



Secondary Research on Global Prevention of Human Trafficking

Final Report

31 January 2021

Krithika Balu, Anjali Joisa, Abhayraj Naik

CLIENT:

Kamonohashi Project

PREPARED BY:

- Krithika Balu
- Anjali Joisa
- Abhayraj Naik

CONTACT DETAILS:

Name	Telephone	E-mail
Krithika Balu	+91 99402 45678	krithika.akilabalu@gmail.com
Anjali Joisa	+917829737929	anjalijoisa@gmail.com
Abhayraj Naik	+91 98868 31639	abhayraj@actionclimate.org

DATE OF SUBMISSION:

31 January 2021

SUBMITTED TO:

Tomomi Shimizu

Kamonohashi Project

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND ANNEXURES

Serial No.	Particulars	Page No.
1.	List of Abbreviations	1
2.	Executive Summary	2 – 23
3.	Introduction and Context	24 – 32
	Global Context	24
	Indian Context	31
4.	Research Methodology and Timelines	33 – 36
5.	Research Findings	37 – 109
I.	Defining ‘Prevention to Human Trafficking’	37
II.	Consistencies and Contradictions in Prevention Approaches	41
III.	Contextual Vulnerabilities and Key Trends	46
IV.	Research Biases	54
V.	Interventions, Practice Models and Evaluation Findings Focused on Prevention	68
VI.	Roles of Community or Bystanders in Human Trafficking	86

VII.	Relevance for Indian Context	99
6.	Concluding Observations	110 – 113
7.	Bibliography	114 – 127
8.	Annex-A: Request for Proposal issued by the Kamonohashi Project in August 2020.	128 – 130
9.	Annex-B: Proposal dated 20 August 2020, as amended on 14 September 2020.	131 – 147
10.	Annex-C: Legal Framework around Human Trafficking in India	148 – 149
11.	Annex-D: List of databases for strategic compilation of research between 2012-2020.	150 – 155
12.	Annex-E: List of Keywords and Emerging Concepts	156 – 158
13.	Annex-F: Interview Protocol for Semi-Structured Interview with Experts	159 – 163
14.	Annex-G: List of Experts for Semi-Structured Interviews	164 – 166
15.	Annex-H: Research Timeline	167 – 169

LIST OF TABLES

Serial no.	Table Particulars	Page no.
1.	Table I – Global Anti-Trafficking Measures (2015)	28

LIST OF FIGURES

Serial No.	Figure Particulars	Page No.
1.	Figure I: Definition of ‘trafficking in persons’ as per the Palermo Protocol	25
2.	Figure II: Main forms of Exploitation Globally (2007-2010)	26
3.	Figure III: The Global 3P Index for 2011	27
4.	Figure IV: Number of Countries with No or Partial Legislation in August 2012	29
5.	Figure V: The Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Bill, 2018	31
6.	Figure VI: Visualisation of key data collection methods	34
7.	Figure VII: Migrants and Intervention Strategies	39
8.	Figure VIII: Excerpt from Interview with Melissa Walavalkar, IJM	50

9.	Figure IX: Stratification of Research by Jurisdiction	56
10.	Figure X: Stratification of Research by Age of Survivors	61
11.	Figure XI: Stratification of Research by Methodology	63
12.	Figure XII: Stratification of Research by Author	64
13.	Figure XIII: Stratification of Research by Scope	66
14.	Figure XIV: Stratification of Research by Type of Trafficking	67
15.	Figure XV: Excerpt of Interview with Ms. Paromita Chowdhury, Oak Foundation	72
16.	Figure XVI: Prevention Approach to Address Multi-Vulnerabilities	73
17.	Figure XVII: Excerpt of Interview with Diya Nag, Asia Foundation	73
18.	Figure XVIII: Excerpt of Interview with Paromita Chowdhury, Oak Foundation	74
19.	Figure XIX: Meaningful Engagement with the Private Sector	75
20.	Figure XX: Excerpt of Interview with Ginny Baumann, Freedom Fund	77
21.	Figure XXI: Violence Prevention in Practice by CDC (2020)	79

22.	Figure XXII: Excerpts of Interviews with Katharine Bryant, Walk Free Foundation and Insaf Nizam, ILO	81
23.	Figure XXIII: Excerpts of Interview with Katharine Bryant and Elise Gordon, Walk Free Foundation	85
24.	Figure XXIV: Justifications by Traffickers for Human Trafficking	92
25.	Figure XXV: Biderman's framework of psychological coercion	94
26.	Figure XXVI: Excerpt of Interview with Ginny Baumann, Freedom Fund	101
27.	Figure XXVII: Chain of Risk of Trafficking	102

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Full-Form
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
Govt.	Government
Harvard FXB	Harvard François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IHRR	India Human Rights Report
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LGBTQIA	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex and Asexual/Agender/Ally
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RFP	Request for Proposal
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNJPHT	United National Joint Programme against Human Trafficking
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US GAO	United States Government Accountability Office
USA	United States of America

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL**FINAL REPORT**

Secondary Research on Global Prevention Studies for Human Trafficking Issue

Final Report v15 dated 31 January 2021 | Send feedback and questions to

krithika.akilabalu@gmail.com

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Human trafficking has been a theme of study for researchers and organisations across the world since the ratification of the UN Protocol on Trafficking in Persons in 2000. The research includes both theoretical and practical perspectives that cover insights around why trafficking takes place, exacerbating and mitigating factors, as well as proposed or established intervention ideas and models. With a view to successfully prevent human trafficking amongst communities and to support the anti-human trafficking solution landscape envisioned by the Kamonohashi Project ('Kamo'), this report details an epistemological study of recent research on the prevention of human trafficking both in India and across the globe. The team carried out a detailed curation, review and analysis of research relating to existing prevention and intervention models globally.

The key learning objectives of the study include:

1. to understand and analyze how the existing literature defines 'prevention of human trafficking';
2. to identify consistent and contradictory findings within the research relating to prevention approaches;
3. to identify and analyse contextual determinants of vulnerabilities through a transdisciplinary lens that includes anthropological and psychological approaches, and identify associated trends and patterns;

4. to identify and analyze biases in the approaches, focus areas, and methodologies discernible from the surveyed literature;
5. to identify and analyze common findings in the literature pertaining to practice models, interventions and evaluation findings that have focused on prevention;
6. to examine the roles and relational contexts of communities and bystanders, focusing on why trafficking is often condoned, tolerated or even supported by a particular social grouping, community or the state; and
7. to identify research resources and key insights of relevance to the Indian context in terms of further areas of inquiry as well design of interventions.

The definition of 'Trafficking in Persons' as laid out in the 2000 Palermo Protocol looks at human trafficking from an organised crime perspective to include 'exploitation' of persons, which in turn is explained through 'minimum' standards of exploitation of prostitution of others, other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or similar practices, servitude or the removal of organs. Researchers have also observed that there have been significant difficulties in comprehending and recording complexities in trafficking over the years.

Increasingly, government policies, action plans and international strategies by states have been focusing their prevention efforts beyond raising awareness campaigns to strengthening labour law enforcement as well as developing partnerships between government and non-state actors. Countries in the Americas and Europe (Sweden, the Netherlands and Italy in particular) have had strong governmental performances as of 2011 in implementing prevention, protection and prosecution-related policies along with strict anti-trafficking measures leading to high conviction rates. They were also at the forefront in identifying victims and providing comprehensive victim support and assistance compared to other countries in the world.

The adoption of the Trafficking Protocol in 2000 led to many states producing counter-trafficking laws, action plans and setting up special police units. Further, the number of countries with legislation criminalizing all or most forms of human trafficking drastically increased and countries without any such legislation are mostly located in Africa, followed by East and South Asia, and South America. However, scholars have noted that though the enactment of statutory instruments by governments is important, it is not the 'cure' for human trafficking, whose enormous social and economic dimensions that need to be addressed.

Of the difficulties that arise while looking at human trafficking research in the last 20 years, one of the most patent issues is the lack of empirical research, reflecting the secretive nature of trafficking and difficulties in obtaining accurate data. Further, dominant global discourses on human trafficking still conflate sex trafficking with labour trafficking, and sex trafficking with sex work. Such narratives narrow global and regional understandings around trafficking, failing to account for hidden populations beyond women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, and do not acknowledge that trafficking can take varied forms beyond that for sexual exploitation. This study accordingly focuses on research relating to human trafficking in contexts that include trafficking related to sexual exploitation, labour, and other factors.

In India, the US State Department reported in 2020 that the Indian Government has maintained inadequate efforts to prevent human trafficking, indicating lack of political will as well as a lack of any clear mandate to address human trafficking. Service provision and actions around human trafficking are therefore the primary domain of NGOs, many of whom focus on prevention activities (77% as per a study carried out by Sattva Consulting in 2020) out of whom only a minority (28%) admit that it is possible to see a perceptible impact of these activities.

The study's methodological orientation was towards an interdisciplinary, multi-jurisdictional, and contextual inquiry into the phenomenon of human trafficking (and responses thereto). The

methodology sought to uncover and generate insights from recent research, both theoretical and practice-focused, which might inform the design and implementation of effective, survivor-centric, and eco systemically-nuanced interventions in response to (actual or potential) human trafficking in specific contexts. The Research Team were particularly interested in best practices, models, and key learnings that have relevance for the Indian context. The scope of analysis included a wide range of sites-objects-people including contexts of vulnerability, legal and policy responses to incidents or threats of trafficking, prevention and punitive mechanisms, and ecosystem-level cultural, social and political factors. The specific methods employed by the study include Strategic Compilation of Research covering the period 2012-2020, Semi-Structured Targeted Interviews with Experts, Criteria-Referenced Categorisation and Analysis of the Resources and Inputs, and Synthesis and Generation of Specific Action-Oriented Recommendations for the Indian Context.

As of 31 January 2021, the Research Team has mapped over 180 academic papers, reports and articles, out of which 134 pieces of literature have been shortlisted. The Team supplemented the research with networking with different producers and users of research, including academics, civil-society organisations and other experts. The Team carried out detailed, semi-structured interviews with 15 experts, who are anti-human trafficking funders and/or implementers, non-governmental organisations, academics, researchers and journalists.

Key Insights Emerging from the Research

1. ***'Prevention of Human Trafficking' is defined in a highly varied manner, depending upon the approach to human trafficking adopted by the author(s) of the particular research. However, the crime-vulnerability dichotomy continues to strongly feature in the research.***

The existing research defines prevention of human trafficking in different ways, depending upon the approach adopted by the author(s) of the research towards trafficking as a phenomenon. The definitions of prevention of human trafficking vary depending upon whether human trafficking is approached as an organised crime, as an outcome of socioeconomic, cultural and psychological vulnerabilities, as a product of unregulated labour markets and migration, and other conceptualisations.

The 'crime-prevention approach' to human trafficking relies on an understanding that for modern slavery-related crimes to occur, there needs to be a vulnerable victim, a motivated offender and the absence of a capable guardian. Therefore, application of the crime-prevention lens hinges on the identification of various actors and their roles within the domain of the organised crime of trafficking.

The 'public health approach' to human trafficking conceptualises trafficking as a product of vulnerability, suggesting that governments should respond to trafficking in a manner similar to their responses to health hazards such as community violence and highway fatalities. In the context of trafficking specifically, approaching human trafficking from the public health perspective offers the prospect of addressing fundamental aspects and its root causes and also helps to identify macro level inequalities that in turn lead to micro level exploitation in persons, especially among minorities.

Scholars have looked at adopting a 'rights-based approach' to human trafficking, which entails its own prevention framework. A rights-based approach to CSEC considers underlying structural and systemic issues of discrimination, inequality, exclusion, poverty, and socio-cultural determinants and focuses on the child as a rights-bearing individual rather than a potential victim. The rights-based approach to trafficking has also been proposed by the ICMPD in relation

to migration, calling for the treatment of individuals as rights-bearing entities who can freely exercise these rights, in the context of their vulnerabilities.

The final approach to trafficking, the 'chain of risk approach', looks at trafficking as a complex connection of factors that perpetuate exploitation. According to this framework, exposure to adverse or beneficial experiences mounts up over time, which act as mechanisms that increase the likelihood of more adverse or beneficial experiences further along the chain of experiences. Therefore, prevention of trafficking in such a model calls for the identification of key experiences amongst communities that increase or decrease the likelihood of human trafficking and for tailored upstream interventions based on these considerations.

2. The literature consistently finds that crime prevention models are inadequate to prevent trafficking and calls for the importance of identifying specific underlying causes of human trafficking.

The first consistent observation on prevention approaches comes from literature that declared trafficking-prevention initiatives which stem from a crime prevention model as 'inadequate' in nature. The Palermo protocol's definition of trafficking, has been criticised for laying emphasis on 'movement' as an essential component of human trafficking, discounting local trafficking operations. This downplaying of local exploitation results in an additional constraint to the crime prevention approach, where it becomes difficult to track instances and prevalence of trafficking at the initial stage, before exploitation actually begins.

Further, when human trafficking responses are designed primarily from the criminal justice standpoint, it is seen that some individuals may face trafficking situations that may not be within the legal threshold of human trafficking, thereby resulting in non-identification of these victims and disregard for varied experiences that fall outside the narrow criminal justice mandate. Difficulties in interpreting legal definitions of 'trafficking' and 'victims' of trafficking exacerbate

stereotypes and social exclusion of certain communities (for instance, Brazilian migrant women living in Portugal are thought of as being involved in prostitution and discriminated against, when only some are trafficked for sexual exploitation), in turn fitting them within the highly oversimplified victim-perpetrator dichotomy. The over-simplification of trafficking within the crime prevention approach is unsustainable, as trafficking escalates to new complexities on a daily basis. In this context, scholars have called for the identification of underlying causes of human trafficking.

The inadequacies of the criminal justice model are laid out side by side with the importance of addressing the “root causes of the problem” of trafficking. Studies consistently emphasise the importance of identifying the underlying causes of human trafficking, including social and economic phenomena that make people vulnerable to traffickers. Even a study carried out in South Africa on the long term criminal justice response to trafficking showed that a large majority of criminal justice institution officers did not believe that incarceration could prevent trafficking. These officers spoke about ex-convicts of trafficking being rearrested, reconvicted and resented for the similar offences, and stated that investigations of reasons as to why the crime took place should be done to prevent trafficking.

- 3. Evaluating vulnerability of populations starts with ‘Primary Vulnerability’, tracing back to the existence of trafficking networks. Creating the ‘means’ for trafficking to take place depends on existing vulnerabilities, complex factors like the extent of social and political organisation, maternal education levels, family dynamics and dysfunction, as well as gender norms greatly impact vulnerability to trafficking. ‘Family factors’ and domestic violence are considered key causes of vulnerability. Vulnerability to trafficking may show a stronger correlation with relative poverty than absolute poverty.***

Anything that affects a person's sense of stability and ability to cultivate supportive and consistent relationships can contribute to vulnerability. Understanding vulnerability, not just from the point of view of poverty or awareness, but from the additional view of social, cultural, patriarchal and psychological factors, can greatly assist anti-human trafficking efforts in planning and implementing effective and target driven intervention methods.

Vulnerability is not only looked at as 'a form of susceptibility to trafficking', but 'abuse of vulnerability' is also perceived as a 'means' through which trafficking is perpetrated, as seen in the definition of 'trafficking in persons' in the Palermo Protocol. There has been considerable confusion between the two concepts, with many practitioners equating the mere fact of a person's inherent vulnerability to trafficking (on grounds of gender, poverty, etc.) with 'proof' that the 'means' element is fulfilled, *i.e.*, the conditions that make trafficking possible are already fulfilled. This makes it important to understand how people's inherent vulnerabilities that increase their susceptibility to trafficking can be abused, in order to make trafficking happen.

Higher levels of social and political organisation amongst communities can make a perceptible difference to rates of trafficking of their children, according to a comparative study examining vulnerabilities amongst different communities in West Bengal, India. Research on the relationship between education and trafficking, however, is far from uniform. In spite of widespread assumptions that the majority of trafficking victims are non-autonomous or partially autonomous due to low levels of education, research found that higher levels of education may in fact lead to higher levels of irregular, unsafe migration for those pursuing opportunities abroad. What emerges from research is a complex relationship between education, movement and exploitation that is insufficiently portrayed in mainstream literature or analysis.

The literature largely affirms the correlation between gender norms and vulnerability, with several studies finding that gender-based domination and gender inequality are both the cause

and effect of sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women in different jurisdictions including Mexico, Assam, India, Bangladesh, South East Asia and the USA. Gender norms and stereotypes along with notions of traditional masculinity result in the erroneous views on vulnerability of men and boys, who are perceived to be less vulnerable and resistant to human trafficking thereby impeding the understanding of their victimisation. Gender violence is an important cause of sex trafficking, with everyday forms of gender violence and discrimination being integral to women's vulnerability to trafficking.

‘Family factors’ can encompass family dynamics, violence and disintegration, manifesting in phenomena like domestic violence, abuse, abandonment by parents, alcoholism or substance abuse issues, absence of a support system etc. and play a significant role in causing trafficking or enhancing vulnerability to trafficking. The central significance of family factors is not only restricted to adult sex trafficking. Beyond adult sex trafficking, research shows that family factors, including reactions of families and communities to non-traditional sexual orientations, results in queer homeless youth being left without support systems, creating situations where LGBTQ youth are often forced to turn to exploitative and dangerous practices to survive. Further, childhood sexual and emotional abuse, runaway and homeless children, as well as children with weak family support are generally listed in the US as being the most vulnerable to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC).

However, in spite of significant research citing domestic violence as a reason for trafficking, methodologically sound evidence of a relationship between human trafficking and domestic violence remains weak globally, with the assertion often unsubstantiated with first-hand data. Therefore, there is a need to inject some nuance into the discussions around domestic violence and vulnerability to trafficking, which can be done through anthropological approaches.

Key social determinants that facilitate trafficking include poverty, the fact that a person is not of the male gender, lack of policy and enforcement, age, migration, displacement and conflict, ethnicity, culture, ignorance of trafficking methods and caste status in South and South East Asian countries including Burma, Thailand, Laos, Nepal, Philippines, Cambodia, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka as well as civil unrest and violence in South Asia. Conversely, protective determinants that mitigate trafficking include formal education, citizenship, maternal education, higher caste status, and birth order. However, research states that trafficking has an identifiable relationship with the perceptions of migrants that ‘abroad’ could offer them better living conditions, indicating that ‘relative poverty’ as opposed to ‘absolute poverty’ may be a key factor when analysing vulnerability. Trafficking may show a stronger correlation with relative poverty than with absolute poverty; it is the pursuit of improved economic (and social) circumstances rather than the need to address extreme hunger or desperation.

4. ***The research stems from different jurisdictions, with clusters emerging in the USA and South Asia, focusing on ‘human trafficking’ as a general concept and showing some West-East differences in terms of research focus on vulnerability. Academic research dominates the literature.***

The Research Team mapped over 180 articles, shortlisting 134 pieces of literature and stratifying the same to identify research biases. The categorisation and stratification of the literature, however, is not indicative of the general landscape of prevention between the period 2012-2020. The shortlisting of articles has taken place keeping in mind the scope of research as mentioned in the RFP, as well as relevance, in the context of the 7 Key Learnings prescribed.

The earliest studies shortlisted, between 2005 and 2012 largely looked at psychological factors that sustain vulnerability to trafficking, anthropological approaches to studying human trafficking and the inadequacies of crime prevention models. Studies from 2012 onwards start covering

European Union and United Nations strategies for eradicating human trafficking. The labour framework for prevention of trafficking, along with models for intervention was seen in articles from the USA from 2012.

The year 2013 marked the beginning of a burgeoning discourse on vulnerability, with literature primarily from India and South East Asia that focused on vulnerability factors, intervention models and proposed ethnographic approaches to study trafficking and inform interventions in 2013 – 14. From 2015 onwards, evaluations of anti-trafficking programmes and commentaries on lack of evaluations featured in literature, as well as research identifying the commonly seen gaps, myths and widely-held assumptions in earlier trafficking literature.

Up till 2015, there was no literature found that dealt with prevention of trafficking of LGBTQ persons, migrant and refugee boys and vulnerable populations like the Romani people, but these previously ignored populations featured in literature thereafter. After 2017, the research distinctly showed service provider-oriented approaches, victim support needs and featured the chain of risk model of prevention.

The surveyed research indicates certain biases in terms of the geographies being focused upon, with thirty two (32) studies being global in nature, thirty (30) from South Asia, twenty nine (29) from the USA and sixteen (16) studies from Europe and the European Union. There is much less literature from Canada (2), Latin America (4) and Africa (7) and only six (6) studies adopt multi-regional or comparative perspectives.

The research shows that globally, vulnerability forms a greater portion of the narrative around trafficking in Eastern countries and Latin America but is not prioritised in the context of specific communities (outside migrants) in the USA and Western Europe. On the contrary, US discourse is dominated by rights-oriented narratives as well as protection and policing of trafficked individuals. Further, trafficking is looked at as more of an ‘international’ or ‘transnational’

problem, as opposed to research from India and South Asia, where trafficking is explored in its regional, intranational and transnational forms. In India, South and South-East Asia, there is much more discussion about social norms, poverty, unique vulnerabilities of populations influenced by economic, social, cultural and personal factors and no substantive scholarly emphasis on legal reform or increased 'policing' to prevent human trafficking.

The majority of research (83) focuses on both adults and children and twenty five (25) studies make no distinction based on the age of survivors. Thirteen (13) studies pertain specifically to trafficking in children and adolescents and focus on key issues, trends and vulnerabilities in child trafficking and the resultant sexual exploitation and forced labour. They make recommendations for interventions and realisation of social and economic rights of children and adolescents, with one study stating that adolescent boys are rarely the focus of policy discussions and are consistently left out of gender-based violence prevention and response efforts. Fourteen (14) studies focus specifically on adults, analysing thought processes of traffickers from an anthropological lens and examining psychological factors that sustain vulnerability in women.

When divided by methodology, it is seen that the majority of research pertains to either vulnerability or secondary research on prevention models from across the globe. In the research sample, it was interesting to note the dearth of evidence-based prevention models, in terms of quantitative evidence as well as the lack of comprehensive baseline values creating a tangible justification for implementation of such models in particular jurisdictions. Further, the majority of studies were written by academics, highlighting the need for practice-oriented contributions to human trafficking prevention literature. More interdisciplinary research perspectives and contributions are required to recommend practically feasible, holistic prevention initiatives.

Stratifying the research by type of trafficking seems to mirror the predominant focus within human trafficking, where trafficking has historically been related with sex trafficking, overlooking

labour trafficking until more recent times. The majority of literature covers prevention models, and explores vulnerability in the context of prevention of trafficking.

5. ***Interventions call for addressing the ‘root causes’ of trafficking, the adoption of ‘multi-level’ approaches, and recommend a range of positions including a focus on crime prevention initiatives, awareness programmes for prevention of trafficking, and viewing human trafficking prevention through a labour framework.***

As noted by the UNODC in its 2012 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, in order to successfully combat human trafficking, “it is essential to understand what makes [victims] vulnerable to violence, abuse and exploitation in the first place”. This has been echoed in various other studies, where scholars recommend addressing the ‘root causes’ of trafficking for effective intervention. Case studies carried out in communities have identified fundamental and contextual factors that needed to be addressed with specific communities, which could consequently play a role in preventing their trafficking. Further, in the EU, the European Commission has acknowledged that sex industries’ demand for women and girls is a root cause for human trafficking and the EU Policy casts a legal obligation on member states to discourage and reduce the demand for victims. Controlling demand is related back to identifying and tackling the underlying causes of trafficking.

From an intervention perspective, research says that understanding the interdependencies between demand and supply is critical to developing long term approaches to resolve trafficking. While combinations of vulnerability factors can contribute to incidence of trafficking, vulnerabilities and resilience do not take into account the influence of perpetrators ready and willing to commit the crime, and do not consider the demand side of trafficking.

Scholars have examined the multi-vulnerability status of victims in different jurisdictions and it have stated that any singular initiative to reduce vulnerability will not work. Prevention initiatives

adopting multi-level approaches can combat such vulnerabilities, intervening at the community, group and individual levels. Comprehensive strategies that combine the strengths of human rights, labour, public health, international development and other valuable perspectives are required and various stakeholders, including UNICEF, UNITAR and the US Government have proposed multidisciplinary interventions for prevention of human trafficking.

Governments across the world presently focus their policies and prevention strategies on awareness, sensitisation and public outreach campaigns as well as capacity building initiatives. This is likely to be related to the limited risk in implementation, large potential population reach, low cost and political acceptability of these initiatives. Awareness campaigns are arguably the most common form of trafficking prevention activities amongst non-governmental organisations, intended globally to alert individuals to the tactics used by traffickers and provide them with practical strategies to avoid deception and exploitation.

Research on community-focused awareness programmes shows that anti-trafficking interventions that involve communities, take an empowerment-oriented focus, and aim to facilitate informed decision making through conversations and dialogue are more likely to be relevant to community realities and accepted by target groups when carried out in conjunction to other initiatives, like education, alternative livelihood provision and building resilience. However, other research shows that in certain communities that are vulnerable to trafficking, there is already significant awareness about trafficking, which does not negate vulnerability or trafficking prevalence and does not always stop victims from responding to risky offers.

Technology is being set to play a prominent role in awareness creation, in keeping supply chains free of forced labour, by way of awareness raising campaigns conducted online in sites of victimisation. The European Commission has stated that member states will fund projects enhancing knowledge of online recruitment that takes place via simple search engines and online

advertisements, chat rooms, spam mail, or social networking tools and US Department of Health & Human Services has released an online resource that is designed to support state and local health agencies and other stakeholders (from multiple sectors) to plan, implement, and evaluate violence prevention efforts.

The labour framework identifies the structural market conditions and practices that shape workers' vulnerability and inferior bargaining power in the workplace, and draws attention to factors currently overlooked, if not dismissed, by dominant anti-trafficking approaches. By considering trafficked individuals as workers who are exploited in a market context, the labour framework helps counter the notion that a trafficked individual is either a victim or that they made a choice and therefore can never be a victim. In the context of prevention, it has been said that labour-based approaches offer greater hope of long-term prevention and change, as labour and employment institutions are already filling in the gaps left by criminal justice based anti-trafficking strategies such as victim identification, service provision and preventative activity, exclusion from compensation and insurance schemes.

However, the attempt to prevent trafficking through labour-based approaches remains controversial. Studies advocating for the labour lens of intervention argue that counter trafficking efforts must aim to strike at the market forces of 'supply' and 'demand' of persons, which finds criticism from anthropologists, who state that it is important to understand trafficking in a "less mechanical way" and to employ a lens of long term ethnographic research and participatory observation. Ethnographic approaches to studying trafficking would include both the study of elusive figures (i.e. marginalised victims and shady traffickers), as well as placing onus on institutions that deal with mobile populations (e.g. anti-trafficking programmes). More about using anthropological perspectives in prevention initiatives is provided in Key Learning 6 on 'Roles of Community or Bystanders in Human Trafficking'.

Research shows that evaluation of human trafficking prevention programmes is carried out based on presumptions regarding what works rather than concrete evidence. The lack of concrete evaluation of initiatives as well as the lack of reliable data on trafficking in general across the world (which is misrepresented as ‘accurate’ data) results in a situation where it is difficult to determine impact of prevention programmes, as well as concrete best practices and models that have worked in the past.

Research on different aspects of prevention techniques comes from different ‘schools of thought’ (i.e., crime prevention, vulnerability, labour, etc.) that influence the rationale behind hypothesized intervention approaches. None of the research successfully bridges gaps in prevention discourse and articles only point out disadvantages or failings of other models and corresponding advantages of their own proposed model(s) or statements. There is also no evidence to show that intervention models proposed by various governments have been implemented pursuant to evidence or data collection, with there being a dearth of research actually evaluating the effectiveness of these state strategies.

6. Communities and systems sustain vulnerability through permissive environments that prevent quick identification of victims. Justifications of traffickers that deny wrongdoing, psychological conditioning and socialisation of adolescents to earn for their families and psychological coercion techniques by traffickers exacerbate and sustain vulnerability. Participatory research approaches can be used to demystify the worlds of traffickers.

The initial identification of trafficking victims is an extremely important step in prevention, as final identification of potential victims can often be prolonged in nature. Identifying victims efficiently and at an early stage is the first step towards making sure they are treated as rights holders, have access to their rights and can exercise them effectively, which includes receiving

appropriate assistance and protection. Adult men often still remain a blind spot in the identification and referral of victims of trafficking, as anti-trafficking responses are frequently still focused on female victims.

While studying the vulnerability of victims, various regional cultures are cited as placing a lower value on women in families, society, and policy. These culturally and socially induced biases increase vulnerability among women and increase the tolerance for violence, and consequently trafficking or CSEC. Patriarchal values and oppressive gender practices that root social organisation in ideologies of human inferiority help to justify practices of human trafficking, devaluing women and female children, consequently contributing to a moral tolerance to trafficking. In the background of stereotyping and oppression in their home countries, many persons, mainly women, reported their motivation for migration and willingness to risk trafficking harm as the desire to secure lives free from cultural and social repression in their community of origin.

When examining discourses around tolerance and sustenance of trafficking, some research has observed that traffickers have various justifications for their actions and do not necessarily perceive these actions to be wrong or unjust to survivors. Justifications allow sex and labour traffickers to blame victims for supposedly engaging voluntarily in the offence, to believe in the validity and legitimacy of contracts made in unequal power situations and to perceive themselves as 'paternal' to victims, providing them with food, shelter and a means to survive. These justifications for trafficking amongst perpetrators are juxtaposed with psychological conditioning, socialisation and coercion of victims by communities and perpetrators to sustain and exacerbate vulnerability to trafficking.

The research that looks at psychological conditioning and socialisation is heavily skewed in its coverage of girls and women who are trafficked for sexual exploitation. Research lists out

psychological risk factors in adolescent girls caused by traumatic experiences as: low self-esteem, negative perception of self and others, feelings of cognitive dissonance or hopelessness, sexual denigration of self, feeling isolated, no strong connections with family members, illusions of relationship with potential traffickers; maladaptive coping strategies, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. However, in spite of risk factors and shame around being involved in 'bad work' (sex work), it is found that socialisations of children in parts of Africa and South East Asia to necessarily work and contribute to the family income largely contributed to tolerance to child trafficking. Psychological coercion by traffickers is also known to be a dominant feature of human trafficking. Physical and psychological confinement along with social isolation are also adopted as an organised effort to keep the victim from understanding or looking for alternatives.

Existing research on both sex and labour trafficking establishes that a large majority of traffickers are neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, or friends extending help in desperate times. However, in spite of the seemingly ubiquitous nature of traffickers in communities, anti-trafficking efforts have portrayed them as 'hidden populations', along with victims of trafficking, who are difficult to pinpoint. Anthropological approaches serve to demystify the world of traffickers, allowing researchers to study trafficking by oscillating between the 'traffickers', 'victims', and 'anti-traffickers' and grasp how mobile subjects are constituted within the realm of trafficking.

Participatory approaches have been used in geographies like Laos, Thailand and Japan, to locate and observe traffickers, discover and explore the functioning of trafficking networks and to identify and dismantle assumptions around identities of migrant communities, many of whom are publicly thought to be trafficked victims, but whose journeys exhibit far more complex dynamics of coercion and choice that embody their migration experiences. Research in Laos and Thailand has shown that perpetrators of sex trafficking carried out organised crimes within domestic setups in Thai households and largely functioned based on personal connections and family ties. It was found that traffickers were accessible as study subjects through their social

relationships, and that there seemed to be potential collusion between perpetrators and “anti-traffickers”, with some venues of research being closely located to anti- trafficking organisations, which somehow seemed oblivious to such proximity. Research through participant observation in shelters for sex trafficking survivors also uncovers the tension between discourses of empowerment of NGOs that are influenced by international development and local feminist networks, reinforcing and reproducing gender and class inequalities that increase vulnerability to trafficking in the first place.

7. ***Research that could be relevant in the Indian context calls for preventing human trafficking by acknowledging and analysing multi-vulnerabilities of populations and appointing service providers who can lend expertise to identification and analysis. The research calls for ‘ecological’, ‘holistic’ or multidisciplinary approaches, reiterating that single-focus interventions will not impact overall vulnerability of populations that are at risk of trafficking. Participatory mechanisms for evaluation and monitoring of interventions can be spearheaded by survivors.***

Certain models of intervention or certain principles applicable in prevention interventions seem more compelling in the Indian context, where it has been seen that trafficking is more likely to occur amongst poor, marginalised, isolated populations that are not socially or politically organised. The idea of trafficking as a product of continued vulnerabilities, rather than a ‘basket of crimes’ has seemed to gain traction amongst researchers, who have repeatedly advocated for preventing human trafficking by acknowledging and analysing multi-vulnerabilities of populations. Further, the research calls for ‘ecological’, ‘holistic’ or multidisciplinary approaches, grassroots level interventions, reiterating that single-focus interventions will not impact overall vulnerability of populations that are at risk of trafficking.

Through the course of the research, two strategies for prevention interventions that emerged were firstly, using social worker expertise to engage with trafficked persons and secondly, utilising the 'chain-of-risk model' to identify key points where individuals, families and communities are particularly vulnerable to trafficking, for targeted interventions. These strategies can be explored as complementary initiatives for prevention at the grassroots level in India.

Social work scholars have noted the importance of trauma-informed, survivor-centred practices when engaging trafficked clients, with social workers occupying pivotal positions to address the individual needs of survivors as well as advocating for structural changes in their communities, addressing both the "psychology and politics" of their clients. In the Indian context, social workers are actively participating in preventing trafficking at a community level, by protecting vulnerable communities and participating in prevention interventions. Certain non-profits in India, like Angan Trust and the Hummingbird Foundation have made use of social worker expertise in their prevention interventions, successfully reducing vulnerability of children by addressing several factors such as risk identification, access to identity documentation, enrollment in schools and trust building

The research makes it clear that in India, social worker expertise is already being used in trafficking prevention initiatives at the community level, with a certain measure of success in this context. A service provider perspective to trafficking is said to understand trafficking as a continuum of accumulating vulnerabilities or compounded risk, which focuses attention on survivors and highlights upstream social programs that can reduce the chances of harm before they reach extreme levels of trauma, violence, and exploitation. This is where the 'chain of risk' model of preventing trafficking can be explored.

According to the chain of risk model of trafficking, there are some key moments and particular risk factors that should be recognized as vital points where intervention should take place. The chain-of-risk model finds potential applicability in India, given the diverse vulnerability factors as well as the compounded nature of multi-vulnerability of populations seen throughout the country. It attempts to delineate the various contributing factors that increase risk of human trafficking, with the potential to break down the phenomenon of trafficking into different factors that can be more easily monitored, without intervention from state authorities, relying on robust program design and the intellectual resources of experts with intuitive wisdom (social workers). Key points of intervention can be identified, and intervention designs can allow for emerging vulnerabilities to be recorded and addressed, ensuring evolution of the programme. Although NGOs do employ social workers for various anti-human trafficking initiatives in India, social workers could lend their expertise to actually designing anti-human trafficking interventions, as well as evaluating impact that may not be readily quantifiable or backed by official data.

An ecological model for human trafficking intervention has been proposed by researchers to suggest prevention strategies that are specifically tailored towards contextual factors in families, geographies or populations – as a “one size does not fit all” approach. The ecological model is presented as an interesting approach to coordinate individual anti-trafficking initiatives to complement each other and influence the ‘ecology’ of the vulnerable person at its centre. A distinct feature of the approach is the introduction of the related concepts of stress and resilience experienced by victims, which translates into integration of resilience-building programmes into anti-trafficking interventions. The ecological model also acknowledges and addresses the fact that narrow prevention approaches may lack effectiveness when dealing with complex phenomena like trafficking and offers practitioners the option of carrying out flexible prevention techniques that can potentially improve existing anti-trafficking strategies focusing only on certain vulnerability factors.

Regardless of the ultimate programme design of any prevention intervention, it is imperative that a system for evaluation of the effectiveness and implementation of such programmes is put in place. Scholars have stated that survivors should play a central role in monitoring and evaluation of anti-trafficking programming, with participatory approaches to evaluation improving retention rates and acting as 'vehicles' for rehabilitation. The participatory model of impact assessment has been said to be effective in the anti-modern slavery field as well, since it engages with local communities and survivors to better understand the long-term impact of the intervention on their lives. A participatory model can give people affected by slavery a voice about what should be counted and gives them a chance to input into how the survey results could be used for locally relevant action.

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

This Report outlines the context, scope, methodology and findings for the research study titled “secondary research on global prevention studies for human trafficking issue” commissioned by Kamonohashi Project (“Kamo”). Kamo had sent out a Request for Proposal for the study in August 2020 (**Annex-A**), in response to which the Research Team submitted a proposal dated 20 August 2020, as amended on 14 September 2020 (**Annex-B**).

The purpose of the epistemological research study being carried out by the Research Team is to facilitate learning from existing global research, focusing on seven broad questions, relating to the prevention of human trafficking as defined by Kamo (Annex - A). The answers to these questions, in turn, shall facilitate the development of impactful prevention strategies by Kamo, which could potentially be used in Phase II of the Taftesh Project.

Global Context

The 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (also called the Palermo Protocol), a seminal document in anti-trafficking history, defined ‘trafficking in persons’ as follows.

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

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

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article; (d) “Child” shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

Figure I: Definition of ‘trafficking in persons’ as per the Palermo Protocol

The Palermo Protocol looks at trafficking as an ‘organised crime’ or a ‘basket of crimes’ whose ultimate purpose is exploitation of persons, defined by certain ‘minimum’ standards, to include exploitation of prostitution of others, different forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery or similar practices, or the removal of organs. While the Palermo Protocol makes a provision that deems consent irrelevant under specific circumstances, it does not contemplate vulnerability, marginalisation or the ‘causes’ of such trafficking.

Government policies, action plans and international strategies to combat trafficking focus their prevention efforts on the ‘supply side’ of trafficking by addressing vulnerabilities, but in more recent times, efforts are extending beyond raising awareness campaigns to strengthening labor law enforcement and strengthening partnerships between governments and non-state actors (UNITAR, 2014). Other prevention activities that tackle the “push factors” of migration have also been implemented, but in many cases, prevention strategies have failed to integrate into policies due to lack of evidence-based research, planning and impact evaluations (UNITAR, 2014).

Main forms of exploitation, by proportion of detected victims, by country, 2007 - 2010

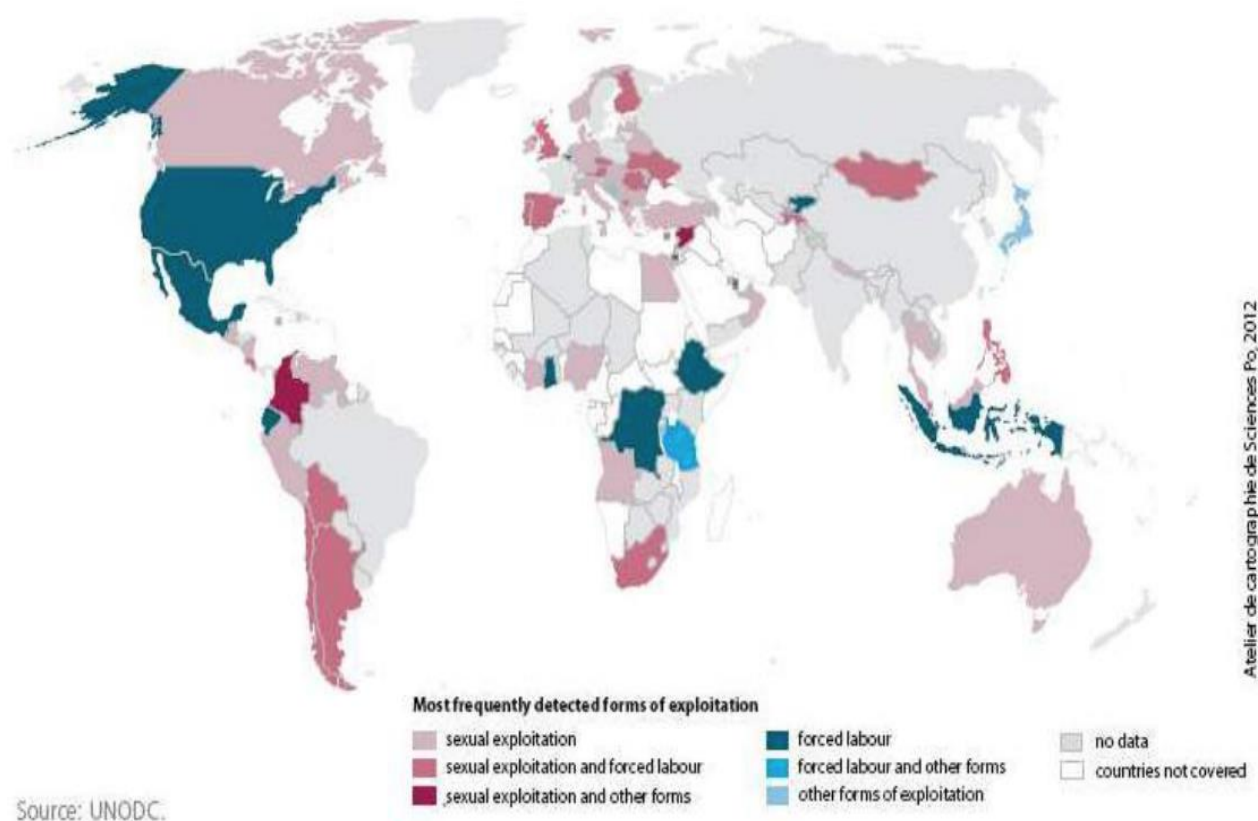


Figure II: Main forms of Exploitation Globally (2007-2010)

The map in Figure II above depicts the 3P Index in 2011 which evaluates worldwide policy efforts against human trafficking in the three areas of prevention, protection and prosecution. The scores, ranged from 3 to 15, are based on the aggregate of all three components of the 3P paradigm. A score of 3 suggests that no efforts were made by the state while a score of 15 suggests that the state has met all of its anti-trafficking objectives. The countries that scored 12 or above were mostly in the Americas and Europe suggesting that they had strong governmental performance in implementing prevention, protection and prosecution related policies. In particular, Sweden, the Netherlands and Italy had received the maximum score in that year for

having implemented strict anti-trafficking measures resulting in high numbers of convictions. They were also at the forefront in identifying victims and providing comprehensive victim support and assistance compared to other countries in the world.

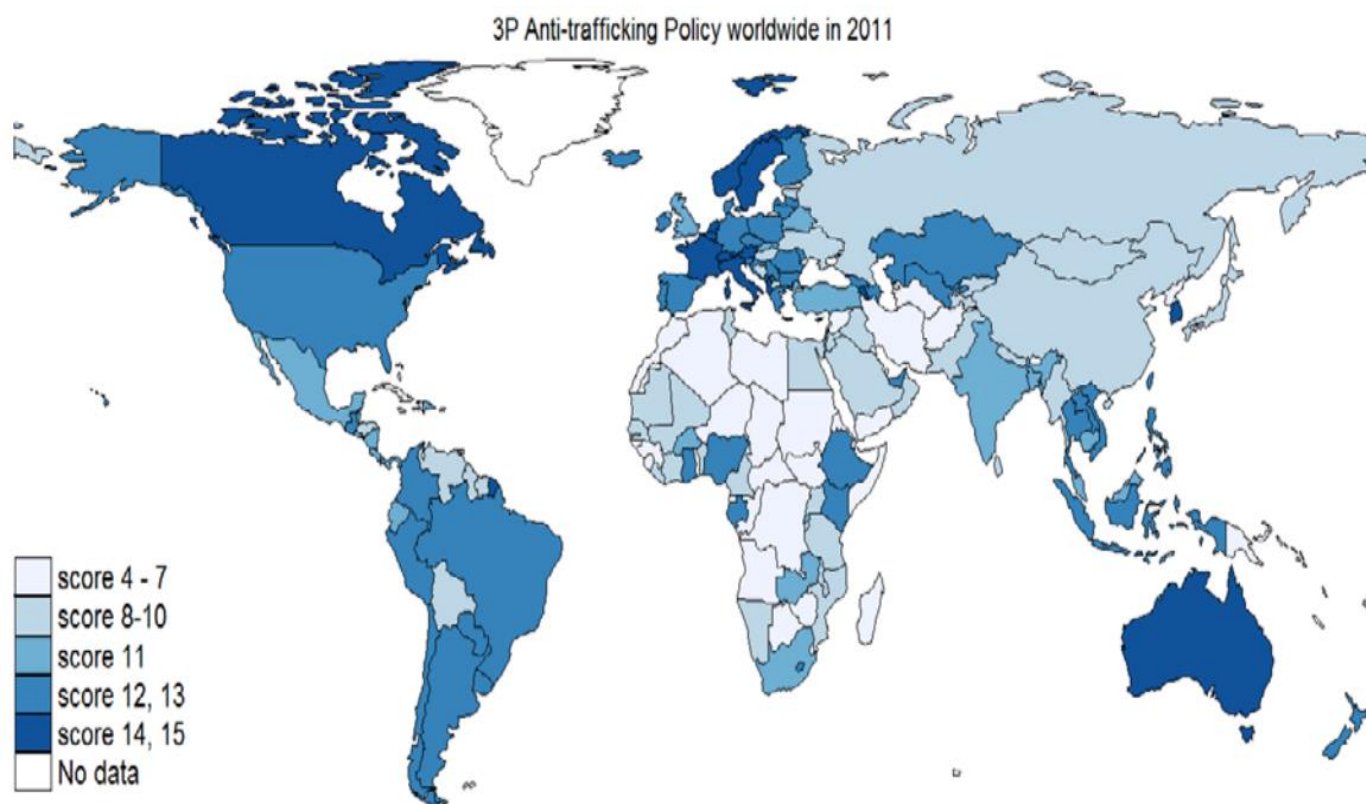


Figure III: The Global 3P Index for 2011

Further, the United Nations Institute of Training And Research (2014) has looked at global anti-trafficking measures from 2000 to 2015, showing that prevention over this time has improved, overall (a cumulative improvement from 7.53 to 9.02) with more countries being evaluated every year.

Table 1. 3P Anti-trafficking Policy Scores Worldwide, 2000–2015¹

	Prosecution (score 1-5)	Protection (score 1-5)	Prevention (score 1-5)	Overall 3P (score 3-15)	Number of countries evaluated
2000	2.89	2.25	2.49	7.58	81
2001	2.97	2.47	2.79	8.22	90
2002	3.12	2.76	3.24	9.15	119
2003	3.33	2.67	2.98	9.03	136
2004	3.39	2.73	3.12	9.27	154
2005	3.55	2.80	3.19	9.58	159
2006	3.61	2.77	3.14	9.54	164
2007	3.69	2.72	3.06	9.48	171
2008	3.73	2.81	3.22	9.77	176
2009	3.75	2.80	3.28	9.85	177
2010	3.65	2.82	3.40	9.89	184
2011	3.70	2.73	3.37	9.81	185
2012	3.60	2.83	3.47	9.90	188
2013	3.41	2.74	3.42	9.60	188
2014	3.06	2.57	3.23	8.88	188
2015	2.99	2.75	3.28	9.02	189

Table I: Global Anti-Trafficking Measures (2015)¹

Since the adoption of the Trafficking Protocol in 2000, many states have produced significant outputs such as counter-trafficking laws, action plans and special police units (UNITAR, 2014). According to the UNODC, the number of countries with legislation criminalizing all or most forms of human trafficking has doubled between 2003 and 2008 among the 155 countries and territories concerned (UNITAR, 2014). Countries without any full or partial legislation are mostly located in Africa, followed by East and South Asia, and South America (UNITAR, 2014). The enactment of statutory instruments by the government, though important, is not a cure-all for human trafficking, which has enormous social and economic dimensions (Okogbule, 2013).

¹ For prevention, prosecution and protection policies, a score of 1 indicates the lowest level of policy performance while a score of 5 corresponds to a full commitment level. A score of 2 reflects inadequate efforts, 3 modest and 4 reflects adequate efforts. The scores of the overall 3P index are the sum of the three policy scores.

Number of Countries with No or Partial Legislation in August 2012

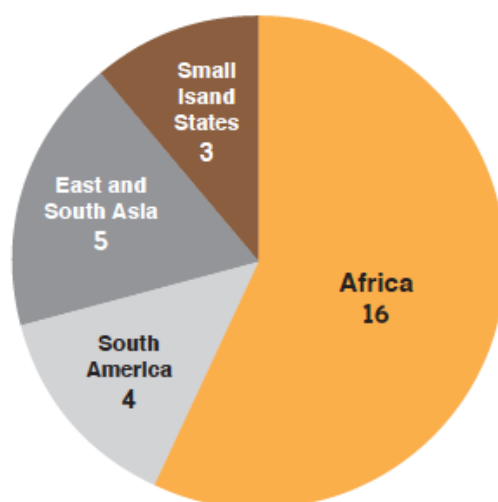


Figure 8
Source: UNODC, 2012

Figure IV: Number of Countries with No or Partial Legislation in August 2012

Countries that lack specific legislation against human trafficking face two problems, according to UNITAR (2014)²:

- Police investigations will shift their focus to associated criminal elements. Therefore, human trafficking crimes are reported under different criminal provisions leading to ambiguous data collection.
- There are no official criminal justice statistics on human trafficking cases or on the number of police-recorded crimes and of prosecuted and convicted persons (UNITAR, 2014).

² UNITAR released a standalone report titled “Human Trafficking and the Role of Local Governments” in 2014.

A critical barrier to understanding human trafficking and the collection and analysis of data on the phenomenon is that the individuals involved in human trafficking, including victims and perpetrators, are hidden populations (Laczko, 2005). Reliable estimates of the number of human trafficking victims and perpetrators do not exist (Weitzer, 2014), with the ILO (2005) has citing one and the U.S. Department of State (2014) providing wholly different estimates. In many countries, important data on the number of arrests and prosecutions is also lacking or unreliable (Gallagher & Surtees, 2012).

Despite these limitations, estimates of the trafficking phenomenon are repeatedly presented in the media and by various government and international agencies as accurate (Weitzer, 2014). Cwikel and Hoban (2005) suggest that estimates of human trafficking numbers are questionable due to methodological weaknesses, gaps in data, the interpretations made, and the discrepancies in data found across different studies and reports. Without reliable data, scholars, policy makers, and others are forced to lean on assumptions about human trafficking that may be far from the truth (Van der Laan et al., 2011).

Programs to prevent and combat human trafficking may be designed based on data that is inaccurate, with the lack of reliable data having potential implications for the evaluation of anti-human trafficking interventions. Reliable estimates are needed for baselines by which to evaluate how effectively specific interventions are reducing human trafficking (Gallagher & Surtees, 2012; GAO, 2007).

Additionally, scholars state that the most patent issue is the lack of empirical research on the topic (Okech et. al, 2017). The lack of empirical studies with quantitative or experimental designs is not entirely surprising because of the secretive nature of trafficking and difficulties in obtaining accurate data (Okech et. al, 2017).

Indian context

In India, which is a source, transit and destination state for human trafficking, trafficking patterns have indicated that 90% of human trafficking is domestic (intra-state and inter-state), with only 10% of the trafficking taking place across international borders (Hameed *et al*, 2010).

The Indian legal framework around human trafficking (**Annex-C**), with human trafficking prohibition stretching right from Constitutional provisions to specific statutes enacted from time to time, covering different areas of trafficking in persons.

In 2018, the Indian Cabinet approved the Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Bill for introduction in the Parliament, but the same lapsed and has not been introduced in the Indian Parliament as yet. If the law had been passed, it would have added to the existing legal framework, consolidating trafficking prevention, monitoring, investigation and response under a single comprehensive statute.

Figure V: The Trafficking in Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Bill, 2018

Statutory language around human trafficking has focused on ‘abolition’, ‘protection’ and ‘punishment’. India’s agenda around trafficking is largely fueled by the joint aims of eradicating the problem by punishing offenders. The protection of survivors of trafficking and the prevention of trafficking itself do not find elaborate mention in statutes, and it is seen that till date, such actions are a low priority for State Governments as well as the Central Government.

The lack of importance given to prevention of trafficking in India by the Government is confirmed in the US State Department’s “2020 Trafficking in Persons Report: India”, which states that the Government of India has “maintained inadequate efforts to prevent human trafficking” (US Department of State, 2020). Although the government had set up an inter-ministerial committee

chaired by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, there were no meetings at all and no “national action plan” to address trafficking (US Department of State, 2020), indicating the lack of political will, or any corresponding mandate to address human trafficking.

Further, even though some state governments have carried out anti-trafficking awareness campaigns for prevention, their impact was seen to be negligible, with NGOs reporting lack of awareness of human trafficking and legal rights by local officials who attended such events (US Department of State, 2020). In this background of government inaction in India, non-governmental agencies play the primary role in facilitating the prevention of human trafficking in India.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND TIMELINES

This section outlines the research methodology adopted in accordance with the approach proposed by the Research Team in the Proposal (**Annex-B**). The study's methodological orientation is towards an interdisciplinary, multi-jurisdictional, and contextual inquiry into the phenomenon of human trafficking (and responses thereto). The methodology adopted sought to uncover and generate insights from recent research, both theoretical and practice-focused, which might inform the design and implementation of effective, survivor-centric, and ecosystemically-nuanced interventions in response to (actual or potential) human trafficking in specific contexts. The research was particularly interested in best practices, models, and key learnings that have relevance for the Indian context. The scope of analysis included a wide range of sites-objects-people including contexts of vulnerability, legal and policy responses to incidents or threats of trafficking, prevention and punitive mechanisms, and ecosystem-level cultural, social and political factors. The specific methods employed by the study include Strategic Compilation of Research covering the period 2012-2020, Semi-Structured Targeted Interviews with Experts, Criteria-Referenced Categorisation and Analysis of the Resources and Inputs, and Synthesis and Generation of Specific Action-Oriented Recommendations for the Indian Context.

The Team undertook strategic compilation of literature, considering pieces from multiple disciplines including the broader social sciences and law, government-commissioned research, academic writings, writings by civil society and activists and all other structured discussions on vulnerabilities, phenomena, documented interventions, responses, practices and initiatives in relation to the prevention of human trafficking in the period between 2012 and 2020. The Team supplemented the research with networking with different producers and users of research, including academics, civil-society organisations and other experts. The Team carried out detailed, semi-structured interviews with 15 experts, who are anti-human trafficking funders and/or implementers, non-governmental organisations, academics, researchers and journalists.

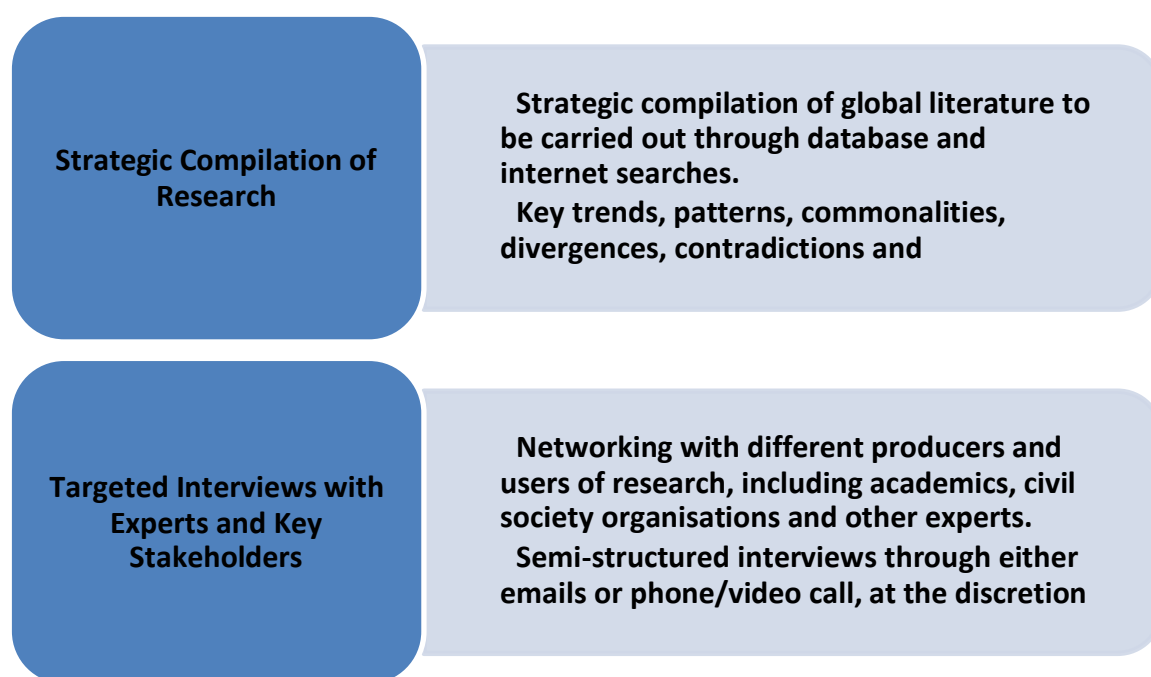


Figure VI: Visualisation of key data collection methods

The methodological orientation adopted by the Research Team was tailored towards carrying out an epistemological inquiry into the prevention of human trafficking in India and globally, to address seven Key Learnings outlined in the Request for Proposal (Annex-A). The research has aimed to (a) understand key trends, observations and findings pertaining to research studies carried out on the prevention of human trafficking; (b) to understand unexpected vulnerabilities in populations beyond factors like ‘lack of awareness’ and ‘economic poverty’; (c) to examine research and community biases pertaining to prevention of trafficking in different jurisdictions; and (d) to bring out key findings from research studies on prevention practice models, interventions and evaluation findings that lend insight to what works and what does not in prevention interventions.

Kamo has commissioned a research study, being “Landscape study and profiling of anti-human trafficking organisations in India” in 2020 (unpublished) that has revealed that amongst anti-

human trafficking actions, prevention programmes are highly common, but that only 28 percent of stakeholders undertaking prevention activities report witnessing a tangible impact on human trafficking in target areas. This research aims to uncover major themes in prevention research, relations between the different themes, pathways for translation into policy and practice, important case studies and best practices that can inform the Key Learnings, and clarity on future research agendas in this space. The overall significance of this research is in terms of value generated for researchers, policy makers, civil society organisations, governmental agencies, practitioners, and educators who might use the research findings and Key Learnings to inform future prevention strategies that are evidence-based, demonstrating tangible impacts in their target areas. The research outputs from the study aim to support design and implementation of effective, survivor-centric, and eco-systemically-tailored, prevention models that are applicable in the Indian context.

The Research Team has considered an intersectional or cross-cutting definition of trafficking, as part of an approach that pays attention to the overall ecosystem and includes contextual analysis, in order to identify, categorise and analyse the existing research in the global anti-trafficking discourse in the period 2012-2020, in India and globally. The Research Team comprehensively surveyed relevant research from a number of diverse methodological approaches, which include research inquiries focused on theoretical or interpretive analysis as well as research efforts that emphasise case studies, models, interventions, and practice-oriented initiatives within specific contexts.

The Research Team utilised databases as mentioned in **Annex-D** for the strategic compilation of research between 2012 and 2020. In carrying out the literature review using such databases, the Team used keywords, which in turn resulted in a set of concepts that emerged from the literature (Emerging Keywords and Concepts), and informed further research. This exercise allowed the Research Team to undertake the mapping of conceptual contexts of human trafficking, discover

new disciplinary approaches to human trafficking, draw out relationships and trends that have been further sharpened during subsequent analysis of data. A list of the broad keywords and the emerged concepts is listed in **Annex-E**.

The Team carried out semi-structured targeted interviews, in accordance with a specific Interview Protocol Document (**Annex-F**) that culminated in interviews with 15 key stakeholders and experts (**Annex-G**). Conversations with experts helped inform the Research Team on broad contours of research and practice, including lesser-known important interventions and writings in India, and globally. Key Experts provided insight on important jurisdictions, key communities and populations as well as examples and experiences of interventions and research undertakings from which lessons can be learned. Networking actions have uncovered additional research repositories and information sources that have aided the Team in research and brought out limitations and challenges as well.

The timeline of activities in the project is provided in **Annex – H**.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the course of its literature review, the Research Team has mapped over 180 academic papers, reports and articles, out of which 134 pieces of literature have been shortlisted. Snapshots of the shortlisted literature based on indicators including jurisdiction, type of trafficking, research focus, age of research subject(s), etc. in Key Learning 4 on Research Biases. The Team has filtered the most prominent and relevant findings from these studies and has arranged them in the section below in accordance with and in furtherance to the seven key learnings listed out in the RFP.

I. Defining ‘prevention to human trafficking’

How do existing researches define “prevention to human trafficking”?

Introduction

Existing research defines prevention of human trafficking in different ways, depending upon the approach taken by the author(s) of the research towards trafficking as a phenomenon itself. The definitions of prevention of human trafficking vary when approaching human trafficking as an organised crime, as an outcome of socioeconomic, cultural and psychological vulnerabilities, as a product of unregulated labour markets and migration, and others. Therefore, we have attempted to include some different approaches to human trafficking that emerged through the research and address prevention through these lenses, as follows.

Trafficking as an Organised Crime

According to the UN Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons of 2000 as part of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, trafficking involves “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons” by “the use of force or other means of coercion” with the “purpose of exploitation” (Everts 2003: 150).

The crime-prevention lens of human trafficking therefore treats human trafficking as an organized crime, in accordance with the definition mentioned above, and according to a crime prevention lens applying situational crime prevention theory, preventing human trafficking is based on the understanding that for modern slavery-related crimes to occur, there needs to be a vulnerable victim, a motivated offender and the absence of a capable guardian, further influenced by broad contextual factors such as state instability, discrimination and disregard for human rights (David et. al., 2019).

The Public Health Approach to Human Trafficking

This approach to human trafficking approaches trafficking as a product of vulnerability, suggesting that governments should confront trafficking similarly to health hazards such as community violence and highway fatalities (Pandey, 2013). Approaching human trafficking from the public health perspective offers the prospect of prioritizing prevention by addressing fundamental aspects and its root causes, while focusing on evidence-based empirical research (on vulnerable groups, victims, survivors and perpetrators) to inform law, policy and programming (Todres, 2011). The approach seeks to identify and address the underlying causes of a particular public health issue confronting a population, with the goal of harm prevention or reduction (Pandey, 2013). The public health approach has also been used to highlight macro level inequalities that perpetuate micro level exploitation and trafficking of persons (Schwarz & Britton, 2015).

In the specific context of prevention, a public health approach has been argued to help increase the understanding of the dynamics of human trafficking, which include factors that make an individual susceptible to trafficking in the first place, engaging relevant stakeholders, and offer insights into its effective prevention, so that it is possible to develop strategies that will effectively

account for the sufferings of millions of people and strengthening individuals' and communities' capacities to prevent human trafficking (Pandey, 2013).

A Rights-Based Approach to Human Trafficking

A rights based approach to prevention of human trafficking aims to focus attention on the potential victim, rather than the perpetrator, to guarantee that their basic human rights are safeguarded (Rodriguez-Lopez, 2020). Pandey (2013), who studied popular models of intervention in human trafficking of both adults and children, underscored the rights of persons which need to be addressed are observed in all aspects of trafficking, including vulnerability factors in potential victims, loss of liberty while being trafficked and lack of adequate responses by states towards the wellbeing of survivors. The rights-based approach to trafficking has also been proposed by the ICMPD (2018) in relation to migration, calling for the treatment of individuals as rights-bearing entities who can freely exercise these rights, in the context of their vulnerabilities (ICMPD, 2018).

Migrants are rights-bearers holding the right to mobility, which should be the starting point to address counter-trafficking efforts.

Ms. Paromita Chowdhury, Programme Officer, Oak Foundation, interviewed on 2 November 2020

Migrant intervention objectives should be targeted at ensuring that migrants retain their right to move freely, ensuring that all choices relating to mobility be made voluntarily, rather than through coercion, adverse circumstance or displacement.

Mr. Insaf Nizam, Regional Specialist, International Labour Organization (ILO), interviewed on 4 November 2020

Figure VII: Migrants and Intervention Strategies

A rights-based approach to CSEC considers underlying structural and systemic issues of discrimination, inequality, exclusion, poverty, and socio-cultural determinants and focuses on the child as a rights-bearing individual rather than a potential victim (Duger, 2015). The focus is on realizing the child's economic and social rights, a distinct shift from focusing on preventing commercial sexual exploitation (Duger, 2015). Literature argues that approaching trafficking in persons or CSEC through a rights-based lens has the critical role of refocusing attention on the "less sensational" issues of addressing inequity and discrimination, and on the violation of economic and social rights (Duger, 2015) that will enable targeted interventions to take place that address these rights violations. Further, to address CSEC substantively and prevent victimisation, it is imperative that the rights violations that lead to the conditions which create CSEC victims—and then leave them marginalized and overlooked—are overcome (Duger, 2015).

Trafficking as a 'Chain of Risk' and a 'Spectrum of Exploitation'

According to this approach, there is not one factor that can be isolated as the root cause of trafficking; rather, it is the complex connection of factors that perpetuate exploitation (Schwarz et. al, 2019). Prevention of trafficking using the chain of risk model relies on analysis that attempts to make meaning of the connections between trafficking risk factors (Schwarz et. al, 2019).

Chain-of-risk refer to "a sequence of linked exposures that raise disease risk because one bad experience or exposure tends to lead to another and then another " (Kuh et al., 2003, p. 779). According to this framework, exposure to adverse or beneficial experiences mounts up over time, acting as mechanisms that increase the likelihood of more adverse or beneficial experiences (Ben-Schlomo & Kuh, 2002, p. 287). Therefore, prevention of trafficking in such a model identifies key experiences amongst communities that increase or decrease the likelihood of human

trafficking and devise upstream interventions based on these considerations. The use of the chain of risk model for prevention initiatives is explored in further in Key Learning 7 on 'Relevance to Indian Context'.

Observations

Prevention to human trafficking is looked at from the perspective of the approach adopted to counter it, rather than defining prevention as a separate cogent statement. Organisations and governments 'define' trafficking with associated meanings that pertain to their approaches.

Different approaches have different focal points they seek to address, be it understanding when and where the vulnerability of a person arises, addressing the root causes of vulnerability and their redressal, alleviation of any social and economic grievances of a person or seeking to understand the sequence or chain of linked exposures that may make a person more susceptible to trafficking.

II. Consistencies and Contradictions in Prevention Approaches

What have been the consistent observations and findings on prevention approaches from various researches or contradictions between researches?

Introduction

While the research covers diverse subjects and jurisdictions, the first consistent observation on prevention approaches came from literature that declared trafficking-prevention initiatives stemming from a crime prevention model as 'inadequate' in nature. This has been put forth in research papers covering both sex trafficking in South Asia as well as modern slavery in the USA, showing that even though countries like the USA do have protective systems that can be used to prevent trafficking, they choose to prioritise use of those systems towards controlling

immigration rather than transborder trafficking. The crime prevention approach to trafficking has been criticized for adopting restrictive and ambiguous definitions of ‘trafficking’ and ‘trafficking victims’, which serve to exclude various experiences and situations on the entire spectrum of exploitation. The crime prevention approach fails to consider vulnerabilities of victims that pre-date trafficking, and has been criticised for oversimplifying the phenomena of trafficking by attributing a cause and solution approach to the complexities of trafficking. Further, prevention research over the years has consistently called for identification of the underlying causes of human trafficking, as opposed to a crime prevention lens, and structuring interventions addressing such causes.

The main contradictions from the research stem from the role of ‘family factors’ in prevention approaches. Research on vulnerability (explained further in Key Learning 3 “Contextual Vulnerabilities and Key Trends”) has repeatedly pointed out the relevance of family dynamics, lack of a support system, domestic violence, abuse, disintegration and support to risk of trafficking, but it has been found that for male (potential) victims of trafficking, economic determinants like presence of dependents, possibility of greater economic opportunity etc. play a greater role in justifying migration and increase their respective vulnerability to trafficking (ICMPD, 2018).

Crime Prevention Model and its Inadequacies

The literature has yielded both affirmative and critical perspectives of prevention initiatives rooted in the crime prevention model, but there is significant criticism of the inadequacies of the crime prevention model in practicality (Pandey, 2013; Todres, 2011). The earliest attempt to stem trafficking arose from the criminal justice system and hence evolved the criminal justice system to trafficking (Pandey, 2013). The criminal justice system has been criticised on the ground that

it is inadequate against trafficking's "intricate nature", which renders human trafficking difficult to estimate and to target (Pandey, 2013).

In the context of preventing the crime of trafficking, the Palermo protocol's definition has been criticised for laying emphasis on 'movement' as an essential component of human trafficking, discounting local trafficking operations (Pandey, 2013). Pandey (2013) argues that this downplaying of local exploitation results in an additional constraint to the crime prevention approach, where it becomes difficult to track instances and prevalence of trafficking at the initial stage, before exploitation actually begins. Further, when the focus is on prosecution rather than protection, victims are turned into "disposable witnesses", which in turn diverts attention from their rights and entitlements (Pandey, 2013).

The crime prevention approach is said to be restrictive in nature, by virtue of its predication on rigid legal definitions of trafficking that require several components to be fulfilled to cross the legal threshold of 'trafficking'. legal definitions of human trafficking (Kaye *et al*, 2014), with the threshold being too high to identify exploitative circumstances (de Vries, 2018), and that fail to encompass and account for a wide variety of experiences undergone by survivors and victims (Kaye *et al*, 2014; Winterdyk & Quarterman, 2014).). Thus, when human trafficking responses are designed primarily from the criminal justice standpoint, some individuals who faced one or more aspects of human trafficking, may not be identified, owing to their experience not being within the legal threshold of human trafficking (Kaye *et al*, 2014); Winterdyk & Quarterman, 2014). This leads to ignorance of and disregard for the varied experiences of trafficked persons that fall outside the narrow criminal justice mandate (Kaye *et al*, 2014).

Further, a study in Portugal found that difficulties in interpreting the legal definition of 'victims' of trafficking could be problematic, with perceptions of victims (on grounds of gender, race, nationality, etc.) potentially resulting in (or exacerbating) the social exclusion of victims that

could actually increase their vulnerability to human trafficking (Matos et. al, 2017). This was raised in the context of Brazilian migrants living in Portugal, some of whom are trafficked for sex, who are subject to such social exclusion based on widespread public perception of them as being involved in prostitution (Matos et. al, 2017).

Scholars like Jonathon Todres (2011) have examined the inadequacies of the crime prevention model that was heavily relied upon by numerous governments, including the USA, in the decade between 2001 and 2011 to combat human trafficking. The focus of the crime prevention model remained the enactment of legislations that strengthened criminal law provisions related to trafficking, increased sentences for convicted traffickers and allocated resources for victim assistance programmes, largely ignoring the 'prevention' aspect of trafficking (Todres, 2011). Todres (2011) argues that even after a decade of this approach rates of trafficking in the USA did not decline, and low rates of convictions of traffickers showed the limited progress made by anti-trafficking criminal laws even in prosecutions. The focus of the crime prevention model has resulted in sparse, or no resources allocated to develop trafficking prevention programmes (Todres, 2011)

Research has also identified a tendency of over-simplification or 'reductionism' in the crime prevention approach, with an aim to establish a clear cause and effect so as to formulate solutions (van der Watt *et al*, 2017). This is evidenced in the victim-perpetrator dichotomy that is prevalent in human trafficking discourse. However, this kind of over-simplification cannot be sustainable in human trafficking, that escalates to new complexities on a daily basis (van der Watt *et al*, 2017). In this context, scholars have called for addressing multi vulnerabilities of communities (addressed in detail in Key Learning No. 5 on interventions and prevention models) instead of focusing on crime prevention models that perpetuate a single dimensional perpetrator-victim dichotomy and that come into play after the crime has occurred.

Identifying the Underlying Causes of Human Trafficking

The inadequacies of the criminal justice model are laid out side by side by scholars like Todres (2011) with the importance of addressing the “root causes of the problem” of trafficking. Studies consistently emphasise the importance of identifying the underlying causes of human trafficking (Okogbule, 2013; Duger, 2015; Bryant & Landman, 2020; Freedom Fund, 2019; UNICEF, 2014; Pandey, 2013; Todres, 2011; Pandey et. al, 2013). At present, the discourse and response to human trafficking is largely shaped by law enforcement and criminal justice actors and the actual experiences of trafficked persons and the root causes that led to their trafficking remain vague and poorly defined, owing to a narrow framing of a complex social problem and diverting attention from the underlying root causes of inequality and poverty (Kaye *et al*, 2014, de Vries, 2018).

The need for states to pay sufficient attention to the root causes of human trafficking, including social and economic phenomena that make people vulnerable to traffickers was underscored by the United Nations special rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, in her report to the UN General Assembly (Okogbule, 2013). In a qualitative study carried out by Bello (2018) on the long term criminal justice response to trafficking in South Africa, officers working in criminal justice institutions were interviewed. In addition to 80% of participants expressing that investigation and prosecution strategies in force in South Africa were ineffective, 90% of participants stated that incarceration (a natural outcome of the criminal justice system) could not prevent trafficking (Bello, 2018). Rather, participants spoke about ex-convicts being rearrested, reconvicted and resented for the similar offences, and stated that investigations of reasons as to why the crime took place should be done to prevent trafficking (Bello, 2018).

Observations

The overall concurrent findings on human trafficking indicate a trend that moves from preventing trafficking by preventing the crime to identifying the underlying causes of human trafficking, which is marked by economic and social dimensions. The various inadequacies of the crime prevention model, that include a myopic view of a spectrum of exploitation, low rates of conviction and a simplistic approach to the complexities of trafficking are pointed out, showing the implications of tackling the issue solely from a criminal justice approach. Trafficking has been tied to economic hardship and poverty repeatedly, with governments being called on to shift focus from crime prevention and prosecution to addressing larger problems of unemployment, the effects of economic situations on individuals and communities as well as going back to the underlying causes of trafficking.

III. Contextual Vulnerabilities and Key Trends

What are the vulnerabilities found in populations beyond ‘lack of awareness, economic poverty’, particularly on social, cultural and geo-political factors, and any trends or patterns therein?

Introduction

The concept of vulnerability is not purely technical (Larsen, 2019). Anything that affects a person’s sense of stability and ability to cultivate supportive, consistent relationships can contribute to vulnerability (Schwarz et. al, 2019). Understanding vulnerability, not just from the point of view of poverty or awareness, but from the additional view of social, cultural, patriarchal and psychological factors, can greatly assist anti-human trafficking efforts in planning and implementing effective and target driven intervention methods.

Vulnerability is not only looked at as ‘a form of susceptibility to trafficking’, but ‘abuse of vulnerability’ is also perceived as a ‘means’ through which trafficking is perpetrated, as seen in the definition of ‘trafficking in persons’ in the Palermo Protocol (UNODC, 2013). There has been considerable confusion between the two concepts, with many practitioners equating the mere fact of a person’s inherent vulnerability to trafficking (on grounds of gender, poverty, etc.) with ‘proof’ that the ‘means’ element is fulfilled, *i.e.*, the conditions that make trafficking possible are already fulfilled (UNODC, 2013). Conversely, if a person does not have that ‘inherent vulnerability’, this may lead to the premature conclusion that the person is not at risk to trafficking at all (UNODC, 2013). This makes it important to understand how people’s inherent vulnerabilities that increase their susceptibility to trafficking can be abused, in order to make trafficking happen (UNODC, 2013). The distinction and interrelationship between vulnerability to trafficking and the abuse of such vulnerability is seen in case studies of exploitation (both in terms of forced labour and sex trafficking) of Romanian women working in the agricultural sector of Sicily (Palumbo and Scirba, 2013).

Their stories of exploitation are said to fit within the Directive 2011/36/EU on human trafficking, with their positions of vulnerability (inherent and created by traffickers) described as ‘a situation in which the person concerned has no real or acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved’ (Palumbo and Scirba, 2013). The initial, primary, introductory vulnerability is the presence of a trafficking network, which serves to exacerbate each of a potential victim’s vulnerabilities, seen in diverse jurisdictions such as amongst Native American populations in the USA and Canada (Pierce, 2012). Assuming that this primary vulnerability exists, creating the ‘means’ for trafficking to take place is predicated on existing vulnerabilities, complex factors like the extent of social and political organisation, maternal education levels, family dynamics and dysfunction, as well as gender norms.

Although migrant populations have overlapping vulnerabilities with trafficked victims, there are some factors that uniquely exacerbate migrant vulnerabilities, such as the presence of restrictive migration policies which affect especially irregular and stranded migrants (ICMPD, 2018), as smugglers use this opportunity for trafficking and other forms of exploitation (David *et al*, 2019). Several studies agree that undocumented migrants are at a higher risk of modern slavery than those who are documented both globally (David *et. al*, 2019) and in Chiang Mai (Glotfelty, 2013). Lack of citizenship has been noted as a significant risk factor, as no citizenship means “no rights, and no access to services, education, protection, and often jobs” (Perry, 2013). Most migrants and other minorities that are disenfranchised by their countries are at a risk of exploitation (Global Slavery Index, 2018) and it has been found that migrants whose visas are tied to a specific employer are also at higher risk of exploitation in Europe (Larsen, 2019).

Social and Political Organisation; Education and Literacy

Social organisation as well as political organisation amongst communities can make a perceptible difference to rates of trafficking of children, according to a comparative study examining vulnerabilities amongst different communities (Ghosh, 2014) and research from Assam (Ray, 2015) and Mexico (Acharya & Clark, 2014) shows the overarching effect that patriarchy and gender norms can play on perspectives and cultures around trafficking.

Ghosh (2014) found that in tea gardens, vulnerability of Adivasi adults would expose their children to well-built networks of trafficking agents working as placement agents in and outside gardens. Ghosh’s study (2014) found that the prime targets of trafficking in tea gardens in Jalpaiguri were children belonging mainly to the Oraon, Munda and Santal tribes. Their parents’ vulnerability was contrasted with that of tea workers in the same gardens who were Nepali – with the study finding that when compared with Adivasis, Nepali tea workers were numerically dominant, more articulate and better placed economically, occupying important positions in the

power hierarchies of tea gardens (Ghosh, 2014). Due to the better social position of Nepali communities in the Dooars-Terai region, Nepali workers were found to be relatively well-organised, socially and politically and their children were found to be less vulnerable to trafficking (Ghosh, 2014).

Large sizes of families would also exacerbate vulnerability (Ghosh, 2014). Further, maternal education (Perry & McEwing, 2013) was pointed out as a factor affecting vulnerability of persons to sex trafficking in Bangladesh and South Asia, respectively. It was found that lack of comprehensive sex education, lack of knowledge of English and lack of literacy skills are also key factors blocking trafficked persons from understanding their rights or seeking assistance in the USA (Schwarz et. al, 2019).

The research on the relationship between education and trafficking is far from uniform. In spite of widespread assumptions that the majority of trafficking victims are non-autonomous or partially autonomous due to low levels of education, it is found that higher levels of education may in fact lead to higher levels of irregular, unsafe migration for those pursuing opportunities abroad (Vijayarasa, 2015). What emerges from research is a complex relationship between education, movement and exploitation that is insufficiently portrayed in mainstream literature or analysis (Vijayarasa, 2015).

The impact of migrants' knowledge of migration processes is also disputed (David et. al, 2019), with some research suggesting that poorly informed migrants are at higher risk of exploitation and other research arguing that most migrants are already aware of the dangers of migrant exploitation but are compelled into risky situations by circumstances beyond their control (David et. al, 2019). This may be compounded by language barriers, lack of resources and humanitarian aid and exposure to violence and abuse from the family and community (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2017). The 'voluntary victim', although commonly deceived as to the nature or conditions of

work and life abroad, either by the trafficker or through false or exaggerated imagery, nonetheless engages in a process of autonomous decision making that displaces the typicality of the coerced and kidnapped victim, who has no control or autonomy (Vijayarasa, 2015).

Gender Norms and Vulnerability to Human Trafficking

The correlation between gender norms and vulnerability is affirmed commonly throughout the literature (Ray, 2015; ASK Training and Learning, 2020) with several scholars (Ray, 2015; Acharya & Clark, 2014; Perry & McEwing, 2013; Britton & Dean, 2014; Schwarz & Britton, 2015), finding that gender-based domination as well as gender inequality are both the cause and effect of sex trafficking as well as commercial sexual exploitation of women. Such a correlation is what makes violence against women profitable, denying women their human rights in different jurisdictions including Mexico, Assam, India, Bangladesh, South East Asia and the USA (Ray, 2015; Acharya & Clark, 2014; Perry & McEwing, 2013; Britton & Dean, 2014; Schwarz & Britton, 2015). Notably, the same gender norms and stereotypes, along with notions of traditional masculinity result in erroneous views on vulnerability of men and boys, who are perceived to be less vulnerable and resistant to human trafficking (Jones, 2010), thereby impeding the understanding of their victimisation (Barron *et al*, 2018). They therefore remain a blind spot, even in the additional context of migration (Friedman, 2013).

While we recognise that trafficking affects men and boys as well, organisations are unable to get around to tackling this phenomenon, because the trafficking of women and girls is itself an all-encompassing issue.

*Melissa Walavalkar, Director of Justice Solutions, International Justice Mission, India,
interviewed on 19 November 2020*

Figure VIII: Excerpt from Interview with Melissa Walavalkar, IJM

Numerous scholars like Ray (2015) and Koirala (2014) have additionally pointed out that gender violence is an important cause of sex trafficking, with everyday forms of gender violence and discrimination being integral to women's vulnerability to trafficking. Gender discrimination (Ray, 2015; ASK Training and Learning, 2020; Murray, 2020; Britton & Dean, 2014; Bryant-Davis & Tummala-Narra, 2017; Palumbo & Sciurba, 2015) plays an extremely important role in creating and sustaining vulnerability, with women and girls often being forced by their parents to find work to contribute to the economy of the family (Acharya and Clark, 2014).

Scholars have pointed out that the manner in which gendered norms affect both male and female populations may be an accurate descriptor of the relationship between gender and trafficking, including why people depart source countries in the first place, victims' experiences abroad as well as the industries into which they are trafficked (Vijayarasa, 2015). These gendered norms also result in stereotypical gender dichotomies, where perpetrators/traffickers are presumed to be male, which is challenged by evidence in Vietnam, Ghana and Ukraine (Vijayarasa, 2015). Further, there is a lack of empirically-based, comprehensive analyses behind the contention that 'gender inequality' drives trafficking (Vijayarasa, 2015). Being female is not by itself a vulnerability factor, and it is not possible to definitively conclude that being a woman increases the likelihood of being trafficked in the first place (Vijayarasa, 2015).

Effect of Family Factors on Vulnerability to Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)

'Family factors' encompass family dynamics, violence and disintegration, manifesting in phenomena like domestic violence, abuse, abandonment by parents, alcoholism or substance abuse issues, absence of a support system etc. and can play a significant role in causing trafficking or enhancing vulnerability to trafficking (Acharya & Clark, 2014; David et. al, 2019; Schwarz et. al, 2019; Khan, 2014; Perry & McEwing, 2013; Brunovskis & Surtees, 2017; Jani & Anstadt, 2013).

Acharya and Clark (2014) stated that family factors are more important than economic (poverty, unemployment, household economic problems), social (gender discrimination, sexual abuse, sexual segregation and sold by family member) and personal (marriage to the boyfriend, in search of a peaceful life, desire to earn more money) factors, in terms of vulnerability to trafficking. This view is mirrored in studies on vulnerability to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), where childhood sexual and emotional abuse was the most commonly cited risk factor, followed by runaway/homelessness, family dysfunction and weak family support (Duger, 2015; Konstantopoulos et. al, 2013; Reid and Piquero, 2014).

Further, research shows that family factors, including reactions of families and communities to non-traditional sexual orientation results in queer homeless youth being left without support systems (Barron *et al*, 2018), creating situations where LGBTQ youth are often forced to turn to exploitative and dangerous practices to survive (Gordon & Hunter, 2013; Schwarz & Britton, 2015). In fact, a disproportionate number of boys involved in CSE (25–35%) self-identify as gay, bisexual, or transgender in the USA (Moxley-Goldsmith, 2005; Schwarz & Britton, 2015).

In spite of significant research citing domestic violence as a reason for trafficking, Vijayarasa (2015) points out that methodologically sound evidence of a relationship between human trafficking and domestic violence remains weak globally, with the assertion often unsubstantiated with first-hand data (e.g., Warnath, 2007 or Zimmerman and Watts, 2003 arguing that women trafficked into sex work ‘share the vulnerabilities’ of women who experience domestic violence). Therefore, there is a need to inject some nuance into the discussions around domestic violence and vulnerability to trafficking, which can be done through anthropological approaches (Vijayarasa, 2015).

Social Determinants of Trafficking

Studies on social determinants for the most part, focus on women and children, with key social determinants that facilitate trafficking including poverty, female gender, lack of policy and enforcement, age, migration, displacement and conflict, ethnicity, culture, ignorance of trafficking methods, forced marriage, child marriage and caste status in South and South East Asian countries including Burma, Thailand, Laos, Nepal, Philippines, Cambodia, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Perry, 2013; Bryant & Landman, 2020; Freedom Fund, 2019) as well as civil unrest and violence in South Asia (Jani & Amstadt, 2013). Conversely, protective determinants that mitigate trafficking include formal education, citizenship, maternal education, higher caste status, and birth order (Perry, 2013).

While many academics continue to perceive vulnerability to trafficking as linked to poverty, it appears that those who are trafficked may not be the poorest in their communities, calling for an adequate definition of what we understand by 'poverty' (Vijayarasa, 2015). Some research states that trafficking has an identifiable relationship with the perceptions of migrants that 'abroad' could offer them better living conditions, indicating that 'relative poverty' as opposed to 'absolute poverty' may be a key factor when analysing vulnerability (Vijayarasa, 2015). Trafficking may show a stronger correlation with relative poverty than with absolute poverty; it is the pursuit of improved economic (and social) circumstances rather than the need to address extreme hunger or desperation (Vijayarasa, 2015).

Observations

Vulnerability as a concept ties into the causes for susceptibility of trafficking, as well as the means by which trafficking takes place i.e., through the abuse of vulnerable positions. The vast majority of the research on vulnerability examines factors that contribute to susceptibility to trafficking, without making a distinction between the two dimensions of vulnerability as mentioned above.

While significant research argues that various factors, including education, poverty, gender and domestic violence bear direct causal connections with risk to trafficking, anthropological and critical approaches argue that these connections are based on simplistic assumptions, unsupported by evidence (such as the causal link between domestic violence and trafficking), lacking comprehensive definitions (such as the distinction between ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ poverty) and may result in flawed and gendered dichotomies between victims and perpetrators (such as the assumption that perpetrators are largely male, which is contradicted by evidence). This highlights the need for a more nuanced understanding of trafficking that sits within a spectrum of experiences.

The overall narrative that stems from the vulnerability discourse in the literature seems to call for additional support systems amongst vulnerable populations: whether in terms of social or political organisation for workers, family support for women, children and LGBTQIA+ youth across different jurisdictions, regularising documentation for migrants and resilience-building for vulnerable peoples.

IV. Research Biases

Are there any observable biases in the choice of topics and populations, stated or otherwise in the researchers reviewed?

Tracing the subject matter of the research, the earliest studies shortlisted, between 2005 and 2012 largely looked at psychological factors that sustain vulnerability to trafficking, anthropological approaches to studying human trafficking and the inadequacies of crime prevention models. Studies from 2012 onwards start covering European Union and United Nations strategies for eradicating human trafficking. The labour framework for prevention of trafficking, along with models for intervention was seen in articles from the USA from 2012.

The year 2013 marked the burgeoning discourse on vulnerability, with literature primarily from India and South East Asia that focused on vulnerability factors, intervention models and proposed ethnographic approaches to study trafficking and inform interventions in 2013 – 14. From 2015 onwards, evaluations of anti-trafficking programmes and commentaries on lack of evaluations featured in literature, as well as research identifying the commonly seen gaps, myths and widely-held assumptions in earlier trafficking literature.

Up till 2015, there was no literature found that dealt with prevention of trafficking of LGBTQ persons, migrant and refugee boys and vulnerable populations like the Romani people, but these previously ignored populations featured in literature thereafter. After 2017, the research distinctly showed service provider-oriented approaches, victim support needs and featured the chain of risk model of prevention, which is covered in Key Learning 1 “Defining Prevention to Human Trafficking” and Key Learning 7 “Relevance in Indian Context”.

The research team has carried out a global secondary research study, examining prevention research from 2012 – 2020. Eleven studies which dated prior to 2012 are included as well, due to high relevance to the scope of research and the findings. The research scope has adhered to that mentioned in the RFP presented by Kamo, being influenced by the 7 Key Learnings as provided for in the RFP. The jurisdictional distribution of the research as presented above does not claim to represent the entirety of global trafficking prevention literature in the research period – but is an accurate representation of global research on prevention of trafficking relevant to exploring the 7 Key Learnings of the RFP. Therefore, this stratification presented below represents the distribution of only researches that are relevant to the 7 Key Learnings, shortlisted by the Research Team.

Stratification by Jurisdiction

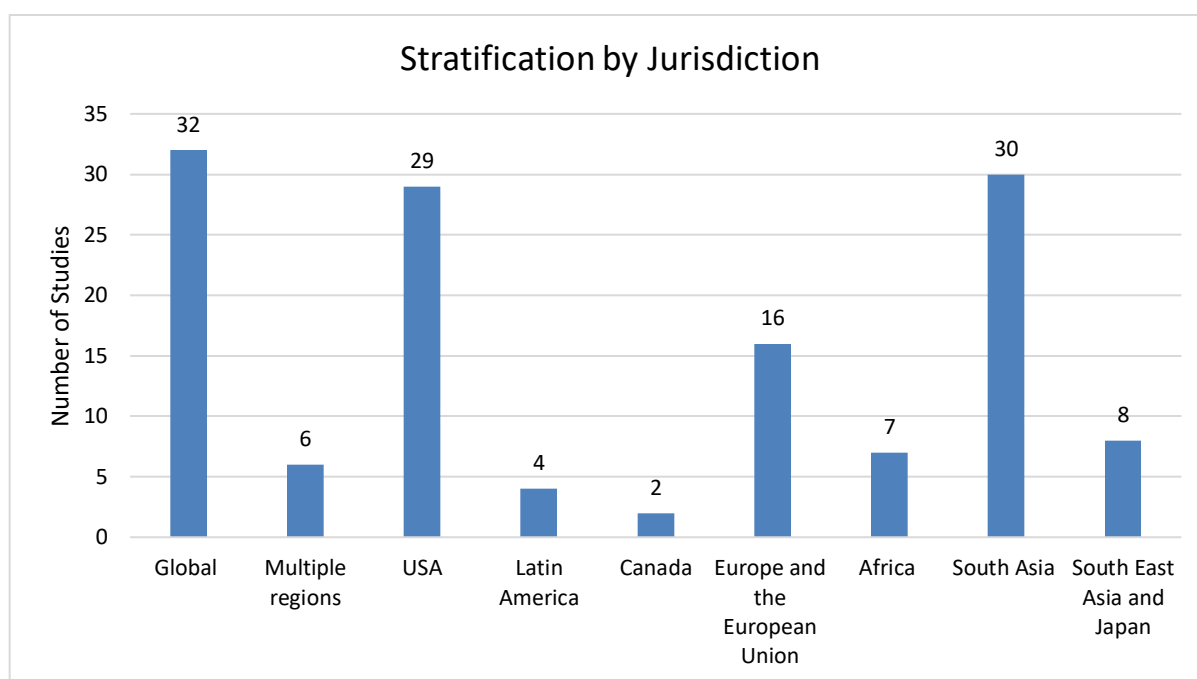


Figure IX: Stratification of Research by Jurisdiction

Global Literature

Thirty two (32) studies focus on global practices, covering subjects like migration and migrant vulnerability, migrant experiences with trafficking, ending the demand for trafficking through state policy as well as international awareness campaigns.

Global research largely focuses on transnational and international issues related to trafficking, and has surveyed prevention interventions from across the world, calling for strengthening evaluation measures of these interventions. Large scale studies of vulnerability make general observations regarding unemployment, economic hardship and consequent migration and recruitment into modern slavery.

Global research has also focused on largely understudied aspects of vulnerability to trafficking, such as risk factors in relation to men, boys and LGBTQ persons (who are largely overlooked in trafficking discourse and action) and the role played by racism, ethnic bias and cultural stereotypes in perpetuating vulnerability in persons along with increasing their demand. Research also encompasses the role of local governments in preventing trafficking by highlighting upon global best practices and challenges.

Research Covering Multiple Regions

Six (6) studies focused on multiple regions of the world, with one study carrying out a comparative analysis of human trafficking policies of the Governments of the USA as well as the Republic of South Africa. Anthropological approaches that studied adult female victims of sex trafficking as well as sex workers covered various jurisdictions in Europe and Asia to attempt to dismantle commonly held myths and assumptions about trafficking and its victims that permeate through trafficking and anti-trafficking discourse. Multiple jurisdictions were also invoked in studies that compared 'unfree labour' in Brazil and India, as well as the effect of COVID-19 restrictions on migration and cross-border trafficking to Europe and America.

American Literature

Out of thirty five (35) articles from the Americas, twenty nine (29) are from the United States of America. Literature from the USA explores a wide variety of subjects, with some literature exclusively focusing on sex trafficking, human rights, social justice and the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC). USA - focused studies bring in rights-based language to speak of prevention of CSEC as well as migration through a rights framework that treats children as rights-holding agents, rather than (potential) victims.

American scholars have examined difficulties in identifying human trafficking survivors, traffickers and the 'policing' of human trafficking, with a view to assisting victims, predominantly of labour trafficking. Research from the USA also proposes several models of intervention, including the chain-of-risk model as well as the ecological model, which has not yet been adopted by Indian organisations but could be adapted to the Indian context as discussed in Key Learning 7, 'Relevance in Indian Context', as well as the labour framework that is proposed as an alternative to the crime prevention model for long term prevention, accountability and reparations for survivors.

Some research from the Americas attempts to understand traffickers' perspectives and also focuses on vulnerabilities of LGBTQ persons originating from and sustained by their sexual orientations in comparison to their non-LGBTQ counterparts. Studies speaking about the policy and schematic framework of the USA and Canada to prevent trafficking in persons are also included. Studies from the other regions of the Americas including four (4) studies from Latin America and two (2) studies on trafficking from the North American continent at large focus largely on prevention strategies for human trafficking, and the impact of COVID-19 on migration and vulnerability to trafficking.

European Literature

There are sixteen (16) studies carried out in Europe and the European Union. Studies from Europe focus on cross border migration between countries, with one (1) study examining methods of psychological coercion employed by traffickers, as well as the social conditioning and self-perceptions of individuals that create and facilitate continued vulnerability, specifically in the context of sex trafficking of migrant women. Research based in the European Union focuses on regional policies relating to trafficking, primarily consisting of online measures to be taken to prevent trafficking and increased government action to reduce demand and punish traffickers.

Some ignored groups, like the Romani people and migrant refugee boys from Greece are covered in the research, in the context of sexual exploitation, discrimination and other structural factors that exacerbate their vulnerability to trafficking.

African Literature

Three (3) studies encompassing Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa examine measures that need to be taken beyond legal reform, including identification of the underlying ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that cause trafficking, like unemployment and economic hardship in Nigeria, which need to be addressed at the outset to prevent trafficking. One more study from South Africa attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of the criminal justice response

The one (1) study from Zambia covers the evaluation of the United National Joint Programme against Human Trafficking (UNJPHT), comprised of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and established with funding from the European Commission and other donors. The aim of the Joint Programme is to reduce the incidence of human trafficking whilst improving the response to cases thereof in conjunction with Zambia’s National Policy to Combat Human Trafficking. As is fairly typical of state actors, prevention of trafficking in the Joint Programme, in conjunction with Zambia’s National Policy, is predicated on awareness, training and capacity building efforts.

South Asia and South East Asia

Thirty (30) studies are concentrated in South Asian countries, comprising India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan. Eight (8) studies are concentrated in South East Asian countries, including the Philippines, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and one (1) study covers Tokyo, Japan. Interestingly, the majority of these papers add to the discourse around vulnerability and trafficking, with South

Asian literature focusing on social determinants of trafficking with a specific focus on women and children, as well as migration.

Indian literature includes writing on the causal relationship between poverty and trafficking, vulnerabilities behind sex trafficking as well as multi-layered vulnerability perspectives that can inform intervention strategies. There is no literature that focuses on 'policing' for prevention, with scholars choosing to identify underlying causes of trafficking and recommending tailored solutions. Anthropological perspectives from Japan, Laos and Thailand that explore migrants, victimhood and trafficking networks call for participant observation-based research and deeper study to understand contextual complexities in perceived situations of human trafficking. This is addressed in greater detail in Key Learning 6 hereinbelow, in 'Traffickers and Anti-Traffickers: Anthropological Angle and Perspectives'. In South Asia, two (2) studies briefly mentioned traffickers' perspectives briefly in their research, but only in the context of traffickers identifying vulnerabilities and facilitating victimisation. A study in Cambodia investigated five major themes about traffickers by drawing on police and prison records and carrying out interviews with police, prison, and court officers; NGO workers; villagers and migrants; and ninety-one incarcerated traffickers.

We see that the vulnerability discourse is dominated by research on Asia with avenues for further research to be carried out in the Central American and South American context. Although research from Western Europe and the USA does not directly cover vulnerability, it importantly adds psychological approaches to trafficking to the discourse. The psychological conditioning experienced by victims and survivors as well as psychological coercion and deprivation by traffickers to sustain vulnerability to trafficking is a valuable part of the discourse. Studies from India have also focused on evaluation of community-based prevention and intervention models implemented by NGOs at the grassroots level.

Stratification by Age of Survivors

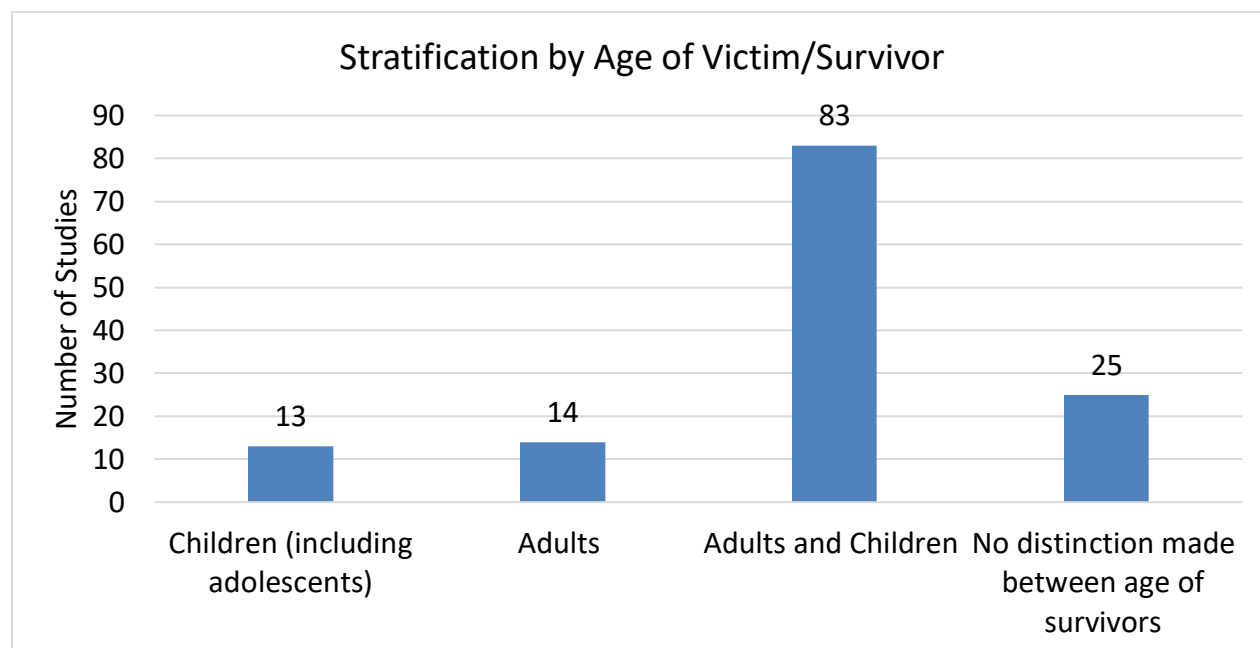


Figure X: Stratification of Research by Age of Survivors

Only thirteen (13) studies pertain specifically to trafficking in children and adolescents and focus on key issues, trends and vulnerabilities in child trafficking and the resultant sexual exploitation and forced labour. They make recommendations for interventions and realisation of social and economic rights of children and adolescents, with one study stating that adolescent boys are rarely the focus of policy discussions and are consistently left out of gender-based violence prevention and response efforts. Studies on children also focus on prevention strategies proposed by UNICEF and activities undertaken at the grassroots level by educational institutions to train students to reject sex trafficking traditions prevalent in their communities.

Fourteen (14) studies focus specifically on adults, analysing thought processes of traffickers from an anthropological lens and examining psychological factors that sustain vulnerability in women. Eighty three (83) studies dealt with both adults and children, making distinct observations and

analysis about both groups. These studies covered a range of factors including prevention strategies and models, addressing vulnerabilities in various communities, ending demand for trafficking, review and analysis of existing literature to understand gaps therein, trafficking discourse in conjecture with law and policy, social and evaluation of trafficking prevention models implemented by organisations at the community and grassroots level. The remaining twenty five (25) studies did not make a distinction between the age of trafficked persons and treated them as a vulnerable population as a whole.

Stratification by Methodology of Study

Thirty four (34) studies reviewed and analysed prevention practices and models through secondary research, while twenty six (26) studies collated and analysed primary research through interviews with service providers, traffickers, trafficked persons and vulnerable communities. Four (4) studies adopted a primary research methodology by conducting surveys, whose variables were used to predict risk factors to trafficking in communities. Fifteen (15) studies adopted mixed methodological approaches, with desk research supplemented by interviews with field staff of organisations, survivors, leaders and other stakeholders to analyse vulnerabilities and suggest prevention of trafficking interventions.

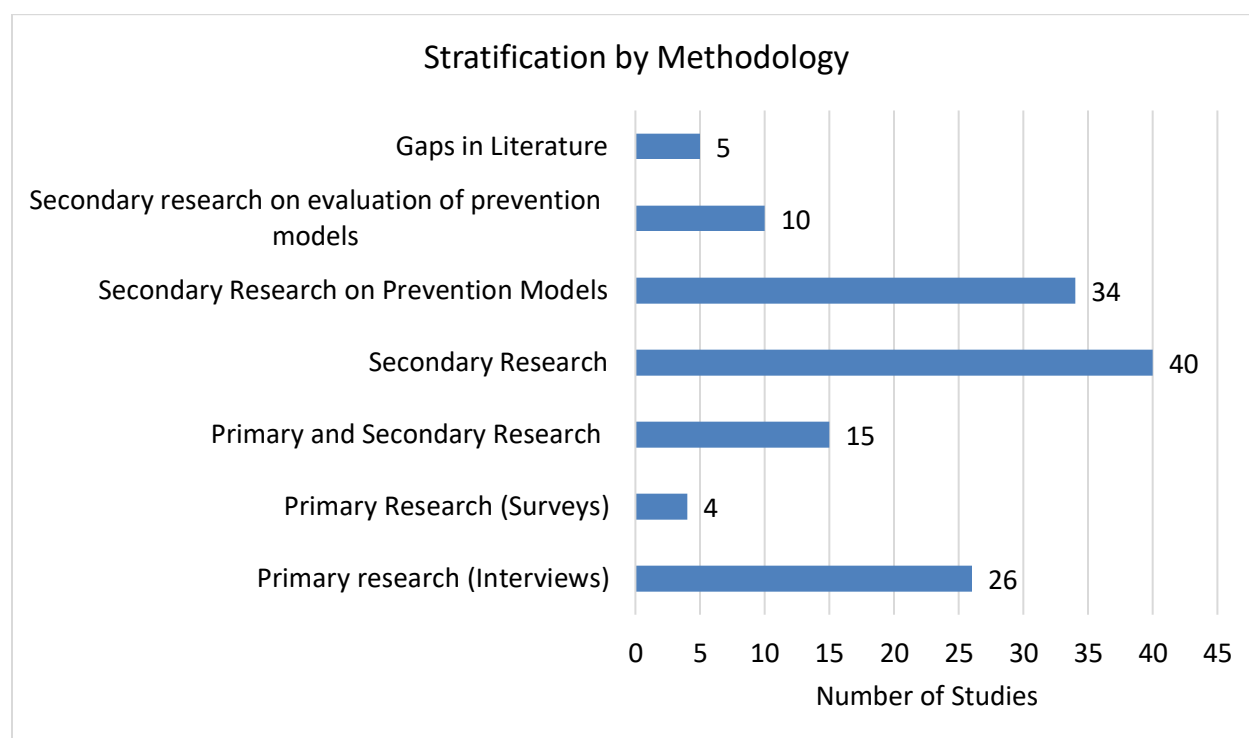


Figure XI: Stratification of Research by Methodology

In the context of secondary research, five (5) studies reviewed the existing literature to identify gaps in research and evidence of both sex and labour trafficking and ten (10) studies carried out evaluation of prevention models and analysis of their effectiveness, with recommendations for future programme design and implementation containing robust monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

The majority of research therefore looked at either vulnerability or secondary research on prevention models from across the globe. In the research sample, it was interesting to note the dearth of evidence-based prevention models, in terms of quantitative evidence as well as the lack of comprehensive baseline values creating a tangible justification for implementation of such models in particular jurisdictions.

Stratification by Author

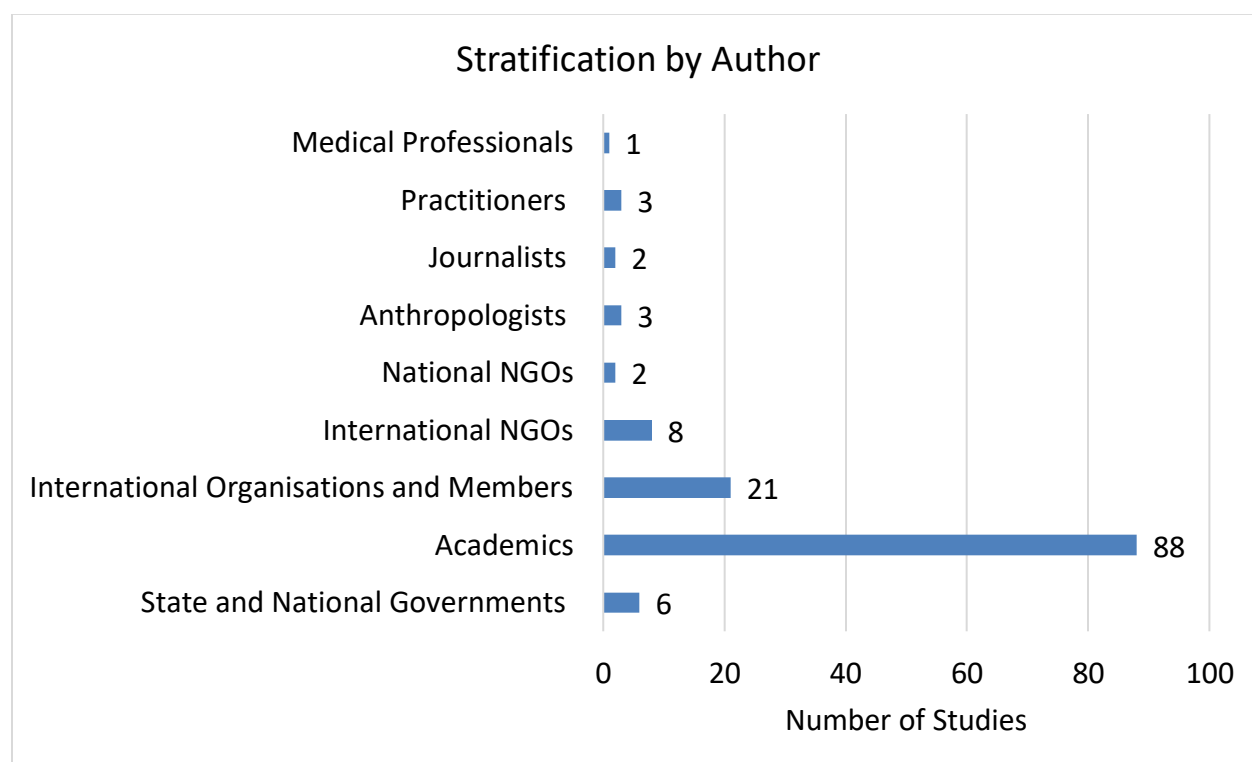


Figure XII: Stratification of Research by Author

Six (6) studies, of which three (3) were from the USA, one (2) from the European Union and one (1) from Canada, which were published by state or national governments, as well as the European Commission had their primary focus on preventive measures and national action plans for trafficking. One (1) study from the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health studied psychological coercion of trafficking victims by using the Biderman framework (explained later in this report), a significant factor that contributes to sustaining vulnerabilities of trafficking victims.

Eighty eight (88) studies are by academicians and encompass a host of trafficking factors, with prevention models and strategies forming a primary focus of many studies. Studies have also focused on factors causing vulnerabilities in individuals, evaluation of prevention models, analysis of existing trafficking literature and perceptions of traffickers and slaveholders.

Twenty one (21) studies have been published by international organizations, with their focus being on prevention strategies and vulnerabilities in the specific context of migrants, with one study focusing on evaluation of a prevention model implemented in Zambia. Studies have also focused on best practices in relation to recruitment and the role of local governments in preventing trafficking.

Eight (8) studies have been published by international non-profit organizations, with their primary focus being on the understanding of drivers of vulnerability in communities, particularly in women and children. Studies have also focused on evaluation of prevention models in the context of modern slavery and human trafficking, along with an analysis of viability of such models. One (1) study by the Freedom Fund has also highlighted how community-based intervention models are reducing bonded labour in India. Only two (2) studies were reviewed in the context of domestic NGOs, with one (1) study focusing on vulnerability to human trafficking caused by social norms and gender based differences with and the other focusing on an evaluation of a grassroots level prevention model implemented in Uttar Pradesh, India.

Three (3) studies by anthropologists make cases for participatory research methods in understanding contextual landscapes and trajectories of trafficking in South East Asia and Japan. Two (2) studies by journalists focusing on prevention in Mexico, and one (1) study which was authored by a practitioner who engages with and treats persons with a past of sexual violence and criminal behaviour details her interaction with convicted traffickers and the design and implementation of their trafficking networks.

Stratification by Scope of Research

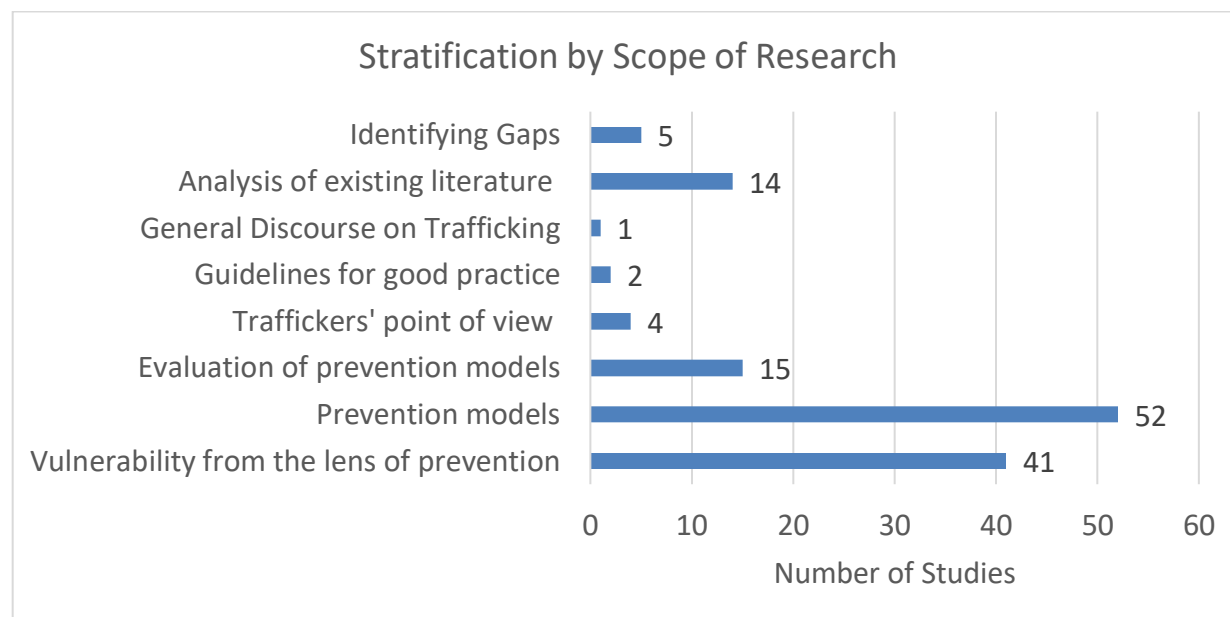


Figure XIII: Stratification of Research by Scope

Fifty two (52) studies look at prevention models, but only fifteen (15) studies actually either evaluated prevention models or examined their effectiveness based on secondary research. The disparity in numbers is indicative of the dearth of evaluation-focused literature in the human trafficking research landscape. Forty one (41) papers, most of them from South or South-East Asia, attempted to identify key vulnerabilities to inform future prevention initiatives. The largely overlooked vulnerability of boys, men and LGBTQ persons is also highlighted.

Four (4) studies focus on traffickers' perspectives and aim to dispel notions of traffickers as 'invisible' and 'hidden' populations, highlighting their ubiquitous nature in communities and providing insight on the seemingly unbridled ability of such traffickers to function with complete impunity. These studies also highlight traffickers' strategies to psychologically coerce and deprive victims or survivors, as well as methods to avoid detection by law enforcement or potential prosecution. Two (2) studies focus on what would count as good practices in modern day

recruitment and the restoration of wellness of survivors of trafficking. One (1) study examines the interplay of trafficking with social justice and human rights and nine (9) studies focus on current policies, schemes and responses by organisations and governments in relation human trafficking. Five (5) studies carried out a secondary analysis of existing literature to identify gaps and further avenues of action and research therein.

Stratification by Type of Trafficking

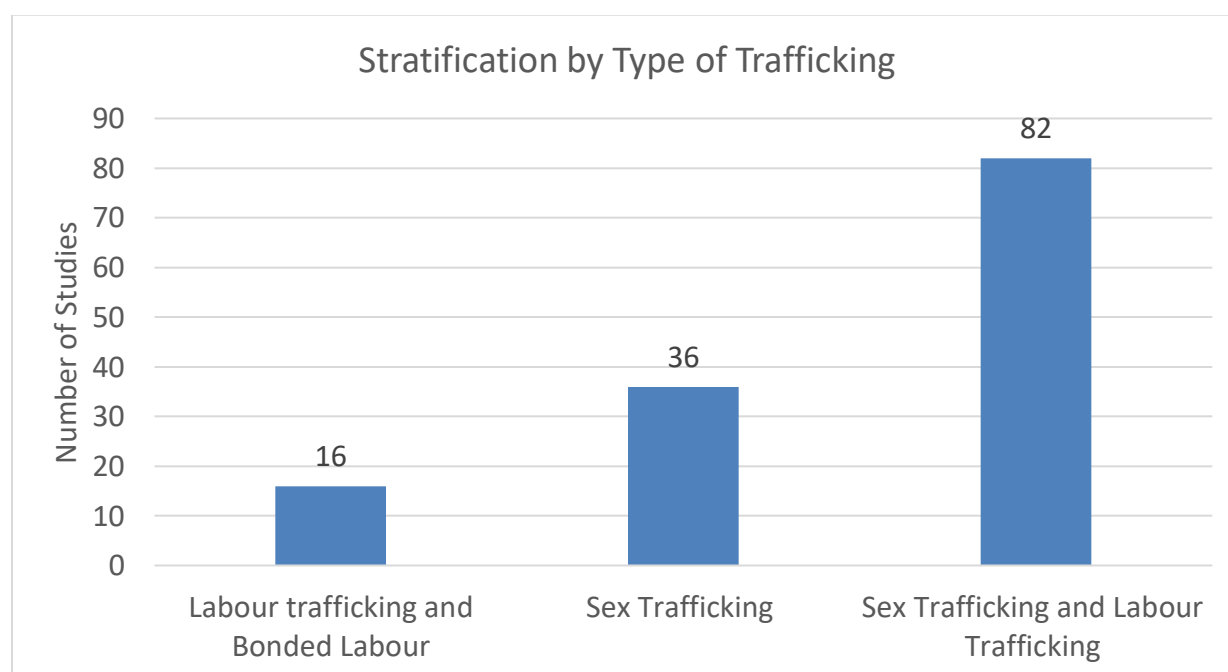


Figure XIV: Stratification of Research by Type of Trafficking

Eighty two (82) studies did not differentiate between types of trafficking, using the overarching term 'human trafficking', with thirty six (36) studies focusing on trafficking for sexual exploitation and only sixteen (16) studies addressing labour trafficking specifically. Therefore, the literature on prevention seems to mirror the predominant focus within human trafficking, where trafficking has historically been equated with sex trafficking, overlooking labour trafficking until more recent times.

The research shows that globally, vulnerability forms a greater portion of the narrative around trafficking in Eastern countries and Latin America, but is not prioritised in the context of specific communities (outside migrants) in the USA and Western Europe. On the contrary, EU policies relating to prevention of trafficking as well as the US discourse are dominated by rights-oriented narratives as well as protection and policing of trafficked individuals.

In the USA and Europe, trafficking is looked at as more of an ‘international’ or ‘transnational’ problem, focusing on migration issues, economic inequalities and legal and policy frameworks that allow perpetrators to get away with impunity – as opposed to research from India and South Asia, where trafficking is explored in its regional, intranational and transnational forms. In India, South and South-East Asia, there is much more discussion about social norms, poverty, unique vulnerabilities of populations influenced by economic, social, cultural and personal factors and no substantive scholarly emphasis on legal reform or increased ‘policing’ to prevent human trafficking.

5. **Interventions, Practice Models and Evaluation Findings Focused on Prevention**

Are there any researches or papers published in journals on practice models, interventions and evaluation findings that have focused on prevention? What are some of the common findings from these interventions both in terms of what works and what does not?

Introduction

The research has predominantly called for addressing the underlying causes of trafficking, not just through vulnerability analysis, but also through decreasing the demand for victims (US Government, 2020; Hughes, 2013; European Commission, 2012; Okogbule, 2013; Ray, 2015; Perry & McEwing, 2013). Further, scholars have advocated for multi-level approaches that focus

on individuals as well as communities to combat compounded risks associated with multi-vulnerabilities (Todres, 2013; UNICEF, 2014).

There is significant disagreement around the efficacy of awareness programmes to prevent human trafficking, especially when they are standalone efforts without provision of practical solutions and a possible way forward for their target audience. Even though there is significant scholarship to show that governments and non-governmental organisations utilise significant resources on awareness and information dissemination campaigns (Konrad, 2018; US Government, 2020; Public Safety Canada, 2020; UNITAR, 2014), the most effective awareness programmes are those with targeted messaging aimed at specific communities, implemented in conjunction with other initiatives, as outlined in this section.

Literature also calls for a 'labour' approach to human trafficking, where trafficked individuals are considered 'workers', rather than falling within the black and white conventional dichotomy of victims and perpetrators (Todres, 2013). The labour approach has been said to offer better victim identification, reparations, accountability and long-term prevention for individuals who have been trafficked or who are at risk of being trafficked (Todres, 2013). However, there is a dearth of research connecting labour frameworks with punitive systems, meaning that although avenues for compensation and redressal of victim grievances theoretically exist within the labour framework, the framework presumably exists in addition to an existing criminal justice system that punishes offenders and perpetrators involved in trafficking.

In addition to the narrow systemic response to trafficking through the labour framework, anthropologists take issue with the 'mechanical' positioning of (potential) trafficked individuals as individuals whose migration is entirely dependent on 'supply' and 'demand' factors. Such anthropologists argue for the use of long term ethnographic research and participatory observation methods to consider people as 'mobile' entities who migrate for different reasons.

Research uniformly shows that evaluation of human trafficking prevention programmes are hardly evidence-based but are carried out based on presumptions regarding what does and does not work. There are very few evaluated interventions, and even out of those which have been evaluated, most are not evaluated in a robust manner. The lack of concrete evaluation of initiatives as well as the lack of reliable data on trafficking in general across the world (which is misrepresented as 'accurate' data) results in a situation where it is difficult to determine impact of prevention programmes, as well as concrete best practices and models that have worked in the past.

Addressing the 'Root Causes' of Trafficking

As noted by the UNODC in its 2012 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, in order to successfully combat human trafficking, "it is essential to understand what makes [victims] vulnerable to violence, abuse and exploitation in the first place" (Perry and McEwing, 2013). This has been echoed in various other studies, where scholars recommend addressing the 'root causes' of trafficking (Todres, 2011; Pandey et. al, 2013; Koirala, 2014; Okogbule, 2013; Ray, 2015; Acharya & Clark, 2014; Bryant & Landman, 2020) for effective intervention.

Ray (2015), who carried out informal discussions and semi-structured interviews with seventy-seven (77) survivors of sex trafficking in Assam, found that majority of the respondents identified root causes such as poverty, illiteracy, gender violence and discrimination, and negative and violent family dynamics leading to emotional distress, as primary causes that needed to be addressed to reduce their vulnerability to trafficking. Further, a study carried out by Behera (2020) of young tribal girls from 3 gram panchayats of Sundergarh, Orissa, which comprised survivors and parents of trafficked girls, identified several factors leading to the increased trafficking of young girls from the area, including, alienation from ancestral land, development induced displacement, loss of livelihood, marginalization and lack of employment and

educational opportunities. The two case studies enumerated above showcase the significance of addressing the root causes of trafficking, with both cases identifying fundamental and contextual factors that needed to be addressed with specific communities, which could consequently play a role in preventing their trafficking.

In the European Union, the European Commission has acknowledged that sex industries' demand for women and girls is a root cause for human trafficking and the EU Policy casts a legal obligation on member states to discourage and reduce the demand for victims (European Commission, 2012). Hughes (2013) states that buyers of sex with trafficking victims are not held accountable very often, but decreasing the demand for victims attacks the root cause of human trafficking. In the context of trafficking for labour exploitation, the Inter-Agency Coordination Group Against Trafficking in Persons (2014) states the need for discussion around revisiting dominant prevention of trafficking strategies till date, arguing for a focus on factors contributing for demand for goods and/or services that could be "tainted" by trafficking for labour exploitation. Demand reduction is the focus of other research as well (US Government, 2020; European Commission, 2012; Okogbule, 2013; Ray, 2015; Perry & McEwing, 2013). Controlling demand is related back to identifying and tackling the underlying causes of trafficking.

From an intervention perspective, research says that understanding the interdependencies between demand and supply is critical to developing long term approaches to resolve trafficking (Wolf-Branigin et. al., 2010). While combinations of vulnerability factors can contribute to incidence of trafficking, vulnerabilities and resilience do not take into account the influence of perpetrators ready and willing to commit the crime, and do not consider the demand side of trafficking (ICMPD, 2019).

Adoption of Multi-level Approaches to Combat Multi-Vulnerabilities

Scholars have examined the multi-vulnerability status of victims in different jurisdictions (Ray, 2015; Schwarz & Britton, 2015) and it has been stated that any singular initiative to reduce vulnerability will not work (Khan, 2014). For example, economic empowerment could reduce the vulnerability of a majority but others may remain vulnerable on account of their other factors including caste, cultural practices, domestic violence or lack of education (Khan, 2014).

Interventions that solely aim to increase for example, household income levels, without addressing societal and caste norms that impact choice and agency within a community would be insufficient in nature to address multiple vulnerabilities.

Ms. Paromita Chowdhury, Oak Foundation, interviewed on 2 November 2020

Figure XV: Excerpt of Interview with Ms. Paromita Chowdhury, Oak Foundation

Prevention using a multi-level approach to examine multi-vulnerabilities of victims can prescribe interventions on three levels (ASK, 2020). The widest prevention approach, termed as ‘universal prevention’, will be directed at all members of a population without identifying those at risk of abuse (ASK, 2020). The smaller prevention approach will focus on ‘selective prevention’, directed at members of a group that is at risk for a behaviour and the most targeted prevention approach, being ‘indicated prevention’, will be directed at particular individuals who already display signs of the problem (ASK, 2020) as referenced in Figure XVI below.

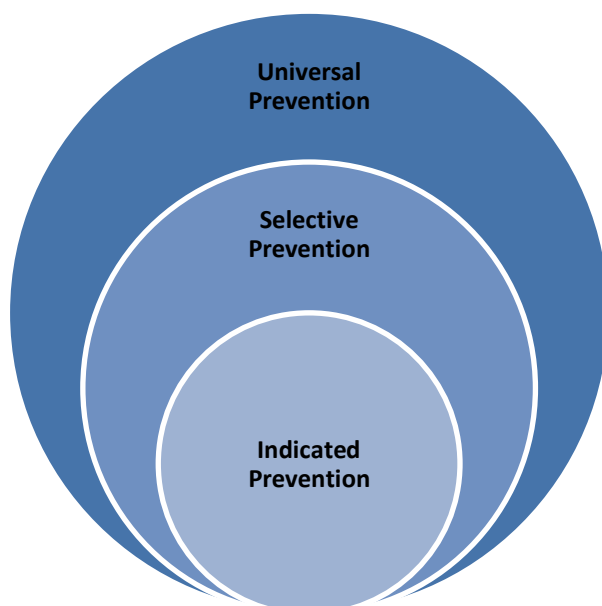


Figure XVI: Prevention Approach to Address Multi-Vulnerabilities

As Hay et al. (2007) explain, both micro- and macro levels must be addressed in order to combat the effects of compounded risks: “Families do not exist in a social vacuum, but instead are part of a broader social context, and the community is a significant part of this”.

Crime Prevention and Multidisciplinary Approaches

In South Asia, human trafficking is largely a criminal justice and reform policy. Traffickers continue with such impunity because of lax law, policing and law enforcement. A lot of these issues are at grassroot levels, owing to which they are not addressed at regional and international conventions

Diya Nag, Associate Director of Programs (India), The Asia Foundation, interviewed on 3

November 2020

Figure XVII: Excerpt of Interview with Diya Nag, Asia Foundation

The research turned up certain contradictory findings, firstly stemming from the crime prevention approach to trafficking and its surrounding controversies. Some scholars like Hughes (2013) argue that states should make a commitment to identifying more victims and prosecuting every perpetrator, with assistance from technology in investigating and prosecuting criminals. Effective enforcement measures to prevent and combat trafficking should further include specialised police units or task forces (in addition to the local police force) to deal with trafficking cases, who could conduct trafficking investigations, protect victims from reprisals, and contribute towards the prevention of the crime (Mollena, 2015).

Other scholars argue that a multi-perspective approach has to be taken to human trafficking, as criminal law-centered approaches do not address the root causes of human trafficking (discussed in more detail in Key Learning No. 2 on consistencies and contradictions in literature), and comprehensive strategies that combine the strengths of human rights, labour, public health, international development and other valuable perspectives are required (Todres, 2013). Multidisciplinary approaches have been proposed by organisations like UNICEF (2014) and UNITAR (2020) as well as the US Government (2020) when carrying out interventions for prevention of human trafficking, recommending actions by local governments to prevent trafficking, as well as in drafting national strategies and policies for violence prevention and anti-human trafficking, respectively.

We essentially need a multi sectoral kind of intervention with the people who will be affected at the centre of the discourse. This is a grey area in policy and governance, wherein the NGOs make decisions on behalf of the affected people, when it is not their reality.

Paromita Chowdhury, Programme Officer, Oak Foundation interviewed on 2 November 2020

Figure XVIII: Excerpt of Interview with Paromita Chowdhury, Oak Foundation

Awareness Programmes and Prevention

Governments across the world presently focus their policies and prevention strategies on awareness, sensitisation and public outreach campaigns as well as capacity building initiatives (UNITAR, 2014; Public Safety Canada, 2019; US Government, 2020). This is likely to be related to the limited risk in implementation, large potential population reach, low cost and political acceptability of these initiatives (Pocock *et al*, 2020). The US Government has developed a National Plan to Combat Human Trafficking, which has proposed, amongst other initiatives, targeted information campaigns to reduce vulnerabilities, helping to increase the public's understanding of the risks and vulnerabilities to human trafficking (US Government, 2020). With this information, communities and individuals are able to counteract human traffickers' tactics and techniques, and reduce vulnerabilities (US Government, 2020).

The US Government has proposed 'meaningful engagement' with the private sector and civil society to expand awareness and to lead to the development of 'creative solutions' to trafficking that are informed by diverse expertise.

Engagement with the private sector is envisioned to take place through the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Homeland Security, who would offer targeted information and messaging on the nature of human trafficking impacting the United States, as well as information related to human trafficking indicators, which is necessary for prevention efforts (US Government, 2020).

Figure XIX: Meaningful Engagement with the Private Sector

Awareness campaigns are arguably the most common form of trafficking prevention activities amongst non-governmental organisations, intended globally to alert individuals to the tactics used by traffickers and provide them with practical strategies to avoid deception and exploitation

(Konrad, 2018). Some scholars like Konrad (2018) claim that when implemented effectively, awareness campaigns play an indispensable role in combating human trafficking, while other like Pockock *et al* (2020) argue that there is little to no evidence on their effectiveness to prevent human trafficking.

Research on community-focused awareness programmes shows that anti-trafficking interventions that involve communities, take an empowerment-oriented focus, and aim to facilitate informed decision making through conversations and dialogue are more likely to be relevant to community realities and accepted by target groups (Konrad, 2018; Bryant & Landman, 2020). Such a programme include the Freedom Fund Model (2019) that carries out awareness building amongst adolescent girls to challenge gender based violence. Women's financial self-help groups are formed, and awareness building runs in conjunction with legal aid services, access to education and medical care, providing alternative livelihoods and strengthening financial resilience, registering communities for social support schemes and connecting with government departments to perform joint rescue and reintegration operations (Freedom Fund, 2019). The awareness building aspects empower groups to engage in collective bargaining against oppressive employers and seek government protection of labour rights (Freedom Fund, 2019).

However, other research shows that In certain communities which are vulnerable to trafficking, there is already significant awareness about trafficking, which does not negate vulnerability or trafficking prevalence and does not always stop victims from responding to risky offers (Hughes, 2013). In areas of high recruitment, there may already be a high level of awareness of the risks involved in traveling and accepting offers of work, but the push factors are so strong, people are willing to weigh the risks (Hughes, 2013). Although the push factors for trafficking were not explicitly listed by Hughes (2013), some push factors leading victims to accept risky offers and be re-trafficked include circumstances at home, such as poverty, unemployment and discrimination.

A study that evaluated Work in Freedom’s knowledge-building activities for 347 prospective female migrants in Ganjam, Odisha to prevent future labour-related exploitation, found that awareness and views about migration risks, rights and collective bargaining was very low pre-training and remained low post-training. This may have been partly due to 19.8% of the women belonging to communities involved in conflict and 73.9% of the women being unable to meet basic needs, and thereby being forced to migrate (Pocock *et al*, 2020). Awareness of risk factors not influencing the decision to migrate was also observed in a study of 519 returned female Nepali migrants, wherein raising an individual’s awareness of general migration related risks was not seen as an effective strategy to reduce the likelihood of forced labour (Kiss *et al*, 2020). In fact, it was found that prior experience of forced labour did not reduce the probability of them being exploited again (Kiss *et al*, 2020). This is attributed to local livelihood options not being comparable to job opportunities abroad along with non-addressal of underlying factors that lead to migration in the source area (Kiss *et al*, 2020).

“Awareness building by itself, without provision of resources and a way forward, is a waste of breath. Similarly, provision of stand-alone practical solutions without addressing the inherent views and mindsets of communities is also not going to be sustainable”

Ginny Baumann, Senior Program Manager at The Freedom Fund, interviewed on 18

November 2020

Figure XX: Excerpt of Interview with Ginny Baumann, Freedom Fund

Hughes (2013) has argued for technology to play a prominent role in awareness creation, in keeping supply chains free of forced labour, by way of awareness raising campaigns conducted online in sites of victimisation. The European Commission has also stated that member states will

fund projects enhancing knowledge of online recruitment that takes place via simple search engines and online advertisements, chat rooms, spam mail, or social networking tools (Todres, 2013).

The role of technology in awareness generation has also been embraced by the US Department of Health & Human Services through the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (2020), which has released an online resource that is designed to support state and local health agencies and other stakeholders (from multiple sectors) to plan, implement, and evaluate violence prevention efforts. The resource is based on expert findings after reviewing prevention literature and considering the best possible evidence available around a select group of strategies to prevent violence from happening in the first place or to lessen harms and prevent future risk (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2020). The resource, named 'Violence Prevention in Practice' contains violence prevention plans with tools, stories, top sheets and additional resources organised in phases as provided in Figure XXIII below.

Comprehensive violence prevention means addressing multiple factors that influence violence and engaging multiple sectors, such as public health, government, and business (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2020). In combination, the strategies in the technical packages are intended to change norms, environments, organizations and behaviour in ways that prevent violence or modify the factors that increase or buffer against the risk for violence (US Department of Health & Human Services, 2020). Given the causal relationship between family factors and vulnerability to trafficking, this kind of resource could find application in the prevention of trafficking space, facilitating substantive interactions and capacity building initiatives, especially with stakeholders in the private sector.

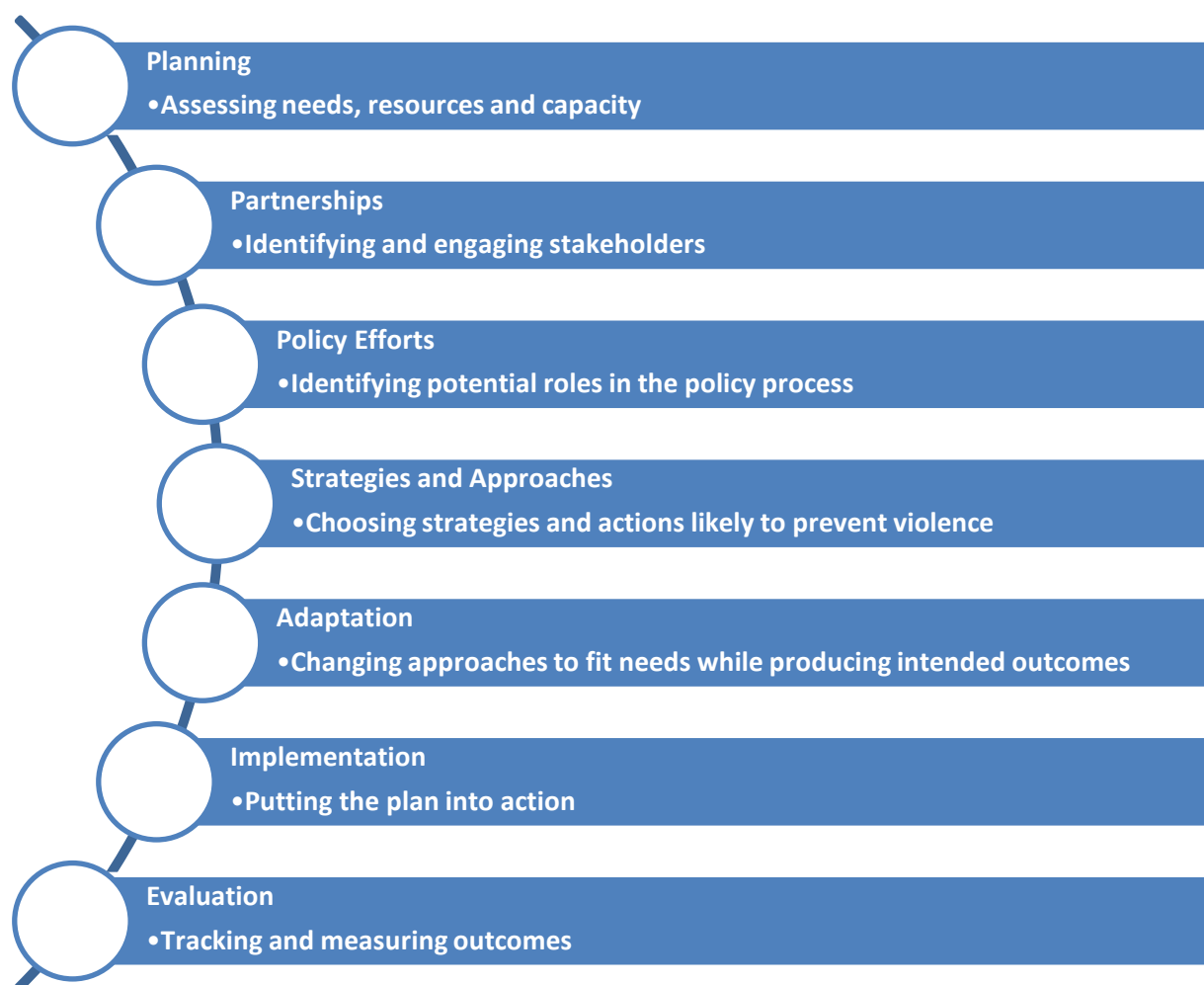


Figure XXI: Violence Prevention in Practice by CDC (2020)

Prevention through a Labour Lens

The labour framework is based on the understanding that a trafficked individual is a worker who is exploited in a market context and therefore, a labour lens in the human trafficking context helps counter the notion that a trafficked individual is either a victim or that they made a choice and therefore can never be a victim (Todres, 2013).

The labour perspective on how trafficking occurs can provide a focal point for developing measures to prevent trafficking, according to Chuang (2014) who came up as one of the chief scholarly proponents of using the labour framework to prevent trafficking. Identifying the structural “market conditions and practices that shape workers’ vulnerability and inferior bargaining power in the workplace” draws attention to factors currently overlooked, if not dismissed, by dominant anti-trafficking approaches (Chuang, 2014). In the context of prevention, it has been said that labour-based approaches offer greater hope of long-term prevention and change, as labour and employment institutions are already filling in the gaps left by criminal justice based anti-trafficking strategies (Chuang, 2014) such as victim identification, service provision and preventative activity, exclusion from compensation and insurance schemes (Cockbain *et al*, 2018; Pocock *et al*, 2016).

Currently, even though responses to labour trafficking differ between countries, they are largely seen as inadequate (Cockbain *et al*, 2018), with most counter-trafficking measures seen to be heavily focussed on sex trafficking at the expense of labour trafficking (Antal *et al*, 2015). In a UNODC (2009) survey of member states, 52 countries identified trafficking activities, 79 % were related to sexual exploitation. UNODC believes that the under-detection of labour trafficking was universal across regions and even countries.

Through the labour framework, persons who are underserved by criminal justice approaches are gaining access to remedies and accountability, with prospective measures being developed periodically to prevent future exploitation (Chuang, 2014). Recognizing that criminal justice–focused approaches have led to significant under detection of non-sex-sector labour trafficking, the recommendations accompanying the ILO Forced Labour Protocol offer specific guidance regarding the necessary reforms to labour markets and legal frameworks to prevent forced labour (for example, labour-recruitment regulations) (Chuang, 2014).

Labour approaches can be empowering and facilitate dialogue creation between employers and employees, with acts of unionising and collective bargaining amongst workers being useful to tackle vulnerabilities, which may be unique to specific groups of workers or employees.

Katharine Bryant, Walk Free Foundation, interviewed on 2 November 2020

Insaf Nizam, ILO, interviewed on 4 November 2020

Figure XXII: Excerpts of Interviews with Katharine Bryant, Walk Free Foundation and Insaf Nizam, ILO

Controversies in the Labour Approach

The attempt to prevent trafficking through labour-based approaches remains controversial (Chuang, 2014). When the dominant discourse around trafficking encompassed the protection of women from sexual servitude, prevention was easily articulated as being about reducing (male) demand for commercial sex (Chuang, 2014). Thereafter, when non-sex-sector trafficking became a policy focus, Chuang (2014) has claimed that the reforms sought under the rubric of “labour” “challenge the very structures that have fueled global economic growth and upon which prosperous societies are built”, acting as a paradigm shift in the way we view ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’ in the labour trafficking context (Chuang, 2014).

Studies advocating for the labour lens of intervention argue that counter trafficking efforts must aim to strike at the market forces of ‘supply’ and ‘demand’ of persons, which finds criticism from anthropologists like Molland (2013), who state that it is important to understand trafficking in a “less mechanical way” and to employ a lens of long term ethnographic research and participatory observation. Molland (2013) carried out research on the ‘social worlds of trafficking and anti-trafficking’ along the Laos – Thailand border. Acknowledging that a key problem for anti-

trafficking programmes was actually locating mobile subjects involved in trafficking, perceived to be 'shady and elusive, Molland (2013) argued that trafficking can be researched by using 'tandem ethnography', which involves methodological oscillation between 'traffickers', 'anti-traffickers' and 'victims' to understand the actors as mobile subjects (Molland, 2013). An ethnographic approach to studying trafficking would include both the study of elusive figures (i.e. marginalized victims and shady traffickers), as well as placing onus on institutions that deal with mobile populations (e.g. anti-trafficking programmes). He carried out fieldwork within the sex industry along the Lao-Thai border, finding that although anti-trafficking programmes and organisations presume that traffickers are "ghostly", and traffickers' worlds were socially impenetrable, these were actually accessible through research methods like participant observation (Molland, 2013).

Molland's research sought to demystify the world of trafficking by searching for discrepancies and differences between research observations, which emerged over time and popular narratives. He drew a comparison of the sexual economies of Nong Kai in Thailand and Vientiane in Laos, showing that contrary to popular assumption, Lao-Thai migration cannot be explained by better income prospects in Thailand (Molland, 2013). He found that the price for sexual services, as well as income derived from it was higher in Laos as compared to Thailand – which in turn is contradictory to anti-trafficking discourse that assumes Lao-Thai migration is because of better income prospects in Thailand (Molland, 2013). Molland (2013) found that Lao sex workers working at Nong Kai see their reason for working in Thailand as escaping from social policing and surveillance by community members at home, as well as hiding the kind of work they were doing from families. He further speculated that cross-border migration in this context should be understood from "complex patron-client relationships" rather than conventional factors of supply and demand (Molland, 2013). Long-term ethnographic fieldwork, comparative analysis of different sites and, illumination of discrepancies in trafficking discourse is essential for examining the formation of migration trajectories, as well as discrepancies between the "social worlds of trafficking and anti-trafficking" (Molland, 2013). More about using anthropological perspectives

in prevention initiatives is provided in Key Learning 6 on Roles of Community or Bystanders in Human Trafficking.

Evaluation of Human Trafficking Interventions

Millions of donor dollars have been poured into the fight against human trafficking, but it appears that little of this money has been set aside to monitor and evaluate antitrafficking interventions (Davy, 2016; Bryant & Landman, 2020; Khan, 2014). At present, programs appear to be based on assumptions about what works in preventing and combating human trafficking, but to ensure the success of anti-trafficking initiatives, programs need to be based on evidence of what has been successful in other settings (Davy, 2016).

Bryant and Landman (2020), upon reviewing 90 evaluations of trafficking interventions, found that methodologies to evaluate human trafficking interventions relied mainly on qualitative review of program documents, interviews with key stakeholders. They found that many evaluations were of poor quality in terms of methodology and content (Bryant & Landman, 2020). Some evaluations were also opaque regarding their methodologies or how they arrived at their key findings, which limits the validity of the findings and the lessons that can be shared from these studies (Bryant & Landman, 2020; Walk Free Foundation, 2018).

Out of the 90 evaluations, 72 were conducted in Europe and Central Asia, followed by 52 evaluations in the Asia Pacific and 36 in Africa. One was conducted in Arab States, 20 in the Americas and eight evaluations were tagged as 'global', as they evaluate global programmes or global frameworks to combat human trafficking (Bryant & Landman, 2020). Bryant & Landman (2020) found that 73 evaluations were purportedly conducted by independent evaluators, with little or no details about the evaluators themselves, their funding and their relationships with organisations carrying out the intervention being evaluated, leaving open the possibility that the number of independent evaluations is lower than claimed (Bryant & Landman, 2020), a view

supported by Davy (2016), who found that many evaluations of trafficking interventions had been undertaken by program staff rather than an external, independent evaluator, especially in smaller NGOs. Internal evaluations are more prone to bias, and not publishing the details of the evaluator points to a lack of transparency which affects reliability (Bryant & Landman, 2020).

Despite significant financial investment and the seriousness of the crime of human trafficking, it is clear that many anti-human trafficking interventions continue to operate without an adequate evidence base (Konrad, 2018). Action is required to increase quality evaluations of anti-human trafficking programs; to ensure that programs contain achievable outcomes, come from a cogent theory of change, are targeted, implemented, and delivered effectively; and to improve the knowledge concerning the impact of programs (Konrad, 2018; Walk Free Foundation, 2018).

Research has asserted that project design must account for and provide serious consideration to structures and practices that enable exploitation (Kiss *et al*, 2019). For example, in the context of labour trafficking, its driving factors such as growing income inequalities, the increasing power of corporations alongside diminishing power of workers, extortionate labour recruitment practices, and governance structures that favour businesses or employers over workers' rights must be considered and addressed (Kiss *et al*, 2019). Many of the agencies that are combating trafficking also do not systematically collect and analyze data permitting evaluation of the effectiveness of programs in preventing and reducing trafficking, protecting victims, and punishing traffickers (Khan, 2014). This can also be attributed to project evaluation being seen as a separate activity to project development. Thus, project development is hindered because its design is not built on prior learning and relevant data is not collected during project implementation to ensure accurate measures of effectiveness or impact (Walk Free Foundation, 2018). Therefore, all prevention and intervention models have to be applied and implemented contextually, keeping in mind the social everyday realities of communities.

The “gold standard” of evaluating the success of a program lies in the reduction in prevalence of trafficking in communities, with clear pre-existing baseline values and measurable indicators to discern reduction in prevalence.

Ms. Katharine Bryant and Ms. Elise Gordon, Walk Free Foundation interviewed on 2

November 2020

Figure XXIII: Excerpts of Interview with Katharine Bryant and Elise Gordon, Walk Free Foundation

It is important to devise feasible evaluation techniques and proposed outcomes for these methodologies, and these techniques must account for the entire life cycle of trafficking, which also includes effective rehabilitation of the survivor so as to prevent their re-trafficking (Sattva Consulting, 2020).

Observations

The discourse around interventions to prevent human trafficking greatly varies between governments, international agencies and non-governmental organisations carrying out trafficking prevention in different jurisdictions. Government policies from the US, Europe and Canada show continued reliance on awareness generation, sensitisation, targeted information dissemination and technology resources for trafficking prevention, in spite of significant scholarship of the identification and addressing of the ‘root causes’ of trafficking, including deterrence of demand. International organisations like UNICEF and UNITAR, on the other hand, suggest and implement multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral and ‘holistic’ approaches, while NGOs and scholars inhabit more diverse domains, focusing on multi-vulnerability and labour approaches.

Through the literature mapping, it became clear that while scholars wrote in-depth treatises on different aspects of prevention techniques, many of them came from different 'schools of thought' (i.e. crime prevention, vulnerability, labour, etc.) that influenced the rationale behind their hypothesized intervention approach. None of the surveyed scholars actually endeavoured to bridge gaps in prevention discourse, restricting their observations on other prevention models to point out disadvantages or failings of other models and to articulate how their proposed model(s) would counter the same.

It became clear that research is vague about exactly why crime prevention initiatives are inadequate to prevent trafficking and about how the labour framework, apart from its redressal mechanisms, helps to effectively prevent human trafficking. There is also no evidence to show that intervention models proposed by various governments have been implemented pursuant to evidence or data collection, with a dearth of research evaluating the effectiveness of these state strategies.

6. Roles of Community or Bystanders in Human Trafficking

Is there any research on roles of community or by-standers to trafficking? What makes a particular community more vulnerable to tolerating, fostering, protecting, endorsing, colluding with, or even safeguarding violence of trafficking? What makes a particular state or country or community more tolerant, accepting or even supporting of human trafficking as a crime than other crimes such as murder or theft?

Introduction

An understanding of vulnerability (Key Learning 3) is interspersed with community factors, including cultural and social oppression, lack of strong societal and family support, regressive societal structures, shame and stigma to create and sustain environments where trafficking is

tolerated, condoned and even supported. Such permissive environments can originate right from the time when service providers (e.g., law enforcement) experience ambiguity in understanding the phenomenon of trafficking, being unable or unwilling to identify situations of trafficking. In communities, practical power imbalances and relationships between traffickers and persons at risk of trafficking can create environments justifying trafficking, with traffickers thinking of themselves as benevolent opportunity-providers.

Repressive cultural and social factors have been seen to play a large role in migration and trafficking, with factors like the caste system, notions of sexual purity, gendered shame and stigma facilitating and sustaining environments where trafficking becomes a phenomenon to be silently ignored. Further, existing social hierarchies that victimise and commodify certain demographics (lower-class, lower-caste women, for instance) are reinforced even by service providers seeking to 'reintegrate' survivors of trafficking, showing that 'anti-traffickers' can be as culpable as traffickers and communities. Participatory approaches can play critical roles in understanding complex community and bystander dynamics and attitudes and their effect on trafficking.

The role of cultural and social oppression, lack of strong societal and family support, regressive societal structures, shame and stigma cannot be understated when it comes to creating and sustaining an environment where trafficking is tolerated, condoned and even supported. Migrant women trafficked across borders are reluctant to exit trafficking situations on account of oppression in their home towns or countries, the caste system remains a huge influence on power dynamics and interactions in communities in India and sexual purity (and the consequent status and shame surrounding it) in many societies facilitates and sustains environments where trafficking becomes a phenomenon to be silently ignored, rather than engaged and tackled.

In the USA, structural racism exacerbates the vulnerabilities of people of colour, particularly minors, to sexual abuse and exploitation, facilitating the trafficking of African-American girls at younger ages than their racial counterparts (Butler, 2015). The Obama administration has also acknowledged that race and ethnicity contribute towards vulnerability in sex trafficking, particularly mentioning that indigenous people are particularly vulnerable to trafficking as well (Butler, 2015). The European Parliament (2008) has also acknowledged the role played by racial and ethnic discrimination of the Roma in hindering their access to the labour market. The discrimination exacerbates other vulnerability factors like unemployment, social exclusion and poverty, finally creating 'extreme vulnerability' of Romani individuals to trafficking throughout Central and Eastern Europe (Helms, 2013).

Finally, when adjudging permissive environments, research covered psychological conditioning of survivors, which served to sustain compliance with traffickers and situations of trafficking. The research overwhelmingly focused on psychological conditioning of trafficked women that impeded their sense of agency and their ability or desire to escape from situations of trafficking, acknowledging the gendered nature of the situation. Physical, emotional and sexual violence enables traffickers to achieve psychological control over victims of trafficking, which would result in victims commonly exhibiting a sense of loyalty towards their traffickers in spite of the abuse and exploitation (Van Der Watt & Ven Der Westhuizen, 2017).

Permissive Environment caused due to Confusion in Identifying Survivors

Research carried out by UNITAR (2014) focused on the role of local governments and local authorities as key actors to combat human trafficking. The initial identification of trafficking victims is an extremely important step in prevention, as stated by UNITAR (2014), as final identification of potential victims can often be prolonged in nature. Identifying victims efficiently and at an early stage is the first step towards making sure they are treated as 'rights holders',

have access to their rights and can exercise them effectively, which includes receiving appropriate assistance and protection (European Commission, 2017b: 5; ICMPD, 2018).

Early identification to be carried out by local authorities includes initial referral of the presumed victim to a body responsible for providing basic information and enquiring on the basic needs of presumed victims including healthcare, shelter, counselling and immediate protection (UNITAR, 2014). Ensuring communication in a language that the presumed victim understands, reviewing risks to their lives, and securing their immediate safety with appropriate emergency responses are included as well in the purview of identification services (UNITAR, 2014). However, adult men often still remain a blind spot in the identification and referral of victims of trafficking (see, for example: ICMPD, 2007; Friedman, 2013; Rosenberg, 2010; UNODC, 2016), as anti-trafficking responses are frequently still focused on female victims (ICMPD, 2018).

Experiencing and Escaping Cultural and Social Repression

While studying the vulnerability of victims, various regional cultures are cited as placing a lower value on women in families, society, and policy. These culturally and socially induced biases increase vulnerability among women and increase the tolerance for violence, and consequently trafficking or CSEC (Perry & McEwing, 2013; see Das, 2013; Bhattacharya, 2012). Sexual objectification of women as a form of gender inequality normalises sexual exploitation, for instance, against darker-skinned individuals (in India and Brazil) and facilitates trafficking amongst certain indigenous, ethnic or migrant communities (Konstantopoulos et. al, 2013; Bryant-Davis *et al*, 2017). Prevalent beliefs that some subgroups of women and girls exist for the purpose of men's sexual pleasure and/or domination may also facilitate discrimination that may increase the demand for specific 'types' of persons as well (greater demand for lighter-skinned women for sex trafficking in Mexico (Acharya & Clark, 2014)) and preferences for women of certain ethnic backgrounds (e.g. Asian women, perceived as obedient and submissive) for

domestic labour or sex work (Bryant-Davis *et al*, 2009; American Psychological Association, 2001; Tummala-Narra *et al.*, 2011; Tummala-Narra, Satiani, & Patel, 2015).

Patriarchal values and oppressive gender practices that root social organisation in “ideologies of human inferiority” (Quirk, 2011) help to justify practices of human trafficking, devaluing women and female children, consequently contributing to “moral tolerance to trafficking” (David *et al*, 2019; Ravlik, 2020). Such stereotyping and consequent targeting for various purposes can also result in a denial of resources such as safe housing, a liveable wage, education, safe childcare, and protection under the law, thereby exacerbating vulnerability of populations (Bryant-Davis *et al*, 2017). Ravlik (2020) has gone so far as to state that “where disrespect of women’s rights is culturally ingrained, anti-trafficking regulation is ineffective”, in her study of global tolerance to violence as related to trafficking regulation and gender norms.

Within India, caste serves as the overarching framework for social relations, providing a sub-conscious infrastructure for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal and intergroup inequality (Fitzpatrick, 2017; Interview with Ginny Baumann, Freedom Fund, (18 November 2020)). A deferential culture that sees inequality as natural, proper or divinely ordered can be a major resource for exploiters (Fitzpatrick, 2017; David *et. al*, 2019).

In the background of stereotyping and oppression in their home countries, many persons, mainly women, reported their motivation for migration and willingness to risk trafficking harm as the desire to secure lives free from cultural and social repression in their community of origin (Agustin 2002; Davies 2008). Even women in trafficking episodes expressed an unwillingness to surrender many of the perceived liberties they acquired, particularly freedom to associate and behave more independently from previous cultural norms (Davies 2008).

The patriarchal values that govern social organisation come with their own structures of shame, stigma and isolation. Certain forms of sexual exploitation, for instance, are considered ‘shameful’, with communities preferring to stigmatise persons who ‘violate’ these social norms, or to prevent them from exiting their situations of exploitation, rather than engaging with trafficking in such contexts or questioning the underlying values that exacerbate the risk of such exploitation (like the culture of *ijaat* (honour) in Nepal) (David et al, 2019; Thompson, 2016; Maternick & Ditmore, 2015; Aghatise, 2004).

Stigma and shame in research also focus largely on female victim stigma, with large gaps relating to stigma experienced by male victims of trafficking (Vijayarasa, 2015). Male victim stigma can be a fundamental challenge to male victim identification (both by service providers as well as self-identifying victimhood), which would likely result in an overrepresentation of women as victims in trafficking statistics (Vijayarasa, 2015). This is especially relevant when assessing the veracity of the mainstream trafficking framework which, on many occasions, relies on cumulative statistics to support the possible misconception that trafficking overwhelmingly affects women (Vijayarasa, 2015).

Justifications for Trafficking

It has been observed that traffickers have various justifications for their actions and do not necessarily perceive these actions to be wrong or unjust to survivors (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017; Shively et al, 2017). These justifications, shown below in Figure XXVII, allow slaveholders, in the case of labour trafficking, to perceive labourers as ‘beneficiaries’ and themselves as providing for vulnerable community members, focusing on marginalised populations that are particularly vulnerable to debt bondages (Fitzpatrick, 2017).

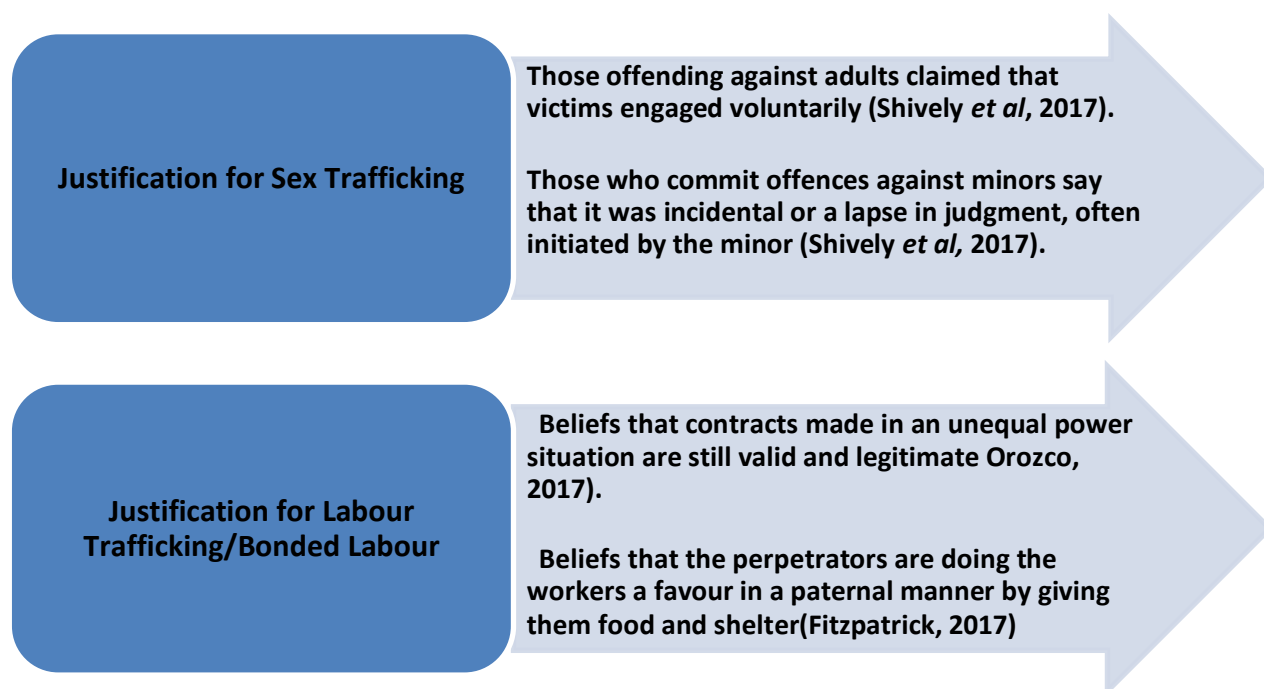


Figure XXIV: Justifications by Traffickers for Human Trafficking

A study was carried out in Cambodia by Keo et. al (2014) on five major themes about traffickers, seeking to explore who they are, why they became involved in human trafficking, how they operate, their earnings, and how the Cambodian criminal justice system responds to their activities. Through access of police and prison records, as well as interviews with 466 individuals (including police, prison, and court officers; NGO workers; villagers and migrants; and 91 incarcerated traffickers), the research found that firstly, of the 21 participants categorized as confirmed traffickers, eleven claimed that they had no prior knowledge that their conduct constituted human trafficking (Keo et. al., 2014). Secondly, participants' lifestyle prior to being jailed showed that they were poor and their illegal activities were not particularly lucrative, even if still more lucrative than legitimate work (Keo et. al., 2014).

It was found that respondents' involvement in trafficking was strongly influenced by both push and pull factors, that is, a lack of legitimate opportunities and the presence of illegitimate

opportunities that enabled them to survive (Keo et. al., 2014). Contrary to assumptions that perpetrators are largely males who force women into trafficking, poor and uneducated women were seen to be overrepresented in the statistics of incarcerated traffickers (Keo et. al., 2014), also employing “forced recruitment” rarely. The justifications employed by traffickers overwhelmingly incorporated denial of wrongdoing on their part, with insight into the lives and identities of traffickers showing that they are as dependent on push-pull factors as trafficked persons are, for livelihood and sustenance.

Sustaining Vulnerability through Psychological Conditioning, Socialisation and Coercion

While cultural factors facilitate both creation and sustenance of vulnerability, survivors’ psychological conditioning and perceptions also come into play. The research that looks at psychological conditioning and socialisation is heavily skewed in its coverage of girls and women who are trafficked for sexual exploitation. Research lists out psychological risk factors in adolescent girls caused by traumatic experiences as: low self-esteem, negative perception of self and others, feelings of cognitive dissonance or hopelessness, sexual denigration of self, feeling isolated, no strong connections with family members, illusions of relationship with potential traffickers; maladaptive coping strategies, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Vrubliauskaitė, 2018; Cyrus, 2005; Jani et al, 2013).

However, in spite of such individual risk factors and shame around being involved in ‘bad work’ (sex work), adolescent survivors of sex trafficking in Cambodia reported a sense of pride in making a valuable contribution to their families’ livelihoods, in line with societally conditioned expectations of “self-sacrifice and filial piety” (Vijayarasa, 2015). Similar socialisations of children in Ghana, where work and contributions to family income are considered necessary, contribute largely to tolerance to child trafficking (Miller, 2019).

Psychological coercion by traffickers is also known to be a dominant feature of human trafficking (Dando et al, 2016). Biderman outlined methods of coercion used to establish compliance, and they are as follows.

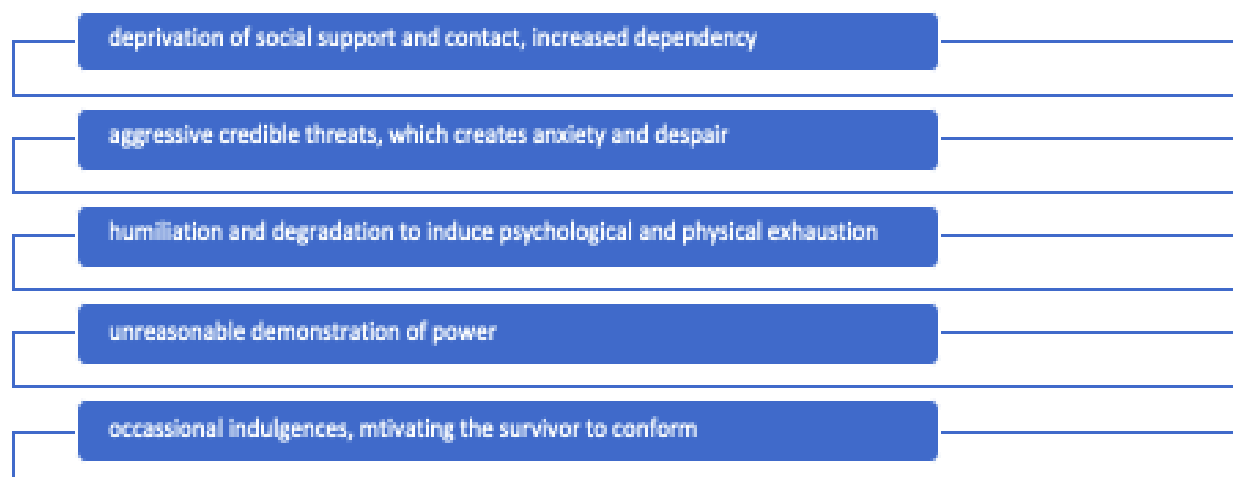


Figure XXV: Biderman's framework of psychological coercion

Other psychological methods of control include deprivation of psychological needs (e.g., no medical care; restricted food and water; limited sleep), and the false creation of debts. Effective psychological control also results from non-violent forms of ill treatment, which are designed to physically humiliate and degrade victims, induce physical exhaustion (Dando et al, 2016; Baldwin et al, 2011) placing victims in a framework of perceived helplessness, with the traffickers being the only source for them to meet their basic needs (Jani et al, 2013; Gotch, 2016). Ultimately, physical and psychological confinement along with social isolation are also adopted as an organised effort to keep the victim from understanding or looking for alternatives (Jani *et al*, 2013).

Traffickers and Perpetrators: Anthropological Angle and Perspectives

Existing research on both sex and labour trafficking establishes that a large majority of traffickers are neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, or friends extending help in desperate times (Vindhya & Dev 2011; Ray, 2015; Fitzpatrick, 2017; Ghosh, 2014). Ray (2015) conducted research with 77 survivors of sex trafficking and found that while two were sold by their respective parents, and found that the large majority of traffickers were neighbours, acquaintances, relatives and partners.

However, in spite of the seemingly ubiquitous nature of traffickers in communities, Molland (2013) states that anti-trafficking efforts have portrayed them as “ghostly individuals that are difficult to pinpoint”. Anthropological approaches serve to demystify the world of traffickers, allowing researchers to study trafficking by oscillating between the ‘traffickers’, ‘victims’, and ‘anti-traffickers’ and grasp how mobile subjects are constituted within the realm of trafficking (Molland, 2013).

Molland (2013) stated that what is assumed by anti-traffickers to be an impenetrable social world, is accessible with the use of conventional, un-trendy methods, such as participant observation. Participatory research places elements of the research design, implementation, and analysis process either partly or exclusively in the hands of individuals who engage in behaviours or practices that the research seeks to understand, making such methods invaluable in understanding ground realities of exploitation, stories of vulnerability and resilience and the collusion of various actors, including anti-trafficking service providers (Hannerz, 2006; Dewey & Zheng, 2013; Miller, 2019).

Participatory research in Laos and Thailand demystified the functioning of local trafficking networks, finding that perpetrators ran their brothels and carried out organised crimes within domestic setups in Thai households, the perpetrators largely functioned based on personal connections and family ties and traffickers were accessible as study subjects through their social relationships (Molland, 2013). The research has also revealed certain factors indicating potential collusion between perpetrators and “anti-traffickers”, with some venues of research (Molland, 2013) being closely located to anti- trafficking organisations, which somehow seemed oblivious to such proximity. Participant observation in shelters housing sex trafficking survivors in Bangladesh also show the tension between “discourses of empowerment” of NGOs “that are influenced by international development and local feminist networks, and the intersectional social position of lower-class trafficked women, which remains unquestioned by case managers”, reinforcing and reproducing gender and class inequalities that increase vulnerability to trafficking in the first place (Bose, 2018).

The perceptions of sex trafficking survivors by NGOs, as simultaneously being “childlike, innocent victims and sexual deviants” manifests in “disciplining desire” (through various methods, like controlling how survivors dress, modes of therapy, promoting an anti-sex discourse), which ultimately forces these women back to their “proper positions within existing social hierarchies” (Bose, 2018). The reinforcement of these narratives within government-run shelter homes as well makes survivors feel punished and incarcerated, exacerbating vulnerabilities that originally resulted in, or at least contributed to them being trafficked earlier (Sattva Consulting, 2020).

Participant observation has also been used to demystify assumptions around identities of migrant communities, for instance in the study carried out by Parreñas (2011) to determine whether Filipina hostesses in Japan were trafficked victims, pursuant to the 2004 declaration by the U.S. State Department that they were the largest group of sex trafficked persons in the world. Through the research, Parreñas (2011) worked alongside Filipina hostesses in a working-class

club in Tokyo's red light district, dismantling the assumption that hostess bars were hotbeds of sex trafficking and discovering that the migrant Filipina women worked there by choice, with none of them being forced into prostitution.

Parreñas' (2011) research acknowledged the vulnerabilities of the Filipina hostesses, whilst discovering that their labour migration inhabited a 'middle zone' between human trafficking and labour migration, which was described as "indentured mobility". The research served to show that binary categories for thinking about such communities – either as 'migrants' or 'trafficked persons' – failed to capture "the complex dynamics of coercion and choice that embody their labour migration experiences" (Parreñas, 2011). When not entirely identified as victims, participant research can show that migrant women's perspectives disclose a complexity of cross-border movements that cannot be adequately addressed through binaries such as 'illegal versus legal' and 'involuntary versus voluntary' migration (Andrijasevic, 2010). Therefore, participatory research methods can help to provide the migrant subject's perspective in a system where the focus is still on deterring illegal migration or combating organised crime (Andrijasevic, 2010).

Caste Systems

Fitzpatrick (2017) noted that when in conversation with slaveholders, caste obligations are used as strategies so as to identify vulnerability, decide upon price fixing and exploiting relational dynamics like power imbalances. Persons recruited into slavery are able to fulfil their basic human needs for food, clothing, and shelter are met through their bondage. A deferential culture that sees inequality as natural, proper or divinely ordered can be a major resource for exploiters (Fitzpatrick, 2017). For example, this culture has been linked to the persistence of bonded labour among rural communities in the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Karnataka, and the perpetuation of debt bondage by recruitment agencies in the Philippines (David et al, 2019).

Perpetrators of bonded labour are not pathological rights violators, with Fitzpatrick (2017) terming it as a “socially constructed preference for inequality”. Slaveholders interviewed by Fitzpatrick (2017) in South Asia regularly insisted that they were approached by landless labourers who were desperate to survive – and thought of the bonded labour arrangement as unintentional and not coerced in nature.

Observations

Although there is some research that postulates on factors relating to community and bystander permissiveness, tolerance and acceptance to trafficking, the overall information on the same is fragmented, due to lack of evidence-based research approaches that actually document the social worlds of trafficking and anti-trafficking. Research pertaining to permissive environments around trafficking speak of the importance of early identification of victims for prevention of human trafficking.

Permissive community environments that exhibit and retain patriarchal values and oppressive gender practices contribute to a moral tolerance to trafficking of those who are devalued in such communities. Gender and caste considerations sustain and exacerbate social inequalities, serving as motivation for persons to migrate to escape cultural and social repression. Community environments are also influenced by social norms that perpetuate shame and stigma, juxtaposed with moral obligations cast on minors to contribute to their family income, contributing to tolerance of trafficking. In addition to community-level factors, psychological coercion by traffickers serves to sustain control and situations of abuse and exploitation.

Whilst other research focuses on community interrelationships, anthropological studies have employed participatory approaches to explore the social worlds of trafficking and anti-trafficking, lending invaluable perspectives to the actual roles of anti-trafficking NGOs in potentially colluding with perpetrators of trafficking who are ubiquitous or geographically proximate to NGO offices,

by failing to formally acknowledge their presence. Participatory studies also shed light on the role of anti-trafficking organisations, which cannot be overlooked when studying roles and relationships of relevant actors in communities. The few participatory approaches looking at sex work (Dewey & Zheng, 2013) and sex trafficking survivors (Bose, 2018) show valuable insights regarding how prevailing social norms like shame, stigma and gendered oppression are reinforced by anti-trafficking actors in practice, whilst advocating for empowerment of survivors in principle.

VII. Relevance for Indian Context

Of all the research studied and reviewed, which of them may have a higher relevance to India both in terms of further areas of inquiry as well as relevance of interventions through field action, engagement with public or policy reform?

Introduction

From the research, it was seen that there were certain models of intervention or certain principles applicable in prevention interventions that seemed to be more compelling in the Indian context, where it has been seen that trafficking is more likely to occur amongst poor, marginalised, isolated populations that are not socially or politically organised. The idea of trafficking as a product of continued vulnerabilities, rather than a ‘basket of crimes’ has seemed to gain traction amongst researchers, who have repeatedly advocated for preventing human trafficking by acknowledging and analysing multi-vulnerabilities of populations. Further, the research calls for ‘ecological’, ‘holistic’ or multidisciplinary approaches, grassroots level interventions, reiterating that single-focus interventions will not impact overall vulnerability of populations that are at risk of trafficking. The ecological model is mentioned in greater detail later in this section.

Using Social Worker Expertise and the Chain of Risk Model to Prevent Trafficking

Through the course of the research, two strategies for prevention interventions that emerged were firstly, using social worker expertise to engage with trafficked persons and secondly, utilising the ‘chain-of-risk model’ to identify key points where individuals, families and communities are particularly vulnerable to trafficking, for targeted interventions. The research team is proposing the exploration of these strategies together, as complementary and supplementary initiatives for prevention at the grassroots level in India.

Social work scholars have noted the importance of trauma-informed, survivor-centered practices when engaging trafficked clients (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012; Hardy et al., 2013; Heffernan & Blythe, 2014; Hodge, 2014; Kotrla, 2010; Okech et al., 2018), with social workers occupying pivotal positions to address the individual needs of survivors as well as advocating for structural changes in their communities, addressing both the “psychology and politics” of their clients (Hahn and Scanlon, 2016). It has been seen that social workers can specifically provide their expertise in program evaluation and outcome assessment, as well as their organizational practice of centering clients’ voices in their service provision, to improve anti-trafficking efforts (Hodge, 2014). Social workers are in a unique vantage point to understand that survivors of trafficking may face unique challenges such as undocumented migration, violent partners, or financial insecurity that can lead to continued vulnerability and possible exploitation (Schwarz et. al, 2019; Androff, 2011).

In the Indian context, social workers are actively participating in preventing trafficking at a community level, by protecting vulnerable communities and participating in prevention interventions (Datta *et al*, 2017). Social workers are also appreciated by communities as they are generally from within the same community, and are perceived to be non-threatening, non-coercive and non-stigmatizing while dealing with them (Datta *et al*, 2017). Certain non-profits in India, like Angan Trust and the Hummingbird Foundation have made use of social worker

expertise in their prevention interventions (interview with Clare Mathias, Hummingbird Foundation, 28 October 2020), successfully reducing vulnerability of children by addressing several factors such as risk identification, access to identity documentation, enrollment in schools and trust building (Harvard FXB, 2019). Service providers still, however face challenges in their practice of identification, especially when engaging with clients interpersonally, but can still lend much-needed expertise through the intervention process (Harvard FXB, 2019).

International non-profits like the Freedom Fund trains survivors of bonded labour in Tamil Nadu to be social workers within their own community. Not only are these persons deemed trustworthy, but are also seen as inspirations by their communities for having exited an exploitative situation successfully. Therefore, it is easier for these social workers to develop a relationship of trust with their community

Ginny Baumann, Senior Project Manager at The Freedom Fund, interviewed on 18 November 2020

Figure XXVI: Excerpt of Interview with Ginny Baumann, Freedom Fund

The research makes it clear that in India, social worker expertise is already being used in trafficking prevention initiatives at the community level, with a certain measure of success in this context. A service provider perspective to trafficking is said to understand trafficking as a continuum of accumulating vulnerabilities or compounded risk (Carey & Farao, 2011; Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin, 2014; Gazi et al., 2001; Gerassi & Nichols, 2018; Reid et al., 2017). This kind of approach, where trafficking is a continuum, focuses attention on survivors and highlights upstream social programs that can reduce the chances of harm before they reach extreme levels of trauma, violence, and exploitation (Schwarz et. al, 2019). This is where the ‘chain of risk’ model of preventing trafficking can be explored.

Thinking of trafficking as a continuum of vulnerability, exploitation, and trafficking emphasizes the importance of prevention programs to help individuals exit the chain-of-risk before being exploited or trafficked (Schwarz et. al, 2019).

Figure XXVII: Chain of Risk of Trafficking

As trafficking occupies “one end of a spectrum of exploitation”, the chain-of-risk model offers an approach that service providers can access regardless of whether or not their client’s exploitation fits the legal definition of trafficking or not—if an individual is facing extreme poverty, cyclical homelessness, or legal concerns post migration, service providers can intervene to meet those specific needs and address those trafficking risk factors (Schwarz et. al, 2019). According to the chain of risk model of trafficking, there are some key moments and particular risk factors that should be recognized as vital points where intervention should take place (Schwarz et. al, 2019). For instance, multiple participants in Schwarz et al.’s study (2019) suggested that aging out of foster care is a pivotal moment for youth to be vulnerable to predatory relationships and trafficking, which has been found in the broader literature (Clawson & Goldblatt Grace, 2007; Curtis et al., 2008).

The chain-of-risk model finds potential applicability in India, given the diverse vulnerability factors as well as the compounded nature of multi-vulnerability of populations seen throughout the country. It attempts to delineate the various contributing factors that increase risk of human trafficking, with the potential to break down the phenomenon of trafficking into different factors that can be more easily monitored, without intervention from state authorities, relying on robust program design and the intellectual resources of experts with intuitive wisdom (social workers). Key points of intervention can be identified, and the programme design can allow for emerging vulnerabilities to be recorded and addressed, ensuring evolution of the programme.

From a legislative and policy perspective, it would be useful for policymakers to understand and consider the role played by certain traumatic experiences such as statutory rape, sexual exploitation of youth, homelessness and deceptive employment practices as points for intervention, as these factors could otherwise be entry points into extreme exploitation and trafficking (Duncan *et al*, 2019). There is a need for integration of best practices and policy approaches that create comprehensive and accessible services for vulnerable persons and communities (Duncan *et al*, 2019).

Although NGOs do employ social workers for various anti-human trafficking initiatives in India, it could be argued that these social workers could lend their expertise to actually designing anti-human trafficking interventions, as well as evaluating impact that may not be readily quantifiable or backed by official data - rather than being operators of interventions that are strategised by people external to the community. Social workers in touch with or part of particular communities will have unique insights into what it entails to grow up in or be a member of such community, and this type of wisdom can be a valuable asset not just in terms of operating such intervention, but in terms of deciding how the intervention can be monitored and impact evaluated.

Ecological Model

An ecological model for human trafficking intervention has been proposed by researchers to suggest prevention strategies that are specifically tailored towards contextual factors in families, geographies or populations – as a “one size does not fit all” approach (Barner *et. al.*, 2017). The ecological model’s key concepts are elucidated in ‘practitioner-level discourse’ on trafficking, being predicated on the involvement of various service providers who locate their own perspectives within multiple levels of impact (Barner *et. al.*, 2017).

Practitioner discourse on trafficking is represented below in Figure XXX as a five-sphere concentric model, which conceptualises specific types of anti-trafficking interventions, tracing

their systematic influence on trafficking victims through their lives. The concepts can inform coordinated interventions, for instance, a micro-level intervention in the smallest sphere (Person/Family and Environment) that may involve providing awareness of trafficking to potential trafficking victims, which is complemented by a meso-level intervention effort to provide employment training or economic services (Barner et. al., 2017). The interventions go on, through the concentric spheres, with the aim of harmonizing these concentric frameworks to provide targeted and relevant interventions throughout an individual's life course.

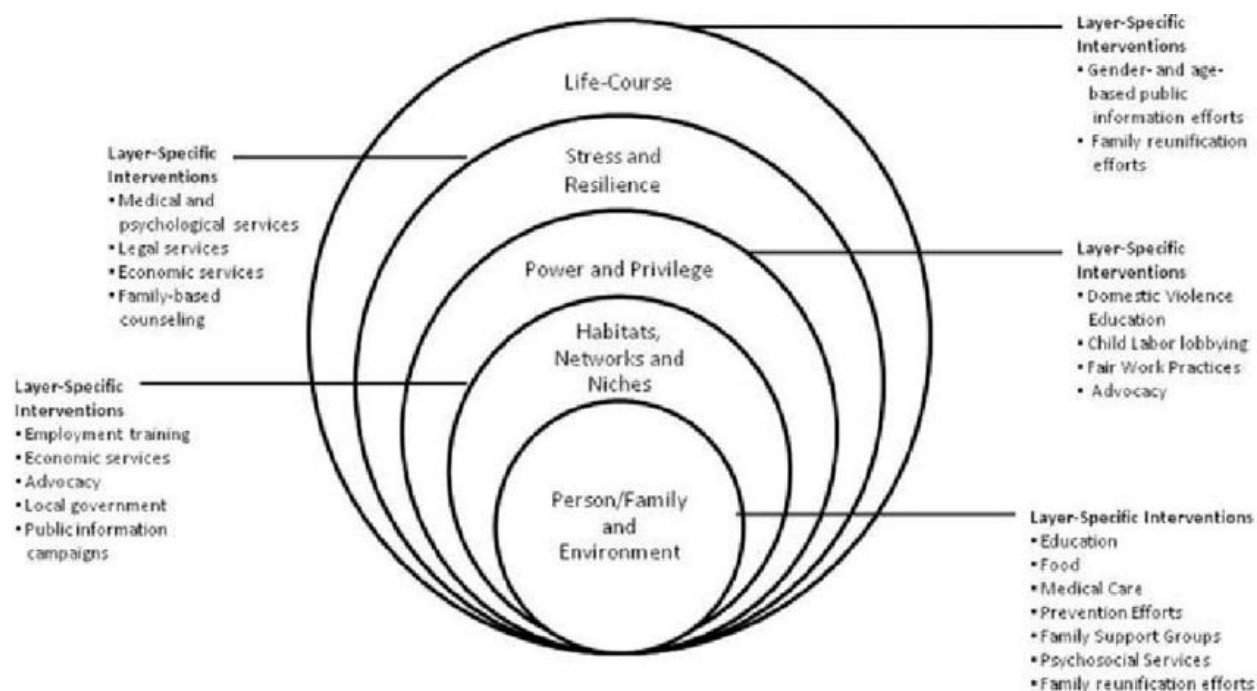


Figure XXVIII: A Depiction of the Ecological Model

The ecological model can be used as a multi-level approach to prevent trafficking by understanding factors that contribute to the risk, incidence, prevalence, and growth of trafficking (Barner et al., 2014; Brückner, 2008; Hodge & Lietz, 2007; Lusk & Lucas, 2009; Rafferty, 2008; Reid, 2012; Roby, 2005). Healy (2008) states that social workers should also be aware of the past

circumstances within and around victims' environments that might have contributed to their being trafficked.

The ecological model is proposed as an interesting approach to coordinate individual anti-trafficking initiatives to complement each other and influence the 'ecology' of the vulnerable person at its centre. A distinct feature of the approach is the introduction of the related concepts of stress and resilience experienced by victims, which translates into integration of resilience-building programmes into anti-trafficking interventions (Barner et. al., 2017).

Cultural resilience building involves learning about one's heritage, including their contributions to society, through avenues like family, friends, the media, schools, religious leaders, and other community cultural groups (Liang & Fassinger, 2008). Further, marginalized communities have found diverse ways to resist and protest oppressions, including holding marches, rallies, voting and advocacy for just policies and procedures (Bryant-Davis & Tummala-Narra, 2017; Oak Foundation interview, 2020). Participation of concerned constituencies in panchayats and holding elected representatives accountable has been effective for prevention interventions (Oak Foundation interview, 2020). It has been found that even if the Gram Panchayat consists of upper caste persons who may not be privy to the same vulnerabilities as the rest of the community, maintaining a steady pressure on them to act towards community resilience is a useful strategy (Oak Foundation interview, 2020).

Financial resilience-building in communities has also been cited as an effective counter-trafficking strategy by the Freedom Fund (2019), whose study suggests that efforts to raise awareness, organise communities and strengthen families' financial resilience helped marginalised communities remove themselves from bonded labour. Improvements in financial resilience may be attributable to the efforts of partner NGOs and community organisations linking households to existing government services, like registering for Aadhar cards, government

housing schemes and maternal health programmes, all of which enable families and communities to avail of state schemes and welfare services (Freedom Fund, 2019).

The ecological model also acknowledges and addresses the fact that narrow prevention approaches may lack effectiveness when dealing with complex phenomena like trafficking (Barner et. al., 2017). Ecological frameworks offer practitioners the option of carrying out flexible prevention techniques that can potentially improve existing anti-trafficking strategies focusing only on certain vulnerability factors, and also allows communities to craft sustainable, culturally and socially relevant interventions.

Survivors' Evaluation of Anti-Trafficking Programmes

Evaluations of anti-human trafficking programs aim to measure and assess many program elements, including the following: effect of legislation and prosecutions; relevance, effectiveness, and sustainability of the program objectives, strategies, and interventions; direct and indirect effects of programs to reduce human trafficking; appropriateness of program performance and cost efficiency measures in demonstrating progress toward meeting the programs' short and long-term goals; efforts to eliminate trafficking; collaboration and coordination of stakeholders and service provisions; cost efficiency; and duplication of efforts (Davy, 2016). Since these are general in nature, they can be modified and adopted to suit the Indian context, depending upon the place, objective and target group of the prevention intervention.

Regardless of the ultimate programme design of any prevention intervention, it is imperative that a system for evaluation of the effectiveness and implementation of such programmes is put in place. Scholars have stated that survivors should play a central role in monitoring and evaluation of anti-trafficking programming, with participatory approaches to evaluation improving retention rates and acting as 'vehicles' for rehabilitation (Bryant & Landman, 2020). For instance, evaluations of Freedom Fund's programme in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh adopted participatory

methods to collect and analyze data to assess whether the program had made a real contribution to the eradication of modern slavery and bonded labour in the targeted communities (Burns, Oosterhoff, Raj, & Nanda, 2015; Oosterhoff et al., 2016).

The participatory model of impact assessment has been said to be effective in the anti-modern slavery field as well, since it engages with local communities and survivors to better understand the long-term impact of the intervention on their lives (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2011). A participatory model can “give people affected by slavery a voice about what should be counted and gives them a chance to input into how the survey results could be used for locally relevant action” (Oosterhoff et al., 2016). While promising, it is still important to assess which stakeholders to include in this process, the role of psycho-social support during the evaluation process, and how to provide adequate and uniform training for those who participate (Bryant & Landman, 2020).

Observations

Both the chain of risk model of prevention that incorporates social worker expertise, as well as the ecological model of trafficking intervention have been suggested keeping in mind that trafficking as a product of continued vulnerabilities, with prevention of human trafficking becoming possible by acknowledging and analysing multi-vulnerabilities of populations. Since the research largely advocates for multidisciplinary and multi-level approaches to prevention trafficking by addressing different, unique vulnerabilities of individuals and populations, these models can be optimised for deployment on different scales at the grassroots level.

As stated earlier, the chain of risk model takes into account different ‘key’ points of vulnerability in the lifetimes of persons and communities, prescribing specific interventions at these points to tackle individual vulnerability factors that may arise from time to time, or at specific stages in life. The ecological model marks a certain paradigm shift, seeking to first understand the unique

interplay of vulnerabilities beginning with individuals, families or kinship systems, radiating outwards. It prescribes interventions at different radiating levels, to prevent trafficking and to even facilitate healing and recovery of returned trafficking survivors – and prevent their re-trafficking. Studies that have focused on resilience building of individuals and communities by making use of existing familial and community structures, government or state-run support services as well as modes of protest and resistance, can form avenues for interventions seeking to reduce or prevent vulnerabilities. Therefore, ecological strategies can potentially be integrated into existing programmes for survivors that can be expanded to community-wide individuals, targeting vulnerable individuals first, radiating outwards into the community that may have its own vulnerabilities and norms which tolerate trafficking.

A challenge to adopting these approaches is that up till now, the majority of interventions in India are NGO-driven, rather than spearheaded by any governments. Sattva (2020) that carried out a landscape study of anti-human trafficking organisations in India reported after reintegration of trafficked victims, there were no linkages with governmental skills development initiatives of the government or collaborations to provide employment services/ entrepreneurship development training. It is seen that many skills training programmes for rescued survivors tend to focus on simple and often outdated courses in tailoring, candle-making, salon services that are not sustainable in nature (Sattva Consulting, 2020). Therefore, campaigning for legal reform to impose affirmative obligations on governments to provide support and skill development services has to run simultaneously with investment in multi-vulnerability prevention interventions.

There is a dearth of research focusing on survivors, their collectivisation and their roles in prevention, with discourse predominantly focusing on survivors as vulnerable subjects or potential victims of re-trafficking. However, prevention initiatives that involve monitoring and evaluation of impact by survivors can lead to increased engagement with local communities and

survivors to better understand the long-term impact of the intervention on their lives. It can also create another discourse of resilience-building, where survivors and their collectives are visibilised in communities, challenging social hierarchies and structural vulnerabilities.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Research shows that ‘prevention of human trafficking’ itself occupies varied definitions, which are highly dependent on the approach taken to define ‘human trafficking’. The different approaches, including crime prevention, public health, rights-based and labour based approaches all situate human trafficking and its prevention in unique contexts. Reviewed literature has been consistently critical of the crime prevention approach, designating it as ‘inadequate’ to prevent and combat trafficking. Criminal justice systems tend to depend on legal definitions that can be restrictive and ambiguous, which in turn create confusion in identifying victims, disregarding many experiences that occur within the spectrum of human trafficking. Further, the definition of trafficking in the Palermo Protocol has been said to emphasise the role of ‘movement’ in trafficking and is therefore accused of downplaying the prevalence of local trafficking operations. Rather than relying upon the simplistic narratives put forth by the crime prevention approach, research calls for prevention of trafficking by identifying the underlying causes of the phenomenon, contextually.

Identifying the underlying causes of trafficking requires a substantive exploration of vulnerability to trafficking, as well as factors influencing vulnerability. The confusion between ‘vulnerability’ as a form of susceptibility to trafficking, and ‘abuse of vulnerability’ as the means by which trafficking is perpetrated leads practitioners to equate the mere fact of people’s inherent vulnerability to ‘proof’ that the conditions that make trafficking possible are already fulfilled. Vulnerability studies, therefore, have to understand go beyond defining inherent vulnerabilities, and must explore how the abuse of such inherent vulnerabilities takes place, to facilitate human trafficking.

When considering vulnerability factors like education, gender norms and family factors that are commonly connected in literature with risk of trafficking, it become paramount to understand

the exact nature of vulnerability, to prevent the automatic reinforcement of common assumptions in popular anti-trafficking discourse. For instance, although the literature largely affirms the correlation between gender norms and vulnerability that facilitates widespread trafficking and exploitation of women across the world, the prevailing assumption that globally, the majority of victims are women and perpetrators are men cannot automatically follow. The same gender norms and stereotypes that exacerbate and sustain the vulnerability of women to trafficking, when coupled with ideals of masculinity, also result in erroneous views on vulnerability of men and boys, who are perceived to be less vulnerable and resistant to human trafficking thereby impeding the understanding of their victimisation.

Further, in spite of research to show that family factors (including family dynamics, violence and disintegration) can play a significant role in causing or enhancing vulnerability to trafficking and CSEC, there is only weak evidence to show the relationship between domestic violence and vulnerability. Education is another commonly-cited factor affecting vulnerability, with studies showing that in spite of widespread assumptions that the majority of trafficking victims are non or partially autonomous due to low levels of education, research found that higher levels of education may in fact lead to higher levels of irregular, unsafe migration for those pursuing opportunities abroad. Research also shows that the poorest persons in communities may not engage in the riskiest, migratory decisions, but that trafficking may show a stronger correlation with relative poverty than with absolute poverty; it is the pursuit of improved economic (and social) circumstances rather than the need to address extreme hunger or desperation. Therefore, factors contributing to vulnerability of persons are highly complex, requiring a contextual and nuanced understanding to discover exactly how they relate with persons to facilitate trafficking.

The research has served to identify some discrepancies in prevention literature, in terms of false dichotomies that position traffickers and trafficked survivors at two ends of a 'victim-perpetrator' dichotomy, which fail to account for the 'spectrum of exploitation' encompassed within human

trafficking. Easy and straightforward identification and categorisation of victims and perpetrators of trafficking still remains elusive, impeding law enforcement efforts relating to human trafficking in different jurisdictions across the world. In this background, anthropological and psychological perspectives have been seen to yield interesting findings on dynamics and interpersonal relations between victims, perpetrators, communities and bystanders. These perspectives, calling for participant based research methods and ethnographic studies are serving to visibilise specific populations, especially traffickers, who have been 'hidden' all this time from researchers as well as anti-trafficking organisations.

The development of targeted prevention initiatives informed by permissive community environments, specific vulnerabilities and psycho-social determinants could help to understand and deconstruct various factors that 'allow' trafficking of people from a particular demographic to take place in specific contexts. Further, data collection using participant observation approaches could help to bridge information gaps in global (and local) human trafficking data, which are glaring in nature, according to several global studies that address information discrepancies and missing data in human trafficking. Ethnographic research conducted through participant observation has yielded concrete results in certain parts of South East Asia and in Japan in terms of accessing these communities, understanding their relationships, the locations and means within which trafficking networks operate as well as being able to situate them and their trajectories within a 'victim' – 'free subject' spectrum, rather than a simplistic dichotomy.

For prevention in the Indian context, the existing use of social worker expertise in prevention initiatives at the community level can be mobilised to provide different interventions at 'key points' of vulnerability for persons, with social worker expertise being especially valuable in identifying unique vulnerabilities, designing targeted interventions, monitoring and evaluating models. The ecological model for human trafficking intervention, which takes a holistic, multidisciplinary and multi-level approach towards combating trafficking can be used to

coordinate existing initiatives at the community level to complement each other in tackling the multi-vulnerabilities of the persons at its centre. Research reveals that if survivors and community members are given monitoring and evaluation roles, it could increase buy-in and improve longevity of the intervention.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Acharya, A.K, Clark, J.B., (2014), "Trafficking of women and vulnerability to HIV/STI Infection in Urban Mexico". *Genus* 70(2-3): 87-109
2. Achilli, L., (2017), "Smuggling and trafficking in human beings at the time of the Syrian conflict: Lessons from Europe". *Human Trafficking and Exploitation* 129-146
3. Albanese, J., Donnelly, J., Kelegian, T., (2004), "Cases of human trafficking in the United States: A content analysis of a calendar year in 18 cities". *International Journal of Comparative Criminology* (4): 96-111
4. Andrijasevic, R., (2010), "Migration, Agency and Citizenship in Sex Trafficking". Cham: Palgrave Macmillan
5. ASK Training and Learning, 2020, "Social Norms Research on Gender-Based Differences, Discrimination and Sex-Trafficking"
6. Baker, C., (2013), "Moving Beyond "Slaves, Sinners and Saviours": An Intersectional Feminist Analysis of US Sex Trafficking Discourses, Law and Policy". *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 4: 1-23
7. Baldwin, S., Fehrenbacher, A., Eisenman, D., (2014), "Psychological Coercion in Human Trafficking: An Application of Biderman's Framework". *Qualitative Health Research* 25(9)
8. Barron I.M., Frost C., (2018), "Men, Boys, and LGBTQ: Invisible Victims of Human Trafficking". *Handbook of Sex Trafficking*, Cham: Springer
9. Behera, M., (2020), "Grassroots Democracy, Development and The Trafficking of Tribal Girls – A Case Study". *Mukt Shabd Journal* 9(4): 128-142
10. Bhattacharjee, U., "Repeated Floods, Ethnic Violence Make Assam A Human Trafficking Epicentre" 02 September 2014, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/repeated-floods-ethnic-violence-make-assam-a-human-trafficking-epicentre-657832>
11. Bose, D., (2018), "There are no Victims Here: Ethnography of a reintegration shelter for survivors of trafficking in Bangladesh". *Anti-Trafficking Review* 10: 139-155
12. Brennan, D., (2005), "Methodological Challenges in Research with Trafficked Persons: Tales from the Field". *International Migration* (43): 37-54

13. Bryant-Davis, T., Tummala-Narra, P., (2017), "Cultural Oppression and Human Trafficking: Exploring the Role of Racism and Ethnic Bias". *Women & Therapy* 40(1): 152-169
14. Bryant, K., Landman, T., (2020), "Combatting Human Trafficking since Palermo: What Do We Know about What Works?". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 6(2): 119-140
15. Cameron, S., Newman, E., (2008), "Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions". New York: United Nations University Press
16. Carey, C., Farao, E., (2011), "Galtung's unified theory of violence and its implications for human trafficking: A case study of sex workers in West Bengal India". "Global perspectives on prostitution and sex trafficking: Africa, Asia, Middle East and Oceania". Plymouth, England: Lexington Books
17. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention: US Department of Health & Human Services, 2020, "How Can We Prevent Sex Trafficking?"
<https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/sexualviolence/trafficking.html>
18. Chuang, J., (2014), "Exploitation Creep and the Unmaking of Human Trafficking Law". *American Journal of International Law* 108(4): 609-649
19. Clawson, H., Dutch, N., Salomon, A., Goldblatt Grace, L., (2009), "Study of HHS Programs Serving Human Trafficking Victims". Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services <https://aspe.hhs.gov/study-hhs-programs-serving-human-trafficking-victims>
20. Cockbain, E., Bowers, K., Dimitrova, G., (2018), "Human trafficking for labour exploitation: the results of a two-phase systematic review mapping the European evidence base and synthesising key scientific research evidence". *Journal of Experimental Criminology* (14): 319-360
21. Dando, C., Walsh, D., Brierley, R., (2016), "Perceptions of Psychological Coercion and Human Trafficking in the West Midlands of England: Beginning to Know the Unknown". *PLOS ONE* 11(5): e0153263

22. Datta, S., Mukherjee, K., (2017), "Role Played by Social Workers in Non-Governmental Organizations in Preventing Human Trafficking in India". *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 6(12): 34-37
23. David, F., Bryant, K., Larsen, J., (2019), "Migrants and their Vulnerability to Human Trafficking, Modern Slavery and Forced Labour". Geneva, Switzerland: International Organisation for Migration.
24. Davy D., (2015), "Understanding the Support Needs of Human-Trafficking Victims: A Review of Three Human-Trafficking Program Evaluations". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 1(4): 318-337
25. Davy, D., (2016), "Anti-Human Trafficking Interventions: How Do We Know if They Are Working?". *American Journal of Evaluation* 37(4): 486-504
26. Dewey, S., Zheng, T., "Ethical Research with Sex Workers: Anthropological Approaches". New York: Springer Verlag
27. Dragiewicz, M., (2015), "Global Human Trafficking: Critical Issues and Contexts". London: Routledge
28. Duger, A., (2015), "Focusing on Prevention: The Social and Economic Rights of Children Vulnerable to Sex Trafficking". *Health and Human Rights* 15(1): 114-123
29. Duncan, A., DeHart, D.D., (2019), "Provider Perspectives on Sex Trafficking: Victim Pathways, Service Needs, & Blurred Boundaries". *Victims and Offenders* 14(5): 1-22
30. Farrell, C., T., Lanier, M., (2014), "A Comparative Analysis of Human Trafficking: The United States of America (USA) and the Republic of South Africa (RSA)". *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology* 3: 275-283
31. Farrell, A., and Pfeffer, R., (2014), "Policing Human Trafficking: Cultural Blinders and Organisational Barriers". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 653: 46-64
32. Fitzpatrick, A., (2017), "What Slaveholders Think: How Contemporary Perpetrators Rationalize What They Do". New York: Columbia University Press

33. Fudge J., Strauss K., (2014), "Migrants, Unfree Labour, and the Legal Construction of Domestic Servitude: Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK". *Migrants at Work: Immigration and Vulnerability in Labour Law*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
34. Gallagher, A.T., Surtees, R., (2012), "Measuring the Success of Counter Trafficking Interventions in the Criminal Justice Sector: Who Decides - and How?". *Anti-Trafficking Review* 1: 10-30
35. Gomes Mera, L., (2017), "The Global Governance of Trafficking in Persons: Toward a Transnational Regime Complex". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 1-24
36. Gotch, K., (2016), "Preliminary Data on a Sample of Perpetrators of Domestic Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: Suggestions for Research and Practice". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 2(1): 99-109
37. Government of the United States of America, 2020, "The National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking: President Donald J. Trump",
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/NAP-to-Combat-Human-Trafficking.pdf>
38. Hameed, S., Hlatshwayo, S., Tanner, E., Türker, M., Yang, J., (2010), "Human Trafficking in India: Dynamics, Current Efforts and Intervention Opportunities for the Asia Foundation"
39. Harvard FXB Centre for Health and Human Rights, Aangan Trust, (2019), "Before, Not After - An Evaluation of Aangan Trust's Preventative Approach to Child Protection in India"
40. Helms, E., (2013), "Invisible Victims: An Analysis of Human Trafficking Vulnerability and Prevention in Bulgarian Romani Communities". *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 281
41. Hughes, D., (2013), "Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings Online", keynote address delivered at the Seventh EU Anti-Trafficking Day, Vilnius, Lithuania on 18 October 2013
42. Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons, (2014), "Preventing Trafficking in Persons by Addressing Demand" <http://unact.org/publication/view/preventing-trafficking-in-persons-by-addressing-demand/>
43. International Centre for Migration Policy Development, (2019), "The Strength to Carry On - Resilience and Vulnerability to Trafficking and Other Abuses among People Travelling

along Migration Routes to Europe”. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development [https://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/ICMPD-Website/2019/New Strive Study Final.pdf](https://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/ICMPD-Website/2019/New_Strive_Study_Final.pdf)

44. International Council for Migration Policy Development, (2018), “Trafficking Along Migration Routes to Europe: Bridging the Gap Between Migration, Asylum and Anti-Trafficking “. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development [https://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/1_2018/Bridging the Gap between Migration Asylum and Anti-Trafficking.pdf](https://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/1_2018/Bridging_the_Gap_between_Migration_Asylum_and_Anti-Trafficking.pdf)
45. International Labour Organization, (2017), “Fair Share? International Recruitment in the Philippines/ International Labour Organization”. Geneva: International Labour Organization, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---migrant/documents/publication/wcms_585891.pdf
46. International Organization for Migration, (2005), “Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey”. Geneva: International Organization for Migration https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/global_survey.pdf
47. Jagers, N., & Rijken, C., (2014), “Prevention of Human Trafficking for Labor Exploitation: The Role of Corporations”. Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights 12(1): 47-73
48. Jani, N., Ansthat, S., (2013), “Contributing Factors in Trafficking from South Asia”. Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 23(3): 298-311
49. Jensen, C., (2018), “Toward Evidence-Based Anti-Human Trafficking Policy: A Rapid Review of CSE Rehabilitation and Evaluation of Indian Legislation”. Journal of Evidence-Informed Social Work 1–32
50. Karandikar, S., Gezinski, B., Meshelemiah J., (2011), “A Qualitative Examination of Women Involved In Prostitution In Mumbai, India: The Role Of Family And Acquaintances”. International Social Work 56(4): 496–515

51. Kaye, J., Winterdyk, J., Quarterman, L., (2014), "Beyond Criminal Justice: A Case Study of Responding to Human Trafficking in Canada". *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 56(1): 23-48
52. Keo, C., Bouhours, T., Broadhurst, R., Bouhours. B., (2014), "Human Trafficking and Moral Panic in Cambodia". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 653(1): 202-224
53. Khan, S., A., (2019), "Transnational Sex-Trafficking (An Integrated Reparation Model), India: Thomson Reuters
54. Khan, S.A., (2014), "Human Trafficking, Justice Verma Committee Report and Legal Reform: An Unaccomplished Agenda". *Journal of the Indian Law Institute* 56(4): 567-580
55. Kiss, L., Fotheringham, D., Mak, J., McAlpine, A., Zimmerman, C., (2020), "The Use of Bayesian Networks For Realist Evaluation Of Complex Interventions: Evidence For Prevention Of Human Trafficking". *Journal of Computational Social Science*
56. Kiss, L., Zimmerman, C., (2019), "Human Trafficking and Labor Exploitation: Toward Identifying, Implementing, And Evaluating Effective Responses". *PLOS Medicine* 16(1): e1002740
57. Koirala, A., (2015), "Trafficking and Vulnerabilities of Children and Women". *India International Centre Quarterly* 41(3/4): 223-235
58. Kumar, R., Mishra, N., Mishra, P., (2020), "Human trafficking: A Review of the Crime in Odisha, India". *Children and Youth Services Review* 119: 1-6
59. Kumar, S., (2013), "Exploring the Rural-Agrarian Linkages of Human Trafficking: A Study of the Indian Punjab". *International Migration*, 51(4): 116-129
60. Laczko, F., (2005), "Data and research on human trafficking", *International Migration* (43): 5-16
61. Leman, J., Janssens, S., (2015), "Human Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling in Southeast Europe and Russia: Learning Criminal Entrepreneurship and Traditional Culture". New York: Palgrave Macmillan

62. Lima, E., "How COVID-19 made sex trafficking in Latin America much worse", *America Magazine*, 19 August 2020, <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2020/08/19/covid-19-pandemic-sex-trafficking-women-latin-america>
63. Macias Konstantopoulos, W., Ahn, R., Alpert, E.J., (2013), "An International Comparative Public Health Analysis of Sex Trafficking of Women and Girls in Eight Cities: Achieving a More Effective Health Sector Response". *Journal of Urban Health* 90: 1194–1204
64. Matos, M., Goncalves, M., Maia, A., (2018), "Human Trafficking and Criminal Proceedings in Portugal: Discourses of Professionals in the Justice System". *Trends in Organized Crime* 21: 370–400
65. Mattar, M., Van Slyke, S., (2010), "Improving our Approach to Human Trafficking". *Identifying Human Trafficking Victims* 9(2): 197-201
66. Mehlman-Orozco, K., (2017), "Hidden in Plain Sight: America's Slaves of the New Millennium". Santa Barbara: Praeger
67. Miller, E., "Human Trafficking in Ghana: A Comparative Analysis" (2019), Honors Thesis, 56
68. Molland, S., (2010), "The Perfect Business ": Human Trafficking and Lao – Thai Cross-Border Migration". *Development and Change* 41(5): 831–855
69. Molland, S., (2013), "Tandem Ethnography: On Researching 'Trafficking' and 'Anti-Trafficking'". *Ethnography* 14(3): 300–323
70. Morgan, J.A., and Olsen, W., (2015), "The absence of decent work: the continued development of forced and unfree labour in India". *Global Labour Journal* 6 (2): 173 - 188
71. Mullally, S., Murphy, C., (2018), "Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK: Enacting Exclusions, Exemptions and Rights". *Vulnerability and the Legal Organization of Work*, New York: Routledge
72. Murray, C., "Mexican School Teaches Students to Shun Sex Trafficking Tradition", *Thompson Reuters Foundation News*, 05 March 2020, <https://news.trust.org/item/20200305062409-zxrqm>

73. Nelson-Butler, C., (2015), "The Racial Roots of Human Trafficking". *UCLA Law Review* 62(1464): 1466-1513
Office of the High Commissioner, United Nations Human Rights Commission, (2000), "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime". Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Commission
<https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/protocoltraffickinginpersons.aspx>
[x](#)
74. Okech, D., Choi, J., Elkins, J., (2017), "Seventeen years of human trafficking research in social work: A review of the literature". *Journal of Evidence Informed Social Work* 15(3): 1-20
75. Okogbule, N., (2013), "Combating the 'New Slavery' in Nigeria: An Appraisal of Legal and Policy Responses to Human Trafficking". *Journal of African Law* (57): 57-80
76. Oluwatosin Bello, P., (2018), "Long-term Criminal Justice Response To Human Trafficking In South Africa: An Impossible Mission". *Contemporary Justice Review* 21(4): 474-491
77. Palumbo, L., Sciurba, A., (2015), "Vulnerability to Forced Labour and Trafficking: The case of Romanian women in the agricultural sector in Sicily". *Anti-Trafficking Review* (5): 1-10
78. Pande, R., (2016), "Sex Trafficking in South Asia with a Special Focus on India", New Delhi: Kalpaz
79. Pandey, S., (2013), "Human Trafficking: Popular Models of Intervention and Interception" in "Human Rights in Changing Times", Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
80. Parrenas, R., (2011), "Illicit Flirtations: Labor, Migration, and Sex Trafficking in Tokyo". California: Stanford University Press
81. Parvathamma, G.L., (2015), "Child Labour in India-A Conceptual and Descriptive Study". *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 4 (1): 23-32

82. Perry, K., and McEwing, L., (2013), "How do social determinants affect human trafficking in Southeast Asia, and what can we do about it? A systematic review". *Health and Human Rights* 15(2): 138-159
83. Phillips, N., (2013), "Unfree Labour And Adverse Incorporation in the Global Economy: Comparative Perspectives on Brazil and India". *Economy and Society* 42(2): 171-196
84. Pierce, A., (2012), "American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research". *The Journal of the National Center* 19(1): 37-56
85. Pocock, N.S., Kiss, L., Dash, M., Mak, J., Zimmerman, C., (2020), "Challenges to Pre-Migration Interventions to Prevent Human Trafficking: Results from A Before-And-After Learning Assessment Of Training For Prospective Female Migrants In Odisha, India". *PLOS ONE* 15(9): e0238778
86. Pocock, N.S., Kiss, L., Oram, S., Zimmerman, C., (2016), "Labour Trafficking among Men and Boys in the Greater Mekong Subregion: Exploitation, Violence, Occupational Health Risks and Injuries". *PLOS ONE* 11(12): e0168500
87. Policy Department Economic and Scientific Policy, European Parliament, (2008), "The social situation of the Roma and their improved access to the labour market in the EU". Brussels, European Parliament
https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL-EMPL_ET%282008%29408582
88. Policy Department of Economic and Scientific Policy, European Parliament, (2008), "The Social Situation of Roma and their Improved Access to the Labour Market in the EU"
https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/de/document.html?reference=IPOL-EMPL_ET%282008%29408582
89. Public Safety Canada (Government of Canada), (2019-2024), "National Strategy to Combat Human Trafficking 2019-2024"
<https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/2019-ntnl-strtg-hmnn-trffc/index-en.aspx>

90. Rahaman, M., (2015), "Human Trafficking in South Asia (Special Preferences on Bangladesh, India and Nepal): A Human Rights Perspective". *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 20(3): 1-8
91. Rajan, S., Suresh, A., (2017), "Institutional Strengthening of the Offices of Labour Attaches of India in Gulf: Field Experiences from the United Arab Emirates and Qatar", Oxon: Routledge
92. Rao, S., Presenti, C., (2012), "Understanding Human Trafficking Origin: A Cross-Country Empirical Analysis". *Feminist Economics* 18(2): 231-263
93. Ravlik, M., (2020), "The Fight against Human Trafficking: Drivers and Spoilers". Cham: Palgrave Macmillan
94. Ray, S., (2015), "Of Vulnerability and Coercion: A Study of Sex Trafficking in Assam". *Sociological Bulletin* 64(3): 305-324
95. Regmi, K., (2006), "Trafficking into Prostitution in India and the Indian Judiciary". *Intercultural Human Rights Law Review* 1: 373–40
96. Reid, J. A., (2012), "Exploratory review of route-specific, gendered, and age-graded dynamics of exploitation: Applying life course theory to victimization in sex trafficking in North America". *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 17(3): 257–271
97. Rodriguez-Lopez, S., (2020), "An Attempt to Control Human Trafficking from a Human Rights-Based Approach: The Case of Spain". *The Palgrave International Handbook of Human Trafficking*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan
98. Ronda-Pérez E., Moen B.E., (2017), "Labour trafficking: Challenges and opportunities from an occupational health perspective". *PLOS Medicine* 14(11): e1002440
99. Russel, A., (2018), "Human Trafficking: A Research Synthesis on Human-Trafficking Literature in Academic Journals from 2000–2014". *Journal of Human Trafficking* 4(2): 114-136
100. Sabella, D., (2011), "The Role of the Nurse in Combatting Human Trafficking". *The American Journal of Nursing* 111(2): 28-37

101. Sanchez, R., Pacquiao, D., (2018), "An Ecological Approach Toward Prevention and Care of Victims of Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking". *Journal of Forensic Nursing* 14(2): 98-105
102. Sattva Consulting, 2019, "Landscape study on AHT Organisations in India"
103. Schwarz, C., Alvord, D., Daley, D., Ramaswamy, M., Rauscher, E., Britton, H., (2019), "The Trafficking Continuum: Service Providers' Perspective on Vulnerability, Exploitation and Trafficking". *Journal of Women and Social Work* (34): 116-132
104. Schwarz, C., Britton, H., (2015), "Queering the Support for Trafficked Persons: LGBTQ Communities and Human Trafficking in the Heartland", *Social Inclusion* 3(1): 63-75
105. Sekhon, G., (2019), "Combatting Trafficking in Persons Through Public Awareness and Legal Education of Duty Bearers in India". *The Palgrave International Handbook of Human Trafficking*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
106. Seo-Young, C., (2016), "Report on the 3P Anti-trafficking Policy Index 2015" http://seo-young-cho.net/mediapool/99/998280/data/3P_Anti-trafficking_Policy_Index_2015_Report.pdf
107. Shamir, H., (2012), "A Labour Paradigm for Human Trafficking". *UCLA Law Review* (76): 93-126
108. Shively, M., Smith, K., Jalbert, S., Drucker, O., (2017), "Human Trafficking Organizations and Facilitators: A Detailed Profile and Interviews with Convicted Traffickers in the United States", National Criminal Justice Reference Service, <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/251171.pdf>
109. The Freedom Fund, (2019), "Unlocking what works: How community-based interventions are ending bonded labour in India", <https://freedomfund.org/wp-content/uploads/Freedom-Fund-Evidence-in-Practice-Paper-Unlocking-what-works.pdf>
110. Tidball, S., Zheng, M., Creswell, J. W., (2015), "Buying Sex On-Line from Girls: NGO Representatives, Law Enforcement Officials, and Public Officials Speak out About Human Trafficking—A Qualitative Analysis". *Gender Issues* 33(1): 53–68
111. Toast Advisory, (2019), "Scan of Issue Areas, Trends and Organisations Working in the Area of Child Trafficking in India". Washington: Global Fund for Children,

<https://globalfundforchildren.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Toast-Advisory-India-Anti-Trafficking-Mapping-Report.pdf>

112. Todres, J., (2011), "Moving Upstream: The Merits of a Public Health Law Approach to Human Trafficking". North Carolina Law Review 89(2): 447-506
113. Todres, J., (2013), "Human Rights, Labour and the Prevention of Human Trafficking: A Response to A labour Paradigm for Human Trafficking". UCLA Law Review Discourse (42): 144-158
114. Tolosky, P., "Strategies to Stop Human Trafficking in Latin America", Borgen Project, 21 July 2020, <https://borgenproject.org/strategies-to-stop-human-trafficking-in-latin-america/>
115. U.S. Department of State, (2020), "2020 Trafficking in Persons Report: India", Washington, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-trafficking-in-persons-report/india/>
116. United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, (2002), "Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking". Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/migration/4bf6454c9/recommended-principles-guidelines-human-rights-human-trafficking.html>
117. United Nations Institute for Training and Research, (2014), "Human Trafficking and the Role of Local Governments", Geneva: United Nations Institute for Training and Research <https://www.unitar.org/sites/default/files/media/publication/doc/SDP-publication3.pdf>
118. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, (2012), "Final Report for the Evaluation of the United Nations Joint Programme on Human Trafficking", New York: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/Evaluation_of_UNJPHT_final_report_21_Dember.pdf
119. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, (2014), "UNICEF: Prevention of Child Exploitation", New York: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund <https://www.unicef.org/vietnam/prevention-child-exploitation>

120. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Research, (2008), "An Introduction to Human Trafficking: Vulnerability, Impact and Action". Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/An Introduction to Human Trafficking - Background Paper.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/An%20Introduction%20to%20Human%20Trafficking%20-%20Background%20Paper.pdf)
121. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Research, (2013), "Abuse of a position of vulnerability and other "means" within the definition of trafficking in persons". Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, [https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2012/UNODC 2012 Issue Paper - Abuse of a Position of Vulnerability.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2012/UNODC%202012%20Issue%20Paper%20-%20Abuse%20of%20a%20Position%20of%20Vulnerability.pdf)
122. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Research, (2020), "How COVID-19 restrictions and the economic consequences are likely to impact migrant smuggling and cross-border trafficking in persons to Europe and North America". Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/covid/Covid-related-impact-on-SoM-TiP-web3.pdf>
123. Van der Watt, M., Van der Westhuizen, A., (2017), "(Re)configuring the criminal justice response to human trafficking: A complex-systems perspective". Police Practice and Research 18(3): 218-229
124. Verité, (2015). "Recruitment Practices and Migrant labour Conditions in Nestlé's Thai Shrimp Supply Chain: An Examination of Forced labour and Other Human Rights Risks Endemic to the Thai Seafood Sector" https://www.verite.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/NestleReport-ThaiShrimp_prepared-by-Verite.pdf
125. Vijayarasa, R., (2015), "Sex, Slavery and the Trafficked Woman: Myths and Misconceptions about Trafficking and its Victims". Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited
126. Vindhya U., Dev S., (2011), "Sex trafficking of Girls and Women: Evidence from Annatpur District, Andhra Pradesh", (Working Paper 90). Hyderabad: Centre for Economic and Social Studies, <https://cess.ac.in/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/CESS-Working-Paper-No.90.pdf>

- 127.Vindhya, U., Dev, S., (2010), "Sex trafficking of girls and women: Evidence from Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh", Centre For Economic and Social Studies 3-40
- 128.Vries, I., (2019), "Connected to Crime: An Exploration of the Nesting of Labour Trafficking and Exploitation in Legitimate Markets". The British Journal of Criminology 59(1): 209–230
- 129.Vrubliauskaitė, K., (2018), "Psychological Factors Increasing the Risk for Adolescent Girls To Become Victims Of Human Trafficking: A Systematic Review". Socialinis Darbas Social Work 16(1): 129-138
- 130.Walk Free Foundation, (2018), "Promising Practices: What works? A Review of Interventions to Combat Modern Slavery",
<https://cdn.minderoo.com.au/content/uploads/2019/02/05180522/Promising-Practices-180213-p.pdf> .
- 131.Walk Free Foundation, (2018), "The Global Slavery Index, 2018",
<https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/resources/downloads/>
132. Wolf-Branigin, M., Garza, S., Smith, M., (2010), "Reducing Demand for Human Trafficking: A Non-linear Approach for Developing Capacity". Journal of the North American Association of Christians in Social Work 37(4): 424-436
- 133.Zhang, S.X., (2012), "Measuring Labor Trafficking: A Research Note". Crime, Law and Social Change 58(4): 469-482.
- 134.Zheng, T., (2010), "Sex Trafficking, Human Rights and Social Justice". New York: Routledge.

ANNEX-A

REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL

For the secondary research on global prevention studies for human trafficking issue

August 2020

The Call for Proposal is to conduct an epistemological study of researches on prevention of human trafficking both in India and across the globe. The purpose of this study is for Kamonohashi Project (Kamo) to learn the following from this study;

- (a) How do existing researches define “prevention to human trafficking”?
- (b) What have been the consistent observations and findings on prevention approaches from various researches or contradictions between researches?
- (c) What are the vulnerabilities found in populations beyond ‘lack of awareness, economic poverty’, particularly on social, cultural and geo-political factors, and any trends or patterns therein?
- (d) Are there any observable biases in the choice of topics and populations, stated or otherwise in the researchers reviewed?
- (e) Are there any researches or papers published in journals on **practice models, interventions and evaluation findings** that have focused on prevention? What are some of the common findings from these interventions both in terms of what works and what does not?
- (f) Are there any researches on role of community or by-standers to trafficking? What makes a particular community more vulnerable to tolerating, fostering, protecting, endorsing, colluding with, or even safeguarding violence of trafficking? What makes a particular state or country or community more tolerant, accepting or even

supporting of human trafficking as a crime than other crimes such as murder or theft?

- (g) Of all the researches studied and reviewed, which of them may have a higher relevance to India both in terms of further areas of inquiry as well as relevance of interventions through field action, engagement with public or policy reform?

Background

Human trafficking has been a theme for study for many organisations and academic researchers, especially in the last 2 decades before and after the ratification of the UN Protocol on Trafficking in Persons. Researches may focus on the phenomena, the causality and consequences, mostly with the aim of proposing recommendations for interventions and/or policy reform. Some of those researches may have derived inferences on causality and proposed recommendations on vulnerability reduction. Others may have studied more broadly the social, cultural and geo-political factors that create vulnerability in specific populations and demography, and therefore derived insights what to focus on in terms of prevention. Yet others may have studied the nature of crime and proposed actions on crime prevention.

The research, “Landscape study and profiling of anti-human trafficking organisations in India”, commissioned by Kamo in 2020 (yet to be published) revealed that among the anti- human trafficking actions, prevention programme is one of the highest actions taken and invested by stakeholders, and yet only 28% of those who engage in prevention actions witnessed the tangible impact of their prevention actions to reduce the number of incidents of human trafficking in the target areas. In order to develop impactful prevention strategies, Kamo is keen to learn from existing global researches focusing on above seven questions.

Scope of research

The researcher should study global researches of the last 8 years (2012-2020), focusing on prevention to human trafficking, looking at phenomena, responses and practices (strategies and approaches), constituting of the following:

1. Researches that may have studied vulnerability to trafficking amongst specific populations - social, cultural, psychosocial, political and economic factors;
2. Researches on the crime of human trafficking - what induces the crime, who the traffickers are, what sustains the crime, how the crime can be prevented using the crime prevention framework; and
3. Researches that may have prevention practice models - interventions that aimed either
to reduce vulnerability, or taken a crime prevention approach, etc.

Required documents for submission

Proposal which elaborates on the design and methodology to be used for the study, time frame, team composition along with the detailed CV and research links of all the team members and budget.

Timeline

Proposal to be submitted to Tomomi Shimizu at tomomi@kamonohashi-project.net by 11.59PM IST of 20th August 2020.

ANNEX-B

Secondary Research on Global Prevention of Human Trafficking

20.08.2020 amended on 14.09.2020

Krithika Balu, Anjali Joisa, Abhayraj Naik

Our understanding of the Proposal issued by the Kamonohashi Project

The Research Team's understanding of trafficking in India and globally has been informed by the team members' experiences as consultants, researchers, academics, lawyers and activists. Our proposal has been developed taking note of the clear Scope of Research and the purpose for the study as indicated in the Request for Proposal (RFP). As a part of this proposal submission process, we have familiarized ourselves with the key tenets of the Kamonohashi Project's approach along with notable activities that have already been carried out or initiated so far in relation to anti-trafficking efforts in the Indian context. The overall objective of the proposed research study will be to provide clear, actionable, context-specific and informed responses to the seven broad questions identified as key learning objectives informing the purpose of this study.

Global research that focuses on the prevention to human trafficking explores the phenomenon of trafficking, responses thereto, and specific detailing and evaluation of contextual models that have been deployed as part of an overall effort to prevent trafficking. Based on perspective, scope and methodological approach, the body of research relating to human trafficking may be classified under the following broad categories:

- (a) **Vulnerability Focus:** Research that looks at trafficking itself as a consequence of vulnerability and documents social, cultural psychosocial, political and economic factors to evaluate vulnerabilities amongst populations that lead to increased

incidence of trafficking. This primarily focuses on factors that underlie trafficking, and mainly calls for the protection and rehabilitation of survivors.

- (b) **Crime Focus:** Research that perceives human trafficking as an act (or series of acts) of violence or a 'basket of crimes', which documents and focuses primarily on prosecuting traffickers, and protecting trafficked persons (to a smaller extent). Such research records elements of this organized crime as well as prevention of trafficking through the crime prevention framework.
- (c) **Focus on New and Emerging Contexts:** Newer research over the past decade that focuses on emerging factors, like globalization, forced migration, environmental changes, increased use of technology and global/local conflicts or wars, and evaluate their effects on human trafficking. Such research records the effects of these phenomena and calls for measures like policy reforms as well as action by international bodies and national governments.
- (d) **Intervention and Practice Focus:** Research with prevention practice models, documenting or proposing interventions to tackle vulnerabilities amongst populations and/or preventing the crime of trafficking. Such research importantly includes survivor-centric approaches to tackling trafficking, where survivors are treated as systemic actors, rather than passive victims.

For this study, the research team proposes an intersectional or cross-cutting definition of trafficking, as part of an approach that pays attention to the overall ecosystem and includes contextual analysis, in order to identify, categorise and analyse the existing research in the global anti-trafficking discourse in the period 2012-2020. We propose to comprehensively survey relevant research from a number of diverse methodological approaches, which will include research inquiries focused on theoretical or interpretive analysis as well as research efforts that

emphasise case studies, models, interventions, and practice-oriented initiatives within specific contexts.

The seven learnings that underpin the purpose of this research study, as detailed in the RFP, are the basis for the identification, categorisation, and analysis of the relevant global research on trafficking. Where possible, we propose to formulate clear and actionable responses to the key questions raised in the RFP in a manner that will support the ongoing and planned work of the Kamonohashi Project. In particular, we intend to focus on the applicability of insights, learnings, trends, approaches and discrete interventions, as uncovered from our analysis of the global research, towards strengthening the anti-trafficking ecosystem in India. Special regard for survivor-centric approaches will guide our inquiry and analysis here.

Concrete recommendations on the relevance of specific research to the India context, in terms of further areas of inquiry as well as interventions, shall be informed by Kamo's Theory of Change (ToC), which postulates that connecting key stakeholders, fostering an environment of shared learning, funding transformative projects and empowering survivors can change the landscape of anti-human trafficking in India.

Relevant Experience of the Research Team

The research team for this project comprises of experts with experience in the following domains:

- (a) Primary and secondary research on human trafficking in India, focusing on the commercial sexual exploitation of children, status of Anti-Human Trafficking Units (AHTUs) and status of provision of victim compensation for survivors of trafficking in different parts of India;
- (b) Dissemination and advocacy-related activities pertaining to human trafficking;
- (c) Past and ongoing research, writing and advocacy work related to legal and policy reform, in the anti-trafficking sector and otherwise;

- (d) Navigating and investigating funding ecosystems for transformative projects;
- (e) Consortium management and development with non-profit organisations for targeted advocacy activities pertaining to the Trafficking of Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Bill, 2018;
- (f) Pro bono legal aid for (child and adult) survivors of abuse, domestic violence and sexual harassment;
- (g) Leading and contributing to interdisciplinary research projects, combining legal and social science approaches, and integrating theoretical and practice-oriented perspectives;
- (h) Long standing relationships with organisations, academics, researchers and working in the anti-trafficking field in India and abroad;
- (i) Connecting key stakeholders and developing innovative networks in order to bring about an intersectionality in specializations of disciplines, so as to catalyze an environment of shared learning and work towards ushering in transformative change in the social sector;
- (j) Deep background familiarity and experience with a wide-ranging number of discipline-specific and practice-oriented fields of inquiry including law and governance, gender and migration studies, systems change and transformation studies, development and public policy, training and capacity building, doctrinal analysis and field-based research inquiry, etc.
- (k) Existing active connections with a wide range of researchers, practitioners, educators, lawyers, officials, and other relevant persons and organisations who are directly involved with ongoing work in India and abroad relating to the prevention of human trafficking.

Our Approach

Our proposed approach shall be as follows:

1. Strategic Compilation of Research (2012-2020)

- (a) The research team shall conduct a preliminary '**mapping exercise**' to provide a landscape view of global literature on prevention approaches to human trafficking between the period 2012-2020. The team shall consider research in the social sciences and law, government-commissioned research, academic writings, writings by civil society and activists and all other structured discussions on vulnerabilities, phenomena, documented interventions, responses, practices and initiatives in relation to the prevention of human trafficking. Key trends, patterns, commonalities, divergences, contradictions and recommendations will be emphasised.
- (b) Such strategic compilation of global literature shall be carried out through database and internet searches, using keywords drawn from the research scope and purpose as provided in the RFP (and possibly supplemented on the basis of initial conversations with relevant members of the Kamonohashi Project overseeing this particular study). While the research shall comprise of a broad overview of prevention of human trafficking, particular emphasis shall be provided to keywords pertaining to vulnerability, prevention practice models, and crime as has been outlined in the RFP. This research shall be supplemented by networking with different producers and users of research, including academics, civil-society organisations and other experts. Existing connections between the members of the research team and academics in India and elsewhere will be leveraged as needed to access any proprietary material that is not freely available in the public domain. Following a comprehensive review for relevance, the team shall compile all relevant resources for further categorisation, tagging, and analysis.

- (c) From the desk research and networking actions, we expect to uncover additional research repositories and information sources that will aid us in the next stage of the study, keeping in mind the focus of the study that has been outlined in the RFP.

2. Organisation of Data

- (a) Following initial identification and compilation of relevant research resources, we propose to categorise and tag the identified research based on a number of considerations including date of publication, location of researcher or research team, geographic or jurisdictional or demographic focus of the research, primary methodological approach, etc.

3. Meta-Analysis of Data

- (a) Following the identification, compiling, categorisation and tagging of the relevant research, we propose to identify patterns and trends in the research in relation to the crime, phenomena, vulnerability, practices, prevention models and responses against human trafficking. For this purpose, the researchers shall use statistical analysis and other automated tools as needed.
- (b) The initial criteria or indicators guiding the analysis shall stem largely from the scope of research and desired learning objectives as mentioned in the RFP - including underlying factors affecting vulnerabilities of populations, factors relating to the 'basket of crimes' under human trafficking and factors that inform anti-human trafficking interventions containing various prevention-practice models, interventions and evaluation findings.
- (c) The initial list of criteria or indicators guiding the analysis shall be compiled in accordance with the scope of research and the key learning objectives, as prescribed in the RFP, with particular emphasis on applicability to the Indian

context. These shall be developed further while reviewing and compiling the literature and interacting with experts in the area, with the possibility of including additional criteria or indicators that may emerge through our learnings while reviewing the literature, as well as time-specific or geography-specific factors like political or environmental events (natural disasters, effects of climate change etc.), effects of globalization and importantly, the movement of human trafficking to the online domain, facilitated through technological advancements and social media.

4. Presentation of Secondary Research Findings

- (a) Significant trends, patterns, and insights uncovered from the comprehensive analysis of the relevant research will be carefully reviewed, prioritised for relevance to the Indian context, and descriptively developed to respond to the key learning objectives and overall study purpose as detailed in the RFP.
- (b) The research findings will be presented comprehensively in our final research report, following the structure of the focus and scope outlined in the RFP. Best efforts shall be made to condense lengthy and complicated data into charts and graphics without oversimplifying the results.
- (c) Access to all key-words used to search the internet and databases, sources referred to in the research report, as well as the master data used for meta-analysis shall be provided as supplementary appendices in the research report.

Timeline and Deliverables

A breakdown of the proposed timeline to be followed by the researchers is as provided below:

Time	Activities
WEEKS 1 – 3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Call(s) and/or meeting(s) with the Kamo team/contact person to discuss research requirements and access additional resources (if any) to optimise research. 2. Literature mapping exercise (desk research) in accordance with Scope of Research (RFP) 3. Networking with experts and stakeholders to identify further resources
END OF WEEK 3: Submission of Inception Report (5 October 2020)	
WEEKS 4 – 8	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Based on information gathered in Weeks 1-3, further literature mapping and networking. 2. Organisation and tagging of anti-trafficking literature by date, jurisdiction, population and other relevant considerations. 3. Analysis of literature in the background of seven Key Learnings in the RFP. 4. Preparation of Draft Research Report.
END OF WEEK 8: Submission of Draft Research Report (9 November 2020)	

WEEKS 9 – 12	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discussion with Kamo Team/contact person regarding feedback received on the Draft Report. 2. Incorporation of feedback and further analysis of research. 3. Preparation of Final Research Report as answers to the Key Learnings in the RFP.
END OF WEEK 12: Submission of Final Research Report (7 December 2020)	

The research team shall provide fortnightly or monthly updates (as per Kamo's requirements) over email and/or phone call to the Kamo team, or to the designated contact person. The research team shall be delighted to meet with the Kamo team, as and when required.

Our Research Team

Our team comprises of the following members:

Team Member	Designation	Qualifications
Krithika Balu	Principal Researcher	Lawyer and Policy Advocate with experience in research, process documentation and policy analysis of initiatives on anti-trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children

		Working with SANJOG Kolkata on a research study (unpublished) on Status of Anti-Human Trafficking Units in India in 2020
		Worked with SANJOG Kolkata on research study on National Status of Victim Compensation for Survivors of Trafficking in India in 2019 - 2020 (published at http://www.sanjogindia.org/research/)
		Research associate at Centre for Health Law, Ethics and Technology (CHLET), Jindal Global Law School, with a research focus on transgender rights and citizenship, LGBTQIA+ and gender minorities and reproductive rights.
		Co-author of “Beyond the Binary: Advancing Legal Recognition for Intersex Persons in India” published at https://clpr.org.in/publications/beyond-the-binary-advancing-legal-recognition-for-intersex-persons-in-india/
		Co-author of “Tackling Caste Discrimination through Law: A Policy Brief on Implementation of Caste Discrimination Laws in India” published at https://clpr.org.in/wp-

		content/uploads/2020/03/CP_Tackling-Caste-Discrimination-Through-Law.pdf
		Lead Researcher for research project on 'Technology Solutions to Disrupt CSEC in India' to map technology solutions in India and abroad that have been used to tackle trafficking and sexual exploitation of children and provide feasibility analysis for adoption in India (published at https://www.gfems.org/news/2020/3/27/27-tech-tools-fighting-sex-trafficking-in-india)
		Member of Changemantras team carrying out consortium management of the Interim Working Group (IWG), comprising of Indian anti-human trafficking organisations for advocacy and dissemination surrounding the Trafficking of Persons (Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation) Bill, 2018
		Practising lawyer in lower courts and High Courts in Karnataka and West Bengal; represented Rohingya refugees, transgender persons and persons with disabilities in lower courts in West Bengal and High Court of Karnataka, respectively.

		Resource person and team member for dissemination initiatives on 'Choking Demand for Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children', a research study carried out by Roop Sen (study referred to in https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/child-sex-trafficking-under-reported-telangana-govt-not-fully-prepared-study-80302).
		Member of Changemantras team working on intervention in Meerut, Uttar Pradesh to Choke the Demand for Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in 2018
Anjali Joisa	Principal Researcher	Collaborator at Initiative for Climate Action in Bengaluru, working on mitigation of climate change and its aftermath, creation and migration of climate refugees, internally displaced persons and effects of climate change associated with increased vulnerability to trafficking.
		Member of drafting and campaign team against draft Environment Impact Assessment Regulations 2020 (EIA 2020) notified by the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change (MoEFCC), objecting on grounds of large scale habitat destruction and consequent displacement, forced migration and

		increased vulnerability of marginalised communities across India.
		Women's rights lawyer, providing periodic legal aid, consultancy and representation before various courts (civil and criminal) for survivors of abuse and domestic violence for almost 4 years.
		Invited as legal expert on sexual harassment laws to conduct workshops and lectures on the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013.
		Has worked on connecting key stakeholders in the climate change domain, so as to bring about an atmosphere of transformative learning and foster shared learning through an intersectionality of specializations in various disciplines like law, policy, NGO workers, activists etc.

Abhayraj Naik	Research Advisor	<p>Visiting Faculty at Azim Premji University and the National Law School of India University; Co-founder of the Initiative for Climate Action and the South Asia Network for Justice Education. Advisor and consultant for numerous projects, initiatives and organisations focused on social justice, human rights, and transformative system change. Member of the Global Association for Justice Education (GAJE) and the International Society for Public Law (ICON-S). Has contributed to building a number of collaborative initiatives in the environmental and social justice spaces.</p> <p>(https://www.linkedin.com/in/abhayraj-naik-777147148/</p>
		<p>Teaches courses on Law & Justice in a Globalizing World, Climate Justice in India, Environmental Justice in India, Legal Research and Writing, International Development, etc. for undergraduate and postgraduate law and public policy students at several universities across India. Has earlier taught courses on criminal law, comparative legal systems, and law and violence, amongst others, at the OP Jindal Global University, Haryana, where he was also the founding</p>

		co-director of the Centre for Public Law & Jurisprudence.
		Designed and developed a unique justice-focused experiential learning program at Azim Premji University from 2014 onwards. Initiated a larger international and national conversation on justice education, including through leading a highly successful international event called Crafting Justice in Bangalore in 2017 (https://craftingjustice.wordpress.com).

		<p>Has published widely on a number of areas including police brutalities on protestors in India and on transformative environmental constitutionalism. Over the past 13 years, he has authored or co-authored research reports on a wide-range of topics including governing artificial intelligence in India, sub-national environmental regulatory frameworks, environmental impact assessment regulations in India, protection of lakes and grassland ecosystems, and delay and pendency in India's justice-delivery system. Many publications available online at: https://independent.academia.edu/AbhayrajNaik</p>
--	--	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Proposed All-In Cost

The proposed budget for this research project is as provided below:

RFP Title:		For the secondary research on global prevention studies for human trafficking issue August 2020		
Period		12 weeks		
Research Team		Krithika Balu, Anjali Joisa and Abhayraj Naik		
	Budget Head	Number of Full Days	Consultancy Day Rate (INR)	Total budget (INR)

	Consultancy Fees			
	Krithika Balu	35	13,186.22	4,61,712.30
	Anjali Joisa	35	8,058.24	2,82,157.40
	Abhayraj Naik	8	21,977.02	1,75,902.40
	Grand Total			9,19,772.10/-

ANNEX-C

LEGAL FRAMEWORK AROUND HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN INDIA

Statute	Provision	Contents
Constitution of India	Article 23	Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour. (1) Traffic in human beings and <i>begar</i> and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.
Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956	This is the premier legislation for the prevention of trafficking in women for commercial sexual exploitation	
Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2013	Section 370 and 370A of the Indian Penal Code, 1860	Comprehensive definition of human trafficking and its criminalisation, including trafficking of children for exploitation in any form including physical exploitation or any form of sexual exploitation, slavery, servitude or forced removal of organs.
Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012	This is a special law protecting children from sexual abuse, sexual violence, assault, harassment and exploitation.	

Indian Penal Code, 1860	Sections 372, 373	Prohibition and criminalisation of selling and buying of minors for the purpose of prostitution
Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976	A law to provide for the abolition of bonded labour with a view to preventing the economic and physical exploitation of weaker sections of society. No specific section on trafficking.	
Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006	A law on the prohibition of solemnisation of child marriages.	
Transplantation of Human Organs Act, 1994	A law to provide for the regulation of removal, storage and transplantation of human organs for therapeutic purposes and for the prevention of commercial dealings in human organs.	
State Government enactments, including The Punjab Prevention of Human Smuggling Act, 2012	A law to provide for the regulation of the profession of travel agents with a view to check and curb their illegal and fraudulent activities, and malpractices of the persons involved in the organized human smuggling in the State of Punjab.	

ANNEX-D

LIST OF DATABASES USED FOR STRATEGIC COMPILATION OF RESEARCH FROM 2012 – 2020

No.	Name of Database	Description
1.	ResearchGate - https://www.researchgate.net/about	Platform that serves as a professional network for scientists, researchers <i>etc.</i> , and meant sharing, connecting and discovering research.
2.	JStor – www.jstor.org	A digital library of academic journals and books
3.	UNODC - https://www.unodc.org/	Website of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, that was established in 1997 by combining the United Nations Drug Control Program and the Crime Prevention Criminal Justice Division in the United Nations Office in Vienna.

4.	Global Fund for Children - https://globalfundforchildren.org/	A global non-profit organisation dedicated to finding, funding, and coaching local organizations that empower young people worldwide.
5.	International Organisation for Migration - www.iom.int	An intergovernmental organization in the field of migration and works closely with governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental partners.
6.	SAGE Journals - https://journals.sagepub.com/	An independent academic publisher
7.	Plos - https://plos.org/	A non-profit, open access publisher empowering researchers to accelerate progress in science and medicine by leading a transformation in research communication.

8.	Academia - https://www.academia.edu/	A platform to share and follow research
9.	European Commission - https://ec.europa.eu/info/index_en	The official website of the European Commission, providing access to information about its political priorities, policies and services
10.	Google Books - https://books.google.co.in/	A platform providing readers with access to full texts of relevant books.
11.	Harvard University - https://www.harvard.edu/	The official website of Harvard University.
12.	Springer - www.springer.com	A publishing and research platform that provides the scientific communities and other communities with specialist information.

13.	Taylor & Francis Online - www.taylorandfrancis.com	A publishing platform that partners with world-class authors, from leading scientists and researchers, to scholars and professionals operating at the top of their fields.
14.	International Labour Organisation - https://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm	An agency of the United Nations that brings together governments, employers and workers of 187 member States , to set labour standards, develop policies and devise programmes promoting decent work for all women and men.
15.	Smith Scholar Works – https://scholarworks.smith.edu/	A digital repository of research and scholarship of the Smith College community.

16.	UCLA Law Review - https://law.ucla.edu/academics/journals/ucla-law-review	Law Review run by the students of University of California, Los Angeles.
17.	HeinOnline - https://home.heinonline.org/	HeinOnline is an online database containing more than 186 million pages and 287,000 titles of historical and government documents in a fully searchable, image-based format.
18.	Project MUSE - https://muse.jhu.edu/	Project MUSE is a leading provider of digital humanities and social science content for the scholarly community around the world.
19.	EBSCO - https://www.ebsco.com/products/research-databases/e-journals-database	EBSCO is a provider of research databases, e-journals, magazine subscriptions, e-books and discovery services to libraries of all kinds.

20.	Library Genesis - LibGen http://libgen.rs/	Collection, systematization and distribution of scientific, technical and educational literature on a free and open basis.
-----	----------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

ANNEX-E

LIST OF KEYWORDS AND EMERGING CONCEPTS

No.	Keywords	Emerging Keywords and Concepts
1	Trafficking; Human Trafficking; Trafficking in Persons	Sex trafficking; labour trafficking
2	Prevention; Prevention of Trafficking	Awareness; Awareness Creation; Awareness Programmes; Campaigns; Training(s)
3	Crime of Trafficking	Organised crime; TVPA
4	Vulnerability	Poverty; Education; Domestic violence; Gender violence; Gender norms; Illiteracy; Child Marriage
5	Domestic violence and trafficking; domestic factors and vulnerability to human trafficking	CSEC risk and domestic factors; sex trafficking study in Mexico; family factors affecting vulnerability of trafficking; domestic factors and risk to trafficking
6	Trafficking Intervention(s)	Protection; Prevention; Prosecution; Reintegration; Rehabilitation; Repatriation

7	Forced Migration; Migration; Migration Distressed	Conflict; War(s); Gender violence; Rape; Exploitation; Coercion
8	Commercial Sexual Exploitation	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children; Child Trafficking; Child Exploitation; Online Commercial Sexual Exploitation
9	Globalisation	Forced migration; Technology; Government; Transnational Trafficking; Borders
10	Anti-trafficking Model(s)/Framework(s)	Ecological framework; Labour framework; Prevention framework; Public Health Approach; Human Rights Approach; Rights-Based Approach
11	Trafficker(s) + Approach + Human Trafficking	Prosecution; Demand for Trafficking; Sex Trafficking; Legal Reform; Police Reform; Government responses
12	Government policies on trafficking; government action plans; international strategies to prevent trafficking	Awareness Programmes; Empowerment of Communities; Vulnerabilities of Indigenous Persons
13	Trafficking Survivors	Vulnerability; Poverty; Ignorance of Trafficking; Sex Trafficking; Bonded Labour; Migration; Community

14	Gender violence and trafficking; gender inequality and trafficking	Causal relationship between gender inequality and trafficking; patriarchy and trafficking; gender violence in conflict areas; violence prevention
15	Gender violence and human trafficking; preventing human trafficking through interventions against violence	Centre for Disease Control violence prevention; National Action Plan for Human Trafficking US Government; Violence Prevention in Practice
16	Anthropological approach to prevent trafficking; anthropological approach towards prevention of human trafficking	Ethnography; Ethnographic studies; Participant Observation; Perspectives of Traffickers; Demystifying Traffickers; Demystifying Vulnerabilities through Ethnographic Interviews
17	Psychological approach to prevent trafficking; Psychological effects of trafficking; Victims of trafficking psychology	Psychological coercion of victims; sustaining vulnerability after trafficking; psychological damage in victims; gender norms; oppressive societal norms
18	Evaluation of prevention programmes; evaluating prevention interventions; evaluation and monitoring programmes for trafficking	Lack of evaluation; lack of evidence-based prevention interventions; assumption-based interventions; awareness programmes

ANNEX-F

PROTOCOL FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS FOR STUDY ON PREVENTION STRATEGIES FOR GLOBAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING ISSUE

The team intends to carry out a preliminary review of the work/research undertaken by the respondent prior to the call with or email to be sent out to the respondent.

When the team interacts with respondents, their introduction shall be that of as independent researchers based in Bengaluru, who are undertaking a secondary research study on global prevention studies in the domain of human trafficking. Respondents will be told about the broad contours of the project and the significance of the project. Respondents will also be told that responses are voluntary and will be confidential, that all responses will be compiled together and analyzed as a group, and that responses will not be identified in a manner that can be traced back to any specific individual. Respondents will be invited to clarify any other elements of the project with the consulting team.

We have listed below an interview protocol to guide semi-structured interactions with respondents. While respondents will in general be interviewed from the common list below, the particular language/framing of specific questions (and the overall sequence) may be varied for particular interviews according to prior knowledge about the respondent or based upon the content of initial responses. We will also start with general questions, so that we can build on the existing knowledge of respondents, with the aim of getting the most out of every interview.

For Academics	For Activists/NGOs
----------------------	---------------------------

What is 'prevention' of trafficking to you? What does it mean?	
What, in your opinion, is/are the most effective way(s) to prevent trafficking?	
Could you tell me a little about your background in the anti-trafficking space?	
Are you working on anything currently pertaining to human trafficking? Please elaborate.	
Do you think that the phenomenon of human trafficking in the Indian context is similar to human trafficking at a global level and in other countries? If not, why?	
How would you characterise the overall situation of human trafficking in India today?	
What, in your opinion are the most important governmental departments, laws, and regulatory frameworks in India that need to be studied carefully to understand human trafficking?	
Have you come across any particularly successful model in response to human trafficking? Please tell us about it. Why do you think this model was particularly successful?	
Have you come across any prevention practice models or prevention interventions that others have proposed or done and that have particularly interested you? Please elaborate.	
What does existing research say on the 'prevention' of human trafficking?	Do you do any work on the 'prevention' of human trafficking? Please elaborate.

Have you seen any consistencies in research? Any discrepancies or contradictions?	Do you concentrate on particular communities or populations for your prevention initiatives? Why or why not?
In your experience, do you think that research is concentrated or biased in respect of certain jurisdictions or populations?	What do you think are the main ways in which human trafficking can be prevented in your region? Please elaborate.
Do you think that research on prevention of human trafficking is biased in respect of certain topics? Why?	How do you monitor the impact of your prevention initiatives?
Are there any particular authors, researchers or texts that you feel are important, which you would like to recommend?	Is there any particular incident in your work that has impacted you deeply that you would like to share?
What does relevant research say about best practices that have been/should be adopted for prevention of human trafficking?	What do you think are some best practices that have been/should be adopted for prevention of human trafficking?
In your opinion, what roles can survivors play in prevention of trafficking initiatives and interventions?	
Are there any other practice models or evidence-based trafficking interventions that you know of, which have focused on prevention?	

In your opinion, have there been any big changes between 2012 and 2020 that have changed trafficking? How so? Do we need to alter how we approach trafficking prevention?
Are communities permissive of trafficking? If yes, why do you think this is so? Are there any cultural factors that result in permissiveness?
What are the most important areas that need urgent attention in your opinion?
Where do you see the greatest leverage for system change?
Is there anything else you would like to tell me?
Is there any other person whom you think I should talk to? Could you please put me in touch with them?

SHORT SURVEY PROTOCOL FOR DISSEMINATION ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Name:

Organisation:

Place:

1. What is 'prevention' of trafficking? What does it mean to you?
2. What in your opinion is/are the most effective way(s) to prevent trafficking?
3. Are you working or researching in the human trafficking space? Please elaborate.
4. Have you been involved in any initiatives or research to prevent human trafficking? Please elaborate.

5. Have you focused on specific jurisdictions or specific communities in your research/activities? Why?
6. Have you come across any particularly successful model in response to human trafficking? If yes, why do you think this model was particularly successful?
7. Are there any practice models or evidence-based trafficking interventions that have focused on prevention?
8. In your opinion, have there been any big changes between 2012 and 2020 that have changed trafficking? How so? Do we need to alter how we approach trafficking prevention?
9. Would you be willing to share research on prevention of human trafficking? Please provide your contact details so we can get in touch with you.
10. Would you be willing to do a short interview on prevention of human trafficking? Please provide your contact details so we can get in touch with you.

ANNEX-G

LIST OF EXPERTS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The team has curated this List of Experts with whom semi-structured interviews have been carried out, in accordance with Annex-F above. The List of Experts have been curated taking into consideration the wide variety of stakeholders who play prominent roles in the anti-human trafficking space from government, as funders of anti-human trafficking interventions, as researchers and academics who lend their voices to the discourse and as NGOs who implement interventions on the grassroots level.

The global mandate of this research has led the research team to curate a list of Funders who in fund and/or implement core anti-human trafficking interventions in different parts of the world, or globally. The perspectives of funders who support research and initiatives, as well as funders who aid in the implementation of initiatives in different parts of the world are considered. Further, the literature mapping exercise has revealed several researchers who contributed seminal pieces to the prevention discourse, who are shortlisted for semi-structured interviews. Further, NGOs in India and in the Middle East implementing anti-trafficking interventions, as well as journalists expertly reporting on such interventions are included for their diverse perspectives.

Funders			
Organisation	Location	Name	Designation
Hummingbird Foundation	UK	Clare Mathias	Chief Executive
Oak Foundation	India	Paromita Chowdhury	Programme Officer
The Asia Foundation (Funder and Implementer)	India	Diya Nag	Associate Director of Programs

The Asia Foundation (Funder and Implementer)	Thailand	Pitchanuch Supavanich	Regional Program Manager
Walk Free Foundation	United Kingdom	Katharine Bryant	Lead, European Engagement
Walk Free Foundation	Australia	Elise Gordon	Senior Research Analyst
Walk Free Foundation	United States of America	Davina Durgana	Quantitative Research Manager
Freedom Fund (Funder and Implementer)	United Kingdom	Ginny Baumann	Senior Programme Officer
ECPAT Luxembourg	Nepal	Ashish Sinha	Regional Representative, South Asia
International Centre for Migration Policy Development	Austria	Melita Gruevska Graham	Head of Anti-Human Trafficking Programme
International Labour Organization	India	Insaf Nizam	Specialist, South Asia
Non-Governmental Organisations			
NGO/Organisation	Location	Expert	Designation
International Justice Mission (Funder and Implementer)	India	Melissa Walavalkar	Director of Operations, Mumbai office
Academics and Researchers			
Organisation	Location	Name	Designation
West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences	India	Dr. Sarfaraz Ahmed Khan	Professor

Journalists			
Organisation	Location	Name	Designation
The News Minute	India	Ramanathan S.	Partner - Content and Strategy

ANNEX – H
RESEARCH TIMELINE

Dates	Activities
10 September 2020	Call with Kamo team to discuss research requirements
15 September 2020: Formal commencement of research	
15 September 2020	Literature mapping exercise (desk research) in accordance with Scope of Research as mentioned in the RFP to provide a landscape view of global literature on prevention approaches to human trafficking between 2012 and 2020.
15 September 2020	Networking with experts and stakeholders to identify further resources
5 October 2020: Submission of Draft Inception Report	
5 October 2020 - 19 October 2020	Further literature mapping and networking based on the emerging keywords from the research.
9 October 2020: Discussion of Inception Report and Feedback	

12 October 2020 – 25 October 2020	Organisation and Tagging of Literature by date, jurisdiction, population and other relevant considerations.
26 October 2020: Submission of Final Inception Report after Feedback	
27 October 2020 - 2 November 2020	<p>Organisation and Tagging of Literature</p> <p>Analysis of literature in the background of seven (7) Key Learnings in the RFP. Continuous ongoing networking with Experts. Additional literature review as needed.</p>
2 November; 9 November; 11 November 2020: Discussion of Analysis and Learnings	
11 – 22 November 2020	Preparation of Draft Research Report. Continuous ongoing networking with Experts. Additional literature review as needed.
22 November 2020: Submission of Draft Research Report	
23 November – 4 December 2020	<p>Incorporation of Feedback on Draft Research Report.</p> <p>Continuous ongoing networking with Experts.</p> <p>Additional literature review as needed.</p>
4 December 2020: Discussion of Progress and Learnings	

5 December 2020 – 31 January 2021	Ongoing feedback process on Draft Research Report Preparation of Final Report
31 January 2021: Submission of Final Research Report	
