their involvement in this hidden worst form, and to offer recommendations based on these findings.

This study is based on the Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology developed by the International Labour Organization/ International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The Rapid Assessment combines both quantitative and qualitative data gathering tools, and is aimed at obtaining in-depth knowledge of a given phenomenon within only three months. Secondary information has been obtained from available sources such as reports, newspaper articles, and seminar papers. Primary information consists of both quantitative and qualitative data that has been generated through interviews and field surveys, with an emphasis on qualitative data that may shed light on the often hidden aspects of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The populations targeted for investigation were vulnerable girls, and girls and women who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation, as well as girls engaged in prostitution in Nepal and trafficked girls living in rehabilitation centres or who have been reintegrated into their families, communities, and/or society, referred to as *returnees*.

The researchers discovered that the world of trafficking is characterized by fear and by vested political and economic interests. The findings below illustrate this point repeatedly.

Who is being trafficked?

The study findings estimate that 12,000 children are trafficked every year from Nepal. The local history implies that trafficking has long been associated with poverty, social exclusion, and ignorance, as well as with the practice of slavery and the bonded labour system. Trafficking crosses many caste/ethnic groups of Nepal, but most at risk are members of the hill ethnic group and lower castes. Trafficking of girls seldom takes place before the onset of puberty, about age

thirteen; about one quarter of the study sample was trafficked when under the age of 14, and more than half were under 16.

How are they being trafficked?

The complex process of trafficking can be explained by two models (as developed by John Fredericks), “hard” and “soft”. The former is conducted through force and false promises. It spreads from one district to another and has largely shifted from rural to urban areas.

The distinction between soft and hard trafficking refers to *coercion and/or complicity* of members of a nuclear family and/or extended family in the entry of a person into forced or under-aged prostitution. It does *not* refer to pattern of movement or to roles played. In soft trafficking, nuclear and/or extended family members can play roles besides “seller”, including transporter and purchaser (if the person is sent to work in a family-owned establishment).

The majority of the parents of the sample gave silent consent or were somehow involved in the trafficking of their daughters. The girls are frequently seen as family commodities who, like property, can be bought and sold.

Participation in rural-urban migration increases the risk of being trafficked for many girls. They are either sent from rural areas to cities to work under the arrangements of a broker/recruiter, or they willingly migrate in search of employment. Either way, the girls find themselves without a support network of family, relatives, or friends, making them more vulnerable to being pulled from their new and uncertain circumstances to the world of trafficking, and subsequently sexual exploitation.

The RA fieldwork found that it can be difficult to distinguish between traffickers, outside brokers, relatives, “fake husbands” and other middle men. Adding to this complexity, trafficking is not a mechanical process of transportation from a place of origin to a specific destination, rather it occurs through multiple routes and modes of transportation. Many traffickers make transport arrangements with long distance truck drivers. These trucks stop infrequently at public places such as bus stops and cities, and are not always strictly searched by police.

The majority of respondents in the survey were pulled by the lure of promises of good employment, and with hopes of economic improvement. Girls are sold at prices ranging from Indian Rs. 50,000 to 70,000. Once sold, they belong to the brothel owner until they can “pay back” the amount paid for them. The majority of girls in the study were forced into prostitution within one day of their arrival. The average duration of stay at a brothel was 24 months, and the younger the age when trafficked, the longer the period of exploitation.

Lifestyle of the victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation

The study found that girls trafficked for sexual exploitation were provided with a small portion of food and a small sum of their earnings as pocket money. The brothel owners were reported to take 90 to 95 percent of the earnings. The mean number of hours engaged in prostitution per day was 13, ranging from three to 24 hours per day. On average girls were forced to serve 14 clients per day, with a minimum of three and a maximum of 40 persons. A substantial number of trafficked girls reported that they did not get enough food in the brothels, and three-fifths of the respondents reported that their clients used condoms sometimes, rarely, or not at all, putting the girls at high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases, and of becoming pregnant. Furthermore, a substantial number of girls reported that they had been sold from one brothel to another.

Challenges when returning to their homes in Nepal

The way girls return home after living in a brothel is as complex as the way they are trafficked to it. Four major processes of returning home prevail: (i) returning directly from brothels voluntarily or involuntarily, (ii) being rescued and put into an Indian rehabilitation centre before returning to Nepal, (iii) being rescued, put into an Indian rehabilitation centre, then shifted to a Nepalese rehabilitation centre before returning to family, and (iv) being rescued and put into a Nepalese rehabilitation centre before returning to family.

Most of the study's key informants reported that the issue of human rights within the rehabilitation centres is seldom raised, and that a big challenge facing NGOs is the limited knowledge of, and resources for, the provision of counselling services to trafficked girls. There have been, however, a number of successful programmes by NGOs and these organizations have frequently served as a bridge between family and rescued girls themselves. Their programmes can be categorized into four main areas: rescue, rehabilitation, reintegration and legal services.

Difficult reintegration to society

The RA fieldwork observed that a majority of reintegrated and rehabilitated trafficked girls are not leading normal lives due to social stigma and attitudes towards such girls in society. It was found that even if the trafficked girls are taught skills in rehabilitation centres, such skills are often incompatible with the lives they are trying to return to. Many of the reintegrated girls were reported to be in more miserable conditions than in the brothels, and were still vulnerable to and at risk of being sexually exploited. Some of the girls had been severely affected by HIV/AIDS and a majority of the girls targeted in the initial stages of the RA fieldwork had died or migrated by the later stages of the study. An overwhelming majority of the reintegrated girls reported that they were not living a normal life.

Factors contributing to vulnerability

Background literature as well as the responses of key informants questioned, concludes that trafficking is related to child vulnerability, exacerbated by deprivation from education. In Nepal, education is free but not compulsory. However, the statement that education is free is misleading as households have to incur half of the total public cost of education, and the cost of going to school in relation to work is too high for many households. Only one of 85 girls in the study was attending school at the time of the survey.

Family vulnerability, which directly relates to child vulnerability, is impacted by low education levels of parents (mother more than father), insufficient household income, mistreatment and physical abuse, alcoholism, lack of food, mental torture, multiple marriages, and remarriage associated with large family size. Certain aspects of Nepalese culture may work unintentionally as catalytic forces for trafficking such as unmatched marriage, patriarchy, and child marriage as well as excessive spending at times of feasts, festivals and funeral ceremonies that can strain many households economically. An additional study finding cited as a cause of trafficking in girl children was gender discrimination.

Finally, the study revealed that many key informants stated that trafficking criminals are often protected by political parties and, if arrested, are freed by influential friends. As a result of this, there is an underlying distrust of the police that has led people not to file cases against traffickers.

Recommendations

The study suggests that trafficking is a complex process with two distinct models operating in Nepal, hard and soft trafficking. Effective intervention must come in the form of a multi-pronged approach that addresses the range of factors that contribute to the problem of trafficking in Nepal.

Policy issues include the redesign of marriage laws, culturally sensitive redesign of expensive traditional ceremonies, empowerment of women and girls, expansion and support of rehabilitation centres including coordination, monitoring and supervision of activities, improvement of border security systems, and the role of political parties in combating child labour.

Suggested strategies and programmes

- MWCSW should coordinate NGOs/INGOs to work for employment generation and coordinate the Department of Cottage Industries and Federation of Handicrafts Associations for generating and providing employment opportunities for self-reliance of the people.
- In coordination with the MWCSW, The Ministry of Health should work effectively for STDs and HIV/AIDS prevention and networking against AIDS combining with creating social awareness towards trafficking.
- The MWCSW should mobilize relevant Ministries in supporting NGOs in the rescue operations of survivors/transportation of girls from India to Nepal/counselling, medical rehabilitation and housing/compensation, empowerment for self-reliance, rehabilitation and social integration/family reunion and community reintegration.

For the action on information and communication, the Ministry of Information and Communication should coordinate the Nepal Journalists Federation, NTV, Radio Nepal, and Nepal Press Institute for creating awareness through the media and press.

The programmes must be focused on social awareness and mobilization against sexual abuse and trafficking in women and children, to be led and coordinated by the different NGO alliances. Their responsibility on this matter should be lobbying and pressurizing the government and campaigning for the civil society and other NGOs.

I. The Context

1.1 Background

Nepal, one of the least developed countries of the world, is striving to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development under the framework of a multi party parliamentary system adopted in 1990. With a per capita income of US\$ 210, Nepal ranks 144th in the United Nations Human Development Index. Forty-five per cent of the population live below the poverty line. Poverty, high population growth, illiteracy, unemployment and underemployment, poor health, sluggish economic growth and an agrarian economy characterize the Nepalese society.

The exploitative practice of child labour has come to be recognized as a socio-economic problem. Child labour jeopardizes children's potential to become productive adults. It robs them of their health, their education and their prospects for the future. It is an affront to the principle of social justice, child rights and to the protection of human rights. Though children are regarded as the future architects and backbone of the country, their situation looks bleak. They are among the most neglected, abused and exploited population, exposed to such *worst forms* of labour as trafficking for sexual exploitation.

The need to restrict and eradicate such intolerable forms of child labour has become an essential element of a national development strategy to achieve sustainable growth and protect human rights. His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N) has repeatedly expressed its commitment to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, and it is reported that the government is in the process of ratifying the new ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 182. Recently, ILO has facilitated these positive developments by selecting Nepal as one of the three sample countries in which to implement a Time Bound Programme (TBP) on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour by 2005.

Trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation is related to *the worst forms* of child labour in Nepal today. It is hoped that the present Rapid Assessment sheds light on the lives of Nepalese girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, and that it may serve as a background document when designing the Time Bound Programme.

1.2 Definitions

The definition enshrined in ILO Convention 182 protects and promotes the human rights of trafficked persons, with special emphasis on violation of children as well as on gender-specific violations and protection. Considering the dynamic linkages between the worst forms of child labour and trafficking for exploitative labour, it is indeed encouraging to find that trafficking is mentioned along with related and intolerable forms of child labour in the new ILO Convention. As per Article 3 of the convention, the worst forms of child labour include:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- illicit activities, such as trafficking of drugs; work that harms the health, safety or morals of children.
- Work that harms the health, safety or morals of children.

By grouping trafficking with all forms of slavery and practices similar to slavery, Convention 182 recognizes the fact that trafficking is never consensual. It is the non-consensual nature of trafficking that distinguishes it from other forms of migration. While all trafficking is, or should be, illegal, all illegal migration is not necessarily related to or similar to trafficking.

Yet, as in most international documents and/or national legislation, the term ‘trafficking’ in itself is not specifically defined. Rather, many instruments choose to define the phenomenon in terms of the purpose for which it is undertaken².

Recently, there has been an attempt to reach a definition of trafficking that reflects the fact that trafficking is not limited to movement across borders. The definition should recognize the complexity of trafficking as a chain process involving a great number of actors and aspects of coercion. Reinforcing the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182), this study embraces an authoritative definition of trafficking under international law in the recently adopted *United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime. “*The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation*”.

This definition entails:

- that trafficking involves the removal of the person from a familiar environment, but not necessarily the crossing of *international* borders;
- that the *consent* of the person recruited is irrelevant if there is abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, fraud or deception; that is for the purposes of exploitation.
- That is for the purposes of exploitation.

² Accepted definitions of ‘trafficking’ are found in Article 1 of the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the prostitution of others, the definition adopted during 1992 South Asia Regional workshop on Protecting the Rights of Women and Children.

1.3 Debates

In the Nepalese context, trafficking is most commonly described as "*cheli beti wosar pasar*" (buying and selling of girls and daughters) "*byabasayik taun soshan*". (commercial sexual exploitation). Both are terms that capture only parts of the international definitions of trafficking. In the extensive literature review that was conducted in preparation for this Rapid Assessment, a host of conflicting and partial assumptions of and definitions on trafficking were also encountered. In general, the literature on trafficking in Nepal has focused merely on trafficking for sexual exploitation, and mainly through case studies or emotional recounts of the situation of the victims of trafficking (Child Welfare Society, 1996). In this context, it is encouraging to find a few recent studies that centre on the situation of specific trafficking-prone communities (Cox, 1993; Onta, 1992; CWIN, 1992; Jha, 1997) and on commercial sex work in Nepal. Still, the very limited knowledge of the processes involved as well as of the causes and consequences of trafficking has not proved to be a serious limitation to the often lively and emotional debates on trafficking in Nepal.

1.3.1. Conflicting Numbers

The range of information and the variation in estimates of girls trafficked for sexual exploitation in Nepal and India is so vast that it is impossible to determine the real magnitude of the problem based on the existing literature alone (Seddon, 1996; Upreti, 1996). The figure ranges from 5,000 to 7,000 to 20,000 Nepalese children being trafficked every year, and from estimates of 70,000 to 375,480 Nepalese women working in Indian brothels, with a record estimate of 417,200 Nepalese engaged in prostitution in India (Acharya, 1998: 15). Furthermore, Indian and Nepalese sources also differ considerably, and judging from Table 1.1 it is safe to say that all estimates made are speculations that have not been verified by rigorous research methods.

Table 1.1: Speculative Estimates of Nepalese Women and Girls Trafficked for Sexual Exploitation

Source	Total	India					
		Bombay	Falkland	Calcutta	Delhi	Banaras	Gorkhapur
Acharya 1998	200,000	40,000 - 50,000	60,000	17,000			
Koirala 1999	200,000						
Pokhrel 1999	250,000						
SAFHR 1997	70,000 - 100,000						
Singh ³ 1999	80,000 - 100,000						
CWIN 1997	153,000 - 200,000						
MWCSW 1998	100,000 - 160,000						
<i>Kathmandu</i> ⁴ Post, 1997	21,000 - 30,000						
<i>Times of India</i> 1989	100,000						
Pradhan, 1991				27,000	21,000	3,480	4,700
		Nepal					
	Kathmandu	<i>Badi</i>	<i>Deuki</i>	Total			
Acharya 1998	1,000-5,000	7,000	17,000	5,000			

1.3.2 Trafficking in the Media

Based on a review of more than 300 newspapers and magazines published within the last two years, some representative pictures of the trafficking situation for women and children emerges. Although the estimates of trafficked girls differ widely, in most reports it is agreed that sexually exploited and abused children suffer from mental problems leading to depression, suicidal tendencies, and substance abuse (*The Kathmandu Post*, 2000, September 16:3). Perpetrators and sexual predators are often drug abusers themselves, who trade in child sex to fund their habits (*The Kathmandu Post*, 2000: 2). Other newspaper reports are related to traffickers enjoying political protection and to the nexus between political leaders and criminals. A *Kathmandu Post* report quotes from the address made by Stuart McNab, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Representative at a workshop on sexual abuse, "There are teachers, child care workers, health professionals, police officers and politicians who use their prestige and authority to sexually exploit children". (*The Kathmandu Post*, 2000 December 7:1). A growing number of journalists, believing that seminars and workshops alone will not solve the problem, criticize the government and urge action at the grassroots level (*Kantipur Reporter*, 2057 Kartik 26: 5).

³ Children under 18 years of age.

⁴ On the basis of various literature and local newspapers, the most frequently mentioned causes and consequences of trafficking in Nepal are cited in Annex I.

1.3.3 Causes and Consequences

Problem identification has been the major common denomination of the large majority of studies on trafficking. Trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation have been attributed to the monopoly of brokers particularly after the introduction of the multi-party democracy in Nepal in 1990 (ABC Nepal, n.d.).

Other reasons behind trafficking and sexual exploitation are enumerated as poverty, illiteracy (Mainali, 1993; O.Dea, 1993), lack of awareness, lack of employment opportunity, low social status, lucrative sex business, and slack administration. A range of social, religious and cultural factors are also consistently cited, including the *Kamaiya* system, feudal rule, influence of village elite, money lenders, family disruption, food scarcity, violence in the family, patriarchal society, decline in moral values, as well as the general exploitation of girls in the form of rape and sexual abuse (Pradhan, 1993a; Rajbhandari, 1993). Indeed, it is striking to find how most of the studies contain long lists of potential and likely causes of trafficking, but prioritise and discuss these in an ad-hoc and poorly coordinated manner⁵.

All studies reviewed here unanimously agree that the consequences of trafficking for sexual exploitation are disastrous, and strong emphasis is given to the plight of girls who have returned with possible exposure to HIV/AIDS (ABC Nepal, 1993). Unwanted pregnancies, drug and alcohol addiction, growing sex tourism, infant and maternal mortality, mental disorder and more exploitation are also frequently mentioned (Acharya, 1998). This has caused some commentators to conclude that although His Majesty's Government of Nepal is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the problem of trafficking has been changing from bad to worse, and that as of yet no concrete effort has been made to tackle it (Pradhan, 1992).

As for the solutions to combat trafficking, these are mostly general, such as eradicating poverty, illiteracy and increasing awareness⁶. Thus, although existing studies have been extremely helpful in bringing public attention to the perceived causes and consequences of trafficking, the questions of how to prevent and control the age-old problem of trafficking for sexual exploitation have been sacrificed in the name of advocacy. A list of causes and consequences of trafficking reviewed has been given in Annex 1.

1.3.4 Institutional Framework and Exploration

Recent reports on commercial sexual exploitation and on the institutional framework of trafficking have shed some light on issues related to trafficking that were not previously researched in any depth. These include research on those engaged in commercial sexual exploitation conducted by New Era as well as two important assessments on anti-trafficking interventions and on the legal framework for combating trafficking in Nepal sponsored by The Asia Foundation.

⁵ On the basis of various literature and local newspapers, the most frequently mentioned causes and consequences of trafficking in Nepal are cited in Annex I.

⁶ Major recommendations cited are cracking down on pimps, procurers and customers (The Kathmandu Post, 2000 September 16: 3). One agitated commentator argues that even the death penalty for such sex criminals is not sufficient (The Kathmandu Post, 2000 November 8: 8). Khamal argues that with the help of NGOs, the government should create mass awareness through a vigorous media advocacy campaign (Khanal, 2000 July 25: 5). Others suggest that there should also be a close coordination between the people and the police (The Rising Nepal, 2000 July 8: 3), and that the government should monitor the border to prevent trafficking (The Kathmandu Post, 2000 December 11: 4). Finally, it is also argued that it is better to eliminate the worst forms of child labour rather than all forms of child labour, because it is so deeply rooted in our history and economy (Shrestha, 2000 December 11: 4).

In a well-researched legislative review, Sanghera and Kapur (2000), critically assessed the various policies and measures for preventing and controlling trafficking in Nepal, based on effectiveness, human rights, and international obligations arising from the relationship between trafficking and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The conclusion is clear cut: on one hand, present laws and policies jumble the issues of rape, child sexual abuse and pornography, kidnapping, trafficking and prostitution in one rubric called trafficking, and on the other hand, these laws are not consonant with commitments made in international conventions.

In a companion study, Bhattarai and Evans (2001: TV) carefully examined three anti-trafficking interventions: prevention, care and support, and networking and advocacy. Adopting a human rights perspective, they provide a constructive critique of most common tools used by a range of different actors in combating trafficking. Paying special attention to the situation of trafficked girls in rehabilitation centres, the study complements an issue that has also been examined in some detail in the present report, i.e. the need to develop new, individual and rights-based models for rehabilitation.

As for studies of commercial sexual exploitation, New Era (1998) conducted an exploratory opinion survey of trafficking with sexually exploited children (SECs) in 180 locations from 40 districts of Nepal. The sample areas included eight porter routes and forty locations along highways. Interviews were conducted with 196 SECs in Nepal and 65 SEC in India (Mumbai and Calcutta). It also conducted an intensive focus group discussion with selected communities.

The New Era study examined the main reasons for becoming involved in prostitution by exploring the processes of trafficking. Yet, the important study failed to explore the causes of trafficking in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. Like this study, most other studies focusing on trafficking in children for prostitution come up with data on adult sex workers and fail to address the more invisible and often hidden forms of trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation.

1.4 Study Objectives

Judging from the debates on trafficking, and in spite of an increasing volume of information, documentation and publications on child labour, there are still major gaps in our knowledge and understanding of trafficking, especially in relation to trafficking in children for sexual exploitation. As the available information is scant and patchy, there is a need for in-depth and empirical analysis of the magnitude, patterns and trends of trafficking of women and girls in Nepal, especially for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The specific objectives of this study are:

- to assess the nature and process of trafficking in children especially with reference to prostitution;
- to identify the root causes of trafficking
- to examine the impact of trafficking on trafficked children's lives;
- to identify and critically assess government, INGO, and NGO interventions aimed at preventing and controlling trafficking in children for labour exploitation, with special attention to the situation of children in rehabilitation centres.

II. Methodology

2.1 Rapid Assessment

This study is based on the Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology developed by the International Labour Organization/International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The purpose of the Rapid Assessment is twofold: to understand the situation of trafficking in children in Nepal with special reference to prostitution and to suggest feedback for designing intervention strategies for combating this situation.

Combining both quantitative and qualitative data gathering tools, the Rapid Assessment is aimed at obtaining in-depth knowledge of a given phenomenon within only three months. Secondary information has been obtained from available sources such as reports, newspaper articles, and seminar papers. Primary information consists of both quantitative and qualitative data that has been generated through interviews and field surveys, with emphasis on qualitative data that may shed light on the often hidden aspects of trafficking for sexual exploitation.

A Rapid Assessment is a sequenced research process, with one set of information feeding into the next research activity. Cross-checking has taken place continuously, through interviews and discussions, and in cases of discrepancies, more information has been sought in order to verify it through a process of triangulation. In some such cases, repeat interviews were conducted.

A six member research team composed of two men and four women were given a seven-day intensive training course on such issues as RA methodology, definitions of trafficking, socio-economic and political situation of the study sites and ethical issues when doing research with children. The individual questionnaire was pre-tested twice in Kathmandu, with the support of three women who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation. Other resource persons include experts from Central Department of Population Studies, Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre (CWIN), Harvard University, ILO/IPEC, and the Nepal police also provided feedback in the individual structured questionnaire.

2.2 Target Population

The populations targeted for investigation were vulnerable girls and girls and women who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation, as well as those engaged in prostitution in Nepal. In this study, the respondents have been classified as follows:

Vulnerability

Immediate family environment

- Fragile family situation (alcoholism, unemployment, sexual abuse, domestic violence)
- Poverty and very low income
- Children not enrolled in school
- Sisters already trafficked
- Illness among parents

The community

- Wrong perceptions about the destinations perpetually reproduced through trafficking networks
- Anecdotal evidence of school teachers, politicians being involved in trafficking
- Abusive school teacher
- Neighbours already trafficked
- No employment opportunity for adolescents
- Vicinity to roads leading to urban areas or to trade routes to India

1. The group of vulnerable girls (not yet trafficked) is comprised of girls below the age of 18 (N=100). These were identified through the snowballing method during the first round of interviews with NGOs and other key informants. Vulnerability, as defined in the box below, was used as the criteria for selection.

2. The group of girls trafficked for sexual exploitation inside Nepal is comprised of girls under 18 years of age involved in commercial sexual exploitation in hotels, restaurants and roadside sheds, etc when interviewed (N=13).

3. The final target group consists of returnees, i.e. of trafficked girls both under and above 18 years (but who were trafficked when they were below 18 years of age), who are currently living in rehabilitation centres or who have already been reintegrated into their families, communities, and/or society at large (49 + 11 + 12 = N= 72). In this study, emphasis has been given to girls in rehabilitation centres (*i.e. rehabilitated girls, N=49*). Yet, the category of returnees further includes trafficked girls who have been reintegrated into their families and reunited with their parents (*i.e. reintegrated girls, N=11*) or trafficked girls who have married into new families (*i.e. re-established girls, N=12*). Information on girls who have found other means of reintegration, such as cooperatives or returning to commercial sexual exploitation in Nepalese brothels, has not been obtained.

The category of returnee respondents and the children currently engaged in prostitution provide information on processes and nature as well as causes and impact of trafficking. Women in each of the above groups have experienced different problems and have different stories to tell about trafficking for sexual exploitation. Thus, the information available from reestablished and reintegrated girls is vital for an understanding of the processes of reintegration into their own or into new families.

The information available from the group of 100 vulnerable girls provides insight into the level of knowledge in the communities about what has happened to girls as well as giving an indication of the magnitude of trafficking from specific local areas. It cannot, however, be excluded that some of the information may have the character of myths prevalent about trafficking in the communities. Similarly, all categories of trafficked girls have provided information on the complex processes and network of trafficking.

2.3 Research Sites

Field research was conducted at three important locations along the routes of trafficking: points of origin, transit homes/rehabilitation centres and hotels/restaurants. Due to time constraints and as per the terms of reference, points of border crossing and destination (sex industry abroad) were not covered.

Three groups of returnees:

49 Rehabilitated girls Trafficked girls living in rehabilitation centres.

11 Reintegrated girls Trafficked girls living with their parents.

12 Re-established girls Trafficked girls who have married into new families.

Others Include trafficked girls who are living in cooperatives, living in brothels in Nepal, on the street, etc.

Purpose	Types of respondents	N
Process of trafficking	Reintegrated	11
	Re-established	12
	Rehabilitated	49
Working conditions at brothel	Reintegrated	11
	Re-established	12
	Rehabilitated	49
Impact	Reintegrated	11
	Re-established	12
	Rehabilitated	49
	Child sex workers	13
Situation of rehabilitated girls	Rehabilitated	49
Reintegration with society and family	Reintegrated	11
	Re-established	12
Estimating incidence of trafficking	Vulnerable girls	100

2.3.1 Origin of Trafficked Girls

The sending areas have been identified based on the list of 26 trafficking-prone districts provided by the Ministry of Women Children and Social Welfare. In collaboration with NGOs involved in reintegration as well as re-establishment of trafficked girls, twelve districts were selected for the Rapid Assessment

Table 2.2. Number of Reintegrated, Re-Established and Vulnerable Girls Interviewed by Study Sites

Districts	Types of respondents	
	Reintegrated/re-established girls	Vulnerable girls
Chitwan	4	25
Sindhupalchowk	1	22
Makawanpur	3	16
Kathmandu	4	16
Rupandehi	3	10
Nawalparasi	3	7
Nuwakot	1	3
Kapilbastu	2	1
Kavre	1	0
Lalitpur	1	0
Total	23	100

Out of a list of 24 rehabilitated and re-established/reintegrated girls compiled through interviews with NGOs and key informants, the research team was only able to trace four persons. When visiting several Village Development Committees (VDCs) and urban centres of the twelve districts shown in Table 2.2, the team found that some of the targeted respondents had migrated, and that a considerable number of the reintegrated and re-established girls had passed

away due to HIV/AIDS. Through contacts and consultations with local people, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), and local level NGOs, the research team subsequently identified and contacted other reintegrated/re-established girls in the same research localities. A majority of these had come directly to their villages from different Indian brothels without passing through any intervention programmes.

In each of these districts, three types of respondents were targeted: reintegrated girls (trafficked girls living with their parents), re-established girls (trafficked girls living in husbands' families), and vulnerable girls. Identifying and reaching reintegrated and re-established girls required careful consideration and the help of NGOs involved in repatriation and reintegration. Visiting trafficked girls demanded that the NGO in question had a reliable tracking system in place, and that care was taken in contacting each of the girls in a way that would not disturb or cause harm to the trafficked girls or their families. Of several leading NGOs, only one was able and willing to facilitate contacts with reintegrated and re-established girls.

2.3.2 Transit Homes/Rehabilitation Centres

The research team visited six NGO transit homes/rehabilitation centres in order to interview trafficked girls currently living there (rehabilitated girls). These were (1) Maiti-Nepal-Kathmandu, (2) Maiti-Nepal Kakarbhitta/Satisghat and (3) Maiti-Nepal Nepalgunj, (4) ABC-Nepal, Kathmandu, (5) CWIN-Kathmandu, and (6) Child Protection Centre-Biratnagar. A total of 49 trafficked girls were interviewed, the majority of whom were from Maiti Nepal's transit homes/rehabilitation centres.

Reflecting the complex processes of trafficking, a number of trafficked girls with very different experiences were interviewed in the transit homes/rehabilitation centres. A majority were rescued from Indian brothels (n=27) or rescued at different border points and bus parks. However, not all trafficked girls had been sexually exploited (n=18). Three girls who had been trafficked for circus work and rescued from trafficking prone areas were also interviewed, along with one girl who had been rescued from sexual exploitation inside Nepal.

2.3.3 Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Girls Inside Nepal

Thirteen girls currently involved in prostitution were interviewed in three urban centres of Nepal, in the hope that they would provide insights on the nature and processes of internal trafficking for sexual exploitation in Nepal. The stories of these girls further highlighted issues such as a lop-sided state apparatus, police discrimination and the precarious situation of young girls who rely on prostitution for survival.

2.4 Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

A total of 22 key informants were interviewed at different sampling sites, including police, representatives of NGOs and CBOs, health workers, bus/truck drivers, re-established trafficked girls and VDC representatives.

Five focus group discussions were conducted in different localities with people from different walks of life. Discussions were conducted among local people at Raluka, Nuwakot, among vulnerable girl children at Butwal, among trafficked boys in the rehabilitation centre at CWIN, and among social activists at Ichock, Sindhupalchowk. Although it may be wrong to

term it a Focus Group Discussion, group discussions were also held with both male and female traffickers in custody at the DSP office, Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.

2.5 Research Challenges and Lessons Learned

Striking a balance between impressionistic data gathering and systematic field surveys, the Rapid Assessment methodology relies heavily on the goodwill and accessibility of key informants, fellow researchers, and participants in focus group discussions for the generation of reliable data within a short period of time.

However, we found that the universe of trafficking is characterized by fear and by vested political and economic interests. In one fieldwork situation in Sindhupalchowk, the research team incidentally encountered a “big” trafficker who is known to have trafficked more than 1,000 girls, and managed to ask him a few questions. The Rapid Assessment Manual is somewhat silent as to how research should be conducted in such extreme situations.

One of the researchers sums up her field experience as, “In the field I saw most girls as vulnerable girls and boys as middlemen or brokers. Apart from the threats that the research teams were exposed to, this indicates how it can be extremely difficult to take an unbiased and objective stance when working directly with the victims/survivors of trafficking.

Still, most people were co-operative with us during the fieldwork. By mentioning trafficking, however, a majority of people would comment that it is a very sensitive issue, and some key informants were more or less afraid of telling the true story of girl trafficking in their localities because of their fear of local traffickers.

Some leading NGOs discouraged the research team from visiting the most trafficking prone localities, saying that people in such localities would not respond to questions, because of illiteracy or inability to understand Nepali. Still, the research team managed to contact such people and conduct several interviews despite language barriers. In fact, it proved much more difficult to interview girls living in rehabilitation centres run by the same NGOs that had discouraged our research. Some of them were reluctant to let us interview their “younger sisters”, as it was felt that they would not like to remember the past, at least not without some form of compensation⁷. The concern expressed is understandable, yet as rapport was built with the NGOs, and as the research team members were allowed to talk to the rehabilitated girls, all of the girls willingly gave their consent to participate in interviews⁸.

The fact that a weeklong strike and scattered communal violence interrupted the fieldwork is symptomatic of the larger context in which trafficking occurs, and in which the Rapid Assessment took place. In the current political situation of the country, the need to combat trafficking competes with other pertinent issues on the national political agenda. A notable difference was found in districts known to be under the political control of Maoists, in that fewer people seemed to fear traffickers.

⁷ In other words, one might conclude that the stories of the girls in the rehabilitation centres are so in demand that they now have a market value.

⁸ In general, local level NGOs were extremely helpful. One such was the youth club formed by local people in Ichowk of Sindhupalchowk District, where one third of the Tamang households are reported to be affected by trafficking.

The individual questionnaire did not cover the whole story of trafficked girls. Every girl has different stories of trafficking, and in most instances case histories proved much more effective in capturing the many facets of trafficking. A related problem is the extreme bias of key informants. Key informants of NGOs tended to exaggerate the problem. Police officials would tell us stories of heroic police work in controlling trafficking. VDC representatives would pretend that the VDC was well aware of and concerned about trafficking in the locality. Some seemed sincere, but others were not.

2.6 Ethical Issues and Informed Consent

The fact that children possess much less power than adults compounds the inherent power relations during research. Thus, utmost care was taken to ensure that respondents were participating of their own free will, and that the rights of the child were fully respected in the research process. Trafficked girls are not simply victims of unfortunate situations, but are also competent and capable individuals, whose integrity, morals and safety must not be compromised in the name of research.

Still, asking respondents about their personal experiences and lives proved to be an ethical issue of considerable dimensions. Some re-established girls are happily married with two or three children, and do not want to remember the past. In the case of girls who have been reintegrated into their families, the traffickers may have been close relatives.

Throughout the various stages of the research and in particular in preparation for each individual interview, utmost care was taken to avoid unnecessary risks. The help of local NGOs and key informants proved extremely valuable in deciding whether or not to approach a respondent and/or her family. Furthermore, before filling out the questionnaire, the interviewee was briefed thoroughly on the content and scope of the research, and only then asked for consent. The respondents were also made fully aware of their right to confidentiality as well as of their right to decline, i.e. that he/she could say no at any time during the interview.

A related ethical issue is that a number of the respondents and especially girls intercepted in the process of trafficking would tell one story at first and would then tell another story in a repeat interview. Girls engaged in prostitution in Nepalgunj were reluctant to tell their names and their caste/ethnic identities due to fear of police brutality if it became known that they were of higher castes. Apart from police brutality and the fear of exposure, there are many reasons why such girls lie, and this made it very difficult to build rapport with trafficked girls within the short period designated for field research.

The research team continuously resisted requests for compensation or promises. When interviewing trafficked girls, no problems of this kind emerged. Yet some key informants and representatives of government or non-government organizations expected and/or requested compensation in exchange for their time. Mentioning that ILO was sponsoring the research proved helpful in some cases. The researchers explained to key informants that the research would not necessarily result in implementation of programmes in their areas.

Leading NGOs accused the research team of violating the human rights of the trafficked girls, voicing particular objections to the section of the questionnaire relating to working conditions in Indian brothels. However, the respondents themselves voluntarily provided such information. In presenting their stories, pseudonyms have been used to ensure confidentiality.

III. Processes of Trafficking

3.1 The Magnitude of Child Trafficking

“The study of child trafficking is risky. The previous attitudes and the present problem are different. Previously it was the problem of our ethnic group (Tamang) of Nuwakot and Sindhupalchowk. Now it is the problem throughout Nepal, and of all the castes and communities. The concept was that those trafficked are Tamangs and from the villages, but it is now in the cities also. Not only females are trafficked but males too. Previously trafficking was largely in India but now trafficking takes place within the country, into India and other countries”, says a Sindhupalchowk social worker.

Estimating the incidence of child trafficking is a risky business. Yet it is essential to make a rough estimate of the number of young girls who are trafficked for commercial exploitation each year. The information collected during the Rapid Assessment fieldwork provides some clues to help determine the incidence of children trafficked in one year.

Important information was collected in a small-scale survey conducted by a local NGO, Society Protection Youth Club, in Ichowk VDC of Sindhupalchowk District. Although the area covered is limited to only four wards, the results seem quite reliable in view of the team composition and the intensive work done during the study⁹. In the four wards studied, 61 households (20 %) were affected. During a period of four years, 73 children were trafficked from the affected households. This translates to an average of five children trafficked from each Village Development Committee in the 26 most trafficking-prone districts each year.

Useful information was also collected from “Helpline” a local NGO in Gongabu Bus Park. Within a single year, this NGO rescued 48 girls who were about to be trafficked. The practice of trafficking seems to also extend to eleven districts that are not listed among the 26 trafficking-prone districts identified by the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare¹⁰. These districts are Tanahun, Surkhet, Kapilbastu, Rautahat, Bara, Tehrathum, Okhaldhunga, Bardia, Lamjung, Bhojpur and Jumla.

Finally, one hundred vulnerable households (the same as the 100 vulnerable girls mentioned on page 13), were interviewed during the RA fieldwork, partly to investigate the number of girls trafficked from the respective villages during the previous year. In addition to the results from the NGO Helpline above, this survey data revealed that 53 girls were trafficked from eleven VDCs and three girls were trafficked from 38 households in three municipalities. This information also indicated that the average flow of trafficked girls in one year from one VDC in the 26 most trafficking-prone districts is roughly five girls.

Assuming that an average of five girls are trafficked each year from VDCs in the 26 most

⁹ The club approached each household in four wards belonging to the VDC. The study was conducted by 32 investigators, all local residents, two of whom were formerly involved in the business of child trafficking, one as a trafficker, and the other as a victim

¹⁰ The 26 districts are Nuwakot, Dhading, Sindhupalchowk, Kailali, Dang, Kavreplanchowk, Makwanpur, Gorkha, Jhapa, Udaypur, Dhanusa, Sindhuli, Chitwan, Rasuwa, Nawalparashi, Banke, Ramechhap, Sarlahi, Mohottarai, Kaski, Sunsari, Lalitpur, Kathmandu, Morang, Parsa, and Rupandehi.

trafficking-prone districts; and that half that number (2.5 girls) are trafficked from VDCs in the eleven additional trafficking-prone districts identified; and that an average of one girl is trafficked from 38 households in three municipalities, an estimated 12,000 children are trafficked every year from Nepal.

Due to the scant information and broad nature of the assumptions, the figure must be read with caution. It is obvious that more research is needed. Yet clearly the use of local data and alternative means of data gathering can be of great value when estimating the incidence of trafficking in Nepal.

3.2 Historical Aspects of Trafficking

The history of trafficking in Nepal is yet to be written. However, local history indicates that trafficking has been associated with poverty, social exclusion and ignorance, and associated with the practice of slavery and the bonded labour system. Understanding specific contemporary processes of trafficking in Nepal necessitates in-depth knowledge of the historical processes of trafficking and much more attention than the scant historical aspects recounted in the following paragraphs.

The origin of trafficking in Sindhupalchowk and Nuwakot Districts is associated with the historical relationship between the ruling Hindu castes of Kathmandu and the indigenous Tamang communities in the surrounding area. Historically, the Tamangs were socially deprived, economically exploited and politically excluded. The ruling class kept young Tamang concubines in their palaces and mansions.

Origin of Trafficking in Sindhupalchowk and Nuwakot

In the late 19th Century, the Rana ruling classes began keeping Tamang girls as “keti sya” (concubines) in their palaces at Kathmandu. When political enemies murdered Prime Minister Mathvar Singh Thapa, his widow took their son to Bhotang Sindhupalchowk. The son grew up to become an army general, and continued the tradition of supplying “keti sya” to Nepalese kings. When the Rana rulers were overthrown in 1950, they escaped to India with their household servants and many young Tamang concubines. As the concubines aged, their Rana “husbands” sold them into prostitution. These prostitutes later opened their own brothels in cities like Bombay and Calcutta, and periodically returned to Nepal to recruit and/or force more Tamang girls into prostitution.

Source: Mahila Attama Nirvar Kendra, Melamchi, Sindhupalchowk, BS 2054.

When the Ranas fled to India in 1950, they also brought their “keti sya”. These women aged, they were sold into prostitution in the brothels of India. Another historical example of discrimination against the Tamang community pertains to the recruitment processes of Nepalese youths as Gurka soldiers in the British army. In consultation with the Rana regime, the British army employed only four hill ethnic groups: Gurung, Rai, Limbu and Magar. Tamangs were excluded because they were Buddhists. One key informant referred to the saying that whereas Gurungs sent their sons to war abroad, the Tamangs were forced to send their daughters to the brothels of India. Trafficking has also been associated with a few development projects. One oft cited example is the Davighat Electricity Project run by Indian contractors from 1967 to 1972. The contractors allegedly established networks of local pimps, traffickers and Indian brothel owners, resulting in increased trafficking from that area. More than 3,000 girls were trafficked from three constituencies in the 24 VDCs of Sindhupalchowk. Such stories are also associated with other large projects in Udayapur, Kaligandaki and Sindhuli.

Table 3.1: Trafficked Girls by Place of Origin

Eastern Development Region		Central Development Region		Western Development Region		Mid-Western/Far West Development Region	
Hill	N	Hill/Mountain	N	Hill/Mountain	N	Hills	N
Ilam	1	Sindhupalchowk	7	Baglung	1	Surkhet	1
Khotang	1	Makawanpur	7	Myagdi	1	Rolpa	1
		Nuwakot	7	Gorkha	1	Dailekha	2
		Kavre	3	Kaski	2		
		Kathmandu	5				
		Lalitpur	4				
		Dhading	1				
Terai							
Morang	3	Parsa	1	Kapilbastu	2	Banke	5
Sunsari	3	Chitwan	7	Rupandehi	5	Bardiya	3
Jhapa	2	Sarlahi	1	Nawalparasi	3	Kailali	2
		Rautahat	1				

3.3 Trafficking-Prone Areas

Contemporary processes of trafficking spread throughout Nepal. The respondents in this study came from 29 districts covering all ecological zones and development regions of the country. A majority were born in the central hills/mountains (35/85). Three-fourths (64/85) reported birthplaces in rural areas of Nepal. The majority of respondents are from the following districts: Sindhupalchowk (n=7), Makawanpur (n=7), Nuwakot (n=7), Chitwan (n=7), Kathmandu (n=5), Rupandehi (n=5), Banke (n=5) and Lalitpur (n=4) (Table 3.1).

3.3.1 High Risk Groups

Although the phenomenon of trafficking crosses many caste/ethnic group divisions, those most at risk are the hill ethnic groups and lower castes. In the survey sample, the majority came from hill ethnic groups (47%) followed by Brahmin/Chhetri (3/17= 23.5%), Dalits (17.7%) and Terai groups (11.8%). In terms of individual caste/ethnicity, the highest number were Tamang, followed by Chhetri (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Trafficked Girls by Caste/Ethnicity

Trafficked/Commercial Sexual Exploitation			
Caste/Ethnicity	N	Caste/Ethnicity	N
Hill Groups	40 (47.1)	Dalits	15 (11.8)
Tamang	24	Kamai	9
Magar	7	Damai	6
Gurung	3	Terai	10 (11.8)
Rai	2	Sardar	3
Bhujel	2	Saha	3
Kumal	1	Kahar	2
Newar	1	Tharu	2
Brahmin/ Chhetri	20 (23.5)		
Chhetri	17		
Brahmin	3	Total	85

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate percentages.

The previously mentioned study by the Society Protection Youth Club Ichowk, Sindhupalchowk, which is a typical trafficking prone district, also supports the evidence that Tamang girls are much more affected than other castes/ethnic groups. Of 73 girls trafficked from 61 households, 72 were from the Tamang community. Most key informants also highlighted the over representation of Tamangs. However, one key informant reported that Chhetri girls from Western Nepal are also very affected by the phenomenon of trafficking. Thus, it would be mistaken to conclude that only Tamang girls are trafficked and/or are at high risk.

3.3.2 Age When Trafficked

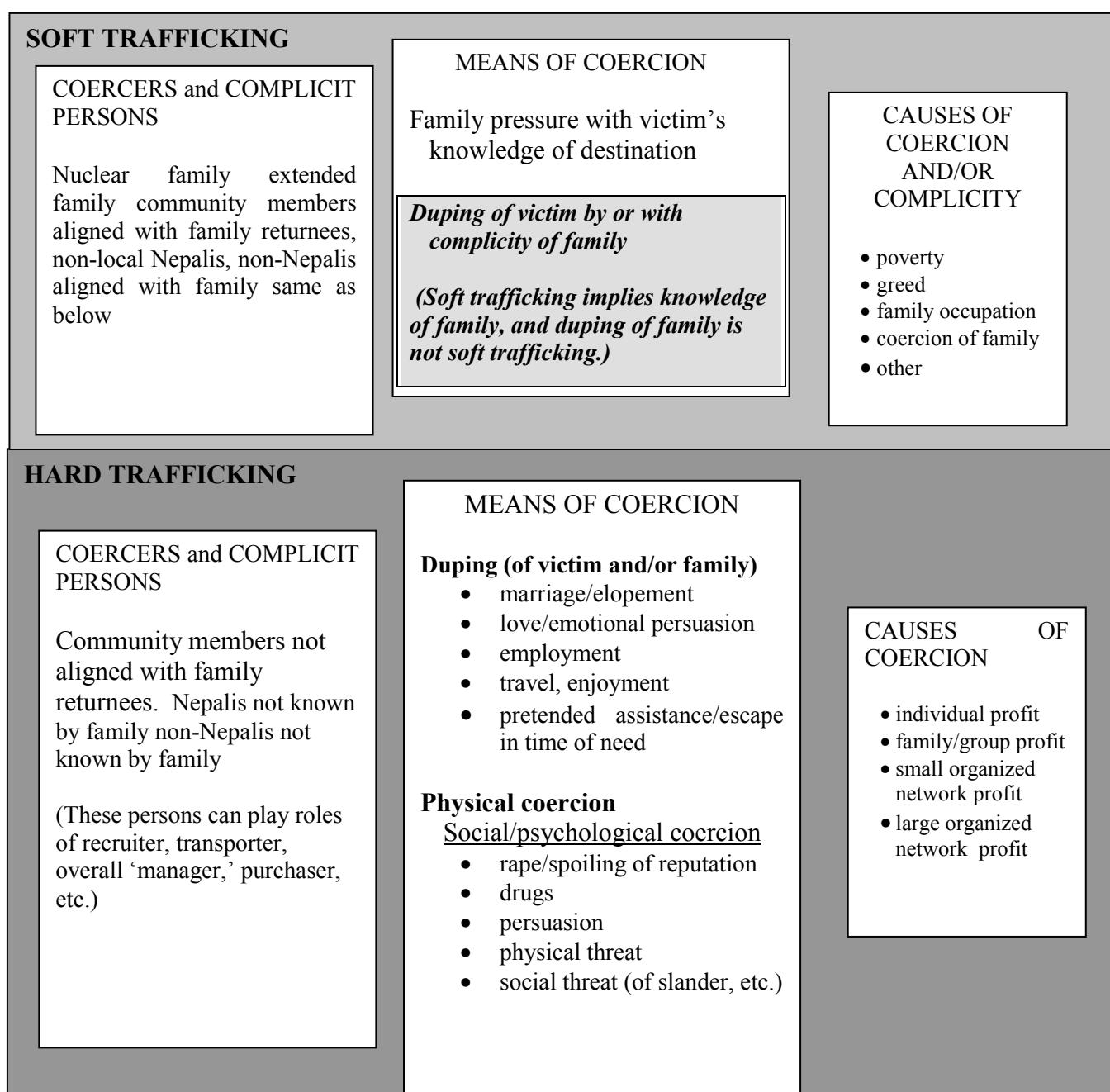
The respondents were trafficked from early adolescence (Table 3.3). About one-fourth were under fourteen, and more than half were under sixteen. In our sample, girls were seldom trafficked before puberty - about age thirteen.

Table 3.3: Age When First Trafficked

Age when first trafficked	N	Per cent	Cum. per cent
9	1	1.5	1.5
10	1	1.5	3.0
11	1	1.5	4.5
12	2	3.0	7.5
13	11	16.4	23.9
14	10	14.9	38.8
15	10	14.9	53.7
16	14	20.9	74.6
17	15	22.4	97.0
18	2	3.0	100.0
Total	67	100.0	
Mean age	15		

3.4 Two Models of Trafficking

The complex process of trafficking can be explained by looking into the defining features of hard and soft trafficking (this distinction was first developed by John Frederick). Neither soft nor hard trafficking are determined by “movement”. Family members can or cannot be involved in basically any stage of movement they can own workplaces, be transporters, own brothels etc. Soft and hard trafficking are defined by “the means” of recruitment. This is just one among several possibilities of defining the nature of trafficking. Victims of soft and hard trafficking may use the same routes, bribe the same authorities and eventually end up in similar exploitative working conditions, in brothels or in circuses. Hence, hard versus soft trafficking must be described with a model of coercion/complicity, i.e. who forces the girl into prostitution for their own benefit, family or non-family, and how and why. In addition to this model one can add a model of movement, balancing it with the model of coercion/complicity.



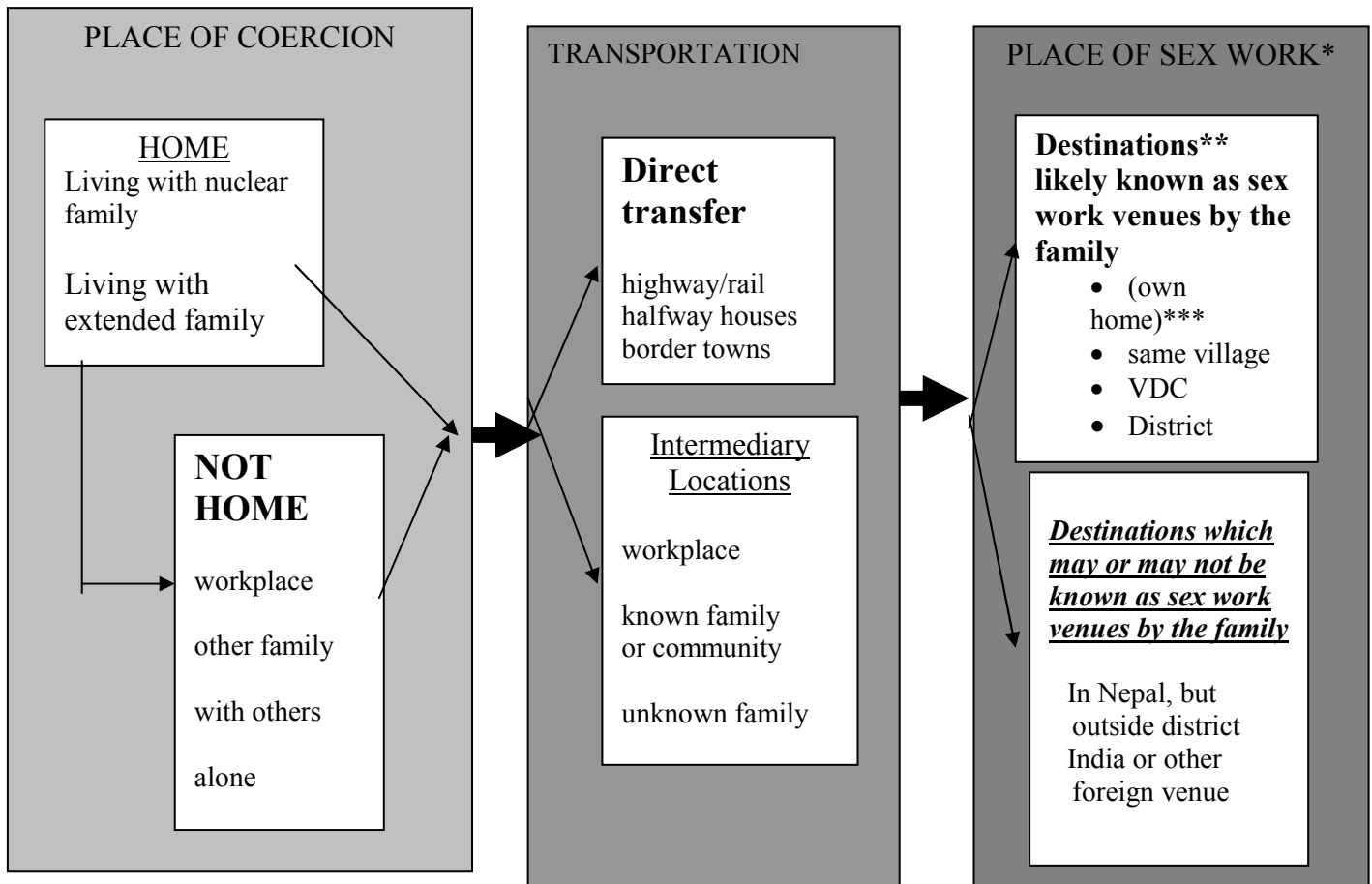
Coercion/Complicity

The distinction between soft and hard trafficking refers to *coercion and/or complicity* of members of a nuclear family and/or extended family in the entry of a person into forced or under-aged engagement in prostitution. It does *not* refer to patterns of movement or to roles played.

In soft trafficking, nuclear and/or extended family members can play roles besides "seller", including transporter and purchaser (if the person is sent to work in a family-owned establishment).

Pattern of Movement

The pattern of movement of a person from non-sex work status to forced or underaged sex work status, and the activities of those facilitating that movement, does not infer soft or hard trafficking, and *may be identical* with or without family coercion/complicity.



* This model distinguishes between destinations likely known and not known as sex work venues by the family. Knowledge implies coercion or complicity on the part of the family.

** Destinations" include brothels of various categories, family houses out of which one or more persons may conduct sex work, circuses or other employment in which persons conduct sex

work as a "sideline", and sex work under the direction of a pimp.

*** Situations in which persons conduct forced or under-aged sex work in their own home or their extended family's home do not (but perhaps should) fall within the current definition of "trafficking". (John Frederick, personal communication, 2001).

If we look at these models (previous page) and analyse the data the research team obtained it seems to a large degree to fit into the findings and may eventually help in the identification of how to design interventions. The model of movement clarifies *WHERE* interventions can be placed whereas the model of coercion/complicity helps clarify *AT WHOM* interventions are to be targeted ("coercers and complicit persons") and *WHAT* should be done (which intervention strategies should be developed ("means" and "causes" of coercion/complicity).

Most key informants and some reintegrated girls said their parents gave silent consent to trafficking. Such "soft" trafficking seemed much more prevalent in some localities of Sindhupalchowk, Nuwakot and Makawanpur Districts up until 1990. What is new is that soft trafficking now seems to be used to traffic girls to other forms of exploitative work such as working in circuses in India, which may involve sex work.

Some key informants noted that girls working in circuses are sometimes sexually exploited and in some cases, sold from the circuses to brothels in India.

Sold to the Circus

Mitra, from Makawanpur District, was forced to join an Indian circus at age nine. An agent paid her father Rs. 2,000¹¹ for a two-year contract, but the circus told her she had to stay five years. She said, "Our circus master and his agents used to visit us for their relaxation". Now fifteen, Mitra lives in a rehabilitation centre in Kathmandu.

From Kathmandu to Bombay

Geeta came from an impoverished rural family. Her father died young, and the family could not afford to send her to school. She and her older sister found jobs at a Kathmandu carpet factory, but her sister kept all their earnings. Sometime after Geeta met Badri Damai of Jhapa District, he sold her to a Bombay brothel. Now 21, Geeta is reintegrated back into life in Nepal.

¹¹ US \$1.00 = NR 74,65 (August 2001)

Figure 3.3: Sending Areas and Border Crossing Points to India



Of the 67 respondents, 40 were trafficked from working places, an indication of how rural-urban migration increases the vulnerability of children. A majority of the girls trafficked from work places were bereft of networks of family, relatives or friends, and most were working in the worst forms of child labour in carpet factories, hotels, restaurants, and commercial sex establishments, or as household servants, street vendors, and bonded labourers. This reconfirms the close inter-linkage between trafficking and the worst forms of child labour as envisaged in ILO Convention 182.

An agent, often a relative or close neighbour, tells the parents about the good employment he can secure for their daughter in Kathmandu or in Indian cities. A family in desperate need of money is inclined to say yes, even without knowing the full nature and circumstances of the work. In the survey sample, 27 out of 67 girls were trafficked directly from places of origin to places of destination, but it was not possible to identify how many of them were trafficked with their parents' consent or complicity.

Some key informants reported that some parents not only consented, but also actively participated in the process of trafficking. Thus, children in Nepal are not only vulnerable when they are bereft of family networks, but also when they are living in their families. Still, the notion of parent's silent consent should be seen in the broader context of Nepalese society and especially in terms of existing social class relations, including access to social services, economic entitlement and political representation. We will discuss these issues at length in Chapter Six when examining the root causes of trafficking in Nepal.

3.5 Routes and Transport

Trafficking is not a mechanical process of transportation from a place of origin to a specific destination. Rather it occurs through multiple routes and modes of transportation.

3.5.1 Routes

Nepal and India share an open border, which spans about 1,000 kilometres on the south and south-west. The major transit points from Nepal to India include Pasupati Nagar (Ilam), Kakarbhitta (Jhapa), Biratnagar (Morang), Bhandabari (Saptari), Birgunj (Parsa), Bhairawa (Rupandehi), Nepalgunj (Banke) and Mahendra Nagar (Kanchapur) (Figure 3.3).

3.5.2 Transport

Long distance buses and trucks are widely used for illegal transportation. Some key informants, including long distance truck and bus drivers as well as border security personnel told us that many traffickers make transport arrangements with long distance truck drivers. These trucks stop infrequently at public places such as bus stops and cities, and are not always strictly searched by police. Even in cases where police uncover illegal merchandise, bribes can often persuade them to overlook the infraction.

3.6 Those Who Profit

3.6.1 Middlemen

Many middlemen are involved in trafficking. In cases of soft trafficking middlemen are often close relatives such as parents, uncles and aunts.

In Search of Love and Work

Kalpana, a girl from Rolpa said, "Because of the Maoist activities, many police used to come in our village. One day two policemen came and asked for a night's sleep. They had a packet of Wai Wai (instant noodles) which I cooked. After we ate, I realized I was attracted to one of them, Yadav. I could not survive without him and came with him to Kathmandu without finishing my school exams. He promised to marry me. He transferred his job from Rolpa to Bardibas, Dhanusa. Later he told me he had quit. He brought me to his house and we stayed there for three days. Then we came to Kathmandu to find work. In the meantime, we came across a Tamang boy, Rabi, who said that he would help us get a job in Delhi. So we went to Delhi by bus. We stayed at a hotel. Rabi and Yadav transferred me to a brothel in Delhi where I had to submit to prostitution the same night.. Kalpana, now 17, is rehabilitated.

In the survey sample, the majority of girls were reportedly trafficked by outside brokers (52.2%), followed by local brokers (23.9%), close relatives (13.4%), fake husbands (6.0%) and factory co-workers (4.5%) (Figure 3.4). An important finding of the RA fieldwork is that it can be difficult to distinguish between the traffickers, outside brokers, relatives and fake husbands. Girls are lured with a range of techniques and promises, depending on the situation. According to one key informant, most traffickers possess an in-depth knowledge of local customs, the prevalence of poor and vulnerable households, and the aspirations of families and their daughters. Some agents pretend they are in love with the girls and make promises of marriage, other promise employment, while some lace food with drugs. In a few cases, parents are contacted and a direct negotiation is made (Table 3.4).

The majority of respondents in the survey were trafficked with a promise of good employment (47.7%). This suggests that one of the most important means by which girls are trafficked is through hopeful offerings of economic improvement. Fake marriage stands out as the second leading means for trafficking girls. One key informant suggested that the research team should undertake a study of the relationship between trafficking for sexual/labour

exploitation and existing marriage practices of some communities of Nepal.

3.6.2 Techniques

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Table 3.4: Types of Promises/ Means of seduction/attraction

Promises	N	Per cent
Employment	32	47.7
Fake Marriage	19	28.4
Drugs used	7	10.4
Tour promised	6	9.0
Paying Parents	2	3.0
Other	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

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The Lure of Money

Ruby was a waitress at a Kathmandu restaurant, where she made Rs. 2,000 a month. But her friend, Nabina, had a better idea. Together they set out to export diamonds to India. At the border, Ruby took a packet that looked like diamonds and crossed into India. Within five days, she was forced into prostitution at a brothel in Pune. Now 20, she is rehabilitated

False Love

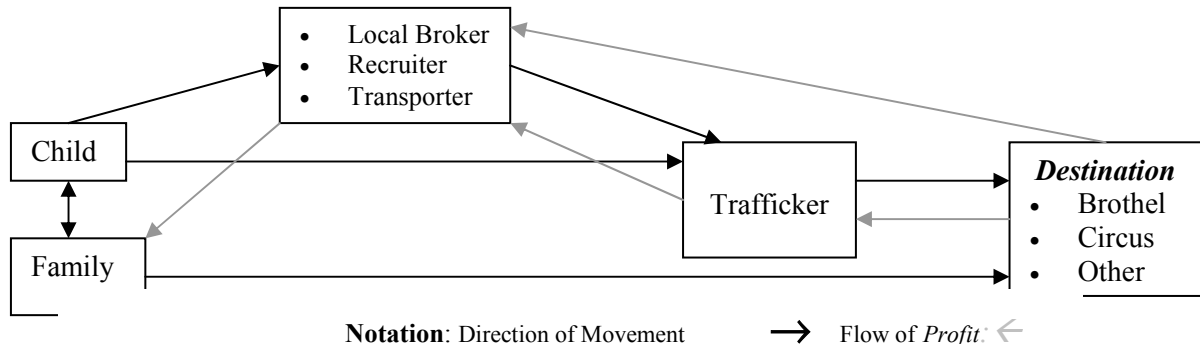
Sunita was just fourteen, and working at a maternity hospital when "I fell into love with a boy, Bishal Tamang". The bliss lasted three weeks, until the day Bishal introduced her to his "uncle" Rudre. "Bishal suggested that the three of us go to Darjeeling to visit his sister and borrow some money to buy land in Kathmandu. We stayed at Pashupati Nagar for two days. At the Indian border Bishal told me to tell the police I was his wife. They brought me to Sushma Jogini's house in Pune, and told me that Sushma was Bisha's sister". The house was the brothel where Bishal sold Sunita. Now 19, Sunita is rehabilitated and living in Jhapa.

3.6.3 Profits

Traffickers may make profits from recruiting, contacting or selling girls to a brothel (Figure 3.4 and 3.5). In cases of hard trafficking, a recruiter profits from bringing children to urban employers. Sometimes both parties, i.e. children and employers pay him, and sometimes only the employer pays him.

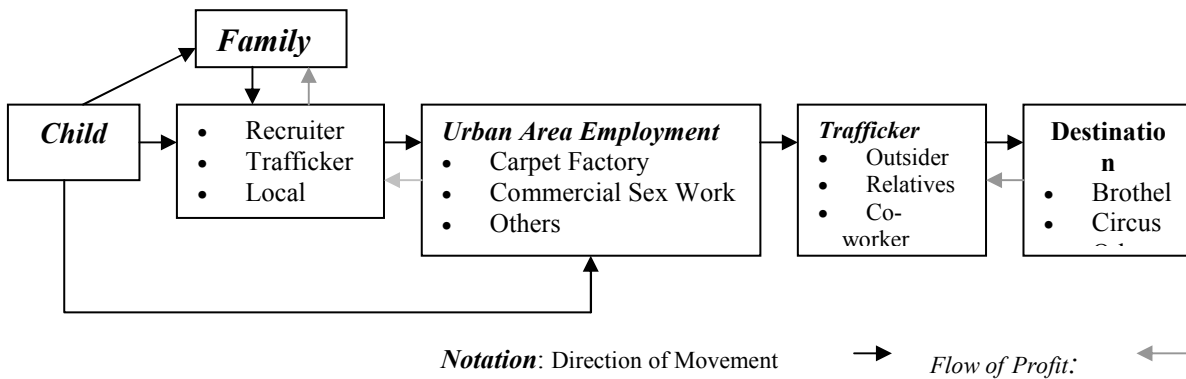
When girls are trafficked from the workplace, the middlemen involved are of two types: transporters and/ or traffickers. The transporter may be a truck driver, bus driver or hotel owner who makes a profit by landing the girls in a border town. The trafficker makes a profit by selling the girls to the brothel owner.

Figure 3.5: Profit from Soft Trafficking



Ritu's aunt, a brothel owner, took her to India for "employment" when she was just fourteen. Not knowing what the "employment" would be, her parents paid her transport expenses. Now Ritu, 29, is re-established in her community

Figure 3.4: Profit Made in the Process of Hard Trafficking



In cases of soft trafficking, a girl is treated as a family commodity, that is, as property that can be bought and sold. The trafficker sells the girl at a large profit. One of the respondents, Ritu, told us that she was sent to Bombay with her parents' consent and that the trafficker sold her for Indian Rs. 50,000.

In general, it was found that girls were sold at prices ranging from Indian Rs. 50,000 to 70,000, (based on 15 court edicts). Once sold, they are owned by the brothel owner until they can "pay back" the amount paid for them. One re-established girl told us that there is a system of contract agreements between the brothel owner and the agents. However, the reasons for and workings of such a contract agreement system remain unclear. One possibility may be that

contract agreements are made on the basis of a girl's physical appearance and her age.

3.6.4 Awareness and Deception

A majority of the respondents reported that they had been lured or coerced into trafficking and sexual exploitation. Most said that they had been told only part of the truth and that they only realized that they were trafficked when landed at the brothel. Coercion, deception and selling were the most common among respondents who had been trafficked for urban employment or through fake husbands and/or persons the trafficked girls had trusted.

Whereas most were not aware of the nature of the work, some were, however, aware of the large amount of money that some of the girls had brought back from India.

3.7 Trafficking in Nepal and International Definitions

In Nepal, both historical and contemporary processes of trafficking for sexual exploitation appear complex and involve multiple mechanisms and multiple actors. Apart from the two kinds of trafficking, soft and hard trafficking outlined previously, no single process emerges through which girls are trafficked for sexual exploitation. Indeed, in the spirit of the new definition on Trafficking offered in the United Nations Protocol, we have attempted to explore in some detail each of the main occurrences in the chain of trafficking for sexual exploitation as a whole.

On the basis of information provided by trafficked girls, key informant interviews and case histories, it appears that the phenomenon of trafficking has crossed the boundaries of caste/ethnicity, of religion, of regions and of places of residence in both urban and rural parts of Nepal. Although each respondent had her own story to tell of the processes of trafficking, on the basis of the RA fieldwork, soft and hard trafficking were generally found to be descriptive of the overall processes by which trafficking occurs.

Considering the modes through which Nepalese girls are lured, coerced or forced into trafficking for sexual exploitation, there is no doubt that trafficking constitutes one of the worst forms of child labour. Hard trafficking fits into the definition of trafficking given in the UN Protocol. It clearly violates fundamental human rights, the rights of the child and the norms stipulated in the new ILO Convention (182), 1999.

In cases of soft trafficking, parents may either silently consent or be actively involved in the process. This model may at first glance not fit well into the picture of trafficking that emerges in ILO Convention 182 and in other international definitions where strong emphasis is paid to elements of force and outright coercion. Nevertheless, the last and most important section of the UN Protocol definition of trafficking stipulates that no child under the age of 18 years shall be trafficked for exploitative labour. Therefore it is essential to maintain that trafficking is trafficking, whether it is hard or soft, in particular when the focus is on children below the age of 18.

IV. Impact of Trafficking

Life Conditions in Prostitution

“There is a so-called sitting room to select girls. The girls have to buy the make-up kits themselves. The owners force the girls to be attractive and attract clients. They have to act happy and smiling. The room is of low height. The girls have to get made-up and smart and should stay in the sitting room from 3 p.m. until mid-night. The gharawali (brothel owner) hits girls with a bottle of beer, with a stick, and passes electric current into their bodies if girls refuse to be involved in prostitution, if they cannot earn much, or if they attempt to run away”, says Purnima, a rehabilitated girl”.

The analysis that follows is based on information provided by women who have returned from brothels. Since the research team did not go to the destinations, and were unable to interview girls currently working at brothels in India, this information may not fully reflect the current situation of girls trafficked for sexual exploitation. However, the information does indicate the general conditions at Indian brothels, and by taking into account the life conditions described by child sex workers inside Nepal, it may help in assessing the impact of trafficking girls for sexual exploitation.

4.1 Entering Prostitution

Respondents were asked how many days after their arrival at the brothel they were forced into prostitution¹². The majority of girls reported that this occurred within one day of their arrival. One half of them were involved within three days, and three-fourths were involved within six days of their arrival at the brothel. One girl was not involved in prostitution for fifteen days. For two girls, the wait was thirty days because they refused and attempted to run away. But they were badly beaten and kept in a dark room without food until they were finally forced to serve clients¹³.

Among the girls interviewed, the duration of stay ranged from less than three months to a maximum of ten years. The average duration is estimated to be 24 months with a median of 12 months. The median of 12 months implies that one-half of the 46 interviewed girls were engaged in prostitution in brothels for less than 12 months and the other half for more than 12 months. A substantial number of girls who have spent more than two years being sexually exploited in a brothel (12/46).

The duration of stay in brothels varies with the age at the time of trafficking. The younger the girl is at the time of trafficking, the greater the likelihood that she will be exploited for a much longer period. At the risk of repeating a notion that is frequently cited but little researched, it seems that there is a higher demand of younger and perceived virgin girls, and that brothel owners also prefer to recruit youngsters as they earn higher profits.

¹² A total of 46 girls out of 67 trafficked were sold into prostitution. The rest had been rescued along the route to Indian brothels

¹³ Two respondents did not answer this question.

4.2 Life Conditions in Prostitution

4.2.1 Hours and Wages

The mean hours engaged in prostitution reported was thirteen with a minimum of three hours to a maximum of 24 hours a day. On average, the girls were forced to serve fourteen clients per day with a minimum of three persons to a maximum of forty persons.

The brothel owners reportedly took 90 to 95 per cent of the earnings, while the girls were only provided a little food and a small part of their earnings as pocket money. Geeta was not paid at all, while Jamuna reported that when clients pay Indian Rs. 70 she would only get Indian Rs. 5.

At age sixteen, Geeta was sold to a brothel in Bombay. She recalls, "I had to be with ten to twelve men in a day, but I did not get any money. Gharawali (the brothel owner) used to take about Indian Rs. 150 per client".

Jamuna says, "After two days at Pune, my regular routine started early every morning and went on until 2 a.m. I had to entertain fifteen to twenty clients. Every client used to pay Indian Rs. 70 to the gharawali (the brothel owner). I used to get only five rupees per day".

4.2.2 Food and Health

A substantial number of trafficked girls reported that they did not get enough food in brothels (21/47). Similarly, three-fifths of the respondents either reported that their clients used condoms sometimes, rarely or not at all (29/47), and all of these girls were thus at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases while working in the brothels.

A majority of the respondents recollected their lives in the brothel as hell. They were cruelly treated if and when they refused to serve clients or when they tried to escape. Others gave examples of physical torture and forced abortions.

Vaginal Torture

Purnima, 22, told of severe life conditions at the brothel. "Four days after I arrived they compelled me to entertain clients. One day when I felt sick and refused, the brothel owner struck me in my vagina with a sharp knife and I almost died. Really, it was hell. Nepalese clients treated us worse than other clients. I still cannot believe in any Nepalese man, even my own father and brother".

A Cruel Abortion

When her fake husband sold her, Sunita was seven months pregnant. Her buyers arranged an abortion, which resulted in severe bleeding. Even so, within three days, she was forced to begin serving twenty clients a day, from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. When she refused to engage in prostitution, the brothel owner beat her cruelly with a hot iron, beer bottles and sticks.

4.2.3 Resale

A substantial number of girls are sold from one brothel to another (13/46). One of the respondents was trafficked three times, as she had tried to run away or refused to serve clients. Ritu said, “One day I tried to run away from the brothel, but I was caught by the guard at a railway station and sent back. They tortured me and sold me to another brothel. I refused to be involved in prostitution. So the second brothel owner sold me to a third one”.

4.2.4 Exceptions to the Rule

As the case stories indicate, the girls were heavily exploited. A majority were exposed to severe physical and mental torture, as well as to the risk of HIV/ AIDS as most clients refused to use condoms.

However, a few of the respondents reported that they were much better off in the brothel than in their present lives, either at home or in rehabilitation centres. One such respondent from Makawanpur District, Nanu, worked as a call girl.

The Good Life

Nanu recalls, "While I was in Bombay, I was used to going to the cinema with clients, eating chicken, and getting gifts like watches and golden necklaces. They asked me to go to their homes. One client proposed marriage, but I was afraid of that. I could wear what I wanted, Kurta Suruwal or sometimes jeans. I did not use much lipstick. I was quite aware of AIDS and did use condoms during intercourse. The doctor regularly visited us for health check-ups". Nanu later left the brothel life, married, and had two children. When her husband left her, she moved in with her parents in Makawanpur District. She misses being able to earn her own money and eat well.

Nanu has positive recollections of her time in India, although she was brutally forced into prostitution. This can be explained by the fact that she worked as a call girl, in contrast to the majority of girls who serve clients in brothels. However, it should also be seen in the context of the hardship girls such as Nanu face when returning to Nepal. The impact of trafficking is not confined to intolerable and inhuman conditions in the brothels; the following sections describe how the experience casts a shadow over girls who return home to Nepal.

4.3 Processes of Return

During the RA fieldwork it has become clear that the way girls return is as complex and complicated as the processes of trafficking for sexual exploitation (Figure 4.1).

Four major processes of returning home prevail:

- returning directly from brothels voluntary or involuntary;
- rescued and put into an Indian rehabilitation centre before returning to Nepal;
- rescued, put into an Indian rehabilitation centre, then shifted to a Nepalese rehabilitation centre before
- returning to family; and

- rescued, put into Nepalese rehabilitation centre before returning to family.

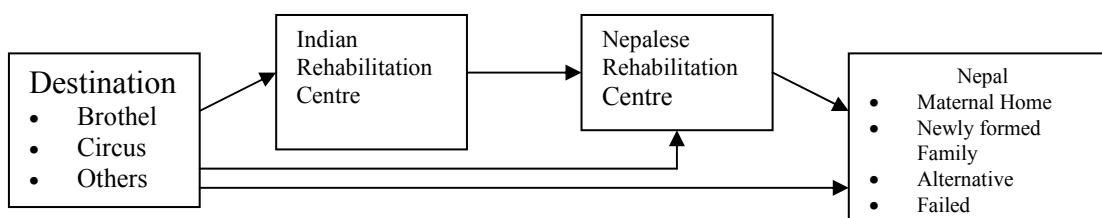
Table 4.1 Rescuing Agencies

Rescuing agencies	N
Indian support	
Indian police	16
NGOs (India)	6
Nepalese support	
NGOs (Nepal)	10
Nepal police	3
Directly to home (self, relatives, thrown/expelled)	11
Total	46

4.3.1 Going Home

The survey data support the model presented in Figure 4.1. Eleven out of 46 trafficked girls came directly home without involvement in any intervention programme. They reported that they came with relatives, neighbours, with their friends or alone. Some key informants said that some such returned girls go again to “work” at brothels. In some communities, girls come to their houses regularly (every three or four years) to support their parents, but then return to the brothel. This is most common when the brothel owner is a relative, or in cases when peer groups or relatives are still at the brothel, and when there are limited alternative means of support at home. It fits perfectly under the description of soft trafficking.

Figure 4.1: Process of Coming Home from Brothel



Other girls had been dismissed from the brothel when they contracted a sexually transmitted disease, HIV/AIDS and/or tuberculosis. In such situations, the girls were rarely provided remuneration. Kamala is one example.

After three years at a Bombay brothel, Kamala tested HIV positive, and was dismissed by the gharawali (brothel owner), who gave her only Indian Rs. 1,000 for the three years of prostitution. Kamala, 20, is now reintegrated at Rupandehi.

4.3.2 Indian Police and Rehabilitation

In 1996, a crash rescue programme was launched by half-a-dozen Nepalese NGOs in collaboration with Indian police and Indian NGOs. At that time, a total of 128 girls were rescued from brothels of Bombay. Among our respondents, Indian police and Indian NGOs rescued the highest number of trafficked girls (22/46)¹⁴ (Table 4.1).

¹⁴The high number of respondents reporting the Indian police as rescue agency may be partly due to the fact that Maiti-Nepal often rescues trafficked girls by contacting the Indian police.

Since 1996, Indian authorities have provided continuous support. Yet, judging from the incidence and extent of trafficking, the support given is scant and hardly sufficient.

4.3.3 Current Situation of Rehabilitated Girls

A number of NGOs are working against trafficking under the umbrella of the Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN) or the National Network Against Girl Trafficking (NNAGT). The leading NGOs include Maiti-Nepal, Child Workers in Nepal (CWIN), ABC Nepal, *Santi Punarsthapana Kendra* and Women’s Rehabilitation Centre (WOREC). Basically, these organizations run five types of programmes: awareness raising and prevention, rescue, rehabilitation, reintegration and legal services.

A notable NGO success resulted from the work by Maiti Nepal in December 2000, when a trafficker was convicted and sentenced to ninety years in jail by Makawanpur District Court. Accused of trafficking six girls, he later confessed that he sold fifteen girls altogether. Yet, at the same time both respondents and key informants were also reporting on how the performance of the NGOs in the field of trafficking and/ or the ones running rehabilitation centres could be improved.

Thus, a series of questions were asked to measure the current situation of rehabilitated girls¹⁵. The majority of respondents reported that they were happy in the rehabilitation centres (44/48) and were working (43/48). The major types of work include “income generating activities” (28/48), ”providing training to others” (8/48), and ”doing social services” (5/48)

Table 4.2: Current Situation of Rehabilitated Girls

Categories	N	Per cent
Are you living normal life?		
Yes	44	91.7
No	4	8.3
Are you doing some work?		
Yes	43	89.6
No	5	10.4
Type of work		
Income generating activities	28	65.1
Training	8	18.6
Social	5	11.6
Others	2	4.7
Did you receive a salary?		
Yes	20	46.5
No	23	53.5
All	41	85.4
Total	48	100.00

¹⁵ Note that responses of rehabilitated girls should be taken with caution. This is because in most of the cases, the NGO staff interrupted interviews.

Yet, a substantial number of respondents (46%) did not receive any remuneration from their work except food and lodging. In one rehabilitation centre, we observed one rehabilitated girl working as if she were a domestic servant, washing clothes and pots, preparing food for the staff, and/or sweeping the floor from early morning to late evening. She had stayed there for the past five years without any remuneration.

Most key informants reported that the issue of human rights within the rehabilitation centre is seldom raised. Often rehabilitation centres are working in the best interest of survivors, but also to serve “staff” or “donor” interests.

The training programmes are often of little value to the trafficked girls when they are reunited with their families. Given the resource constraints faced by the girls as they leave the centres, the skills learned are not always sustainable and cannot support the girls or their parents. Yet, the biggest challenge faced by the NGOs seems to be limited knowledge of and resources for the provision of counselling services to trafficked girls. Considering the impact of trafficking on the respondent’s lives, such services are greatly needed but often lacking.

Ritu, 18, at a Kathmandu rehabilitation centre, worries about her future, saying, “The training I am receiving will not be sufficient for my future life. (A staff member) often abuses us verbally. I am not much happier here than in Bombay”.

Renuka, 22, at a Kathmandu rehabilitation centre says, “This centre is like a holy temple for me. I have started a new life from here. I weave socks and caps, make pote and candles. I am also getting other help such as counselling, health care and income generation training.”

Still, the services and support provided by NGOs in general and rehabilitation centres in particular cannot be neglected, especially when compared to the role of the government in providing support to the survivors of trafficking. In many instances, the NGOs have run relatively successful programmes of training, counselling, health care and legal advice. They have also served as a bridge between family and rescued girls themselves, and have provided invaluable support for enabling some of the survivors of trafficking to lead normal lives.

4.3.4 Reintegration

Reintegration is difficult work. It not only involves contacting the survivor’s family and handing over survivors, but it also involves deciding whether and how alternative services for the survivors and their families can be provided so that they will not be revictimized.

Status of reintegrated girls

- *At maternal home, not married*
- *At newly established family*
- *Living alone with alternative means of support (social worker, shop keeper, prostitution)*

In our study, reintegrated girls were asked whether they were reunited with their families by NGO support or whether they themselves had come back from the brothel. Fifteen out of 23 respondents reported that they were reunited with their families with the help of NGOs (Table 4.3). One such example is Parbati:

Parbati, 25, recalls: “After I was rescued by a Nepali NGO, I stayed six months in a rehabilitation centre in Kathmandu, where I had a chance to learn some work skills. I also received medical treatment for tuberculosis. The NGO staff counselled my father. Without the NGO’s effort, I might not have been able to reunite with my parents and might not have been able to marry.

During the RA fieldwork it was not possible to distinguish between how successful the reintegration had been for those girls who had been involved in NGO intervention programmes and for those who had not received support. A comparative study that incorporates health conditions, attitudes of the local community and economic and social empowerment of these two groups of girls is suggested.

In the RA fieldwork it was also observed that a majority of reintegrated and rehabilitated trafficked girls are not leading normal lives due to perceived beliefs of and attitudes towards such girls in the society. As far as economic status is concerned, many of the reintegrated girls were reported to be in a more miserable condition than in the brothels, and it became clear that a majority of the girls were still vulnerable and at risk of ending up once more in a commercial sexually exploitative situation. In addition, some of them had already been severely affected by HIV/AIDS. As mentioned earlier, it was a notable and sad finding that a majority of reintegrated girls targeted in the initial stages of the RA fieldwork had died or migrated. These issues are further highlighted in the following section.

4.4 Physical and Psychological Impact

Death from HIV/AIDS

“Girls who came from brothels died one after another during the past two-years, from 1998 until now. Altogether fifteen or sixteen girls have died from HIV/AIDs in our community”, says a social activist from a VDC of Sindhupalchowk.

4.4.1 Physical impact

In order to gauge the physical impact of trafficking, a series of structured questions were asked. New methods are being tested for measuring the physical impact of children in the worst forms of child labour, yet due to the broad terms of reference of this study, the questions asked were limited and may only indicate the physical impact of trafficking on girls trafficked for sexual exploitation.

A considerable number of respondents reported that they suffered from different types of diseases when they were rescued from the brothels. Eight suffered from HIV/AIDS, three from sexually transmitted diseases, three from disability and seven from tuberculosis/fever (Table 4.4).

In some of the localities in our sample areas, the death rate was very high among such girls. During the last two years alone, fifteen died due to HIV/AIDS in just one VDC of Sindhupalchowk District. It is said that once girls experience HIV/AIDS or sexually transmitted disease, they are forcefully kicked out of the brothel. When they return to their home villages,

they are sometimes so weak that they must be carried on the back or in a carrier.

Health seeking behaviour among such girls is rare. One important reason is that there is little or no personal confidentiality in the Nepalese health care system, especially for patients of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted disease in Nepal.

Everyone Knows

“A problem is that if patients with sexually-transmitted diseases come to the hospital, confidentiality is not practical. A health worker who identifies HIV must report to another department. The person who checks the blood has to tell the health worker in the delivery department to be alert” says a staff nurse from Chitwan District Hospital.

Table 4.4: Physical Impact of Trafficking on Children

Categories	N	Per cent
Whether brought any diseases?		
Yes	21	45.65
No	25	54.35
Total	46	100.00
If illness, type of illness		
HIV/AIDS	8	38.10
Tuberculosis/fever	7	33.33
STD	3	14.29
Other disability ¹⁶	3	14.29
Total	21	100.00

4.4.2 Psychological Impact

*“I would not marry a girl returned from India”,
Hari (young man)*

*“I cannot have my son married with a girl who has returned from India”,
Lal Bd, 54*

*“I cannot at all marry a girl returned from India”,
Chandra, 23*

The statements of three participants in a focus group discussion indicate the extent of social stigma faced by trafficked girls as they return. It is difficult to measure quantitatively. However, the responses to a handful of questions asked may be taken as proxy to measure the psychological impact of trafficking on trafficked girls’ lives.

One such question was related to the difficulties faced in the process of reunification with affected families. Twenty out of 48 reported that they felt ashamed, nine said that they were met with no employment opportunities, eight felt that their families would not trust them, and, similarly, six respondents reported that their neighbours would not trust them.

Another question was asked in relation to whether the girls felt that they were leading a

¹⁶ Our study did not provide information about the types of disabilities brought by the trafficked girls.

normal life. An overwhelming majority of them reported that they were not leading a normal life (19/21). Similarly, 15 out of 23 reported that they felt hated by the society (Table 4.4).

Kalpana, 17, spent eight months in a brothel in Bombay before an Indian NGO rescued her. She now lives at a rehabilitation centre in Kathmandu. She told us, " If my mother heard that I was sold in an Indian brothel, she might commit suicide. Therefore, I do not go to my house now. When I become able to support myself, then I will visit my mother".

4.5 Conclusions

The consequences of trafficking have gradually come to be recognized at individual, family and national levels. At the individual level, a number of girls have died due to HIV/AIDS and many of them have migrated from their places of origin due to the social stigma and the lack of alternative means of survival. Even if the trafficked girls are taught some skills in rehabilitation centres, such skills are often incompatible with the lives the girls are trying to return to. More research is needed to understand the reintegrated girls' potential and aspirations for their future.

As seen from the perspective of the government, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the rise in death rates due to HIV/AIDS increase health costs and reduce the labour force. Yet, whereas understanding the root causes of trafficking is a question of importance to the nation, it certainly is of vital importance to the family and individuals that are victimized in the process of trafficking. Explaining trafficking is the subject of the following chapter.

V. Explaining Trafficking

Trafficking can only be explained by considering poverty in the context of social, cultural, demographic and political factors at individual, family, community and national level. The root cause of trafficking in Nepal differs from one locality to another, one sub-culture to another, one family to another and one individual to another.

5.1 Child Vulnerability

We have previously defined child vulnerability by the following number of factors (not prioritised) at the *immediate family level*: fragile family situation (alcoholism, unemployment, sexual abuse, domestic violence), poverty and very low income, children not enrolled in school, sisters already trafficked, illness among parents. At the *local community level* one or more of the following factors may increase the vulnerability of the child being trafficked: wrong perceptions about the destinations perpetually reproduced through trafficking networks, anecdotal evidence of school teachers, politicians being involved in trafficking, abusive school teachers, neighbours. Children already trafficked, no employment opportunity for adolescents, vicinity to roads leading to urban areas or to trade routes to India.

Most key informants noted that trafficking is related to child vulnerability, exacerbated by deprivation from education.

In Nepal, education up to the secondary level is free but not compulsory¹⁷. However, free education appears to be a half-truth as households have to incur half of the total public cost of education¹⁸. Besides, the cost of going to school in relation to work is too high for households that are so poor that their livelihood must be supported by child labour. Furthermore, parents do not see the long-term benefits of education when the content is incompatible with their family needs.

In our study, 38 out of 100 trafficked/sexually-exploited girls were illiterate. Although it is expected that better education will enhance the chances for access to more and more reliable information for vulnerable girls and their families, the data also reveal that literacy alone may not translate into a decrease in trafficking as more than 50 % of the trafficked girls have had a few years of education.

The growing effect of consumerism on children's lives, exposure to modern culture, the desire to earn easy money, and peer pressure also make children more vulnerable.

Some respondents were found to be engaged in prostitution or were trafficked because they wanted to have good clothes, make-up kits and/or easy money. Many were found to have been willing to leave their hometowns, not necessarily for brothels, but to go to the city area, a movement that made them more vulnerable to being approached by strangers. Four respondents,

¹⁷ Households have to bear the cost for school-dress, books and stationery, admission and examination fees.

¹⁸ Households that send children to public schools, on the average, spend Rs. 838 on each child at the primary level and they spend Rs. 2,168 for a child at secondary level (Nepal South Asia Centre, 1998: 91). This is much higher expenditure in poor households with large family size.

who were working as waitresses, were lured into sexual exploitation by a trafficker saying that they would get Rs. 30,000 if they would smuggle diamonds for two days.

5.2 Family Vulnerability

Family vulnerability leads to child vulnerability. Access to education, health and nutrition largely depends on the family's social and economic situation. In particular, mothers who are educated have been found to be nursing their children better in many countries. Family vulnerability increases when family members, particularly girls, are denied education, and also in the case of death, sickness and domestic violence in the family.

5.2.1 Education of Parents and Gender Discrimination

An overwhelming majority of parents of trafficked girls are illiterate, especially the mothers. The lowest indicator of this is found in Sundhupalchowk, where only eight in 100 female adults are literate, and 39 of 100 adult men are literate. In Nuwakot, which is located adjacent to Sundhupalchowk, only 10.8 % of adult females are literate. This is considerably under the national average of 21.3 % (Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1: Female Adult Literacy In Trafficking Prone Districts
In Trafficking Prone Districts**

District	Adult Female Literacy Rate
Sindhupalchowk	8.0
Nuwakot	10.8
Makawanpur	18.6
Banke	21.1
Kathmandu	21.3
Rupandehi	25.6
Chitwan	25.7
Lalitpur	44.6
Nepal	21.3

Source: NSAC, 1998 (pp. 268-69)

Yet, even within some trafficking prone localities of Sindhupalchowk, the literacy rate of females six years¹⁹ and above falls far below the average figure of the district and far behind that of boys (Table 5.2). In Ichowk, a VDC known to be among the most affected VDCs of Sindhupalchowk District, only seven in 100 females six years and above were literate. Note that from 1994 to 1998, 73 girls were trafficked to India from this VDC. This indicates that trafficked girls largely originate from illiterate households, particularly when there are illiterate mothers and sisters.

¹⁹ Adult literacy rate is lower as compared to literacy rate aged 6 years and above because of the increasing number of children in school in recent years.

Table 5.2 Literacy Rates and Girls Trafficked in Ichowk VDC, Sindhupalchowk

Ward			Literacy (age 6 +)	
	Number of households	Number of trafficked girls	Male	Female
2	147	34	22.1	7.8
3	62	11	29.2	9.2
4	57	17	22.2	6.9
5	36	11	26.4	2.7
Total	305	73	24.1	7.3

Source: Society Protection Youth Club Ichowk, Sindhupalchowk (household census in 2000)

The skewed educational attendance of girls versus boys reflects the gender gap in terms of equal access to primary education. The underlying value system, which defines clear social roles for boys and girls is a contributing factor to the fact that girls are more vulnerable than boys to trafficking and other forms of exploitation.

5.2.2 Household Poverty, Labour Migration and Trafficking

Most key informants noted that seasonal migration was common from rural trafficking prone areas due to the lack of enough food for the entire year, and because alternative means of survival in off-farm sectors were either rare or poorly paid. Although the conventional belief is that migration is age and sex selective, adults and children of both sexes are likely to migrate in search of employment in urban areas.

Seasonal Migration due to Poverty

“In our village, there is not food to maintain life throughout the year. There can only be one crop planted each year, and only maize or millet can be grown. The production depends on natural rainfall. When there is not enough to eat, people resort to temporary migration to urban areas, where they can explore alternative means of survival”, says a VDC representative.

The survey data reveal that more than half of the trafficked girls come from agricultural families, where the sources of income are extremely limited. Similarly, a substantial proportion of respondents came from families solely involved in off-farm activities, which are generally associated with low daily wages in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

About a third of the households of Nepal own no land. The comparable figure for the families of trafficked girls was 28 percent (Table 5.3). This suggests that poverty alone is not the leading reason for trafficking in children for sexual exploitation in Nepal.

Table 5.3:
Households of Trafficked Girls by Land/Home Ownership and Occupation
Land/Home Ownership and Occupation

Land and Home Ownership	Per cent
Without a home	14.1
Without farm land	28.2
Holding without land ²⁰ (national average, 1993)	32.1
Occupation	
Own farm	52.9
Agriculture (wage)	7.1
Non-agriculture (wage)	16.5
Others	23.5
Total	85

Source: NSAC, 1998

5.2.3 Dysfunctional Families

The survey data indicate that one of the main causes of trafficking is "dysfunctional families". A considerable number of respondents reported that they were maltreated in their maternal households, and a large proportion of them had migrated to urban areas due to stepparents' physical torture, domestic violence, sexual abuse, beating and/or alcoholism. More than three-fifths of the respondents had experienced at least one type of maltreatment from their original family members. The major forms of maltreatment included mental torture (30.6%), physical abuse and beating (20.0%), failure to provide food (2.4%), and failure to send to school (12.9%). Three respondents were thrown out of their households (Table 5.4).

²⁰ Note: "Others" include production of pottery, sale of alcoholic beverages, small shops etc.

Table 5.4: Maltreatment in Households of Trafficked Girls

Form of maltreatment²¹	Per cent
None	38.8
Mental	30.6
Physical	20.0
Malnutrition	2.4
No School	12.9
Thrown out	3.5
Other	3.5
Number	85.0

Multiple marriage and remarriage associated with large family size further leads to the vulnerability of children (Table 5.5)²². One fourth of the respondents (24.7%) had stepmothers, and seven in 85 had stepfathers (7/85). All the research tools we employed, such as focus group discussions, key informant interviews and case studies, suggest that children are deprived of education, nutritional food intake and affection and care if their own parents, particularly the mother, are absent.

Table 5.5: Presence of Parents in Household

Family status	Per cent
Both parents alive	51.7
Father alive only	16.5
Mother alive only	20.0
Stepfather	8.2
Stepmother	24.7

When Geeta was five, her mother died and her father remarried. Geeta’s stepmother used to torture her physically and psychologically. Geeta was not sent to school. She eventually came to Kathmandu to work in a carpet factory, but was not paid. She was lured by a trafficker who sold her to a brothel in Bombay. Now 21, Geeta is reintegrated at Chitwan.

With little education and knowledge of employment skills outside the household, most women and girls face extreme economic difficulties if a breadwinner dies, divorces or abandons them. This is even more severe if the household is marginalized with little or no land. Still, in

²¹ Note that these terms have different connotations for different people. It was not possible to explain what the respondents meant by “physical abuse.” Still, the high rate of respondents reporting maltreatment indicated they came from dysfunctional households.

²² The average family size of the respondents was six, which is slightly higher than the national average.

half of the cases both parents were alive, and thus absenteeism of biological parents cannot be considered the most important explanation for trafficking.

Nanu was seven when her father died, and her mother did what was necessary to feed Nanu and her older brother: she engaged in prostitution. When Nanu was thirteen, her mother's clients began to use her, offering better prices for the young girl than they paid the mother. Now fifteen, Nanu engages in prostitution in Nepalgunj.

Key informants, especially by government authorities, often reported that trafficking occurs with the consent of parents.

“This district (Makawanpur) is not behind in that matter (trafficking girls for circus work), and this is the fault of parents. It is not the fault of the ones who take them, because parents do not complain to us and do not report to us. They take remuneration confidentially, and make a complaint to us only when there is some accident. Therefore, it has been difficult to investigate this matter”, says a police officer.

“Parents know about what occupation their daughters are doing. In 2040-41 BS (1985/86 BC) two or three persons used to come every day to the brokers house and ask him to take girls. Now several may lie due to shyness. There is consent of parents in this job”, says a VDC representative.

Yet it does not seem plausible to single out the ‘ignorance’ of parents as an explanation of trafficking either. Although it was reported that a number of parents consented to trafficking in girl children, such decisions cannot simply be viewed as irrational, but may more adequately be comprehended within the framework of local community developments. One such is the demonstration effect²³. Of the total houses in the four wards of Ichowk, seventy had tin roofs and three had stone roofs, reflecting the affluence that has penetrated the village through child trafficking. One of our female key informants explains why girls are trafficked from her village of Sindhupalchowk.

“If we go to India we feel happy. If we stay here, nobody gives us a single penny. Rita, one of our neighbours, was sent to India by her husband and she stayed there for three years and she came back with a handsome amount of money. They have built a good house in the village and in Kathmandu. They have also lent money in the village. With the interest from those loans, they eat rice. All respect them. Even if we will be unhealthy when we become aged, we could manage from the money earned from India. Ah! I would have gone there had my husband sent me”.

²³ The demonstration effect refers to the influence of girls returning from Indian brothels with handsome amounts of money. They are relatively well dressed, well fed and they possess ornaments as well. This effect was reported in some localities of Nuwakot, Sindhupalchowk and Makawanpur Districts.

5.3 Trafficking, Traditional Values, and Discrimination

A range of values, norms and beliefs has contributed to the problem of trafficking. Although there may or may not be a one-to-one relationship between the phenomenon of trafficking and traditional values of society, these may work as catalytic forces for trafficking.

5.3.1 Culture and Trafficking

A number of respondents highlighted the role of unmatched marriage in which a Tamang bridegroom is often younger than his bride. This is because within the framework of a cross-cousin marriage system, marrying the younger son to an older girl means bringing in a daughter-in-law for cheap labour. In some cases, this increases the girls' vulnerability in terms of her access to education and in terms of potential intolerable conditions in her new household. In such a regime, traffickers may approach the girl more easily.

Apart from unmatched marriage practices prevailing in Tamang communities, there are other factors such as patriarchy and child marriage. This latter phenomenon is not only a violation of human rights, it also has an adverse impact on children's lives. The story of Sawana tells us how she was sexually exploited.

Sawana, from a Muslim family, was just seven when she married and thirteen when she gave birth to her first child. When the baby was only a month old, her husband divorced her. With the help of friends, she engaged in prostitution to earn enough to survive. Now 18, Sawana remains in prostitution at Nepalgunj. Her wages support her sixty-year-old mother and five year old son.

Excessive spending related to feasts, festivals and funeral ceremonies is another cultural factor that key informants used to explain trafficking. Some households from Tamang communities spend one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand rupees on these events. Even in settling in a *gharpaicho* (new house), they need a large amount of grain to make alcohol. In view of the lack of sources of income, such expenditure is bound to strain most Nepalese households.

"In our Tamang ethnic group *ghewa*²⁴ is not for the dead man but for the live one. Society hates the family who is not able to conduct the *ghewa* appropriately. So they even have to sell their house and land for that. A lot of money has to be spent in *ghewa* and when there is not enough money, there is a tendency towards trafficking. So this is the relationship between *ghewa* and trafficking" says a VDC representative.

5.3.2 Gender and Social Discrimination

Gender discrimination starts in early childhood and particularly affects girls. They are prevented from achieving basic education and, after marriage, the daughter-in-law has the least power and status in the household.

Gender discrimination is widely cited as the cause of trafficking in girl children. For example, Bimala got married when she was fifteen, but three years later she had still not borne a

²⁴ In the Tamang ethnic group, *ghewa* refers to a funeral ceremony lasting to seven days.

child. Her husband kicked her out of the house and married another girl, and Bimila's own family harassed her for being childless. Now she is engaged in prostitution.

In some countries the phenomenon of perceiving marriage as a way to either increase the family labour force or to send a girl off to work and send back money, has been named commodification of girl children. In cases of soft trafficking for sexual exploitation, this seems to be an accurate term, as it is the commercial market value of a girl, which makes the family consent to the transaction.

In remote rural areas, the hierarchical caste system is fundamentally exclusionary. Lower caste people face economic exploitation, social discrimination and high risk of sexual exploitation. One respondent, a girl from the "untouchable" caste, reported that men of higher castes forced her into prostitution. She was told that it was her caste occupation. In other cases, informants reported the effect on higher caste groups. When local police arrest children engaged in prostitution from Brahmin and Chhetri groups, they are more likely to be physically tortured²⁵. One example is the story told by Sita. Although Sita is from a Chhetri family, she often identifies herself as an "untouchable" to protect herself from physical police torture. Once when a police officer in Nepalgunj learned she was Chhetri, he scolded and bit her. She says, "If you say you are from a lower caste, they are not so violent".

5.4 Trafficking and Governance

The protection of criminals by political parties is widely noted by our key informants in the sample areas. It appears to be common knowledge that when the criminals engaged in trafficking are arrested, they are freed through influential friends at the national level.

At the local level, few political parties have programmes against girls trafficking. Social crimes such as trafficking in girls are not often at the top of the general assembly agenda of VDCs. Most of our key informants complained that there is little political commitment and that the political parties think that raising such issues would reduce their vote bank.

"There is a network at village and country level. The administrators who come to this district, like the Chief District Officer and DSP are transferred elsewhere within around three months if they are against trafficking. Political parties support this. People from all parties are involved. If only two (trafficking) brokers suffer, the vote will be ruined", says a social activist".

Within some localities, the interest and needs differ from one community to another. This has also led to minimal resource mobilization against social crimes such as trafficking. It is often found that a VDC chairman is from one community, largely from upper Hindu castes, and that the trafficked survivor populations are from another community, largely from down-trodden communities. In such cases, the VDC chair-person is less motivated to solve the problem of the other community. Some key informants commented, "As it is not his community, he does not understand the problem well".

²⁵ Therefore, most sexually exploited children in our sample areas would likely to report their caste as if they were from the "untouchable" caste even if they were from another caste.

Community Conflict

“It is not their people who are trafficked and die due to HIV/AIDS. It is our own relatives, daughters, daughters-in-law and sisters who die. The VDC chairman is not cooperating with us in controlling trafficking. We ask him for money but he never hears us”, says a social worker.

5.4.1 The Role of the Police

Many key informants complain against police behaviour: .”They are corrupt, they sometimes raid and arrest the criminals but later take bribes to set them free”.

Buying Freedom

One of our key informants, a VDC representative, complained that he is reluctant to complain to police about trafficking cases from the village. Once, at his request, the police arrested a broker and victim. On the way to the police station, the trafficker offered 13,000 rupees to the police. One of the police told the VDC representative, ”You take 3,000 rupees and we will take 10,000 rupees and let them go. But the VDC Representative refused to take the money. At the police station, the broker gave 30,000 rupees to the police officer and was set free. The VDC representative who had arranged the arrest was afterwards harassed”.

Murder of an Informant

Simla and Ranjit, well-known brothel owners in Bombay, were arrested in Kathmandu and imprisoned for six months. A year later, the body of the man responsible for their arrest, Juthe, was found in Gosaikunda, apparently murdered by criminals.

In some communities, distrust of the police has led people not to file cases against traffickers. This factor is compounded by the fact that traffickers are sometimes relatives or neighbours, or from the same political affiliation as potential informants.

Lack of Confidence

“We never ask for help from the police. We do not know why girls go away, so why call the police? The ones who go and the ones who take them are the people of the village, so why shall we trouble them? Police do nothing, they only trouble common people and the innocent ones”, says a social activist.

Despite complaints against police, they remain the key government means to control and punish criminals. Key informants in the police force say they do not have enough trained manpower, and that attempts to control most social crimes such as trafficking and drugs have been ineffective for the past five years, possibly due to the increasing attention demanded by Nepal’s growing Maoist insurgency.

“We have to get involved in the Maoist issue due to Maoist activities. They explode bombs, and fight against people. The issues of social crimes such as trafficking in drugs and girls are in the shadows”, says a police officer.

Some key informants in the police force told us that there was occasional political pressure in cases of trafficking because of legal, judicial and media interest. Others believe the

role of police in combating trafficking should be understood in terms of the overall political scenario.

5.4.2 Open Border

Nepal and India share an open border of almost one thousand kilometres. There is no need for any travel document, and thousands of persons enter into Nepal and go to India daily. Due to the open border, it is difficult to control criminal activities, as the police security system is not effective.

“We have an open border. We do not have the system of identity cards. We cannot identify people, especially the women of Terai origin. We may identify girls from the hills. They may be in new dresses that do not suit them, or are awkwardly dressed. When we find such girls going with a boy, we suspect and investigate. We ask such girls about the relationship with the boy, and where they are going”, says a police officer.

The open border situation is widely cited by politicians and key informants, as well as by the police themselves as one of the most important explanations for trafficking. Yet, it should be noted that even in the case of Bangladesh where the border to India is closed and regulated, thousands of girls are still reportedly trafficked.

Another well-rehearsed argument is that if only a passport system was introduced, this would greatly limit the problem of trafficking. Still, even if passports are needed to travel to the Gulf countries, it has been reported that many Nepalese girls are still being trafficked to these destinations.

5.5 Conclusions

A range of factors contribute to the problem of trafficking, and a range of actors are involved; the individual child, family members, members of the community and players at the national level. Trafficking is also associated with power relations in society, distrust of the police system, and the trend of globalisation accelerating exploitative labour relations.

“The creators of the situation of trafficking are the samantis (exploiters). Trafficking is due to biwastaa (difficult circumstances). Because of this there is exploitation”, says a 50-year-old man from Nuwakot.

To understand trafficking, there must be consideration of economic, social, cultural and political factors at individual, family and local community levels. There must also be critical examination of the most commonly accepted explanations of trafficking. This report has attempted to do both. However, it is not still clear which of the many explanations mentioned is most plausible, or which one of the many causes discussed can be said to be the leading cause of trafficking in Nepal. Thus, not all poor households or all dysfunctional families are affected by trafficking, as it was observed that affluent families are also affected by the phenomenon.

The study has revealed some of the push and pull factors for child trafficking. As long as the price is high enough, traffickers will abduct girls, especially because the threat of getting caught is as low as it is. As long as the cultural values and gender discriminatory practices prevail, the position of girls will remain precarious. As long as families are broken or

dysfunctional and they have nowhere to turn, they may send their children away or the children may themselves want to leave their homes.

A baseline study with comprehensive data would surely shed more light on some of the aspects and explanations of this complex phenomenon. A comparison of the socio-economic conditions of the affected households and non-affected households is recommended.

Finally, the distinction between soft and hard trafficking can be elaborated providing a clearer understanding of when, at whom and why interventions should take place. In areas where families are very much involved a different approach to prevention and awareness-raising may have to be followed than in areas where hard trafficking prevails and where the parents already are "against" it. This is particularly challenging as the child in some instances needs to be protected from the very people who traditionally are her most important protectors. The same unit which provides everything for a child can, at the same time, be the one that suppresses the child and denies her of her right not to be exploited through one of the worst forms of child labour, children being used in prostitution.

VI. Institutional Framework

6.1 International Sanctions

A detailed list of related International Instruments against trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation is presented in Annex II. Some of the major ones are critically reviewed here.

The UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others

An instrument worth mentioning in the fight against trafficking in persons is the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949) which essentially focuses on trafficking in women for the purposes of prostitution.

The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

This Convention has a wider reach than the 1949 Convention as over 150 countries have ratified it. The Convention specifies that "state parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women". (Article 6).

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), states specifically in Article 35 that "state parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form". This provision is applicable in respect to all children who have not yet reached the age of eighteen years or the age of majority in their respective countries (Article 1).

United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime and the attached UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, 2000

This new UN Protocol offers the most authoritative definition of trafficking to date. It emphasizes that where persons are under the age of 18, the issue of consent or non-consent is irrelevant.

Convention 182

Please refer to section 1.2.

SAARC Instruments

The SAARC Convention on Regional Arrangements on Child Welfare in South Asia includes trafficking as a regional priority, whereby state parties within their national laws are to protect children from any form of trafficking (Article 4, paragraph three, section a). State parties are to encourage and support bilateral and multilateral agreements and cooperation (Article 6). The Colombo Resolution further states in paragraph three that child trafficking is one of the most urgent challenges in the region and that "child trafficking particularly urgently calls for both bilateral as well as regional cooperation". In addition, the exploration of the feasibility of establishing a Regional Fund for Rehabilitation of Victims of Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution is suggested (paragraph 62). Furthermore, the Rawalpindi Resolution calls for commitment from member states in the issues affecting children in the region. Similarly, the Declaration of the Ninth SAARC Summit expresses grave concern at the trafficking of women and children and pledges action on the part of the member countries (Article 27).

6.2 Nepal's National Legislation Against Trafficking

Over the last decade, Nepal has seen significant legislative and other policy developments in the area of human rights (Annex 2). These efforts include ratifying several international conventions as well as adopting national legislation in order to bring the level of protection in Nepal up to a more internationally accepted level. Still, Nepal's legislation in the area of trafficking is characterized by a lack of technical capacity to draft laws because of lack of conceptual clearance.

The Constitution

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the country. It makes void any laws that are inconsistent with it, to the extent of such inconsistency (Article 1).

Article 20 of the Constitution guarantees the right against exploitation and prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour in any form. The Constitution also includes directive principles and policies of the state "fundamental to the activities and governance of the state". One of the state policies contained in Article 26(3) is that "the state shall make necessary arrangements to safeguard the rights and interests of children and shall ensure that they are not exploited".

Muluki Ain

The Common Law Code (New *Muluki Ain* (1963) lays down that separating a minor below sixteen years from the guardian or enticing the minor for the purpose, without the consent of the guardian is an offence and "Nobody should allure persons to cross the border with the intent of trafficking or strike a deal in this regard". Article 3 of the same chapter prohibits the sale or purchase of any person.

The Children's Act, 1992

The promulgation of the Children's Act was prompted by the Convention on the Rights of the Child of which Nepal is a signatory. The adoption of the Children's Act was to fulfil Nepal's commitments under the CRC. The Act defines a "child" as a person under the age of sixteen years (Article 2(a)), develops the concept of the parents' obligations in bringing up the child (Article 4), and includes provisions on criminal responsibility of children (Article 11). There are no specific provisions in Nepali national legislation protecting children from trafficking. The motto seems to be that if the general laws on trafficking are successful in protecting both adults and children, there should be no need for specific laws regarding trafficking in children. It is also noteworthy that although Article 36 of the CRC guarantees children's right to protection from all other forms of exploitation, there are no legal provisions in Nepal specifically regarding illicit transfer and non-return of children (Article 11).

Elimination of Offences of Traffics in Persons (Crime and Punishment) Act, 2000 (Police Proposal)

In an attempt to make for the failure of the Human Trafficking (Control) Act (1986), the Traffic in Persons (Crime and Punishment) Act exists only in draft form and has yet to be adopted as Nepali law. This proposal drafted by the police includes provisions prohibiting a wide range of activities related to trafficking in persons and various forms of sexual exploitation including pornography (Article 7).

The Act grants wide powers to the police in the area of arrest, detention and search (Articles 11-13). Yet as the draft is not strong enough technically, there is a danger of its misuse by police, judges and offenders. Other flaws in this proposal include the vague provision on extra-territorial application and the way trafficking is conflated with (a) keeping bonded labourers or slaves (b) prostitution or pimping (c) abduction (d) sexual abuse (e) .going whoring. and (f) making a woman conceive or making her impotent against her will.

The Foreign Employment Act

The Foreign Employment Act states that a license holder under the Act is prohibited from facilitating or promoting the employment of minors abroad.

6.3 Government Mechanisms

His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N) established the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare in 1996 to uplift the status of women and girl children. It is the main Government line ministry responsible for the coordination, supervision and monitoring of activities against trafficking in Nepal. Other responsible line ministries include Ministry of Home, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Agriculture. At the district level, District Child Welfare boards are being established to protect the interest of the child, monitor the use of child labour and find the means to eliminate the practice.

Major governmental policies that address trafficking include the Seventh Five Year Development Plan, The National of Action Against Trafficking of Children and their Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Gender Equity and Women Empowerment National Plan of Action (1997), National Task Force on Trafficking, and District Task Forces on Trafficking. The

MWCSW publishes a quarterly newsletter .Combat. in both Nepali and English that is distributed widely.

The MWCSW publishes a quarterly newsletter “Combat” in both Nepali and English that is distributed widely.

6.4 Civil Society

A number of NGOs, INGOs and United Nations agencies have been working against trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation of women and children in Nepal for the past few decades. They provide a range of services such as hotlines, residential centres, family reunion and social reintegration, counselling for the trafficked girls, job training, and medical and health care. Some NGOs also work on the prevention of trafficking through awareness raising programmes and income generating schemes for vulnerable families in trafficking prone areas. Besides, they also file cases against traffickers through the victims. The leading NGOs in this sector are listed in Annex IV.

Further, a number of INGOs have been working to uplift the overall socio-economic status of women in general and to combat the trafficking in girl children for sexual exploitation in particular. They approach the target group directly or they provide financial and/or technical support to their local partner organizations. These INGOs include PLAN International, Save the Children Norway (SCN), Save the Children (UK), Save the Children Alliance and Asia Foundation. The roles of INGOs and UN agencies and support are listed in Annex V.

VII. Findings and Recommendations

7.1 Findings

Based on the findings of a Rapid Assessment on trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation in Nepal, the present report aims to assess the processes and networks, causes and impact of trafficking.

The Rapid Assessment is based on interviews conducted with five categories of girls, including vulnerable girls, child commercial sex workers, rehabilitated and re-established/reintegrated girls. Several Village Development Committees of twelve districts were visited. The sampling areas for children engaged in prostitution were Nepalgunj, Birgunj and Kathmandu. Rehabilitated girls were interviewed from Maiti-Nepal Transit Centres (Kathmandu, Kakarbhitta and Nepalgunj), ABC-Nepal, CWIN, and Child Protection Centre (CPC), Biratnagar.

Apart from the individual interviews, a total of 23 key informant interviews and five focus group discussions were conducted and several case studies were also recorded. Key informants include police, NGOs and CBOs workers, health workers, bus/truck drivers, trafficked girls and VDC representatives.

The phenomenon of trafficking in girls for commercial sexual exploitation has cut across boundaries of caste/ethnic groups, religion, gender, economic classes and regions of Nepal. A majority of trafficked/sexually exploited children were from hill ethnic groups, particularly from Tamang communities. It is suggested that this may be due to the historical relations between Hindu rulers and Tamang groups as well as to the commercialisation of trafficking that was exacerbated by major development projects.

Two models can explain the complex processes of trafficking: "hard trafficking" and "soft trafficking". In the former model, trafficking takes place due to coercion, fraud, abduction and deception, largely from working places of children in the worst forms of child labour. In the later model, children, girls in particular, are seen as commodity that can be bought and sold. "Soft trafficking" seems to take place with the consent or complicity of parents from some remote and poor localities.

At the points of destination, bonded labour relations were said to exist, and girls reported that they were severely tortured, mentally as well as physically. Due to inhuman working conditions at brothels, trafficking seems to have an immense physical and psychological impact. It was found that many trafficked girls who have returned home have died or have been affected by HIV/AIDS. As for measuring the psychological impact, the tools employed in the course of the Rapid Assessments could not adequately reflect the depth or severity of the problems faced by our respondents, and it is suggested that more research be undertaken in this area.

It has also been shown how the process of returning to Nepal is a complex phenomenon, with a multitude of mechanisms and actors involved. A majority of reintegrated and rehabilitated trafficked girls reported that they are not leading a normal life due to the perceived beliefs and social stigma towards such girls in the society. In terms of their economic status it seems that some of the trafficked girls are in a situation that is even more miserable than in brothels. A few respondents reported that they were much better off in brothels, and it seems likely that there is a risk of re-victimization such as commercial sexual exploitation.

Multiple stakeholders are found supporting girls, from rescuing girls at the brothels to reuniting them with their families. Much research is needed to understand the reintegrated girls' lives. For instance, it is not clear how the status of girls who passed through a NGO's intervention programme differ from those who did not pass through it. A comparative study that incorporates health conditions, and economic and social empowerment of these two groups is therefore suggested.

In an attempt to explain trafficking, the root causes of trafficking and the most common explanations for trafficking in children for sexual exploitation were critically examined. No single reason appears to explain the root causes of trafficking in Nepal. It differs from one locality to another, one culture to another, one family to another and one girl to another. Not all poor households or all dysfunctional families, for example, are affected by trafficking. Factors such as growing consumerism, mother's illiteracy, family dysfunction, gender discrimination, traditional marriage practices, distrust of police and lack of political will and resources were also found to contribute to trafficking in girl children for commercial sexual exploitation. Therefore, the causes of trafficking have been discussed in a comprehensive poverty plus framework, which incorporates the dynamics of economic, social, cultural, demographic and political factors, and which includes actors at individual, family, community and national levels.

Institutional mechanisms, laws and acts, and policies and programmes addressing the trafficking in children for sexual exploitation have been set up. However, the problem of trafficking in girls into the worst forms of child labour has been increasing, and it seems that few laws and acts as well as policies and programmes are working properly; most have failed to grasp the real problem. For instance, due to the lack of conceptual clarity of trafficking among the stakeholders, proposed legislation as well as existing NGO programmes would in fact restrict women's right to mobility, thus including migrating from a poor area to more prosperous areas. Further, poor implementation of existing laws and regulations, poor mechanisms of monitoring systems, and lack of proper coordination among concerned government bodies can be seen as insufficient political commitment towards issues on trafficking.

7.2 Policy Recommendations

The Rapid Assessment findings suggest that trafficking is a complex process where we have identified two distinct models of trafficking prevailing in Nepal. This suggests that trafficking in children for commercial sexual exploitation occurs partly by means of the parents' silent consent in some localities and mostly by means of different forms of coercion and fraud. Intervention programmes should be targeted to the vulnerable communities and families and some urban employment sectors such as carpet factories, hotels and restaurants, bus parks, streets, and massage parlours. Therefore, the areas of interventions should be the points of origin (areas), points of recruitment in Nepal (workplaces - garment, carpet etc.) points of border (cross-border), and the points of destination (brothel areas).

A multi-pronged approach that addresses social issues is required to tackle the age-old problem of trafficking in Nepal. This is because a range of factors contributes to this problem. Some important policy options which emerged from this research follow.

Expensive cultural ceremonies in some communities are partly associated with the phenomenon of trafficking. In this context, culturally sensitive policies should be designed. The challenge is two-fold: first, it has to respect local people's identity/culture and second, it has to help reduce the over-expenses in such cultural ceremonies.

Remarriage, multiple marriage, child marriage and unmatched marriage practices increase children's vulnerability of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation in some families. In this case, the marriage law should be redesigned and made effective. Such families should be targeted.

The issue of gender penetrates the entire issue. Empowerment of girls and women is vital for combating trafficking in girls. Mother's education appears to be one factor in nursing daughters, providing education, medical care, and food and shelter. In our sample, more than 90 per cent of respondents' mothers were illiterate with limited employment skills outside their households.

The role of political parties in combating trafficking cannot be minimized. However, there are a few political parties at the grass-roots levels working against trafficking in Nepal. There is no agenda regarding trafficking in VDC meetings. A few resources are mobilized/allocated for social well-being and human rights activities. Trafficking prone VDCs should be encouraged to allocate resources in areas of social development.

A few NGOs have provided rehabilitation services to the trafficked girls. Considering the increasing volume of survivors, such centres should be expanded and strengthened. Government initiation in this sector is essential. A few rehabilitation centres work with the best interest of the girls. There is a need to co-ordinate, monitor and supervise the activities of such centres. To this end, the Government should lead and be involved with all concerned parties.

Trans-border trafficking is prevalent in Nepal because of lack of bilateral initiatives from the Nepali and Indian Governments. Therefore, border security systems on major trafficking routes should be strengthened through effective mobilization of police and NGOs in the short-run. In the long-term, a provision of authentic travel documents is desirable.

In order to fulfil the discussed policy issues related to combating trafficking, the following strategies and programmes are suggested.

As the trafficking in girl children is a crosscutting issue, there is a need for effective coordination between various government organizations, national and international NGOs, and civil society. The Ministry of Women and Social Welfare (MWSCW) is a prime implementing body of the government, which should coordinate other relevant agencies against crimes of women and children.

There is also a need to strengthen and expand the Women and Children's Cell under the police department for combating trafficking considering the increasing volume of child trafficking.

Since combating trafficking requires mobilization of a range of stakeholders, the government should mobilize the existing National Task Force to guide the implementation of the National Plan of Action, developed in 1998. The NTF should be expanded to include representatives from lawmakers, journalists and university communities. The issue of trafficking should be a high priority on the national political agenda as well as a bilateral concern in cross-border trafficking (but border security/regulation should not violate the right of any person to mobility).

The other specific strategies and programmes should be as follows:

- MWCSW should coordinate NGOs/INGOs to work for employment generation and coordinate the Department of Cottage Industries and Federation of Handicrafts Associations for generating and providing employment opportunities for self-reliance of the people.
- In coordination with the MWCSW, The Ministry of Health should work effectively for STDs and HIV/AIDS prevention and net working against AIDS combining with creating social awareness towards trafficking.
- The MWCSW should mobilize relevant Ministries in supporting NGOs in the rescue operations of survivors/transportation of girls from India to Nepal/counselling, medical rehabilitation and housing/compensation, empowerment for self-reliance, rehabilitation and social integration/family reunion and community reintegration.
- For the action on information and communication, the Ministry of Information and Communication should coordinate the Nepal Journalists Federation, NTV, Radio Nepal, and Nepal Press Institute for creating awareness through the media and press.
- . The programmes must be focussed on social awareness and mobilization against sexual abuse and trafficking in women and children, which should be led and coordinated by the different NGO alliances. Their responsibility on this matter should be lobbying and pressurizing to the government and campaigning for the civil society and other NGOs.
- NGOs should also be mobilized for crime investigation against trafficking and domestic violence against women and children

7.3 Further Research Issues

- The historical process of trafficking in Nepal is yet to be written.
- Much research is needed to understand the lives of the girls after being withdrawn from commercial sexual exploitation and reintegrated.
- To understand the real lifestyle conditions of trafficked girls in commercial sexual exploitation, research should target the girls at brothels.
- The trafficking prone areas are largely clustered around the central development region of Nepal. The reason is little addressed.
- A baseline study with large data would shed light on some aspects of explaining the root causes of trafficking. A comparison of the socio-economic conditions of the trafficking affected households and non-affected households is recommended.
- Despite the conventional belief that only girls are trafficked, there are several instances of boys being trafficked. More research is needed to understand the process and causes of boy trafficking.

Summary of Findings

	Known literature²⁶	Assessment's finding²⁷
Incidence of trafficking	5,000	12,000
Process of trafficking		
Historical process	little known	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • yet not clear, class conflicts and adverse of development project matters for trafficking in children
Trafficking prone districts	26 districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 districts were covered by this study • the phenomenon of trafficking is largely clustered in central development region
Caste/ethnicity	Tamangs and Dalits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • encountered during field work, but • Brahmin/Chhetri are also risk groups • Muslim are also in commercial sex work
Age of first trafficked	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • early childhood affected • cut off age 13 years • more than one-half were under 16 years of old
Networks		
Models of trafficking	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • parents' silent consent (soft model of trafficking) operates largely in rural areas where children are treated as commodity • hard model of trafficking largely operates in urban areas
Urban employment sectors at high risk	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • carpet factory • hotel/restaurants • massage parlour • sex worker • others
Internal risk areas	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gongabu bus park, Kathmandu • Narayanghat, Chitwan • Melmchi bus park, Kathmandu • Airport, Kathmandu
Routes of trafficking	major border towns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • visited during field work • Pasupati Nagar in east Nepal has emerged as one important transit point

²⁶ Known literature includes existing research reports, articles, and newspaper.

²⁷ Results were derived from a purposive sampling.

Means of transport	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • largely long route trucks and buses • other public means of transport depending on the situation and circumstances
Middle-men involved	close relatives, local broker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • encountered during field work
Who are middlemen?	strangers, fake 'husband', co-workers little known	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • middle-men can be a transporter, receptors in urban employment, local broker and traffickers • transport workers (truck, bus drivers) • recruiters in urban employment • local brokers • traffickers
Techniques used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fraud • abduction • coercion • false promises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • encountered but fraud and false promises emerge as important tools
Awareness at the time of crossing border	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • largely girls were unaware of risk situation at the time of border crossing • girls believed the 'person' with them very much • police were not trusted by girls at the border
Profit made	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • transportation, recruiter and trafficker make profit • girls were sold on the average at IRs. 50,000-70,000 per girl • In case of trafficking for circus, IRs. 15,000 to 20,000 is involved per child and parents received NRs. 3,000-5,000 for a period of 2 years.
Life Conditions in Prostitution		
Entry into prostitution	no research (little known)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 23 per cent put into prostitution immediately after one day of landing at brothel • 50 per cent within 3 days and 90 per cent within one-week
Duration of stay	no research (little known)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minimum 3 months to 10 years • mean months of staying 24. • median months of staying 12.
Hours per day engaged in prostitution	no research (little known)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13 hours per day
Earning per day	no research (little known)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rs. 200-250

Labour/Abuser relations	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> highly exploited, 90 to 95 per cent of earning is extracted by brothel owner majority were unprotected from STD HIV/AIDS (63%) physical torture (in vagina with sharp knife, pregnancy aborted, kept in dark room, no food, no medicine, beaten and by hit iron rods and beer bottles, etc.) re-trafficked (28%)
Health/physical torture	little known	
Process of Returning Home		
Coming home	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> directly to home passing through Indian Rehabilitation centres passing through Nepal Rehabilitation centres little information to assess the situation of rehabilitated girls much work is needed to provide the best services to the survivors
Current situation of Rehabilitated girls	little known	

Reintegrated girl's life	no research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a lot have suffered from HIV/AIDS many died due to HIV/AIDS some involved in illicit activities few have good life much research is needed to understand the real life 46 per cent brought diseases eight in 46 were affected by HIV/AIDS
Impact on children's life	little known	
Explanations for trafficking child vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> illiterate girls are at high risk peer pressure leads to trafficking growing consumerism leads trafficking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> encountered 38 per cent never attended school some girls with grade up to 10 were also trafficked encountered encountered but further research is suggested encountered but further research is suggested

vulnerable family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • parents' literacy matters in trafficking for their children • parents' ignorance matters in trafficking • household poverty is the leading factor for trafficking <p>dysfunctional family are much affected by trafficking</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observed • mothers education matter much • 92 per cent mothers of trafficked girls were illiterate • observed • poverty matters much, but all poor households were not affected by trafficking even in the trafficking prone localities • 14 per cent trafficked girls originate from homeless family and 28 per cent did not have farm land • observed • 60 per cent trafficked girls were maltreated at their home before they were trafficked • 25 per cent trafficked girls had step-mother • 7 per cent had step-father • multiple marriage and remarriage matters • child marriage matters • unmatched marriage matters • excessive spending in feast and festivals matters • gender aggression (co-wife and childlessness) matters • observed
Perceived values of society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cultural amiss (little known) • gender aggression (little known) • social discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • observed

Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political parties (little known) • police (little known) • open border makes easy for traffickers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • little political commitment • little resource allocation at VDC level • community conflicts causes less mobilization of resources • police less equipped • corrupt • distrust • encountered
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Further research issues		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• history of trafficking is yet to be written• little is known about the reintegrated girls life(a comparative study of those who pass through a NGO intervention and who come directly to home is suggested)• present life conditions at brothel sampling with girls in destination• a study that incorporates both control and experimental groups with a large sample is suggested in order to clearly come out with the root causes of trafficking.
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**Annex I:
Causes and Consequences of Trafficking in Children for Prostitution in Nepal¹**

1. Economic	2. Social	3. Cultural	4. Demographic	5. Politics and Government	6. Consequences	7. Traffickers
<p>1. Poverty (N)</p> <p>2. Unemployment (N)</p> <p>3. Profitable business (P)</p> <p>4. Desire for better life (P)</p> <p>5. Desire for earning more money (P)</p> <p>6. Sluggish economic Growth (N)</p> <p>7. Treated like commodity (N)</p> <p>8. Industrialization (P)</p> <p>9. Workplace harassment (N)</p> <p>10. Economic dependency (N)</p> <p>11. False promises for good job (N)</p> <p>12. Structural faults (N)</p> <p>13. Subsistence farming (N)</p> <p>14. Seasonal migration (P)</p> <p>15. Acute shortage of cash in rural areas</p> <p>16. Increasing consumerism (P)</p> <p>17. Lack of basic needs (N)</p> <p>18. Poverty stricken, jobless parents (N)</p>	<p>Ignorance (N)</p> <p>Illiteracy (N)</p> <p>Rigid caste system (N)</p> <p>Domestic violence (N)</p> <p>Desire for independence (P)</p> <p>Marriage system (N)</p> <p>Jhuma, Deuki and Badi system (N)</p> <p>Rape (N)</p> <p>Assault (N)</p> <p>Second class citizens (N)</p> <p>Lack of awareness (N)</p> <p>Insecurity (N)</p> <p>Depression (N)</p> <p>Suicidal tendencies (N)</p> <p>Substance abuse (N)</p> <p>Anti-social behaviour (N)</p> <p>Modernization (P)</p> <p>Change in value system (P)</p> <p>False promises for marriage (N)</p> <p>Glamorous life in the city (N)</p> <p>Forcible abduction (N)</p> <p>Exploitative social situation (N)</p> <p>Aspiration for modern life style (P)</p> <p>Disadvantage communities and social groups (N)</p> <p>Diminishing family support (N)</p> <p>Family disharmony (N)</p> <p>High rate of school dropouts (N)</p> <p>Ignorant about AIDS (N)</p> <p>Exploitation in schools (N)</p> <p>Ignorance of rights among parents (N)</p> <p>Change in social norms and standard (P)</p> <p>Lack of importance of female education among parents (N)</p> <p>Lack of general awareness by parents (N)</p> <p>Discriminatory property inheritance right (N)</p> <p>Early exposure to adult life of sex (crime, alcoholism, drug abuse, normal growth spurts during puberty) (N)</p>	<p>Dowry (N)</p> <p>Polygamy (N)</p> <p>Restriction on widow remarriage (N)</p> <p>Western influence (P)</p> <p>Degrading human values (N)</p> <p>Low social status of women and children (N)</p> <p>Negative social living conditions (N)</p> <p>Viewing women and children as commodity (N)</p> <p>Age difference in marriage (N)</p> <p>Loss of cultural traditional (N)</p> <p>Untouchability (N)</p> <p>Step mother (N)</p> <p>Step father (N)</p> <p>Poverty culture (N)</p>	<p>High fertility (N)</p> <p>High population growth (N)</p> <p>Sexual discrimination (N)</p> <p>Child marriage (N)</p> <p>Pre-marital sex and conception (N)</p> <p>Too frequent abortion (N)</p> <p>Low cost of rearing and raising children (P)</p> <p>Migration (P)</p> <p>Urbanization (P)</p> <p>Gender disparity (N)</p> <p>Open border (P)</p> <p>Immigration (N)</p> <p>Emigration (P)</p> <p>Unstable migration of parents (N)</p> <p>Superstitions (P)</p>	<p>Poor police performance (N)</p> <p>Corrupt and inefficient administration (N)</p> <p>Corrupt legal system (N)</p> <p>Lack of political commitment (N)</p> <p>Lack of implementation of existing laws (N)</p> <p>Confusing laws; difficult to implement (N)</p> <p>Bureaucratic delay in administration and justices (N)</p> <p>Limited rehabilitation programmes (N)</p> <p>Lack of coordination between judiciary, executive and the legislative branch of government (N)</p>	<p>Hatred from society (N)</p> <p>Guilt feeling (N)</p> <p>Distraction from and life (N)</p> <p>Mental torture (N)</p> <p>Drug abuse (N)</p> <p>Physical torture (N)</p> <p>Alcohol abuse (N)</p> <p>Confusion (N)</p> <p>Moral and psychological breakdown (N)</p> <p>Hallucination (N)</p> <p>Poor health (N)</p> <p>Fear and panic (N)</p> <p>Veneral diseases (N)</p> <p>HIV/AIDS, TB and Hepatitis-B (N)</p> <p>Unproductive adults (N)</p> <p>Eventual death (N)</p> <p>Loss of able bodied manpower (N)</p> <p>Lack of basic sanitation (N)</p> <p>Lack of nutrition (N)</p> <p>Lack of personal care (N)</p> <p>Raping (N)</p> <p>Beating (N)</p> <p>Threat (N)</p>	<p>Parents</p> <p>Husbands</p> <p>Uncles</p> <p>Brothers</p> <p>Sisters</p> <p>Sister-in-law</p> <p>Friends</p> <p>Boyfriends</p> <p>Other relatives</p> <p>Brokers</p> <p>Middle men</p>

¹ Note: N = Negative; P = Positive.

Annex II: International Instruments for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings

International Conventions Against Trafficking

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
- * 2. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, 1949 (Approved by the General Assembly Resolutions to 317 (IV) on December 2, 1949).
3. The Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1957.
4. Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1967.
5. Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979 (CEDAW) (Ratified on April 22, 1991).
6. UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (Ratified 1990).
7. World Conference of Human Rights, 1993.
8. International Conference of Population and Development, Copenhagen, 1994.
9. World Conference of Women, Beijing, 1995.
10. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 1996.
11. World Conference on Population Development, Copenhagen, 1996.
12. World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (Draft Declaration), August 29, 1996.
13. Joint Action to Further Enhance the Protection of Children or Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Brussels, 24 February, 1997.
14. United Nations Convention against Trans-national Organized Crime and the attached UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, 2000.

ILO Conventions

Ratified

1. Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921 (No. 21).
2. Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100).
3. Discrimination (Employment & Occupation) Convention, 1958, (No. 111).
4. Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970 (No. 131).
5. Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138).

6. Freedom of Association, (No. 98).
7. The Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 144).

To be ratified

8. Forced Labour Convention, (No. 29).
9. Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, (No. 105).
10. Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Geneva, 1999 (No. 182)

SAARC Resolutions

1. The Colombo Resolution on Children, 1992.
2. Rawalpindi Resolution on Children of South Asia, August 20-22, 1996.
3. Declaration of the Ninth SAARC Summit, Male, 1997.
4. Colombo Declaration, Tenth SARRC Summit, 1998.
5. Convention on Regional Arrangements on Child Welfare in South Asia, to be adopted in the 11th Summit.

Annex III: National Endeavour Against Trafficking In Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation

1. The *Muluki Ain*, Legal Code during the Rana Regime.
2. The *Muluki Ain*, New Civil Code, 1963.
3. Foreign Employment Act, 1985.
4. The Human Trafficking Control Act, 1986.
5. Constitutional Provisions, 1990.
6. The Labour Act, 1992
7. An Act to Provide Safeguarding The Interests of Children, 1992.
8. Children's Rules, 1993.
9. Labour Regulation, 1993.
10. Memorandum of Understanding, ILO and HMG, 1995.
11. National Action Plan for Women Development, 1997.
12. National Policy Towards Control of Trafficking in Nepali Women and Prostitution, 1997.
13. Memorandum of Understanding, Nepal Police and UNICEF, 1997.
14. Elimination of Offences of Traffic in Persons (Crime and Punishment) Act, 2000 (Police Proposal).
15. The Human Trafficking Activities Eradication Act, 1999 (CeLLRRD Proposal).
16. The Traffic in Human Beings (offences and Penalties) Act, 1999 (MWCSW).
17. Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS in Nepal, 1997-2001.
18. The National Policy, Action Plan and Institutional Mechanism to Combat Against Trafficking in Women and Children for Commercial Sexual Exploitation, 2000 (Approved by Cabinet on July 29, 1999).

Annex IV: Activities of Civil Societies Against Trafficking

B. NGOs	Activities
1. ABC Nepal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Runs programmes on non-formal education, income generation, health camps, formation of women's co-operatives and training centres for rescued girls. It has played a leading role in creating awareness through publications, workshops, multi-media including tapes and street drama.
2. Child-Workers in Nepal (CWIN) Concerned Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focuses on lobbying, campaigning and social awareness on rights of the child. Initiates action research. Runs a resource and information centre. CWIN runs eight drop-in, residential or education centres, a clinic and a help line for the rescue, socialization, counselling and rehabilitation of children at risk.
3. Legal Aid and Consultancy Centre (LACC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Runs a Women's Rights help line to provide legal advice and referrals, free legal representation and mediation, trainings, workshops and seminars on legal awareness, legal literacy and adult literacy, advocacy efforts and lobbying parliamentarians for legal reform.
4. Maiti Nepal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Runs transit centres to accommodate and refer the rescued women. It also runs prevention camps where young women train for six months to gain skills. Maiti Nepal has played a leading role in advocacy and awareness campaigns to highlight the issue of trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation and stop migration of children for employment.
5. Navajyoti Women's Training Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Runs six-month trainings to prepare potential rural women to be animators in the field of development in their own communities. The trainings are primary health adult literacy, status and problems of Nepali women, community development, group formation, basics in sustainable agriculture and personality development.
6. SAATHI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focuses on domestic violence, research and advocacy on issues of domestic violence and runs a help line and drop-in centre for survivors of domestic violence.

7. Shakti Samuha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides counselling and psychological support to survivors, creates common space and environment for survived women to share and plan strategies to stop trafficking. It also raises awareness among women and children working in factories and domestic service through peer education, dissemination of information against trafficking in women in different sectors
8. Women's Rehabilitation Centre (WOREC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creates awareness at community level against social crimes including trafficking in women as well as servitude like practices. Focuses on empowerment through non-formal education and mobilization of local women groups and CBOs, local human resource development and capacity building of CBOs, community health education, sustainable bio-intensive farming and income generation activities and research/studies in relevant fields.
9. Women Self Reliance Centre (Sindhupalchowk District)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Runs programmes in awareness raising on HIV and girl trafficking, institutional development of women through group formation, saving, credit and income generation programme and literacy through health education.
10. Informal Sector Service Centre (INSEC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aims to raise public awareness on human rights issues in many districts. It has worked specifically on women's rights in 11 districts, training in economic and property rights including trafficking issues in some districts.
11. Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Networks on trafficking that organise advocacy and awareness.
12. National Network Against Girl Trafficking (NNAGT)	

Annex V: Activities of UN Agencies and INGOs Against Trafficking

D. United Nations Agencies and INGOs	
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initiated PDDP and LGP, which aim to increase participation in local administrative decisions, and incorporates women's participation in this. HIV/AIDS Planning and Participatory Management helps DDC to plan and implement HIV programmes, and take multi-spectral approach through the District Aids Committee
Beyond Trafficking – A Joint Initiative in the Millennium against Trafficking of Girls and Women in Nepal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main focus are on; (a) changing conditions which allows for trafficking in of women and girls with impunity (b) making violence against women and girls more visible and thus, galvanizing both public and state commitment to redress the violence.
United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Works with the government through the police, training in investigation and filing skills, sensitisation of the police and assisting in the establishment of women's cells. It plans to extend projects to community policing and rehabilitation of exploited children. It also assists NGOs for the protection and prevention of children at primarily with four groups of children: survivors of trafficking or at risk, urban children as sex-workers, the Badi children and Deuki children. Initiates community surveillance, trains women on legal issues, sets up Paralegal Committees at ward, VDC and DDC levels.
United Nations Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support programmes for population and development strategy, reproductive health and advocacy for reducing fertility and population growth rate.
UNIFEM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provides technical assistance to the Women Development Division of the Ministry of Local Development to systematize database, monitoring and evaluation. Collates data on non-traditional employment opportunities for women and advocates for the rights of women.
World Health Organisation (WHO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gives direct support to the Government for planning and management of health programmes and through its Partnership Programme provides direct support to social sector organisations involved in HIV/AIDS.

<p>International Labour Organisation/ International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC)</p> <p>Sub-regional Programme to Combat the Trafficking of Children for Exploitative Employment in Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports NGO prevention programmes, awareness raising, rescue and rehabilitation. Upholds the NGOs providing training and finding new and reliable options for micro-credit. Assists projects to develop training packages to sensitise the primary school teacher in human right, child rights and to establish prevention camps in trafficking prone areas. Supports workshops for judges, public prosecutors and activist lawyers on enforcement of legislation on child labour and child trafficking and also supports the rescued girls for legal provision. In co-ordination with the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare reviews existing legislation related to child labour prepared the National Plan of Action. Assists the Ministry in building capacity by strengthening the IEC capability in developing database, strengthening district task forces, producing newsletter “Combat” and establishing village vigilant groups. Chairs the Inter-Agency Coordination Group Against Trafficking, which comprises of more than twenty international agencies.
<p>Asia Foundation <i>(Funded by USAID)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducts research, produces comic book as awareness material and provides exposure visits. Assists the local NGOs in community education through the use of video film, cross-border NGO meetings, preventive programs through workshops, seminars on trafficking at district and national level.
<p>The Centre for Development of Population Activities (CEDPA) <i>(Funded by USAID)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare for establishment of MIS, GIS, information centre and development of national anti-trafficking IEC strategy for prevention of trafficking. COMBAT, the newsletter is also co-funded. - Advocacy training on legal rights, information on reproductive health, vocational training and disseminating information related to anti-trafficking are the programmes that are being supported.
<p>Save the Children- US</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports NGOs for the prevention of HIV, imparting knowledge on reproductive health for adolescent, providing education for youth and children, organising advocacy campaign and conduct research - Promotes child-to-child approach and early childhood development.
<p>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports for establishing of Hotline System to aware the Community Surveillance System against Trafficking (CSSAT) of girls and women. Also

	<p>supports for the implementation of education module through community learning centres for girls and women in literacy skill and income generation activities</p>
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ANNEX VI: Questionnaire

Individual Questionnaire for Trafficking in Children

(You had to undergo some of the most horrible time in your life at a very tender age. My sympathies are with you. I would like to know how all this happened. This will help to take suitable measures to control such trafficking in the future.

All information collected will be confidential and the results will never be produced on a individual basis.)

Place of enumeration:

District: ----- Code:
 VDC/ Municipality: -----
 Transit Homes/Rehabilitation Centre: -----
 Address: -----

Place origin

District:
 VDC/Municipality:
 Serial No.:
 Real name:
 Nick name:
 Age:
 Sex:
 Caste/ethnicity:

DD MM YY

Date of interview:

Interviewer's Name:

Signature:

Supervisor's Name:

Signature:

Date :

Types of respondents (Note: Section 1 and II are common for all types of respondents)	Reintegrated girls (10 cases)	1
	Reestablished girls (10 cases)	2
	Girls in Transit homes / rehabilitation Centre (40-60 cases)	3
	Girls in dance restaurant & hotels	4
	Vulnerable girls (100 cases)	5

Section I. Education and Work

101. Age (Completed) ...
102. Sex : Male.....1
Female.....2
103. Mother tongue:
104. Caste/Ethnicity:.....
105. Can you read ? Yes.....1
No2 → Section II
106. Can you write ? Yes.....1
No2
107. Are you currently attending school ? Yes.....1
No2 → 109
108. Class completed ?

→Section II

109. Have you ever attended School? Yes.....1
No2 → Section II
110. Can you give reasons for dropping out of school ? Couldn't afford1
Because of work2
Parents didn't send ...3
Schools too far4
Had to work at home ...5
Others6
(Specify)

111. Would you go to school again if arranged?

Yes.....1
No2

Section II: Origin and Family Background

201. Where were you born?

District	VDC/Muni	Ward No.

202. Who among the following family members are in your home?

	Yes.....1	No.....2
(i) Father		
(ii) Mother		
(iii) Step-father		
(iv) Step-mother		
(v) Sister (unmarried)		
(vi) Brother		
(vii) Uncle		
(viii) Aunt		
(ix) Other		

No. of persons

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

203. Among the children of your parents
which child are you ?(including sisters)

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

204. Have you ever been treated badly in your family?
(multiple answer may be possible) □ □ □

- Not at all1
 Mental abuse (neglect, scolding) 2
 Physical abuse (beatings, torture)3
 Malnutrition/starvation4
 Lack of schooling/drop out 5
 Thrown out/ run away from home6
 Others7
 (specify)

205. Can your father read and write? Yes.....1
No2 □

206. Can your mother read and write? Yes.....1
No2 □

207. Which of the following facilities are available in your village?

Facilities	Yes....1 No.....2	Facilities	Yes.... 1 No.....2
School		Motorable road	
Health post		Telephone	
Agri. Service centre		Bank	
Cooperatives		Police station	
Piped water supply		Post office	
Electricity		Market	

Economic status of the Family

207. Do you have your own home to live? Yes.....1
No2 □

208. Does your family own farm land? ? Yes.....1
No2 □

209. What is the main work done by your family to make a living? □

Own farming 1
Agri. wage labourer 2
 Non –agri wage labourer ...3
Other.....4
 (Specify)

(To be asked to Reintegrated, Reestablished and girls in Transit Homes and Rehabilitation centres)

301. At what place, for the first time, did you realize that you were trafficked?

Country	District	VDC/Mun

302. How many days was it then that you were away from home?

303. From where were you trafficked?

District	VDC/Mun

304. What was your age then?

305. Who was the key person that lured you into trafficking?

Local broker..... 1
 Outsider broker2
 Close relatives 3
 Factory/construction worker...4
 Others.....5
 (specify)

306. Which among the following promises was made to lure you?

Promised employment...1
 Fake love/marriage.....2
 Making foster child.....3
 Abduction/force..... 4
 Using drugs..... ..5
 Escaping from poverty... ..6
 Escaping from domestic 7
 violence.....
 Paying Parents/Family members-8
 Others 9
 (Specify)

307. Do you know the place you finally landed?

Country	District	VDC/Mun

308. How long after you reached this place were you put into prostitution?

MM	DD

309. How long had you to work each day? (in hours)

310. On an average how many customers per day had you to entertain?
311. Were you given enough food and a nice place to sleep? Yes.....1
No2
312. Did your clients used protective gears(condom) while having sex? Always.....1
Sometime.....2
Rarely.....3
Not at all4
313. What kind of remuneration was given to you? Good1
Satisfactory2
Poor 3
Unsatisfactory4
314. What was the amount and the time interval? Amount per client (NRs.)
Salary per month (NRs.)

315. Did you get extra money from your clients also? Sometimes.....1
Rarely.....2
Not at all.....3
316. Were you sold to other brokers? Yes.....1
No2
317. How long was your stay altogether before being rescued? YY MM
318. How many Nepalese girls did you observe in the places that you worked?
319. Did you also observe new Nepalese girls being brought there? Yes.....1
No2 →
320. What was the number in a year?
321. Who rescued you in your escape from the brothel? Self.....1
Run away, with other...2
NGO.....3
Nepal Police.....4
Indian Police.....5
Relatives.....6
Master kicked out..... 7
Others..... 8
(Specify)
322. What was the next safe place that you reached after you escaped?
Home..... .1
Transit home/RC in India.. 2
Transit home/RC in Nepal. .3
CBO in India..... ..4
CBO in Nepal..... . 5
323. What was the condition of your health then? Good →
Bad
Worst
324. Did you bring along some disease with you? Yes.....1
No2 →

325.	What kind of disease was it?	STDs1 HIV/AIDS2 Disability3 Others4 (Specify)	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
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326.	Did you receive medical care and treatment?	Yes.....1 No2	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	---	------------------------	---

(To girls at the Transit Home/Rehabilitation centres)

401.	Do you think you are now spending a normal life here at the centre?	Yes.....1 No2	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	---	------------------------	---

402.	Are you doing some work?	Yes.....1 No2 →	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	--------------------------	--------------------------	---

403.	What kind of work is it?	Social → Incoming Getting training	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	--------------------------	--	---

404.	Do you receive any pay or salary for the work you are doing?	Yes.....1 No2	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	--	------------------------	---

405. What kind of steps, if taken, do you think would help stop trafficking of girls?

406.	Did you try to get reunited with your family after you came back to Nepal?	Yes.....1 No2	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	--	------------------------	---

407.	What obstructed in the reunion?	Neighbour don't trust us1 Family member don't accept ... 2 Unemployed3 Ashamed4	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	---------------------------------	--	---

To girls that are reintegrated and reestablished

(We are very happy to see you reintegrated / reestablished with your family.)

501.	Are you spending a normal life with your family now?	Yes.....1 No2	<input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
------	--	------------------------	---

502. Are there people that still hate you because of what happened in the past? Yes.....1
No2

503. Are there any important factors that led to your reunion with the family?
.....

504. Can you suggest any measures that would help reunite girls with their families that have met the same fate like yours?
.....

505. What kind of measures do you think should be taken by the authorities to check girl trafficking?
.....

506. What do you think are the weaknesses on the part of the families living here in the culmination of girl trafficking?
.....

To re-established girls

507. Do you still have contact with your parental home? Yes.....1
No2

508. Is your birthplace prone to girl trafficking? Yes.....1
No2

509. How about the village now you live?
.....

(To girls working in Dance Restaurants and Hotels)

601. How old are you?
(Years completed)

602. Have you been trafficked to work here? Yes.....1

No2

603. What was the age when you were trafficked ?

604. What work do you do here?

- Prostitution1 →
 - Waitress2 → End
 - Bar lender 3 → End
 - Others4 → End
- (Specify)

605. How many hour a day do you work?

606. How many customers do you have to entertained a day?

607. Do they use protective gear (Condoms) When you have sex? Yes.....1
No2

608. How much do you earn from your work? (in (NRs)

609. Are you aware of HIV/AIDS? Yes.....1
No2

610. Who put you in to this work?

611. How many below the age of 18 (eighteen) work here in the same job?

612. How many such places do you know in the town?

Vulnerable girls (Households)

701. Do you know any thing about child trafficking? Yes.....1
No2

702. Do you know how many households in this village from where children have been trafficking?

703. Do you have children in the age group 5 –18 ages in your home that could be trafficked?

704. Do you have any idea of the number of girls being trafficked from this village during last one year?

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