The Trafficking Process
“Education is a liberating force, and in our age it is also a democratising force, cutting across the barriers of caste and class, smoothing out inequalities imposed by birth and other circumstances.”

– Indira Gandhi
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In this Block, Magnitude and extent of trafficking, the pull and push factors, the source, Transit and destination of trafficking, the modus operandi of traffickers and how trafficking is an organized crime have been discussed.

Unit 6 deals with the magnitude and estimate of human trafficking in India and in international level. Although there is no reliable data on trafficking in Asian Countries, yet some countries have started gathering data on it. Further the Unit throws light on the link between missing persons and trafficked persons.

Unit 7 deals with Push and Pull factors of Human Trafficking. Law educational attainment, Child Marriage, Breakdown of family, poverty are various Push factors. Pull Factors include Higher wages and demand for labour, improved communication system etc.

Unit 8 deals with the source, transit and destination areas of human trafficking both at the national and International perspective.

Unit 9 deals with process involved in trafficking and various modus operandi of traffickers, like Modus Operandi in case of Trafficking for Begging in case of overseas transborder trafficking, in case of trafficking in children in exploitative labour etc.

Unit 10 deals with how trafficking can be termed as an organized crime: Here, a historical background of organized crime along with the organization of Red Light Areas and Brothel system has also been discussed.
UNIT 6  MAGNITUDE AND EXTENT OF TRAFFICKING

Structure

6.1 Introduction
6.2 Objectives
6.3 Global Estimate
   6.3.1 Europe and other Regions
   6.3.2 Extent of the Problem of Trafficking in Asian Countries
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6.1 INTRODUCTION

When we talk of any crisis or a problem, we tend to ask how big is the problem? or what is the magnitude? This is important because our response to the challenges posed by the crisis depends on our knowledge about the scale and the magnitude of the situation. Since, human trafficking is both of a transnational and national character, it is important to make ourselves aware about the scale at both the levels – Global and National. Due to the very clandestine nature of the entire process of human trafficking, it becomes very difficult to accurately assess the magnitude and scale of trafficking. Trafficking in human beings especially women and children is a global phenomena and no country is untouched by this. The reason for this ‘knowledge crisis’ is largely due to secretive nature of the crime of human trafficking and under-reporting. There are other reasons as well. For instance, the human trafficking takes different forms while what is recognized and reported most is sexual exploitation of women followed by forced labour. Other forms of human trafficking like organ transplantation, marriage and begging are overlooked or don’t gain the attention. Our understanding of human trafficking is piecemeal and often based on anecdotal information. Our understanding is also complicated by the global reach of trafficking, and by social and cultural variation in the ways that the crime of trafficking unfolds. Compared to other criminal activities it is especially difficult to get a clear picture of human trafficking. In part, this is because the victims of trafficking are more likely to be hidden or unreachable. This invisibility has an impact on our understanding of the demand for trafficked persons as well.¹ The extent

¹ Kevin Bales of Free the Slaves in Foreword to ‘Sex Traffic’ by Paola Monzini, 2005
The Trafficking Process

of human trafficking can be further explained by the turnover due to this ‘trade’ especially related to commercial sexual exploitation. This has increased by leaps and bounds in recent years. No country in this world is an exception. Some country has been either a source area or a destination area or both. In Asia, Europe, Americas, there has definitely been a rise in number of women and children being trafficked. It has been estimated that commercial sex industry has a global turnover of $5,000 to $7,000 billion, greater than the combined military budget of the whole world (European Parliament 2004).

6.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:
- discuss the scale of human trafficking in the country and the world;
- identify certain areas in the world as trafficking prone; and
- make yourself aware of different sources one can rely upon to know about the data and statistics on human trafficking.

6.3 GLOBAL ESTIMATE

According to UN Office on Drugs on Crime, Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns: 2006, almost 161 countries are affected by the scourge of human trafficking. So, you can imagine how critical the situation is. The estimation becomes difficult also because of the transnational and inter-regional character of the crime. Moreover, all the countries do not share a uniform understanding or standard as far as human trafficking is considered. According to the U.S. Department of State’s 2007 Trafficking in Persons Report, estimates vary from 4 to 27 million. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates that 2.4 million people were victims of human trafficking during the period 1995 - 2005. However, the actual number of known trafficking victims is only 22,500 (UNODC: 2009). This shows that trafficking is highly underreported worldwide and whatever data we have does not give a true picture. Highlighting the problem of information gap, a UNHCR report of 2005 noted, “Presently there are no reliable and conclusive statistics on the number of trafficking victims. Regrettably, available data do not record key indicators, including information on age, gender, number of victims as well as country of origin” (UNHCR, 2005, Combating Human Trafficking, p.6)

Recent ILO figures (ILO, A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: 2005) put the profits generated by the human trafficking ‘industry’ at 32 billion dollar with the perpetrators extracting from $13,000 to a figure as high as $67,000 from each victim per year.

6.3.1 Europe and other Regions

According to CIA (CIA is the intelligence agency of USA) estimate, around a quarter of women subjected to sexual exploitation in the world come from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The countries that formed the former Soviet Union block were hit hardest by the disintegration of USSR in 1991. As a result of this disintegration, the economy went through a transition which badly hit people in these countries and the women were the worst sufferers. Since then women from Russian origin became vulnerable and they started leaving the country temporarily, many of whom got trafficked. As per an estimate, at least 4,000 women arrive each year in the USA from Russia, and thousands more rotate among Bangkok, Hong Kong, Beijing, Singapore, Japan, the
Middle East, Israel and Turkey. St. Petersburg has between 200 to 400 private agencies offering sexual services at home. In 1997, the OSCE estimated that at least 175,000 young women, including minors, had been trafficked from that region to become prostitutes in Central and Western Europe; today the figure has grown and the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) puts it at a minimum of 200,000 (Monzini 2005: 87). Russian women had spread in almost all the countries by 1998, a process which had begun in early 1990s after the disintegration of USSR. In Greater Helsinki of Finland, a study found that 86.6% of prostitutes trafficked there were Russian speaking (OSCE 2002, quoted in Monzini 2005, 89). Not many countries maintain data on trafficking because of the weak law enforcement in those countries and reluctance of families of the victims or victims themselves to report what happened with them. The extent of underreporting can be gauged from the figure on trafficking as reported in Kosovo. Records from Kosovo police and the International Organization for Migration show that only 745 trafficking victims have been identified between 2000 and 2008. But it is hard to know how many victims there actually are, as many cases go unreported.

The trafficking of young girls and children from African nations for both inter-country and transnational trafficking are also happening at a menacing scale. Women from Nigeria, Cameroon, Angola, Mozambique and Ghana are trafficked to South Africa and other European and American countries. But there is hardly any estimate available on the magnitude or extent of trafficking from these countries. There are many countries in Africa which are in the thick of armed ethnic conflict like Rwanda, Congo, Somalia, Burundi etc. and trafficking of women and children from these countries must be very high. But there is no reliable data which validates this. What is available are few testimonies of the victims who have survived to narrate their tale.

### 6.3.2 Extent of the Problem of Trafficking in Asian Countries

There is again, no reliable data on trafficking in this region as well. But some countries have started gathering data on it, though in a nascent stage. The poorer regions of Asia are operating as source areas for trafficking in women and children. For example, the government of Nepal estimated that not less than 20,000 Nepalese women and girls were working in brothels in India. A considerable number had been either forcefully abducted or tricked into going to India and sold to brothels (Human Rights Watch, 1996). Sri Lanka has a growing sex tourist industry, especially along its coastal belt, where the demand from European tourists for young male sex workers or ‘beach boys’ is high. Such workers comprise a large proportion of children (UNDP 2007: 11, ‘Human Trafficking and HIV- Exploring Vulnerabilities and Responses in South Asia’). UNICEF reports that 40,000 children from Bangladesh are involved in sex work in Pakistan.

In the 1980s, Malaysia and Singapore also became significant destinations, and served as transit centres for women who then moved on to countries like Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong. There are reports of Burmese women being smuggled across the border into Ranong province (Mountarbom, 1997). There is no estimate of what percentage of these women cross the border voluntarily to work in bars, massage parlours and brothels. ECPAT reports that the number of Burmese women and girls in the brothels of Thailand have increased in recent years.

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2 O’Neill Richard 2000, as quoted in Monzini P. 2005: 108
Thailand, due to its thriving tourism industry has become a popular destination with traffickers. Women, majority of whom are below 18 years, are trafficked to sell their bodies to clients who come from all over the world as tourists. These women work in the massage parlours, pubs, night clubs, bars and brothels. According to some estimates (O'Neill-Richard 1999 quoted in Monzini 2005: 112), a third of global trafficking in women and children takes place in or from Southeast Asia. In Thailand, the only estimates available relate to prostitution. Estimates of the number of prostitutes in Thailand vary widely, depending on the source and the method of estimation. In 1995, Public Health Ministry of Thailand estimated that there were 81384 Commercial Sex Workers. These figures were based on a twice yearly survey of sex establishments related to surveillance of venereal diseases. The Police Department provides the highest estimate of the number of CSWs- 500,000 based on the number of registered entertainment places. The National Commission on Women’s Affairs estimated the number to be 150,000 to 200,000, of whom not more than 20 per cent were thought to be children. Academics from the Population and Social Research Institute of Mahidol University estimated the numbers to be between 200,000 and 3000,000. By contrast, NGOs working on children’s rights issues estimate the number of prostituted children to range between 200,000 (ECPAT, 1994) and 800,000 (Centre for Protection of Children’s Rights CPCR, 1989). The latter figure seems too high, implying that one out of every four females aged 11-17 years was a prostitute. However, in defence of the estimate, the figure includes not only Thai children, but also those from the northern hill tribe minorities, Burmese, Chinese, Lao and Cambodian children who are trafficked into Thailand’s sex industry.5 Thai women are trafficked frequently to Japan, United States, Australia and certain West European countries most of whom work there as prostitutes. As per an estimate, Thai women thus trafficked outside the country are somewhere in the range of 100,000 to 200,000 (Monzini, 2005: 112)

As the geo-political nature of trade and industry is going through a change due to globalisation and regional factors, migration flows are also getting influenced. Initially, Thailand was the chief destination for trafficked women, which is slowly changing. Now Mekong sub region as a whole has become a focal point for the trafficking in women and children, and the flow has increased rapidly in the past few years. There is growing evidence that trafficking of children across the Vietnam - Cambodia border is widespread. The percentage of Vietnamese girls working in prostitution is estimated at between 355 and 40% of the approximately 20,000 commercial sex workers working in Phnom Penh alone. The average age of these girls- according to major surveys- has dropped from 17 to 15 years over the last couple of years (Thilagaraj, R. 2007, 2008).

In Laos, while there is little genuine data available, there are many stories of children being taken over to Thailand, especially from north and south of the country, where families are duped into letting their children go in the promise of jobs and money. There are also fears that trafficking within the country will increase with the rise in tourism.

6.3.3 Indian Estimate

In India, human trafficking is generally equated with commercial sexual exploitation. Again, as you read in the above section, the country does not have any systematic record of number of persons trafficked. The victims or their families do not come forward to report the incident because of the social stigma attached to it. Therefore, the figures that are available are mostly from the rescue operations that are carried out from time

to time by law enforcement agencies and NGOs. The latter are a reliable source of
information on the extent of the problem in India. According to a report (Patkar and
Patkar: 2001), there are 300,000 to 500,000 children in prostitution in India. A study
conducted in 1992 estimated that at any given point of time, 20,000 girls are being
trafficked from one part of the country to another for commercial sexual exploitation
(Gupta 2003, quoted in NHRC study). To quote a UNICEF report, ‘trafficking of
children continues to be a serious problem in India. The nature and scope of trafficking
range from industrial and domestic labour, to forced early marriages and commercial
sexual exploitation... over 40 per cent of women sex workers enter into prostitution
before the age of 18 years.’ According to a nation wide study conducted by NHRC
(2005), a whopping 68.5% of the victims of trafficking reported that they entered CSE
when they were children.

The country captures data on migration, but not on trafficking. Deshingkar and Akter
(2009) state two reasons for the shortcomings in the data on trafficking. These are:

i) Women’s migration is not adequately captured during NSSO surveys on migra-
tion. It is because the surveys ask for only one reason for migration to be stated
which is usually stated as marriage and the secondary reason i.e. finding work at
the destination may not be mentioned.

ii) The NSSO surveys do not capture migration streams that are illegal or border on
illegality i.e. trafficking for work and various forms of child labour.

As far as forced labour is concerned, India has the highest number of child labour in the
world with an estimated 12.66 million children engaged in hazardous occupation (2001
census). But estimates by agencies working against child labour such as The Global
March and the International Center on Child Labor and Education (ICCLE) calculate
that there are roughly 25-30 million child workers in India (ITUC 2007) and Human
Rights Watch says that more than 100 million could be working because so many are
out of education. In India, the employment of children below 14 years in certain
hazardous occupations and processes is prohibited and punishable under law. Therefore,
the figure stated above can be considered as the official figure on the number of children
trafficked for ‘forced or exploitative labour’.

With respect to cross border trafficking from countries like Nepal and Bangladesh,
there are different estimates and no accurate data available. While some organizations
put the figures at 7,000 to 10,000 a year (SOS, 2001), another report mentions the
number to be 5,000 to 7,000 girls (UNDP 2002). The number of Nepali women in
Mumbai’s brothels ranges from 20,000 to 50,000 (HRW; 1995). Other estimates put
the figure at 200,000 Nepali women in Indian brothels (ADB: 2002. One of the growing
areas of concern is that the average age of victims being trafficked is gradually falling
over the years. A UNDP study (2002) found that the average age of trafficked girls
from Nepal to India fell from 14 to 16 years of age in the 1980s, to 10 to 14 years in
1994. Bangladeshi women are also trafficked in large numbers to India. A Report by the Asian Development Bank (2002) quoting Sanlaap, an anti-trafficking organisation working in West Bengal, states that of the 1,000 to 10,000 women found in brothels of Kolkata, 70% were from Bangladesh. A survey sponsored by the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) in 1991 in six metropolitan cities of India indicated that the population of women and child victims of prostitution would be between 70,000 to 1000,000. It also revealed that about 30 percent of them were below 18 years of age (NHRC 2005: 17)

These estimates discussed above are largely based on figures from brothels in India which are visible face of trafficking. But there are many newer avenues like massage parlours, escort services, friendship clubs and beauty parlours which continues to operate as sites of commercial sexual exploitation away from the gaze of law enforcement agencies or vigilant public. Law enforcement agencies seems to be not recording the cases of where young girls are trafficked in the name of religious and cultural traditions. In the Indian context, there are some evident forms of trafficking with religious or community sanction, e.g. the Bassanis, Joginis, Bhogam Vandhis and Venkatesinis in Andhra Pradesh; the Muralis, Aradhinis and Tamasha girls in Maharashtra; the Thevadiyars in Tamil Nadu; the Bedia, Bachhda and Sansi communities in Uttar Pradesh (Bajpai, Asha, 2006: 252). The custom of Devdasis and Joginis is well known for its exploitation of young girls in the guise of religious sanction in some parts of India.

In India, the National Crime Records Bureau collects data on reported cases of trafficking. The crime of human trafficking are reported under various crime heads. The official data on trafficking is collected by the Bureau under the following heads of crime:

**IPC Crimes:**

i) Procuration of minor girls (Section 366-A IPC)

ii) Importation of girls (Sec. 366-B IPC)

iii) Selling of girls for prostitution (Section-372 IPC)

iv) Buying of girls for prostitution (Section -373 IPC)

**Crimes under Special and Local Legislations:**

i) Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act, 1956

ii) Child Marriage Prohibition Act, 2006

Cases under following legislations also form part of offences under human trafficking but NCRB is not collecting data specifically relating to these Acts.

i) Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976

ii) Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 (Amendment Act, 2006)

iii) Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986


Therefore, even where reported cases are concerned, the NCRB does not give a complete picture of human trafficking. The understanding that human beings are trafficked not just for commercial sexual exploitation or marriage is yet to be officially recognised. As a result of this, incidents of trafficking for organ transplantation or bonded labour or child labour are not recorded under human trafficking head or table and our knowledge remains partial.
As per the latest NCRB data (Crime in India 2008: NCRB, MHA), there were 3,133 reported incidents of the crime of human trafficking under various provisions of laws in the year 2008 as compared to 4,087 during the year 2007. Thus there was recorded a decrease of 23.3% during 2008. 6,175 cases relating to human trafficking were reported during 2004 as compared to 6,402 and 5,096 cases reported in 2005 and 2006 respectively. Out of these cases, 3,568 cases were registered under ITPA, the special law to deal with human trafficking for prostitution. Most notably, the NCRB has started enumerating data exclusively on human trafficking from 2006 onwards. These figures show a decline over the past few years (For reference please see the figure given below) But we should be cautious before jumping to conclusion about the trend or magnitude because the official figures are based on reported incidents. You can imagine yourself given the visibility of the crime that the situation is not as what is made out to be or ‘reported’.

![Figure 6.1: Human Trafficking Incidence of Various Crime During 2004-2008](image)

**Source:** Crime in India Report 2008, National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India

If we analyse the extent of application of various laws regarding human trafficking in India by law enforcement agencies, we find that Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act, 1956 has been used in maximum cases. Out of 100 cases of human trafficking, around 88 cases were registered under ITPA, 1956 in 2008, while the rest were registered under various sections in Indian Penal Code.
Self Assessment Question

3) What are the different sources available that publish data on human trafficking?

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Human Trafficking
Percentage distribution during 2008

Figure 6.2:

Table 6.1: Crime Head-wise Incidence of various crimes under Human Trafficking during 2004 - 2008 and Percentage variation in 2008 over 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Procuration of Minor Girls (Sec. 366-A, IPC)</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>-11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Importation of Girls (Sec. 366-B IPC)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Selling of Girls for Prostitution (Sec. 372, IPC)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Buying of Girls for Prostitution (Sec. 373, IPC)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Immoral Trafficking (Prevention) Act, 1956</td>
<td>5,748</td>
<td>5,908</td>
<td>4,541</td>
<td>3,568</td>
<td>2,659</td>
<td>-25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,175</td>
<td>6,402</td>
<td>5,096</td>
<td>4,087</td>
<td>3,133</td>
<td>-23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activities

1) Take a World Atlas and locate countries in different regions which are trafficking
prone. What according to you are the reasons that women and children in such
countries are vulnerable to trafficking? What are the specific geo-political factors
that make these countries "suitable" targets for trafficking?

2) Analyse the above graphs and tables in the light of above discussions.

6.4 Missing Persons and Trafficked

Many of you must have come across notices or posters appearing in newspapers or at
bus stops or in trains or railway stations with a photograph of a person notified as
MISSING. The notice also carries out an appeal from the desperate parents, relatives
or friends to the general public to inform them if someone has any knowledge about the
missing person or comes across in near future. Such MISSING posters just symbolize
the desperation and agony that the parents and close friends suffer for not being able to
trace their beloved. Some of them may be found, but many remain untraced. According
to NHRC study (2005), where data on persons who were reported to be missing
between 1996 and 2001 were collected from 24 states/UTs (except J&K, Manipur,
Mizoram), 3,295 women and 66,024 children continue to remain missing or untraced.
So, if we calculate the average number of women and children per year, it comes
to 5,452 women and 11,008 children per year. So, an obvious question is asked:
WHERE HAVE ALL THESE WOMEN AND CHILDREN GONE? WHERE ARE
THEY? WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

The following tables will further help us understand the problem in a clearer way:

Table 6.2: Total number of female adults who continue to remain missing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States/UTS</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>1997-2000</th>
<th>Total for 6 years</th>
<th>Yearly average</th>
<th>Percentage increase or decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A&amp;N Islands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>315% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>106% (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>310% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,905</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>520% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1,032</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>250% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>5,615</td>
<td>7,058</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>157% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>120% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>110% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>69% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>46% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>120% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttrakhand</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayawada</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>104% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,708</td>
<td>24,094</td>
<td>31,802</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>141% (+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Trafficking Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1% (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>3126</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>301% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>6207</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>9422</td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>29% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>25% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>44% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>379% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>500% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttaranchal</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>122% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>2% (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4,627</td>
<td>21947</td>
<td>6181</td>
<td>32935</td>
<td>5452</td>
<td>34% (+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** NHRC Study, 2005: 167.

If we consider states/UTs where more than 100 adult female are reported to remain untraced or continued to be missing per year, we get the following states (in descending order-from higher to lower order):

1) Maharashtra (1570)
2) Delhi (1470)
3) Madhya Pradesh (521)
4) Karnataka (237)
5) Kerala (214)
6) Orissa (210)
7) Tamil Nadu (159)
8) Andhra Pradesh (148)
9) Assam (145)
10) Uttar Pradesh (144)
11) Gujarat (137)
12) Rajasthan (133)
13) West Bengal (128)

Aggregated on an yearly basis, Maharashtra tops the list of states/UTs with highest number of female adults reported untraced between 1996 and 2001. Delhi follows closely with 1470 female adults remaining untraced on an yearly basis. The lower figure in other states/UTs would mean that the problem of missing persons is not so high in those states/UTs. But we should also keep in mind that lower figure from these states might also be interpreted as under-reporting, because these figures represent reported cases and not actual cases of missing. It would be interesting to know the current trends of missing from 2001 onwards. Should we assume that the trend of missing adult female might show a decline when 16 states/UTs have shown an increasing trend while only seven states/UTs showed a decline. But the rate of decline is very small as compared to the rate of increase in percentage of female adults remaining untraced.

The percentage increase in the number of untraced women in 2001, when compared with the corresponding number for 1996 in the states/UTs as follows:
The huge jump in percentage of female adults remaining missing presents a very alarming and disturbing picture as far as missing persons are concerned. But, on the other hand, the high jump in percentage in some states and UTs like Arunachal Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Tripura show that earlier the missing figure was very low in comparison to the figure in 2001.

6.4.2 Missing Children

As we saw above how the female adults continue to remain untraced throughout the country, the situation is worse when it comes to children (persons below 18 years of age). Between 1996 and 2001, a total of 2,66,847 children (both male and female) were reported to be missing making it an average of 44,476 children being reported missing every year (NHRC Study, 2005: 166). This figure does not include missing children figures from Bihar and Jharkhand. When average was calculated on yearly basis, certain states reported abnormally high figures. For example, the average number of children reported missing in a year in Maharashtra was 13,881, in Delhi the figure was 6227, in Madhya Pradesh, it was 4915, in Tamil Nadu, it was 4618, in Karnataka, it was 3660, in Andhra Pradesh, it was 2007 and in Gujarat it was 1624. There have been increases in the reporting of missing children in almost all the states.

A table is presented below which gives figures on children who continue to remain missing (between 1996 and 2001):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States/UTs</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>1997-2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Total for 6 years</th>
<th>Yearly average</th>
<th>2001 over 1996 (percentage increase or decrease)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A&amp;N Islands</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1000% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1307</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>78% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>883% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>151% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>56% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>83% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>3837</td>
<td>17205</td>
<td>2666</td>
<td>23708</td>
<td>3951</td>
<td>31% (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28% (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1145</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>80% (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>142% (+)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we do a similar exercise as we did above with respect to missing women, we find following 13 states/UTs with more than 100 children who continue to remain missing or untraced on an yearly basis between a period of 1996 and 2001:

1) Delhi (3951)
2) Maharashtra (2359)
3) Madhya Pradesh (853)
4) Uttar Pradesh (641)
5) Tamil Nadu (505)
6) Karnataka (446)
7) Orissa (389)
8) Assam (350)
9) Andhra Pradesh (334)
10) West Bengal (294)
11) Rajasthan (206)
12) Kerala (176)
13) Gujarat (191)
14) Haryana (108)

If we compare both the lists for missing female adults and children who continued to missing between 1996 and 2001, we find a curious similarity. Haryana is the only new addition to the above list. What is the conclusion that we draw from these two data set? Should we not ask ourselves why women and children have been found to be missing in large numbers from the same set of states? What is common between both the women and children that they form the largest chunk of missing persons?

Before we proceed to another section or topic, we should ponder and try to analyse in the light of these the reason behind such large scale of phenomenon of missing women and children from these states and UTs.
**Self Assessment Question**

4) What do you think may be the possible reasons for these women and children still remaining untraced?

5) Which States/UTs are showing high rate of increase as far as untraced women and children are concerned?

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6.5 ‘MISSING’ PERSONS AND ‘TRAFFICKED’ PERSONS – FINDING THE LINK

It happens many times that the person who is repatriated or reintegrated with his or her family after a rescue operation turns out to be a missing person in her community. You will hear from NGO workers who go for restoration of such rescued persons, recounting tales of warm welcome and offer of reward from family members of the person because the person was ‘missing’ and family had lost all hopes of finding her. It is possible that even if parents insist that their child has been trafficked or kidnapped, the police registers the case of missing person and remains indifferent. On the other hand, parents and guardians are usually unaware of the fact that their children have been kidnapped or trafficked and in such situations when they go to the police station for reporting, the police registers a case of missing and does not care to find the truth. Many case studies of rescued trafficked victims mentioned in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India (2005) established that such victims were in fact mentioned ‘missing’ in their local police station records. It also may happen that trafficking was not the primary reason when the child or a woman was reported to be missing first, but subsequently he or she might have been trafficked. He or she might have run away or left the place on her own owing to reasons like to avoid abusive family situation, a situation of conflict or disaster. Sometimes peer pressure or influence also play an important role. In some cases, the person might have lost her way to her home and went missing. It happens generally at crowded places like big fairs during festivals or on railway stations or in busy and crowded markets.

6.5.1 Trafficking for Organ Transplantation- Its Magnitude

Human trafficking for Organ Transplantation especially kidney transplantation is the least informed area in the entire trafficking issue. For neither the law enforcement agencies nor NGOs, trafficking for organ transplantation is a major issue. Due to this and the clandestine operation of trafficking, such cases are hardly recorded and whatever comes to notice is individual cases that gets highlighted occasionally. ‘Organ trafficking remains
an invisible ‘trafficking’ sector for existing anti-trafficking initiatives. ... The leading
organisation specifically working to this issue, Organs Watch has conducted research
on organ trade in twelve countries (Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, India, Iran, Israel/West
Bank, Moldova/Romania, Philippines, Russia, Turkey, USA and South Africa). Based
on that research, at least all of these countries can be seen to have a significant trafficking
problem. The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that approximately 50,000
kidney transplants take place every year. (World Health Organisation Executive Board,
Human organ and tissue transplantation: Report by the Secretariat, 112th Session,
Provisional agenda item 4.3, EB112.5, 2 May 2003, as quoted in GTZ report 2004:
11). Of these, an absolute minimum of 15,000 transplants are from live donors (WHO
2003). Some of these will be from relatives and some from live unrelated ‘donors’
where the main vulnerability for kidney sale and trafficking ultimately lies. The organisation
Organs Watch estimates that ‘thousands of illegal transplants occur every year bought
by patients from the Persian Gulf states, Japan, Italy, Israel, the U.S. and Canada
supplied by “donor” nations, including India, Pakistan, Turkey, Peru, Mexico, Romania
and South Africa’.

So far, in India, there has been only one comprehensive study of organ donation that
was a result of investigation into organ trafficking in the State of Punjab. Praveen Swami
in his path-breaking investigative piece published in the Frontline (2003) notes that the scale
of organ trade in Punjab was so huge that it defied any imagination. Since 1997,
the four Authorisation Committees in the State cleared 2,384 kidney transplant
procedures. Of these, 1,922 were carried out at the Kakkar Hospital alone, the only
one in Amritsar registered for the purpose. Another 458 were done in Ludhiana, and
four in Patiala. The article also mentions a report prepared by the Punjab Human Rights
Organisation. The Organisation found that out of the total 2384 kidney transplants
1,579 procedures were authorised in Amritsar after April 2000, a sign that the volume
of the trade had grown dramatically in recent years. This figure stands in stark contrast
to the 650 procedures authorised in New Delhi during the same period. Just 21 (out of
1,922 cases) of the recipients in Amritsar were related to their respective donors.
Thus, although the Act allows for unrelated donors to gift their organs only in exceptional
circumstances, the Authorisation Committee in Amritsar allowed over 99 per cent of
the procedures under this provision which clearly established that human beings were
cheated, deceived or coerced to part with one of their kidneys (Swami, P. The Frontline
2003). Free The Slaves as quoted in a GTZ report (2004: 19-20) states that in Punjab,
those who sell their organs are generally young men, often labourers, from 18 to 30
years of age. Research from other parts of India states that kidney sellers are often
women. A study conducted in Tamil Nadu found that 71% of 305 respondents who
sold kidneys in Tamil Nadu were women. 60% of these and 95% of the male respondents
were labourers or street vendors. While the law mandates that a stranger can donate a
kidney only out of love and affection for the done, but this ‘donation’ is out of sheer
poverty and not out of voluntary consent to donate kidney to the person out of love and
affection.

6. ‘Coercion in the Kidney Trade? A background study on trafficking in human organs worldwide’; GTZ,
7. (Goyal, M. et. al. Economic and Health Consequences of Selling a Kidney in India, Journal of the American
Activity 3

Keep a watch on the posters or advertisements (published in newspapers) with appeals and information regarding missing persons in the town, city or state where you reside. Find out which category of population (women, children, elderly or youth) are found missing more? Make a special note of the age and gender of missing persons.

6.6 SUMMARY

'Without a sense of the magnitude of the problem, it is impossible to prioritise human trafficking as an issue relative to other local or transnational threats, and its is difficult to assess whether any particular intervention is having effect' (UNODC Global; Report on Trafficking in Persons: 2009). For successful implementation of any intervention programme, The monitoring and evaluation aspect holds significance in successful implementation of any intervention programme.

6.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1) What are the different sources which tell us about the estimates of human trafficking?
2) ‘The cases of human trafficking are on decline as reported by NCRB in its Crime in India 2007 Report’. Do you agree? Give reasons.
3) Write a note on the link between “Missing Persons” and “Trafficked Persons”.

6.8 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

1) Monzini, Paola (2005) Sex Trafficking- Prostitution, Crime and Exploitation, Rome
3) UNHCR (2005) Combating Human Trafficking
4) UNODC (2006) Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns
5) UNODC (2009) Report on Trafficking in Persons
8) <http://www.osce.org/iteml35554.html>
10) Human Rights Watch, 1996
12) Deshingkar and Akter (2009)
The Trafficking Process


14) Crime in India (2008) NCRB, MHA, GoI


17) WHO 2003


### 6.9 ANSWERS AND HINTS

**Self Assessment Questions**

1) Refer to Sub-section 6.3.3
2) Refer to Sub-section 6.3.3
3) Refer to Sub-section 6.3.3
4) Refer to Sub-section 6.5.1
5) Refer to Sub-section 6.5.1

**Terminal Questions**

1) Refer to Section 6.3
2) Refer to Sub-section 6.3.3
3) Refer to Section 6.5
UNIT 7  PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

Structure
7.1 Introduction
7.2 Objectives
7.3 Various Factors Leading to Trafficking
7.4 Push Factors
7.5 Pull Factors
7.6 Summary
7.7 Terminal Questions
7.8 Answers and Hints
7.9 References and Suggested Readings

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Let’s understand that the very process of human trafficking is a process of commodification of a person. It treats the victim like a commodity and ‘complete disposable tools’ for making profits (Kevin Bales, 1999). One can see the rules of market economy being played out on victim’s body. As it happens in market, the person would be procured, exhibited, sold, exhibited again like wares, purchased and sold again. All these operations are guided by a chain of demand and supply of such persons. As you read further, you will realize that this whole process of commodification of persons has a very damaging implications on the human psyche of the victim. This is true mostly in the cases of persons trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. The practice of prostitution is a practice of sexual objectification of women as John Stoltenberg (1990) notes in his book “Refusing to be a Man”. Analysing it further, he says, “…every act of sexual objectifying occurs on a continuum of dehumanization that promises…sexual violence at its far end”. The victim who is trapped in the complex web of trafficking is forced to go through multiple transactions of sale and purchase and over a period of time, she starts treating herself as a commodity, waiting on the street for customers, packaging herself in the latest fashion to attract a prospective buyer and soliciting the customer. Therefore victims are central to the process of trafficking who are ‘… highly profitable, low risk, expendable, reusable and resaleable commodities’ (Richard, 1999, quoted in NHRC study, 2005).

Again historically also, women were gradually reduced to the status of a commodity. ‘The concept of women as chattel or commodity for man’s enjoyment is borne out by the inclusion of women- pretty and young- to be given as daksina along with items like cattle, horse, chariots etc. to a man in return for a favour or as a mark of respect’ (Bhattacharji, Sukumari, 1987, Prostitution in Ancient India, Social Scientist 6, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 41, 54). So we find the accounts of pretty maidens being given as daksinas to priests or as parting gifts to kings in our ancient texts. So, we have a society which discriminates against women in many sphere and treats her as a commodity and the trafficking takes this process further where the woman becomes ‘an inanimate object of enjoyment’ relegated to a status which is ‘sub-human and subject’ (ibid, p. 41).
To understand why the slavery in the form of trafficking in persons operate and there are little signs of ebbing, it is important to examine the profit that is generated as the outcome at the cost of victim's exploitation. As per an estimate given by ILO recently (ILO, A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour: 2005) the profits generated by the human trafficking 'industry' were put at 32 billion dollar with the perpetrators extracting from $13,000 to a figure as high as $67,000 from each victim per year. Other estimates put the figure between $9.5 billion and $12 billion a year (King 2004, Trafficking in Persons Report, 2004).

As we go further, we will examine who are these persons (particularly who are these women and children) who are ‘in demand’ in destination areas and who contribute the ‘supply base’. In this section, we would try to discuss different factors that are making them vulnerable for trafficking – both PUSH and PULL factors arising in source and destination areas respectively.

There are some significant differences in the economic situation as far as the source and destination areas are concerned. Although ‘the problem of trafficking is not race specific and anyone can become a victim’ (Broderick, 2005:), yet those who are trafficked are mostly poor among Dalits and tribals (NHRC Study, 2005: 85). There are many factors – economic, demographic and sociological that make women and children vulnerable to trafficking (Bales 1999, Hughes, 2000).

### 7.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- explain various factors responsible for trafficking; and
- analyse the various push and pull factors of trafficking.

### Activity

1) Let’s prepare a list of contributing factors that cause human trafficking particularly in women and children.

### 7.3 VARIOUS FACTORS LEADING TO TRAFFICKING

Various factors leading to trafficking are:

- Gender
- Age
- Discrimination against women (low status accorded to women)
- Singlehood
- Priority to Marriage
- Child marriage
- History of sexual abuse during childhood
- Low education attainment
- Family breakdown or dysfunctional family atmosphere with problems of alcoholism, drug abuse, physical and sexual abuse
- Breaking down of community support system
- Poverty
- Lack of employment options available
- Cultural beliefs and superstition
Conflict situation
Natural disasters
Attraction of city life
Corruption and indifference at the level of government agencies (Bales 1999, Malarek 2003)
Weaker law enforcement
Breakdown of traditional sources of occupation or means of livelihood
Globalisation
Lack of awareness in the victims, affected families and communities
The above factors do not, in general, make a person vulnerable. Rather, it's an interplay of different factors that cause a person to be lured and deceived by the trafficker. Over and above these push factors, the pull factors also play an equally significant role.

a) Gender: Let me ask you one question: Who do you think is trafficked most – Man or Woman?

It is both women and men who are trafficked. Where trafficking has been for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, the women and girls outnumber men and boys (UNODC, 2009; NHRC, 2005). A staggering 79% of the victims of human trafficking were found to be women (Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, UNODC, 2009) who were subjected to sexual exploitation. But in the cases of trafficking in persons for forced or exploitative labour, these are men and boys who have been reported to be victims. While one can’t deny the possibility of under-reporting or under-detection with respect to the representation of gender group being represented in less numbers in the two categories mentioned above, at the same time, ‘the over-representation of sexually exploited women is true across regions, even in countries where other forms of trafficking are routinely exploited’ (UNODC, 2009). In the NHRC study, out of the 510 rescued trafficked children who were interviewed, 71.4 per cent were males while the rest were females. The reason may be, as stated in the study, because of the access to rescued children who were largely male. The study puts a caution that the gender proportion, therefore, should not be considered as representative of the entire universe of trafficked children (NHRC, 2005).

b) Age: It is mostly younger persons who are trafficked. Most of the persons trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation or forced labour are persons below 18 years. Almost 62 per cent of trafficking survivors said that they were forced into commercial sexual exploitation when they were children (below 18 years). In the case of 33.7 per cent of the respondents, the exploitation began when they were in the age group of 18 to 21 years. Only 4.6 per cent of the survivors were pushed into brothels after they were 21. These data from NHRC study shows that the younger the person, the more vulnerable she is. This also points out that there are high demands for children in brothels. There can be different reasons for this: patriarchal belief that valorizes sex with a virgin; the misbelief among patients of STI and HIV that sex with a young virgin would cure them of their ailments.

c) Singlehood: Many victims of trafficking are also single women – unmarried, divorced, separated, deserted or widowed. We have a society where widow remarriage is still discouraged in many parts of India and they are accorded a sub-human status within their own families and community. The society looks upon a poor single woman who is also young as ‘available’ and a ‘trafficker’ who is also a person from the society takes the advantage of this pervasive ‘belief’ to further victimize the woman.
d) **History of sexual abuse during childhood**: There is a casual connection between the sexual abuse of children at young age and their vulnerability to trafficking (NHRC, 2005). Many victims of trafficking are the ones who were sexually abused when they were young by their neighbours, relatives, friends, school staff, a family friend, police official, domestic help, i.e., by those who were not strangers and therefore were supposed to ‘pose’ minimum threat to the child. Many such victims stated that being subjected to regular sexual assault during their childhood led to their falling prey to traffickers. Many prostitutes come from homes where there has been history of sexual abuse (Fraad, 1997; Holmes and Holmes, 2009).

e) **Ethnicity or Race**: Although some scholars believe that trafficking can happen to anyone and is not race specific (Broderick, 2005), but it is also true at least in Indian context, that those who are trafficked are mostly among Dalits and tribals (Report of the Advisory Committee constituted by the orders of Supreme Court in Gaurav Jain v. Union of India and Ors. AIR 1997 SC 3034; NHRC Study, 2005: 85). Again, if we look at the social profile of those who migrate, (before they get trafficked), they are mainly those who ‘come from poor families where access to physical, financial and human capital is limited and where prospects for improving living standards are constrained by their inferior social and political status. Historically disadvantaged communities such as the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes are heavily represented in migration.’ (Deshingker and Akter, 2009: Migration and Human Development in India, UNDP). Official statistics show that SCs and STs are more deprived than other social groups. At the all India level, poverty among STs was about two times higher than non SCs/STs (ibid, 2009).

After reading this, you must be able to learn to analyse why people belonging to SCs and STs are migrating in large numbers. One reason may be deprivation or poverty. But you should then ask yourself, why not poverty affects persons or families belonging to other castes. What is it that drives the men, women and children from the backward communities to cities. Poverty may be one reason, but let us try to understand the problem from another perspective.

f) **Discrimination and atrocities against Dalits and members of Scheduled Tribes**: The members of scheduled castes or in other words Dalits face discrimination at the hands of their own village folks who represent dominant upper castes. Less wages, discriminatory and humiliating caste practices which many times become violent and abusive coupled with indifference of law enforcement agencies to these situations pushes the members who face victimization to seek refuge in cities. Dalit women are doubly discriminated – first because they are Dalits and second because of they being woman. The following narratives of two women best describe the situation:

“I married at 12. I got up at three every morning to do the housework. Then I went to the fields for harvest or sowing. I earned 2 rupees a day which my husband took from me, and he beat me also. He called me filthy names unfitting for a woman. I could go without food but my children were starving, so I came to the city.”

“I am 16. I cleaned, washed, did the sweeping, collected water, looked after the master’s children. But my master raped me, his wife beat and kicked me, so I came to the city streets to find labour.” (ibid)

These women are invariably ‘caught between poverty, abuse and caste-ranking’. Being disadvantaged on other fronts, many such women are ‘forced into prostitution’ (ibid). Janki, an aged prostitute in Delhi, noted by the same author, had been sold into prostitution before the advent of Second World War, maintained that nothing could end prostitution - not police raids, check-posts on borders, Nari Niketans or pensions for widows. She said, ‘Buy freedom for our men, give them land, only land. It is this land, these green fields, which will contain their girls. Nothing else can.’ (ibid: 419-420)

Like women, children from these so called lower castes and from tribal communities also face discrimination and deprivation. From time to time we come across instances of discrimination against scheduled caste and scheduled tribe children in schools and anganwadis, in the way they are made to sit in the classroom or access to mid-day meal, uniforms or books. These situations force children from these castes and tribes to drop out from formal education system and thus a huge pool of children available for trafficking for child labour or commercial sexual exploitation is created. It is the poorest children and their families, those in the least protected castes, who are most likely to be prey to bonded labour (Schmitz, C. et al; 2004, p. 108). Moreover, the caste system is also related to particular professions practiced by each caste group. The children of these caste groups are initiated into these professions from an early age and can be seen working everywhere. Therefore, the level of acceptance and tolerance level is very high among families and the communities which finds nothing wrong in sending their children with a relative or an acquaintance to cities or distant places for labour, because for them it may be a gateway to expand the scope of opportunities for their children which otherwise seem to have become limited due to being ‘pushed out’ of formal education system. The parents are lured by agents that their children would if they earn new trades and would also earn money. The deprivation that results from the centuries old caste discrimination leaves these children vulnerable.

**Self Assessment Question**

1) Is discrimination against the Dalits a factor of their trafficking?

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**Situation of Prolonged Armed Conflict:** The situations of prolonged armed conflict may vary from caste based rivalries to communal riots between two religious communities or to ethnic conflicts like in Rwanda, Congo, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Many of the victims get trafficked in the wake of armed conflict, especially if it is prolonged coupled with weakening of state machinery. The breakdown of law and order during these times contributes to an environment in which trafficking flourishes (The Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, Violence Against Women Perpetrated and / or Condoned by the State During Times of Armed Conflict, delivered to the UN Commission on Human Rights, 2001). The death of family members, destruction of houses and large scale displacement which are characteristics of any high intensity armed conflict makes the
women and children vulnerable. Women and young girls are kidnapped, blindfolded, beaten, and then forced into temporary or permanent sexual slavery.²

### Case Illustration

In mid-2006, during the armed conflict in Lebanon, UNODC became aware that traffickers were targeting some of the 300,000 domestic workers from Sri Lanka, Ethiopia and the Philippines who were left behind when their foreign employers were evacuated. Having abruptly lost their livelihoods and official resident status, the workers quickly became vulnerable. As embassies struggled to assist their nationals, trafficking gangs offered alternative options. (http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/prevention.html; accessed on March 11, 2010)

### Natural Disasters

h) **Natural Disasters:** Disasters affect women and children adversely. Women and children form the biggest group of victims affected by any natural disaster. Also worse affected are the socially backward communities like SCs, STs and minorities. The disasters destroy the traditional support systems due to death and destruction that natural disasters produce on these communities. As a result of all this, human beings in general and women and children in particular become more susceptible to trafficking. Traffickers prey on people who are increasingly desperate to escape their situation and they see traffickers approaching them with ‘helping hands’ and ‘sensitivity’ which they desperately need and become so rare during such situations. Without adequate protection, the victims are easy targets, especially the children. This is true in almost all the natural disasters (Supercyclone in Orissa in 1999, Gujarat earthquake in 2001, Tsunami in 2005, Bihar floods in 2008, cyclone Aila in Sunderban area in West Bengal and Bangladesh in 2009).

During Tsunami, a disaster which affected many nations including India, several NGOs including UNICEF and IOM working with the affected communities in these countries reported several cases of human trafficking especially those of children who were rendered orphans or homeless and without protection.³ Similar news of trafficking in children were reported by many organizations working in flood affected districts in Bihar in 2009.⁴ A TISS report pointed out that 'since family disorganization is a defining feature in the current situation due to large scale migration, it is an ideal time for human traffickers to spread their net and lure women and children to migrate with them out of the State.'⁵

Apart from the above instances of natural disasters which have a sudden effect, trafficking happens from drought or famine affected areas as well. For instance, we find many evidences of human migration due to distressful situation wrought by recurring phenomena of drought like situation in rural areas. The failure of agriculture expose many farming families to many vulnerabilities including trafficking for forced labour or commercial sexual exploitation.

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⁴ UNICEF, Oxfam, Action Aid, Bachpan Bachao Andolan, Asha Parivar, National Alliance of Peoples Movement, Tata Institute of Social Sciences

'In 1770, a disastrous famine wiped out a third of population of Bengal and forced their survivors to sell their children'. The situation was so worse that the parents were selling children for their own survival. They probably saw the survival of their children as well during a time when death was just glaring in their empty eyes. ‘…In historical documents related to this period, we come across descriptions of boats filled with children coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta’


Self Assessment Question
2) How natural disaster is a factor of human trafficking?


Woman sells her baby for Rs 21
Muzaffarpur: Driven by hunger a destitute woman sold her five-day-old daughter to a childless couple for only Rs 21. Rita Devi of Kesaria in West Champaran district, whose husband Jagdish died a few months ago, sold her daughter to Jaleshwar Das and Rajkumari of Paru-Bishunpur village on Thursday.

Rita, according to reports reaching here, stayed at Paru-Bishunpur when she was on her way from Kesaria to Lalganj in Vaishali district to meet her parents. When contacted, Rajkumari said she had given Rs 21 to Rita s she had no money for travel and that the baby would be “returned” to her when she returned. Muzaffarpour’s district magistrate Vinnay Kumar said he had asked the sub-divisional officer inquire into the matter. (PTI)

Source: Still Out of Focus Status of India’s Children 2008, HAQ, Delhi.

Child trafficking rife in flood relief camps
Desperate mothers in Bihar’s flood-affected districts are selling their children en masse to traffickers. Ram Deo Prasad, who heads Bihar’s Child Labour Commission, pointed out that children in the districts of Supaul, Araria, Saharsa and Purnea were being sold for as little as Rs 200 per child.

At present, nearly 2 lakh women and children live cheek-by-jowl in 3,000 relief camps being run by the state government and NGOs. Most of the able-bodied men have migrated to the larger cities in search of work, leaving the women vulnerable to smooth-talking traffickers who promise that their children will be given a better life in the cities.

Last week alone, 1,500 children being smuggled out of the state by human traffickers were caught at the Patna, Hajipur and Khageria railway stations. “While the older children were taken back to the relief camps, there were some kids who were so young that they could not recall the names of their parents or the village to which they belonged,” Prasad said. “These young children were taken to shelter homes called
Apna Ghars and will be lodged there till such time as their parents are located.”

Last week alone, 1,500 children being smuggled out of the state by human traffickers were caught at the Patna, Hajipur and Khageria railway stations. “While the older children were taken back to the relief camps, there were some kids who were so young that they could not recall the names of their parents or the village to which they belonged,” Prasad said.

…… “On average, we believe a minimum of 50 children are being taken from these relief camps. They are being brought to the bigger cities where they will end up as bonded labour, be forced into prostitution or become victims of the organ trade,” said Prasad. “The traffickers are so ingenious that they go around in boats to all the marooned villages, persuading parents to sell their children to them. No statistics are available on the scale of the trafficking going on,” he added.


When we look at the above two cases separated by a distance of around 240 years, we find that the things have not changed. The push factors remain the same. There might be difference in the magnitude or scale. But what has not changed is the vulnerability that becomes obvious during the times of natural disasters. The same is true with respect to all other push factors. Adding to this, if there is a lack of support system either by the community or by the governments; the situation is rife for traffickers to take maximum advantage.

7.4 PUSH FACTORS

i) **Low educational attainment**: Most of the victims who are trafficked are either illiterate or semi-literate. Children who are trafficked for forced labour are essentially those who are drop outs or who have never been to any school. The same is true for persons trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation. The NHRC study (2005) found in its survey of the victims of trafficking that 70.7 per cent of them were either illiterate or barely literate (i.e., they could just write their names). Out of the rest, 13.6 per cent of the victims had received education up to the primary stage. Although, low education attainment or illiteracy in itself does not cause trafficking, the education has been found to be an effective ‘safeguard against trafficking’ (NHRC, 2005), especially where education leads to awareness.

j) **Child Marriage**: The child marriage in itself exposes a child, particularly girl child, to many vulnerabilities, e.g., ill health, abuse and violence, drop out from school, separation from natal home etc. Nearly seventy two percent of the respondents from among the survivors of trafficking surveyed in the NHRC study on trafficking had married when they were below 18. Child marriage ‘could have made them more vulnerable to traffickers’ (NHRC study, 2005)

k) **Priority to marriage**: Marriage, as per Indian custom, is one of the most important events and fulfillments for parents of guardians of a child especially when the child is a daughter. Finding a suitable groom for the daughter and having enough money to pay dowry for marriage are major concerns for many parents. The practice of dowry is responsible for rampant cases of female foeticide in the country. So, it is a double boon for poor parents of a girl if someone who they know comes up with marriage proposal where he or she claims to have found an able groom and also offers money or says the groom would not ask for any dowry.
Either due to lack of awareness or due to be lured by money and other considerations, parents don’t check the antecedents of the ‘groom’ and agrees for their daughter’s marriage. The traffickers exploit the concerns of parents for their own ends and the girl gets trafficked in the process for bonded labour (as explained in the case study below) or commercial sexual exploitation.

For the sake of getting married

...teenage girls...are lured with the promise of being able to earn enough money to pay for their dowry, without which it would not be possible for them to get married....They take these girls on a three-year contract, promising the parents they will give proper food and accommodation to their daughters. They also promise to pay a lump sum of money which is attractive and ‘will make up a major part of the dowry...The girls are made to believe that a happy marriage is possible’ and they would not be burden on their parents anymore ‘if they work hard in the mills for three years...However the working conditions are very difficult’ with girls being ‘accommodated in one room which is...congested and unhygienic’. They have to work for 12 hours and hardly get any time ‘to go out or socialise’. The girls have to bear all other expenses on ‘clothes, medicines, shoes and toiletries’. These girls are ‘often subjected to verbal and sexual abuse’. The incidents of sexual abuse happen from their own male colleagues, supervisors and at times the owner himself. ‘Parents accept the situation as they feel that even if the girl has suffered, she has at least earned some money for her marriage. They try to rationalize the exploitation since they feel that their daughter’s marriage is the most important issue in their lives.’

(Source: Case study by Institute of Social Sciences, Chennai; NHRC Study, 2005)

1) Breakdown of family or Dysfunctional family atmosphere: The breakdown of family may be because of several reasons- alcohol or drug abuse, abusive parents, abusive spouse, desertion or divorce, physical and sexual abuse. In the absence of a strong support system either from own family members or from community or government, the affected family member(s) are exposed to further vulnerability including trafficking. For instance, 36 per cent of trafficked victims stated they were ill-treated in their in-laws’ house, by their husband, parents in law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, in that order. There were many cases of sexual assault or abuse by non-family members and the victims were deserted by or separated from their husbands when they came to know. Many such women also shared that this led them to commercial sexual exploitation.

m) Breaking down of a community support system: Community support system is very important for the sustenance of a person during the times of crisis. During any crisis, we see how our community supports us. They are the essential parts of our coping mechanism. The breakdown of community support system is the consequence and not the root cause in itself for further vulnerability. There are many factors that lead to such breakdown. It can be natural disaster, conflict situation where majority of community members have either been killed or escaped for safety and survival. The community structure may also fall through when there is a large scale displacement of people due to development projects. The weakening of community support system opens the door for traffickers and scrupulous people who turn up in the garb of ‘good samaritan’.

n) Poverty: Poverty in itself may not be a reason behind trafficking in women and children. We should always remember that poverty is the result of various other
deprivations and vulnerabilities. Abject poverty which makes a person vulnerable to trafficking is in fact an aggregation of many vulnerabilities, some of which we have discussed above. This is evident from the following case study of a child trafficked into bonded labour:

“Mina, just ten years old, works in bonded labour rolling cigarettes (beedi) with her brother Ram. Ram, eight years old, just started working a few years ago, but Mina has been working in a small beedi factory for almost five years now, since she was barely six years old. Even if the economic situation were to improve for their family, these children are caught in the web of bonded labour that is difficult, sometimes impossible, from which to extricate.

Mina’s mother died of choleras and not long after the birth of her brother. Her father had been barely making ends meet working in brickyard when he had an accident and broke his leg. The break was severe and he needed 600 rupees for medical expenses. Desperate, Mina’s father accepted a loan from a bonded labour employer, who agreed to employ Mina, then barely six years old, to roll beedi until the debt was paid off. It is highly likely that she will work until she has matured. It is also likely that she will pass this debt to her father, to other family members, or even to her own children.

Mina has worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for nearly five years, but the debt is not paid off. Her employer charges her for food and other expenses. The low wages she is paid cannot begin to make a dent in the immensely high rates of interest charged on her parent’s loan. Even with her brother working, they have made little progress toward repaying the loan.... Mina’s fingers are literally worn to the bone from thousands upon thousands hours of repetitious cigarette rolling. She works sitting on the floor of a dark and musty hut with a basket of tobacco on her left and a slowly growing mound of tiny beedis in a basket on her right...” (Source: P. 105, Schmitz, Cathryne L. et al.; ‘Child Labour A Global View’, Greenwood Press, Westport, 2004)

o) **Lack of employment options available:** The large scale rural-urban migration is a testimony to the fact that there are not many employment options available at village level. Seasonal migration is a well-known fact.

p) **Unstable state of the nation and its economy:** This factor can be better explained by sharing with you the situation after disintegration of USSR or what was known as Soviet Union. In 1991 the world saw the disintegration of a huge block (USSR) that until then was considered a super power. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the process of redistribution of resources began that was catalysed by the combined effects of liberalization, privatization and globalization. Since the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991, this new economic order mainly hit women, depriving them of social services and security. This is clear from the analysis of the situation in former Soviet Union as provided by American scholar Louis Shelley.6

‘The former Soviet Union has gone from a society that was 100 per cent state owned to a lower level of state ownership in the economy... In that period of transition, the resources of the state were privatised primarily to men. After the initial privatization, which was so improperly handled, that it brought almost no resources to the state, no revenues were being paid and nothing was being done to provide social services to women, education for children and so forth.

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So, a simultaneous impoverishment of women occurred, not only their salaries and their access to property but also to social services.

As a result of this, hundreds and thousands of women started leaving the country temporarily, a process that began on a mass scale in the years that followed 1991 and continues still.

q) **Globalization and Economic Restructuring:** The onslaught of globalization induced liberal economic policies and restructuring of conventional economic structures by governments across the world. In the new economic order that emerged after globalization, the capital started flowing to regions that were characterized by cheap labour and weaker unions that had no or little influence in the policy formulation or the employers. These were also the regions where governments in order to attract more and more capital formulated policies that served the interest of employers and created an environment that was more friendly to the employers. There has been a marked increase in part-time employment and unemployment in both post-industrial and "developing" countries. The power of national governments has been eroding in favour of international organizations like the World Bank, the World Trade organization and the International Monetary Fund. Kempadoo (1998:16) notes that the new international arrangements have had a detrimental effect on many national economies and have resulted in the displacement of rural populations, lower wages and heightened poverty. As a result, social programmes have decreased while incentives to consumption have increased, a phenomenon from which the sex trade has not been exempt (Quoted in ibid: 9). Moreover, there have been significant repercussions among certain population groups, particularly in the Third World. Women, notes Kempadoo (1998:17), are most strongly affected to the extent that the International Labour Organization estimated in 1996 that the feminization of international migration has been one of the most pronounced social and economic phenomena in recent years (Quoted in ibid: 9). The increase in human trafficking particularly that in women and young girls can be linked with this trend.

Self Assessment Question
3) Explain any two push factors of trafficking.

7.5 **PULL FACTORS**

After we have discussed above the factors that makes persons vulnerable and push them in the trap of traffickers, we discuss below and see what are the factors that influence a victim’s decision to believe a trafficker so much so that the victim finally gets entrapped. These factors can be called PULL factors as they have an element of attraction and influence. But before we discuss them further, it should be clearly understood that there are not just PUSH or PULL factors resulting in the trafficking, rather there is a

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7 Bruckert, C. and Parent, C. 2002: 9; Trafficking in Human Beings and Organised Crime: A Literature Review.
continuous interplay between several of these factors due to which a person is deceived and becomes trafficked. Some of the PULL factors that are responsible for human trafficking are listed below. They are:

a) Higher wages and demand for labour
b) Improved communications system
c) Images of better urban life portrayed by media

a) Higher Wages and Demand for Labour: After the economic restructuring, the conventional sources of livelihood have shrunk presenting fewer opportunities to unskilled labour force in their place of residence. The earlier migrants return with the narratives detailing higher wages and comfortable life in the cities or abroad. Many a times, they tend to hide the problems they face and exaggerate the employment prospects, while it is also true that some cities offer higher wage rate to its labour force than what they get in their own villages by working as skilled or unskilled labour or as agricultural labour. Cities with its focus on improvement of infrastructure and also boom in real estate have created huge demand for both unskilled and skilled labour force. Now it is quite obvious that a person will get influenced by the offer of higher wages and good conditions of employment. The traffickers know this and exploit it to serve their interest.

b) Improved Communications System: Generally, improved communication infrastructure like roads, railways and bridges result in connectivity of people living in remote and interior parts of the country to the ‘mainstream’ of development. On one hand, there is public demand for better road and railway connectivity and on the other hand, governments also focus on building newer roads and bridges and taking railways to interiors of the country. With improved connectivity, people’s migration is also induced. But unfortunately, not all the migrations are safe and many of them can be vulnerable to trafficking.

c) Images of better Urban Life portrayed by Media: The media promotes and propagates consumerist culture through its visuals and the use of semantics. The films that youth are generally attracted to also portray a better image of cities where living is earning huge money and making merry. The films also stereotype the rural-urban migration by showing how the rustic village fellow who makes it big in the city and returns to his roots only when he becomes wealthy and powerful. Earlier, the films showed male youth leaving their villages for cities, but recently films have started portraying female youth into such roles. In almost all the films, the image of a city is portrayed as something which is welcoming, embracing and is the panacea for all material ills. Attracted to these images, the youths and even adolescents leave for cities and towns for better prospects and better life for themselves and those who they leave behind. Many of these youth fall prey to traffickers who approach them as recruiting agents and promise the same better life that are generally portrayed and reinforced through media.
**Demand Factors:** Following factors create a demand for trafficked victims in the areas where they are brought after trafficking:

1) **Widening gender gap**
2) **Expanding global tourism**

1) **Widening gender gap:** All the census reports since 1961 are showing a widening gender gap between male and female both within 0-6 years age group and in general population. Some regions like Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Western Uttar Pradesh, Kutch in Gujarat have become quite notorious for female foeticide. As a result of this large scale female foeticide over the years, these regions are witnessing a scarcity of girls of marriageable age. Therefore, there is a huge demand of girls now for ‘marriage’ which in many cases is nothing but leading an exploitative life of sexual servitude. Girls for this purpose are trafficked through agents (i.e. traffickers) from poorer regions of the country but which are relatively female surplus areas like Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and also some neighbouring country like Bangladesh. We can further learn this on the basis of analysis of the two figures given below:

![Figure 7.1: Census wise Sex Ratio (0-6 years of age and Total; 1961-2001)](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sex Ratio (0-6 yrs.)</th>
<th>Total (all age)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the data given below in Figure 7.2, we find that over the last two decades the situation has worsened in many states with changes in just 10 years between 1991 and 2001 showing dangerously downward trend. Thus it is evident that the phenomenon of female foeticide is creating an artificial demand for women in such female-starved regions. The women are thus trafficked from poorer families in exchange for few rupees or promise of a better future, but end up finally leading a life of sexual servitude and exploitative labour.

![Figure 7.2: States with maximum gender gap (0-6 years age)](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States / UTs</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Absolute Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) **Expanding global tourism:** As tourism is growing globally, so the demand for children and young girls is also increasing. There should be a code of conduct for tourism service providers to prevent trafficking and exploitation of children.
Demand Factors:
1) Cheap Labour of Children:
2) Circus troupes
3) Adoption
4) Camel Jockeying in Arab nations
5) Organ transplantation
6) Depleting sex ratio in some states and demand
7) Demand for prostitution- Desire for ‘other’ and ‘unknown’
8) Pornography

Pull Factors:
1) Demand for cheap labour in unorganized sector like construction, sweat shops, zari units, glass industries, carpet units, farms, domestic work etc.

Demand factors for organ trafficking:
There is a huge demand for kidney transplantation. As Interpol cautions, “An ageing population and increased incidence of diabetes in many developed countries is likely to increase the requirement for organ transplants and make this crime even more lucrative.” We would probably see an upsurge in demand for kidney in coming days and with it, unfortunately, trafficking in human beings for organ transplantation. For example, according to the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Govt. of India, out of 26 states/UTs, only 7 states/UTs sent details. While govt. of Chhattisgarh, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal informed that no such cases were reported in their states during the period for which information was sought, states like Maharashtra, Punjab and NCT Delhi reported pursuing some cases of illegal kidney transplantation. The government also replying in Lok Sabha to a question regarding cases of illegal kidney transplantations, the govt. (answered on 03.08.2005), gave the following details:

Expected Total Number of Male and Female Cases of Diabetes in India (both rural and urban areas) for the years 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (Yrs)</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>4511192</td>
<td>6150408</td>
<td>8317184</td>
<td>10492011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>5489266</td>
<td>7253720</td>
<td>9095488</td>
<td>12451543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>6119446</td>
<td>8340303</td>
<td>10974528</td>
<td>14310051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>5879296</td>
<td>7716294</td>
<td>10040636</td>
<td>13008139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>5041711</td>
<td>6432334</td>
<td>8540860</td>
<td>11260599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27040911</td>
<td>35886788</td>
<td>46988696</td>
<td>61522343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage increase (over the years)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>3 1 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lok Sabha, in reply to a question asked by a member, 03.08.2005.

The estimates by the government shows that the cases of diabetes are steadily increasing. Between the year 2000 and 2015, cases of diabetes are estimated to be increasing by 128%. These figures also indicate that there is going to be a huge upsurge in the demand for kidney transplantation making poorer people potential victims of trafficking for organ transplantation. These figures also show where the efforts of the government should be directed at.
7.6 **SUMMARY**

In order to have a proper understanding of human trafficking, we must deal with the factors responsible for it. The various “Push” and “Pull” factors arising in Source and Destination areas respectively interplay to make the victim (particularly women and children) vulnerable. The significant push factors are gender, age, ethnicity, armed conflict, child marriage, poverty, etc. The pull factors have an element of attraction and influence which inter alia includes, higher wages and demand for labour, expanding global tourism, improved communication system, images of better urban life, etc. Actually, it is a continuous interplay of both push and pull factors which make a person vulnerable and hence he or she gets trafficked.

7.7 **TERMINAL QUESTIONS**

1) Discuss in detail the Push Factors of human trafficking.
2) Is widening gender gap also account for trafficking of girls? Explain.

7.8 **ANSWERS AND HINTS**

**Self Assessment Questions**
1) Refer to Section 7.3(f)
2) Refer to Section 7.3(h)
3) Refer to Section 7.4(i)
4) Refer to Section 7.5(b)

**Terminal Questions**
1) Refer to Section 7.4
2) Refer to Section 7.5(d)

7.9 **REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS**

4) Trafficking and Porganbised Crime, paper presented at Protection Project seminar series, American Library.
8.1 INTRODUCTION

Before we begin a discussion on the subject matter of this unit, let's recall the definition of trafficking as given in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (General Assembly resolution 55/25, annex II, November 2000). The Protocol (Article 3(a)) defines “trafficking in persons” in the following words:

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

The words “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons” indicate different stages in the trafficking process. These expressions used in the definition above make “movement” of the traffickers and the victims an important element of the offence
of "trafficking in persons". This movement of victims is always induced by means of, as suggested in the definition above, 'threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception or of abusing power or position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.' This 'movement' in the form of 'recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring and receipt' would mean that there is an 'origin, transit and destination' factor in the whole gamut of "trafficking in persons". This movement is not necessarily within a state or a country; it may be transnational and inter-state in a given country. As we read further, the picture will emerge clearer.

8.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the concept of 'Source or Origin, Transit and Destination'; and
- analyse and explain why certain areas are depicted as 'Source' or 'Transit' or 'Destination' areas and what are their characteristics.

8.3 MEANING OF TRAFFICKING ROUTES

8.3.1 Trafficking Routes

As the data regarding 'trafficking in persons' have emerged and being documented, a route has emerged on the world map by connecting the dots that are spread all over. When these dots are linked, a trafficking route emerges which is sometimes one way and sometimes both-ways. The route further indicates that there is a greater density of these dots in certain specific regions of the world. You will find that in certain regions, these lines tend to converge indicating their status as 'destination' areas, while where lines seem to come outward, the area becomes a 'source' area for our own understanding. There are again some areas which are stop-over. The stop over may be for few days or weeks or months before the victim is transported to the final destination. These are the places which are used for harbouring the victims of trafficking. But one has to remember that these are not separated in watertight compartments. They quite often overlap with each other. So, a country or a state may be a source area for some victims while for some others, the same state or country may be a destination and for some others, a transit area. For example, India as a country is a source, transit and destination area for victims of trafficking. But even then, there are certain areas which are prominently source areas as compared to others while some are prominently destination areas. However, whether the areas are geographically located at different points in the globe, one common thread that binds all these areas is exploitation. Exploitation of the victim—physically, mentally, emotionally and economically runs across these areas.

UNODC in its latest Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (2009) mentions that most of the reported cases of human trafficking were concerned with movements across international borders. Domestic trafficking, or the intra country movement of trafficked victim was reported by only 32 countries. The under-detection may be because of 'restrictive definition of trafficking and greater visibility and easier identification of foreign victims'. The report further mentions that even countries that reported domestic trafficking, foreign victims were almost always more numerous. Another reason why
The Trafficking Process
domestic victims of trafficking are less detected and recorded even lesser, may be because of the reluctance of national governments to rehabilitate and provide social security to rescues victims of trafficking. While on the other hand, in cases of trafficked victims of foreign origin, they are easily repatriated to their countries of origin without worrying about the cost of rehabilitation.

Cross-border flows are not necessarily long distance flows. Much of the cross-border trafficking activity was between countries of the same general region, particularly between neighbouring countries. For example, most of the foreign victims of trafficking that are brought to India are from its neighbouring countries Nepal and Bangladesh (UNODC, 2009)

8.4 COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, TRANSIT AND DESTINATION: A GLOBAL ANALYSIS

To assess how much a country is affected by the trafficking phenomenon, the number of citations as country of origin, transit or destination can be counted. In total, 147 countries are mentioned, at least once, as a country of origin (see Figure 8.1 below). Among the most frequently cited countries of origin, in descending order, are the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Nigeria. If data are examined by region, it can be seen that countries in Asia are most frequently cited as countries of origin, the member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and African countries being cited second and third, respectively (Figure 8.1). Central and Eastern European countries were cited less often as countries of origin. There was a relatively small number of citations in Latin America and only a few citations referring to developed countries.¹

Figure 8.1: Number of times a country was cited as a country of origin (By Region)

In total 96 countries were cited as countries of transit (see Figure 8.2 below), which are far fewer than the countries of origin. From the figure given below, we find that the most frequently cited countries as transit areas were in Central and Eastern Europe. The CIS member States and Latin American countries are less frequently cited as transit countries. Thus, when we come to analyse the transit countries vis-à-vis the trafficked victims, the numbers and character of the countries change.

When we talk of destination countries, we find that there were in all 150 countries cited as countries of destination by different sources (please see Figure 8.3 below). The most frequently mentioned destination countries included in descending order were the United States of America, several European Union countries and Japan. Regionally, the main destination countries were found in the developed world, Asia being the second most cited region. Central and Eastern Europe and Africa were also cited as destination regions. Citations referring to Latin American countries and CIS member States were relatively few. Now since we have discussed different regions in the world and seen how they fall in different categories with respect to origin, transit and destination area for human trafficking are concerned. If these data can be relied, we can see for ourselves that the developed countries or the richer nations (like USA, some European Union countries and Japan in Asia) are the ones where trafficked victims are taken to and exploited. Whereas, Africa, Asia and the CIS member States were the main regions from where victims of trafficking were recruited, i.e., they were the source or origin or supply areas. It should not come to us as a matter of surprise because we have already studies how the push factors act in these regions to augment the vulnerability of a victim. The traffickers choose these areas for recruiting the victims as they are ‘cheap’ and easily available. It also points at the global inequalities in wealth. The victims, when offered a job or an opportunity to work and live in such countries where wages are higher and people enjoy better standard of living, happily accept to travel with them without even checking the antecedents of the recruiters or the person offering them a help. Destination countries were the ones where maximum wealth of the world is concentrated. These countries were found at the end of the trafficking route.

Kristiina Kangaspunta, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Officer, Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in her Article, has analysed the data on trafficking from some preliminary results based on the 284 sources (reports and so on), and 3,671 cases included in the database maintained by UNODC. These analysis have been presented in the form of graphs in this Unit. According to her analysis, the Central and Eastern Europe figures prominently as transit region (See Figure 8.4 below). Stating the reason for this, she mentions three reasons:

ibid. 2003, p. 91.

Figure 8.3: Number of times a country was cited as a Country of Destination (By Region)

Figure 8.4: Number of times a country was cited as a country of origin, transit or destination, by region (as a percentage of all citations)

i) The region is geographically located between north and south and east and west, therefore making it a transit region from both the sides.

ii) The economies of the countries of this region are in transition. The control of the authorities might not be as strict as in Western Europe.

iii) High levels of corruption among customs and police officers may also facilitate criminal activities.

iv) Current visa regulations in many Western European countries allow persons to stay in a country without any other authorization for up to three months, which facilitates final entry from Central and Eastern Europe into Western Europe.

All these factors make Central and Eastern European countries the transit region or zone. The transit regions are also places which are used for the selection and grooming of the best women for the markets and customers of developed countries.  

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4 Monzini, P. 2005, p. 91.
Self Assessment Question

1) What are the reasons that Central and Eastern Europe is the prominent transit region?

Interestingly, Asia is both prominently an origin and destination region as is evident from the above figure. When it comes to transit, Asia comes third amongst different regions in the world. We shall, in the section that follows, study a little more about Asia and find out the reasons for it being both the origin and destination region. Notably, Japan although an Asian country was not included in this region when the data was analysed. Japan was rather included in the list of developing countries. No region is homogenous and Asia is also not an exception to this. So, we find even within Asian continent, there are certain regions from where maximum victims of trafficking are recruited either for commercial sexual exploitation or forced labour and some still as destination, and this trend seems to be going through a change in response to the changes in socio-political and economic dynamics within emerging within the region. For instance, victims from East Asia were detected in more than 20 countries in regions throughout the world, including Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa (UNODC 2009). But this was not so six years back as the graph given below from a UNODC (2003) data source suggest. Should we believe that the trend of flow from the source areas is changing?

According to this figure, maximum victims were recruited from countries falling in South-East Asia followed by South-Central Asia. These countries are:

South-East Asia (Origin countries): Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam.

Figure 8.5: Number of times a country was cited as a country of origin, transit or destination, Asia, by subregion (percentage of all citations)
South-Central Asia (Origin countries): Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Almost all sub-regions in the country are more or less on an equal footing as far as destination of trafficked victims is concerned. The countries within these sub-regions are:

West Asia (Destination countries): Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

South-East Asia (Destination countries): Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam.

East Asia (Destination countries or territories) were: Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China, Macao Special Administrative Region of China, Mongolia, Republic of Korea and Taiwan Province of China.

The above figure (See Figure 8.5) also suggested that these subregions were being used by traffickers as a transit route for safe-keeping of their ‘exploits’ and also waiting for the right opportunity to strike a better deal with the prospective buyer and transport the victim to other countries when the environment is ‘conducive’ The main countries of destination were in West Asia and in South-East Asia. The subregion seemed to combine all phases of the trafficking process. East Asia was mentioned slightly more as a receiving area than as a region of origin or transit. Each subregion thus showed a distinct profile in terms of the different stages of trafficking.

8.4.1 Map I (Origin Countries of Trafficking in Persons)

8.4.2 Map II (Transit Countries of Trafficking in Persons)


8.4.3 Map III (Destination Countries of Trafficking in Persons)

The profile of India on the Map of Human Trafficking: India is an origin, transit and destination country for men, women and children trafficked for the purpose of forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has published a report named as *the State of the World Population*

4 Trafficking in Persons Report, 2009, US Dept. of State
According to the report, India is at peculiar position because it is among the few countries having high origin, destination as well as transit points in trafficking. When it comes to trafficking for organ transplantation, the country is a source and destination for such victims. India is a transit country for children trafficked from a country like Bangladesh for camel jockeying in Arab countries. But with respect to trafficking which takes place within the national boundary of India, there are many areas which are source, transit and destination areas either separately or all three. The NHRC’s study on ‘Trafficking in Women and Children in India’ is quite useful in explaining different stages in domestic trafficking. The Study was conducted in 12 different states or regions across the country that covered Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Goa, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, the North-East, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The two neighbouring countries namely Bangladesh and Nepal were also included in the Study to understand the source, transit and destination areas. From this study, we find that within a state, most of the victims of trafficking (for commercial sexual exploitation) come from the same state. We try to understand this with an example:

The study interviewed 181 victims and survivors of trafficking (for commercial sexual exploitation) in Maharashtra and asked them about the places where they were brought from, taken through and forced into trade finally. Out of 181 respondents, 63 women (almost one-third) said that they were from different districts in Maharashtra. The state received victims from almost all the states in the country. Within Maharashtra, the victims came from Osmanabad, Solapur, Beed, Parbhani, Sangli, Nanded, Latur, Satara, Nagpur, Nashik, Thane, Pune and Ratnagiri. Amongst these districts, almost half came from drought-prone districts within the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. We have already studied in Unit II how push factors operate in certain areas from where maximum trafficking is reported or recorded. The main source areas or districts in some of the states in our country are mentioned below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Source Districts/ areas as specified by the Respondents (victims and survivors of trafficking for CSE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2. Bihar
- Patna*
- Kishanganj*
- Munger*
- Bhojpur*
- Aurangabad*
- Lakhisarai
- Katihar
- Nalanda
- Bhagalpur
- Begusarai
- Gaya
- Purnea
- Jamui
- Samastipur
- West Champaran
- Banka
- Saharsa
- Sitamarhi
- Jehanabad

3. Karnataka
- Bellary*
- Belgaum*
- Bagalkot
- Chikmaglur
- Tumkur
- Hasan
- Bidar
- Gulbarga
- Mandya
- Mysore*
- Bangalore*
- Bijapur*
- Kolar
- Dakshin Kannada
- Devnagiri
- Raichur
- Shimoga
- Chitradurga

4. Maharashtra
- Osmanabad*
- Mumbai*
- Solapur*
- Beed*
- Parbhani*
- Sangli*
- Nanded
- Latur
- Satara
- Nagpur
- Nashik
- Thane
- Pune
- Ratnagiri

5. Assam
- Kamrup*
- Guwahati*
- Nalbari*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>Barpeta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cachar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kokrajhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Alwar*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bharatpur*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dholpur*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tonk*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jaipur*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sawai Madhopur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>Chennai*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dindigul*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salem*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madurai*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanyakumari*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiruchirapalli*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tanjore*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pudukottai*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Villupuram*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiruvallur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuddalore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tuticorin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meerut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Varanasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hardoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sitapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basti*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mau*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Azamgarh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mirzapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kushinagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aligarh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>North 24 Parganas*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South 24 Parganas*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kolkata*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nadia*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Howrah*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Murshidabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jalpaiguri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midnapur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** NHRC, 2005, *Trafficking in Women and Children in India*, pp. 55-69.

**Note:** Districts with * (asterisk mark) were cited for a significant number of times by the respondents as an area where they were brought from by the traffickers, i.e. source areas.

It has already been pointed above that the nature and character of source areas keep changing over a period of time. Therefore, if the districts were cited more than others as source areas, it doesn’t mean that they will only remain as such. Other districts may
also become source areas due to sudden changes in the political or economic condition of that district. For instance, in West Bengal, Jalpaiguri has not been mentioned above as trafficking prone areas, but the district has been witnessing many incidents of trafficking recently due to massive closure of tea gardens in the area rendering people jobless. The local newspaper reports were rife with reports of alleged starvation deaths and trafficking from closed tea gardens of the district in the period 2007-09.

Some common characteristics of source areas are:

1) Poor economic condition
2) Drought-prone or flood affected or areas or areas with recurrent disasters
3) Area with an ongoing conflict
4) Political and economic instability
5) High rate of migration
6) High rate of violence and discrimination against women

**Self Assessment Question**

2) What are the common characteristics of source area?

---

**Activity**

1) Locate these districts on the map of India and study about their socio-economic and political profile. Try to find out which factors are present there, according to you, that these areas have become source areas.

### 8.5 DESTINATION AREAS

This is an area where trafficked victims are taken to for exploitation either in the form of commercial sexual exploitation, forced labour, pornography or organ transplantation. Generally, it is an area which is remote from the source areas, but not necessarily outside the state or the country. Most of the destination areas are located within the same state boundary. Thus, trafficking is more an intra-state or intra-country phenomenon rather than an inter-state or inter-country activity. For instance, of all women and girls trafficked from the state of Andhra Pradesh for commercial sexual exploitation, more than three-fourth (85.1%) were trafficked within the state (NHRC, 2005: 55). This was similar in the case of trafficking from other states also as is presented in the following table:
### Table 8.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Source state</th>
<th>Destination state</th>
<th>Percentage of citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>58.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>14.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>12.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>9.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>80.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>9.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>7.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>56.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>15.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>13.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>11.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>68.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>22.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Assam &amp; Meghalaya</td>
<td>Assam &amp; Meghalaya</td>
<td>88.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>4.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>4.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>88.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>1.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>94.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh (including</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh (including</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uttaranchal)</td>
<td>Uttaranchal)</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>4.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table, therefore, we find that the source and destination areas were same for many of the trafficked victims as far as a state is concerned. But within a state, an inter-district trafficking route may be followed. It is highly possible that there may be an inter-district trafficking network operating in these states. The percentage of trafficked victims trafficked within the same state is very high- as high as 94.87% in Tamil Nadu and 88.6% in Rajasthan for example. The only exception has been West Bengal where most of the trafficked victims (for CSE) were trafficked outside the state. The percentage of such victims for whom destination areas were other than West Bengal was 63.5%. It is very important to consider why victims of trafficking are transported outside the source area. Possible reasons may be- avoiding detection and therefore prosecution and may be the demand pattern in such places and the price that the trafficker would get in exchange of the victim. If a place offers higher price than the others, that would be
preferred more than others. Destination areas are also areas can be tourist places, places of pilgrimage, industrial centres and areas where troops are stationed. Amongst tourist places, Goa has earned notoriety in recent years. The incidents of children being trafficked for pornography and for sexual exploitation by pedophiles who come as tourists are increasingly being reported. The relationship between tourism and trafficking is very strong. All metropolitan cities in India are also the destination areas for trafficked victims. They are also places which receive thousands of tourists both domestic and foreign every year. During festivals, trafficking to such places increases because of the influx of tourists to such places during these times.

The figure given above (see Table 8.1) has been presented in pie chart form to help the students understand better the flow of trafficking from source area to destination areas.

![Flow of Trafficked Victims from Andhra Pradesh](image1)

**Figure 8.6: Flow of Trafficked Victims from Andhra Pradesh (for CSE)**

*Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.*

![Flow of Trafficked Victims from Bihar](image2)

**Figure 8.7: Flow of Trafficked Victims from Bihar (For CSE)**

*Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.*
Figure 8.8: Flow of Trafficked Victims from Karnataka (For CSE)
Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.

Figure 8.9: Flow of Trafficked Victims from Maharashtra (For CSE)
Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.

Figure 8.10: Flow of Trafficked from Tamil Nadu (For CSE)
Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.
20.80%
18.20%
12.60%
6.90%
5%
36.50%

Figure 8.10: Flow of Trafficked from West Bengal (For CSE)

Source: Based on the data given in NHRC study on Trafficking in Women and Children in India, 2005.

8.5.1 Destination Areas and Destination Points

There is a difference between destination areas and destination points. The destination points are the locations where trafficked victims are in confinement and being exploited for commercial sexual exploitation, forced labour and or organ transplantation amongst other things. For example, Maharashtra and West Bengal may be the destination area for victims trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, but the places within these states where the victims are usually held in confinement and exploited are locations where brothels are being run, e.g. Kamathipura, Grant Road, Mumbai Central in Mumbai, Budhwar Peth in Pune, Sonagachhi, Bowbazar, Shobhabazar, Kalighat in Kolkata and Khalpar in Siliguri are destination points or area.

From the above discussions, it appears that the source, transit and destination areas different and separately located miles away from each other. But this is not always so. For example, children of women who are subjected to commercial sexual exploitation are extremely vulnerable to being trafficked into CSE. The vulnerability is the highest in these group of children because:

- Most of these children are born out of 'wedlock' relationship,
- The parents themselves abet trafficking, mostly for commercial gain and for survival when they grow old and don’t get clients any more,
- They lack care and attention,
- They lack education and opportunities to grow and develop,
- They are deprived of livelihood options, and
- They are denied their basic rights such as the right to live, right to freedom, right against exploitation and right to legal redressal of grievances.
- They become unprotected when their mothers become infirm because of certain disease like AIDS or die due to the disease or sometimes desert them, etc.

The Trufflcklng Process

In the cases of children born in brothels and who are pulled into CSE, there may be an overlap of source and destination points. They are trafficked within the same source, transit and destination point. This is a case of 'internal trafficking' where movement of the victim is not significant element.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self Assessment Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3) What is the difference between Destination Area and Destination Point?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**India as a destination and transit country for victims of trafficking from Nepal and Bangladesh:** For foreign victims of trafficking, India is both a transit and destination country. The states which share boundary with these two countries are the transit states. West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Uttranchal and Bihar are the main transit states in India through which trafficked women and children pass. West Bengal shares the border with Bangladesh, and Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Uttaranchal share the border with Nepal. Entry points in the State of Bihar are Raxaul, Bairgania, Motihari, Sitamarhi, Narkatraganj, Jaynagar, Sonbarsa, Jogbani and Panitanki. Last exit points from Nepal side are Hetauda, Birganj, Janakpur and Kakarbhitta.

West Bengal has nine districts adjoining the border with Bangladesh. After crossing the border, the trafficked victims are mainly kept in West Bengal, and in some cases also in the state of Orissa. These states act as transit areas. Here the girls are sorted and graded and sent to different destinations such as Middle East, Delhi, Mumbai, and Agra. Often, they are sold to pimps who then sell them to brothel keepers in red light areas of Kolkata such as Sonagachi, Kalighat, Bowbazar. Some are sent to Bashirhat, in the neighboring district of 24 Paraganas. Entry points in India for traffickers are Bongaon, Basirhat in West Bengal and Kishanganj, Katihar and Purnea in Bihar along Indo-Bangladesh border.

India shares 4,222 kms of border with India. Twenty-eight districts of Bangladesh have common borders with India. For India, traffickers use land route for trafficking purpose. Air route is generally followed during trafficking to the Middle East countries. There are as many as 20 transit points from districts of Bangladesh bordering India through which women and children are trafficked into India. From Bangladesh, women and children are also trafficked to Myanmar, a neighbouring country along its Eastern border. In India, the major transit points are Siliguri, Haldibari, Bongaon, Hili, Bashirhat, Jalangi, Islampur, Berubari, Shantipur, Agartala etc.

The heavy density of trafficking along Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh border is because of the long and porous border. Although, the border is guarded by the Border

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Security Force personnel from India side and Bangladesh Rangers from the side of Bangladesh, yet there are difficult terrains where it is humanely very difficult to maintain a constant vigil and monitor the movement across borders. Moreover, the people across border share similar language and culture which makes the tasks of guards difficult to identify the trafficker and the victims. Also, corruption by a section of the guards posted on the either side of the border can’t be ruled out. Moreover, there are still certain points along border where there is a dispute between both the countries as to which country the land or sea strip belongs to. The traffickers take an advantage of this uncertainty and use such points for trafficking.

8.5.2 Source and Destination Areas for Trafficking in Children for Hazardous Labour

The source areas for trafficking in children for labour are no different from those for commercial sexual exploitation. These are the states or districts with low human development index, experiences of disasters, conflict and with low educational attainment (like low enrolment ratio, low attendance and retention rate in schools). Therefore, it is no surprise that children found working in the zari (embroidery) units in Mumbai and in woolen industries in Ludhiana are mostly from poorer districts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Destination areas are the ones which are labour intensive and has largely unorganized sector operating there. In these destination points, children are held in confinement and condition of utter slavery where they are subjected to harsh working conditions and meager or no wages. The major destination points in India where trafficked children are brought to work are the following:

- Glass factories of Firozabad (Uttar Pradesh)
- Slate industry in Mandsaur (Madhya Pradesh) and in Markapur (Andhra Pradesh)
- Match industry in Sivakasi (Tamil Nadu)
- Lock industry at Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh)
- Diamond polishing industry in Surat (Gujarat)
- Brass-ware industry in Moradabad (Uttar Pradesh)
- Balloon factories of Dahanu (Maharashtra)
- Gemstone industry in Jaipur (Rajasthan)
- Cotton fields in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat
- Agricultural fields in Punjab especially Amritsar
- Jewellery making units in Mumbai and Delhi
- Brick kilns in Maharashtra and Orissa

In the dhabas, hotels and restaurants that dot the highways and roads throughout the country and in tourist places and sites of pilgrimage, one can see children working in very miserable conditions for hours. These are the new destination points where children are trafficked and transported to work in conditions that are akin to slavery. Houses of
rich people where children from West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand and Bihar are trafficked
to work are also destination points for such victims.

### Self Assessment Question

4) What are the major destination points in India where trafficked children are
brought to work?

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### 8.5.3 Source and Destination area for Victims Trafficked for
Organ Transplantation

In this case also, the source areas are the ones with high level of poverty and high rate
of unemployment. These are also the areas from where youth migrate to cities and
urban areas in large numbers. When they reach such areas, they are lured by the trafficker
with huge amount of money to spare one kidney and with promises of post-transplantation
care and treatment. Recently, Amritsar in Punjab has emerged as the major destination
area for such cases.

![An example: Trafficking flows in India](source)

8.6 SUMMARY

The whole process of “trafficking in persons” include “origin, transit and destination” factors within its ambit. “Movement” in the form of “recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring and receipt” does not necessarily get confined to only one state or country, it may be inter-state or even transnational. Basing on the data regarding “trafficking in person”, a route has emerged on the world map, which is called the trafficking route. Asian countries are most frequently cited as countries of origin, Central and Eastern European countries are most frequently cited as transit areas and the USA, several European Union countries are the destination countries. India is an origin, transit and destination country for men, women and children trafficked for the purpose of forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation. In India, those states and districts with low human development index, experiences of disaster, conflict are the source and destination areas for trafficking in children for hazardous labour. Similarly, the states having high level of poverty and high rate of unemployment are the source and destination area for victims trafficked for organ transplantation.

8.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1) Write a note on the countries of origin, transit and destination from a global perspective.
2) What are the different Destination Areas in India as far as trafficking is concerned?

8.8 ANSWERS AND HINTS

Self Assessment Questions
1) Refer to Section 8.4
2) Refer to Sub-section 8.4.3
3) Refer to Sub-section 8.5.1
4) Refer to Sub-section 8.5.2

Terminal Questions
1) Refer to Section 8.4
2) Refer to Section 8.5

8.9 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

3) NHRC, 2005, Trafficking in Women and Children in India.
4) Case study by Anjali Gokarn, Member, Child Welfare Committee, Mumbai, and Women’s Institute for Social Education, a Mumbai based NGO as quoted in NHRC, 2005.
UNIT 9 PROCESSES INVOLVED IN TRAFFICKING: THE MODUS OPERANDI OF TRAFFICKERS

Structure

9.1 Introduction
9.2 Objectives
9.3 Modus Operandi of Traffickers
9.4 Trafficking in Children for Illegal Adoption or in the Guise of Adoption
9.5 Modus Operandi in Trafficking for Begging
9.6 Modus Operandi in Case of Overseas or Transborder Trafficking
  9.6.1 Blind Advertisements
  9.6.2 What happens after the Victim is taken away from her Place: Modus Operandi used during Transit and at Destination
  9.6.3 Modus Operandi in Cases of Trafficking in Children for Exploitative Labour
  9.6.4 Modus Operandi in Case of Trafficking for Organ Donation
9.6 Summary
9.7 Terminal Questions
9.8 Answers and Hints
9.9 References and Suggested Readings

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous section, we got to know how the network of traffickers is spread far and wide throughout the length and breadth of the country and beyond borders in the form of source, transit and destination areas. In the present section we will try to understand the different strategies and tactics that the traffickers adopt to trap a person. It is very important to know how they operate and what they do to succeed in their nefarious designs. For an ordinary person, a trafficker would come across as a genuine, helpful and kind person, someone who can be trusted, a 'good samaritan'. The methods that the traffickers adopt are perfectly in keeping with the general social norms of our society, e.g., helping a person from a poor family to find a job in the city, assisting a poor parent to find a suitable groom for the daughter and without dowry, giving shelters to children who have been rendered homeless or orphans due to disasters or some accident. These are some activities that the traffickers engage in. What makes a trafficker different from a genuine person is the intention with which such operations or activities are carried out. We don’t know unless these processes results into an illegal activity or crime. The traffickers are well aware of the social and economic situation of a community or area where they operate. Please don’t get surprised if they come across as recruiters, placement agency persons, marriage brokers, contractors, friends and relatives.

But whatever be the purpose for trafficking, whether for commercial sexual exploitation, or begging, or forced labour, marriage or organ donation, brutal violence is the common
thread that runs across without any exception. Abuse and violence and quite often, ‘sexual abuse is very much present in all forms of trafficking and is used as a modus operandi for breaking down the will and strength of victims. The story of identified victims is the same all over - almost all of them have been threatened with increased debt, beatings, or death, and too often these threats involve their children and families.’ (Keynote Speech by Ms. Eva Biaudet, OSCE Special Representative for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings - “Trafficking of Women and Girls in the OSCE region” at 4th International Helvi Sipilä Seminar - “She Says NO to Violence”, on 4 March 2009 Side event at the 53rd session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women in New York; as accessed on <http://www.osce.org/documents/cthb/2009/03/36615_en.pdf>)

You will also be surprised to know that they also possess a good understanding of law, especially how to hoodwink the existing legal mechanism. Even if they are caught by the police or people, they use the resources and law to their end and get release orders. So, before you actually go out and confront the trafficker, you should possess a sound knowledge on their modus operandi.

9.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the different activities involved in the act of human;
- identify an act of trafficking and distinguish it from other acts; and
- equip with the skills of identifying vulnerable persons or potential victims and appropriately respond.

9.3 MODUS OPERANDI OF TRAFFICKERS

Traffickers look for the most vulnerable persons who are desperate to get out of the situation that has made them vulnerable. They approach those who are assetless and have very limited choices to exercises. The cases given below illustrate this point very well:

‘Boi Ngoc is a young woman living in a remote farming village in South East Asia. She has a child, but lives in a hostile family environment, with little means of securing any income. Desperate to support her child independently, she contacts a woman recommended by a relative, who says she can arrange a job as a waitress in a neighbouring country.’

‘Burim is a young Eastern European boy staying in an asylum seekers’ camp in a foreign country. He and his brother have been separated from their family for several years. As asylum seekers, they have no right to work in their host country but need money for clothing and other essential items. Their status and prospects are likely to remain uncertain for many years. A man approaches Burim and offers him and his brother the chance to start a new life.

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The Trafficking Process

'SB lived in a small village in Bangladesh with her parents... With increasing debt and father's deteriorating health, she had to drop out of school. SB was married at the age of 11. Her in-laws were very protective and caring. Her husband was still studying in school. Everything was going well. But suddenly a series of misfortunes happened in SB's life. SB's father deserted her mother and married again. One of SB's brothers died in an accident. She was sexually abused by her brother-in-law which further worsened her situation. Under these stressful situations, she was unable to sleep or eat and began to suffer from convulsions. She was declared a 'witch' by the village quack and driven out of the village. To her utter shock, even her father, under pressure from his second wife, was unwilling to accept her. Ostracised and denied her rightful place in her 'real home', life had become unbearable for the little girl and she started looking for other options...'  

The above three real life stories have taken place in three different corners of the world, separated by time and distance; the victims are different, but what is common between them is their vulnerability, which traffickers look for and use them to fulfill their own designs. You will realize that persons like Boi Ngoc, Burim and SB are like any one of us, aspiring for and seeking better options to make their life better. This makes them and all of us vulnerable to traffickers; some are most vulnerable while some are least.

What we need to keep in mind that traffickers adapt their strategies and tactics as per the situation demands. He devises his plan according to the type of vulnerability the person is facing. 'The more vulnerable the victim the easier it is for the trafficker to lure her.' There is a direct co-relationship between a person's vulnerability and success chances of a trafficker. 'The accessibility of the trafficker to the prospective victim is also an important factor in trafficking. The type of method usually depends on how close trafficker is to the victim. 'In all cases...,' as a HRW report (1995) noted, '...families, neighbours and friends play an active role in forced trafficking by concocting fictitious marriage and job offers, contacting recruiters and brokers, or simply luring girls away from home on outings or errands, kidnapping and selling them.'  

The traffickers adopt a range of methods to traffic women and children. The following methods are frequently used for trafficking women and children in India (NHRC Study, 2005: 120):

i) Offering jobs as domestic servants
ii) Promising jobs in the film world
iii) Promising jobs in factories
iv) Offering money
v) Luring them with 'pleasure trips'
vi) Making false promises of marriage
vii) Befriending them by giving goodies
viii) Offering shelter to girls who have run away from home or street children
ix) Offering them to take on pilgrimages
x) Coercion including kidnapping and drugging
xi) In lure of adoption

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3 Case study by Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, NHRC Study, 2005: CS-DL-17.
4 RAPE FOR PROFIT Trafficking of Nepali Girls and Women to India's Brothels, HRW, 1995, Vol. 12, No. 5 (A)
A total of 160 traffickers were interviewed by the NHRC team that conducted a first of its kind study on 'Trafficking in Women and Children in India'. Over half the respondents, around 52%, lured victims by offering jobs and/or money. People living in abject poverty situation are more susceptible to this kind of inducement of decent job and good wages. The traffickers use their local sources and contacts to understand the various factors that contribute to the victim's perception of vulnerability and choose their bait accordingly (NHRC, 2005: 120).

### Self Assessment Question

1) What are the methods frequently used for trafficking women and children in India?

### Modus Operandi of the Traffickers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offering money / jobs</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making false promises of marriage</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Befriending / enticing with attractive offers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using coercion/force/threat</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NHRC, 2005.

Marriage was another big reason for which girls were trafficked. As discussed in the previous unit where we elaborated on different vulnerabilities, 'priority to marriage' was also identified as one of the major 'Push factors'. The traffickers lure young girls and their family members with the promise of marriage which turns out to be fake ultimately. Most of these cases either result in sexual slavery in the form of commercial sexual exploitation or sexual servitude and forced labour in a place which is remote. The media has been reporting such cases where young girls are being trafficked from poorer districts in the country and Bangladesh to states where gender ratio has got skewed against girls. There have been cases of trafficking for forced marriage and sexual servitude where girls have been trafficked from Jharkhand, West Bengal, Bihar and Bangladesh to girl deficit regions in states like Haryana, Punjab, Delhi and Gujarat. These girls are sold by the traffickers for a price to the prospective 'grooms'. Most of these women who are bought as 'brides' end up being used as sex slaves and then resold to other men.

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The trafficker makes frequent visits to the areas from where he can procure girls. The traffickers, particularly those who operate in different regions of the country, also speak the local language or dialect of the place concerned. This further helps them win trust of families and ‘work’ without any hassle. The traffickers are also known to employ informers in the source areas to locate or spot vulnerable victims and establish a rapport with them. After the rapport is established or even before that depending upon the circumstances of a case, the trafficker approaches the victim and lays trap to lure the victim away. These informers are sometimes the relatives or friends of the traffickers.

The activity of the traffickers are guided by the demand and supply patterns, profitability and the level of law enforcement in an area. The following ‘demand factors’ were highlighted through NHRC study (2005):

1) Physical appearance (features/looks, build)
2) Age (younger girls are more in demand)
3) Region (Girls from a particular region are more in demand in certain brothels. E.g. demand of Nepali girls in India. There has also been a rising demand of girls from blocks which formed Soviet Union. As NHRC study notes, certain races are considered exotic and sold as such by the sex industry’ (NHRC, 2005: 49).
4) Virginity
5) Complexion (fair skinned girls are preferred)
6) Submissiveness (readiness to surrender to all kinds of perversions and exploitation).

The traffickers cast their eyes on girls who fulfill all or maximum parameters mentioned above, because procuring them is going to realise huge profits for them. Now it would seem to you that women and young girls so trafficked would end up being sold in brothels in cities. While this is true, it cannot be taken as the only destination for persons being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation.

Detection by the police may result into rescue of the victim, arrest and prosecution of the perpetrators and clients. To avoid these ‘problems’, traffickers are increasingly changing their modus operandi. They carry out their ‘business’ from dubious hotels, lodges, massage parlours, beauty parlours, salons and private apartments in a clandestine way. Here, it becomes very difficult to identify the activities going on there and therefore further difficult to prove the wrongdoings. Also, it becomes easier for many clients who does not want to visit a brothel for fear of detection. Such clients are those who are perceived as ‘respectable’ members of the society because of their socio-economic or political status. Traffickers also send victims to private homes of the clients or hotels where they might be putting up. The client is shown photographs of trafficked girls and after he indicates his choice, deal is made between the agent and the client. The girl thus identified by the client is supplied to him in a private vehicle at the specified place and at a time as wished. The hotel staff or the owner who usually knows about it also get a commission from the trafficker.

Now we will move on to discuss the modus operandi of traffickers for purposes other than commercial sexual exploitation. We have noted the demand pattern in relation to persons being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. Can we apply the same demand patterns or factors to other cases of trafficking? The answer is ‘NO’. For example, demand factors in cases of trafficking for forced and hazardous labour are different from those for commercial sexual exploitation;
1) Poor
2) Age (younger children are preferred)
3) Gender-stereotypes related to gender role influence the choice. E.g., for jobs like baby sitting and domestic labour girl children are preferred more while for outdoor jobs like working in dhabas and restaurants, brick kilns, zari units and cracker factories male children are more in demand than girls.
4) Region (again stereotypes attached to persons coming from a particular region influence the choice and therefore the demand. E.g., children from states like Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh and countries like Bangladesh and Nepal are preferred more because of the 'belief' that 'persons from such regions are hard working people and they can sustain for long working hours even in exploitative conditions'.
5) Orphan (because they have no one and nowhere to go)
6) Submissiveness (A child who can submit to all the demands of the employer)

9.4 TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR ILLEGAL ADOPTION OR IN THE GUISE OF ADOPTION

When trafficking in children is done for illegal adoption, the following criteria are looked into:
1) Age (the younger the better)
2) Complexion (generally fair skinned children are preferred)
3) Features (sharp features, looks, appearance)
4) Absence of parents or competent guardians
5) Gender (given the craze for a male child in the country, boys are preferred)
6) Health (healthy children are preferred than those who are ill or malnourished)

The traffickers employ agents who visit poverty stricken families in villages and slums to procure babies. These babies are then sold to scrupulous institutions or organizations who in turn sell babies to foreign parents who are ready to offer big money for the child to be 'adopted'. The foreigners are ready to pay big amount because of stringent adoption procedures in their own country and also because there are very few children for adoption in developed countries. This lure of big money and demand from foreign parents makes these agents to lure poor and helpless parents with money in giving up their children for money. The traffickers have even gone to the extent where traffickers paid money to husbands of pregnant women as advance booking. This happened in Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh. Not much time before, theft of new born babies were being reported frequently from hospitals in Tamil Nadu. The babies thus stolen were reported to have been sold for 'adoption'. In some cases, children have been procured by adoption agencies through the kidnapping of babies from hospitals and nursing homes. The traffickers are also known to recruit nurses and hospital staff in identifying the babies for the purpose of kidnapping or the latter have themselves, in some cases, been found to be kidnapping the babies.

There are some dubious adoption agencies also operating who are trafficking children in the name of adoption. The NHRC Study (2005) mentions a news report published in the Hindustan Times in 2001 where an adoption agency in Hyderabad had been procuring children by obtaining relinquishment deeds from biological parents of the children in
The Trafficking Process

favour of this institution. The police raided this institution and seized a number of false relinquishment deeds, and were unable to trace most of the biological parents mentioned in those deeds (NHRC Study, 2005: 137). This shows how meticulous and tactical the traffickers are. Although the traffickers themselves know that agreements of such nature are void and cannot be executed by our courts, and they would never approach the courts because in case the parents refused to part with their babies because they know it fully well that they will be punished for making such agreements pertaining to ‘sale’ of human beings. But the unaware and illiterate parents are coerced into agreeing to sell their babies and the agreement (relinquishment deed) becomes the instrument of coercion. The poor parents are made to believe by these traffickers that if they dare to ‘violate’ the agreement, they might attract serious penalty under law which may be in the form of a heavy fine or imprisonment. Poor and innocent parents believe them and keep themselves shut even if they later want to get their babies back or change their decision.

To inform the discussion further, a case study on the modus operandi of adoption agencies is given below:

In Andhra Pradesh, agents appointed by the adoption agencies are paid Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 to scout around the poverty-stricken areas of the state and lure fathers to sell their babies. The men in turn harass their wives to give away the children. The agents influence men to think of their daughters as burdens and then offer them a way out by buying their babies. They also motivate mothers to give away the babies with the promise that the baby will be looked after well and receive ‘English’ education. The women in Lambada communities hardly have any choice and feel that it is better to give away a baby girl rather than kill her. They do not realize that many girls can die en route to the adoption agency or that they may not necessarily be able to lead good lives. It is a fact that many children often do not survive the early separation from their mothers and lack of breast milk. (NHRC 2005: 329)

9.5 MODUS OPERANDI IN TRAFFICKING FOR BEGGING

We find young children in shabby, torn clothes begging on traffic signals, on footpath, near religious places and during pilgrimages, bus stops, railway stations, trains and even in our own localities. Have we ever tried to find who these children are, where do they come from, who are their parents or guardians? Have we ever thought whether the person carrying the child is the parent or guardian or not. When we find a person begging especially a child or an old person or someone carrying a child, generally a feeling of sympathy is aroused and we feel ‘satisfied’ by giving certain alms. Giving alms is also considered a religious duty by many. While many may be begging for their survival, there may be some cases where the child or the person has not come on its own, rather forced into it. That children are trafficked for begging is a well-recognised fact. The traffickers exploit these human sensitivities and religious practices to their advantage. They devise their modus operandi accordingly. Therefore they prefer young children or very old and infirm persons for trafficking for begging. If such persons have some physical disability, they are preferred more over others. Some beggars, who are able bodied, are seen to be carrying a small child of few months. In many cases, the child does not belong to the beggar. He or she procures the child from poor parents living in village or an urban slum. Poor parents who don’t have enough to even feed the child are lured by the traffickers to ‘rent out’ the child in lieu of money on a daily basis. The trafficker (beggar) puts the child to sleep by administering some banned drugs or herbs. After drugging the child to sleep, the trafficker evokes sympathy of the passers
by or passengers. This makes his work easier while soliciting for alms. Generally a network executes these activities. A child is generally changed after few months as the administering of regular doses of drugs may be fatal to the child. In many cases, the child may be maimed, disfigured or blinded to make him or her 'suitable' for begging.

**Self Assessment Question**

2) What is the method in trafficking for begging?

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**9.6 MODUS OPERANDI IN CASES OF OVERSEAS OR TRANSBORDER TRAFFICKING**

As in other cases of trafficking, the overseas or transborder trafficking happens mostly for the purpose of exploitative and bonded labour and commercial sexual exploitation. The modus operandi of traffickers in these cases are different from domestic trafficking. Some of these are:

**9.6.1 Blind Advertisements**

1) The traffickers generally put advertisements in dailies for overseas employment with fake names of companies and addresses with promises of higher wages and other facilities. Many times, 'they do not indicate the name of the recruiter but provides a P.O. Box to which applications may be submitted'; accessed on March 11, 2010). They do this so that if someone complains, the law enforcement agencies cannot find their trace.

2) **Provision of forged documents and identity**: The traffickers arrange for fake passports and other documents on forged identities for overseas travel.

3) **Assumed or hidden identity**: Persons are trafficked as tourists, artists, trainees, sportspersons or participants in some seminars or conferences because issuance of visas is not a problem for such categories of travellers.

4) **Performance of marriage**: In some cases, the foreigner who is a trafficker himself or someone in his network marries the victim and takes her to the country as his 'wife'.

5) **Highly networked**: The traffickers are generally highly networked. Since, the transborder or overseas travel involves close scrutiny by law enforcement agencies, border police and customs officials. Some of them are reported to have 'links' with the border police. They also have links with the persons living along international borders.

Traffickers who are engaged in cross-border trafficking make frequent visits to foreign countries for the purpose of procuring, selling or purchasing the victims of trafficking. In cases where persons are being trafficked under the hidden identity of performers or artists, the 'bandmaster' makes them sign on a stamped paper of
The Trafficking Process

certain denomination stating that they are going at their own discretion. Once they land up in a foreign country, their passports are taken away from them so that they cannot run away and remain within their ‘control’. They are accommodated in colonies and houses which are far from the scrutinizing eyes of police and other organizations. These persons then find themselves at the mercy of the traffickers and are forced to do whatever is demanded from them from bonded labour to sexual slavery to organ donation. The traffickers who run agencies which claim to send people abroad to pursue heir ‘dream’ in developed are reported to operate from urban areas mainly because ‘it is easy to operate from an urban area and remain anonymous’, while villages being a small community where everyone knows each other, are not ‘proper places to operate from’.

9.6.2 What Happens after the Victim is taken away from her Place: Modus Operandi used during Transit and at Destination

Bringing a victim by the use of coercion or by means of deception is one step where different methods and tactics are used. But after the person has been brought to the destination or is still in transit, the methods change. On one hand, at destination or in transit, the victim does not have the comfort of physical proximity to her place of origin. And on the other hand, the trafficker feels confident that whatever he does with the victim, he would get away with it. So, the trafficker tends to use coercion, intimidation, force and violence frequently when the victim has been taken away from her/his place of origin. The method changes- from deception to coercion and from being a well wisher to become someone who uses brutal force and violence to submit the victim to what the trafficker wants from her/him. This is also because, most of the victim realize what is going to happen to them either at the transit place or at destination point. At this stage when the trafficker has full control over victim’s movement and the latter does not submit to the demands of trafficker or the client or the person who has paid for the victim, the victim is subjected to beating, violence and filthy languages. Food and other basic essentials of life are denied. The victim is kept in confinement in a place which is far from main street or public sight in a dark dingy room. Here are few testimonies (HRW 1995) of the victims of trafficking who survived the ordeal to tell the tale:

“…Maya was beaten severely for the first four or five days she was held in the brothel because she refused to have sex with customers. They continued to beat her until she submitted.”

The younger the victim, the better the treatment. In one case, since the victim was young, so different methods were applied to keep her under ‘control’.

“…As the youngest in the brothel, Neela’s treatment was better than for many of the girls and women working there. She was not beaten, even when she was caught trying to escape one night by pretending to go to the toilet which was outside behind the brothel. However, she was insulted and threatened, and saw others who worked there frequently beaten severely, “until blood came from their mouths,” for trying to escape and for fighting.”

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Many traffickers and brothel keepers keep seasoned men for straightening out some difficult girls. These are essentially notorious criminals. The usual methods are severe beating and repeated rapes. The victim relents as she finds her ‘honour’ being ravaged and develops a low self esteem about herself. The following is the narratives from the case study of a trafficking survivor who describes how she was subjected to violence and rape when she refused to submit to the demands of the first client.

“...Then one of the men she had seen at the entrance to the building came into the room and ordered Sanu to go to bed with him. When she refused, he raped her and beat her for resisting. For the next week, Sanu was subjected to repeated rapes and beatings by brothel guards — a “breaking in” period that is routine in many brothels. After a week of this abuse, she stopped fighting and began taking customers.”

Sometimes, the trafficker threatens to harm someone who the victim is very close to—e.g., a close relative or a friend, if the latter tries to escape or does not surrender to the wishes of the trafficker.

9.6.3 Modus Operandi in Cases of Trafficking in Children for Exploitative Labour

There has been a gradual shift in the way children are trafficked for labour. Earlier, they used to traffic children in large groups and nobody would raise any doubt, but now with people and law enforcement agencies becoming increasingly aware, the traffickers have been forced to change their methods. Now they prefer to take smaller groups so that no one suspects them. Before the children are actually taken away from their parents, children are tutored to tell anyone who asks about the antecedents of the person accompanying them that he is their relative—chacha or mama. Also the person who accompanies them during transit is generally the one who looks like someone from child’s own community and speaks the same dialect or language. Moreover, the children are given clean and decent clothes to wear to be able to look ‘rich’ so that no doubt is raised. Children are also asked to say that they are going to study. Many times children are made to believe this. They are also asked to hide their real age. So, if anyone wants to know from them their age, they would say confidently that they are above fourteen. The traffickers know the law and the loopholes in it and they use it to their advantage. The traffickers pay a lump sum amount to the parents of children for agreeing to let their children go with the trafficker and work. The trafficker also promises them that children would be taken care of with proper food, clothing and money per month. In some cases, particularly concerning girl children who are taken to cities to work as domestic help, traffickers promise that they would send the child to school as well and allow her to come regularly.

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 Processes Involved in Trafficking: The Modus Operandi of Traffickers
9.6.4 Modus Operandi in Cases of Trafficking for Organ Donation

There is a huge demand for organ transplantation in our country. The biggest demand is for kidneys. The rackets involved in this vicious trade would not flourish without an unholy nexus of traffickers 'with doctors, advocates, police officials, middlemen and some government agencies, including the authorization committee'. The donors are usually the poor people and very often the migrant labourers, including children, have been found to be the victims. The NHRC team (2005) studied the trafficking for kidney transplantation in Punjab and have presented before us the modus operandi of traffickers engaged in this nefarious activity. It notes:

"The traffickers and their middlemen involved in this business in Punjab lure the donors with huge amounts of money ranging from Rs. 50,000- 1,00,000. The donors belong to different states including Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan, U'P., Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Manipur and Maharashtra. Once the potential donors are 'identified' and lured, the traffickers bring them to the main 'demand centres', which are Amritsar, Jalandhar and Ludhiana. The donors are categorized according to their blood groups. Files are prepared in the private clinics of their operating doctors.

Lawyers prepare false affidavits on behalf of the donors and recipients and attest that the donor is donating kidney on humanitarian grounds and that no money is involved in the entire transaction. Lawyers usually charge Rs. 5,000 for preparing false affidavits. The operating doctor conducts laboratory tests for the donors in diagnostic centre and charges 40 per cent commission for producing false test reports. The tests cost Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 1,00,000.

The authorisation committee approves the removal of the kidney from the donor and the transplant. It is supposed to conduct an enquiry to verify the details as per S. 9(5) of the Transplantation of Human Organs Act, 1994. However, the committee usually does not verify the details of the transplant. In fact, the common allegation against them is that they do not always follow the rules or guidelines in approving kidney transplants. Instead, the committee is said to charge Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000 to clear files and authorize illegal transplants. The operating doctor charges Rs. 75,000 to Rs. 1,25,000 as fees for conducting the illegal kidney transplant. Moreover the patient or the recipient is charged Rs. 1,00,000 to Rs. 1,50,000 as hospital fees. Police officials and politicians are also said to get huge amounts of money to protect the racketeers.

In the entire transaction, the donors rarely get more than Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 for donating their kidneys. Often, the middlemen or the traffickers purloin most of the money. A donor is treated well by trafficker before the kidney transplant. Once the transplant is over, the donor is discharged from the hospital. Post-operative care for the donor is either inadequate or absent. As a result, the donor suffers from severe weakness and contacts other ailments. Some donors succumb to physical weakness due to the lack of post-operative care. In many cases, the dead bodies are either thrown into rivers or jungles or cremated as unclaimed bodies." (NHRC Study, 2005: 586)

This is further illustrated by a case study given below:

"16 year old HS a resident of Amritsar, was trafficked by a middleman from an area near the Golden Temple in Amritsar on the pretext of donating blood. He was told that he would be paid Rs. 1,500 for one bottle of blood. He was admitted to the Kakkar hospital in Amritsar and operated upon in July 2002. His kidney was removed and transplanted to one MG from Jammu. In the documents, the name of HS was shown as
TS and his age was given as 23 years. He was falsely shown as a domestic servant of the patient MG, who had been residing with her for the last ten years. The documents also falsely stated that his father and mother had expired, that he had no family and that he had offered his kidney ‘purely out of love, affection, and on humanitarian grounds without any monetary consideration’. When the police took over the case, they found that his parebnts were alive and that he had siblings too. The trafficker had prepared false documents to facilitate the organ transplant. The case was detected thanks to the alacrity of police officers.

The police investigations in such cases have brought out the role of several key players, including doctors, their assistants, hospital managers, members of the authorization committee, forensic medical experts, advocates, policemen, agents and middlemen…” (NHRC Study, 2005: 586)

The traffickers involve different methods to lure the victims into their trap. Many of them disguise as placement agencies which offer employment in bigger cities or abroad. They maintain an office to win over the trust and confidence of the victims. They target those areas where unemployment level is very high or there is a craze or trend among youth and adolescents to go out and work and make quick money. The methods take different forms and changes as per the situations.

9.7 SUMMARY

Every human being wants to do better in life and overcome the limitations. Traffickers exploit this desire of people for their own gains and use different methods to deceit, entrap and coerce the victim into trafficking. The modus operandi that traffickers use are based on strategic planning and monitoring of victim’s life situation. Unfortunately it becomes too late before the victims realize where have they come. Thus it is very important that we know traffickers’ modus operandi and accordingly respond.

Activity

Meet some victims of trafficking and try to understand how they were trafficked. Based on their responses, prepare a matrix with the following reference points—vulnerability factors/factors accentuated vulnerability and Modus operandi used.

9.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1) Write a detailed note on the modus operandi of traffickers.
2) At times children are trafficked on the pretext of adoption. What are the criteria that has to be looked into to avoid such trafficking?

9.9 ANSWERS AND HINTS

Self Assessment Questions
1) Refer to Section 9.3
2) Refer to Section 9.5
3) Refer to Sub-section 9.6.3
Terminal Questions
1) Refer to Section 9.3
2) Refer to Section 9.4

9.10 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

1) NHRC Study (2005),
2) Human Rights Watch (1995), ‘Rape for Profit- Trafficking of Nepali Girls and Women to India’s Brothels’
5) ‘Women-starved Kutch gets brides from Bengal and even Bangladesh’, indianexpress.com, posted on April 11, 2008;
7) <http://ibnlive.in.com/features/femalefoeticide/4.php> ). These girls are sold by the traffickers for a price to the prospective ‘grooms’.
UNIT 10 TRAFFICKING AS ORGANIZED CRIME

Structure

10.1 Introduction
10.2 Objectives
10.3 Defining Organised Crime
  10.3.1 Historical Background of Organized Crime
10.4 Human Trafficking and Organized Crime
10.5 The Organization of Red-light Areas and Brothel System
10.6 Route of Trafficking and Organised Crime: A Case of Bangladesh
10.7 Summary
10.8 Terminal Questions
10.9 Answers and Hints
10.10 References and Suggested Readings

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Now we have come to the last Unit of this block. At this stage, we must have become aware about different actors involved in the act. We have also seen that the act of human trafficking is not an individual driven or a one-time act, rather there is a close knit network at work involving several actors for a longer time on a continuous basis. By saying so, we mean that the trafficking is nothing but an organized act by a group of individuals or agencies or networks spread over different geographical territories. But before we discuss it further, let’s frame our learning objectives for this unit:

10.2 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you should be able to:
• learn what is an Organised Crime;
• explain different elements within the act of human trafficking that makes it an organized crime; and
• explain how networks and syndicates function in the whole organized crime of human trafficking.

Before we engage ourselves into an in-depth discussion about how human trafficking is an organised crime, we should first strengthen our understanding about the phenomenon of organised crime itself.

10.3 DEFINING ORGANIZED CRIME

The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1986) defines organized crime as a ‘...complex of highly centralized enterprises set up for the purpose of engaging in illegal activities’. According to Interpol, any group having a corporate structure whose primary objective
The Trafficking Process is to obtain money through illegal activities, often surviving on fear and corruption come under the ambit of organized crime.1

The term “organized crime” refers to crime that involves the co-operation of several different persons or groups for its successful execution. Organised crime is usually professional crime. The organization may be loose and general, or informal; or it may be definite and formal, involving a system of specifically defined relationships with mutual obligations and privileges. Crime organizations may involve small or large groups. ...Organised crime is devoted almost exclusively to economic ends, to the acquisition of wealth. The criminal is in this respect like most of the rest of us, but in order to obtain his end, he utilizes means which are deemed illegitimate.2

The Interpol has a rather broad definition of organized crime. It defines it as

‘any enterprise or group of persons engaged in continuing illegal activity which has its primary purpose the generation of profits irrespective of national boundaries’.3


Any continuing unlawful activity by an individual, singly or jointly, either as a member of an organized crime syndicate or on behalf of such syndicate, by use of violence or threat of violence or intimidation or coercion, or other unlawful means, with the objective of gaining pecuniary benefits, or gaining undue economic or other advantage for himself or any person or promoting insurgency (Maharashtra, 1999)

Tyler (1963) likens organized crime to the fabled elephant; it means many things to many people, depending on the discipline applied. He advocates a multi-disciplinary approach to understand and tackle the phenomenon, primarily for three reasons—the scale of its operations and its impact on the economy; its historical roots and capacity to renew itself time and again thus impacting on our present and our future; and being a reflection of our total culture and institutions and consequently, its ability to affect the same.

According to a report of the World Federation of United Nations Association (2007), ‘the relentless rise of mafia is one of the most potent threats to our future, as well as global warming and scarcity of drinking water’. According to the report, international organized crime has become a $2 trillion (Rs. 80.75 lac crore) industry, threatening to pervert democracy and promoting global inequality. The annual takings of gangs are roughly twice the world’s combined defence budgets, half of which is paid in bribes to corrupt officials, promoting an international culture of bribery. Over $ 520 billion (Rs. 20.8 lac crores) of this black economy comes from counterfeiting and piracy; $ 320 billion (Rs. 12.8 lac crores) from narcotics and $ 44 billion (Rs. 1.76 lac crores) form the human trafficking industry. Nearly twenty seven million people are held in slavery, most of them Asian women.4

The illegitimate side of the underworld operation is a cash business with no reported income and no taxes to pay the State. The businessman who pays for his protection, or

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2 Lindesmith, 1941, p. 119.
enters into a 'silent partnership' with the underworld never records the income earned through this source. It is for this reason that it becomes very difficult to trace income and allocate it to organized crime. The nexus between underworld and legitimate businesses has been steadily rising. The underworld today may be deriving much of its net earnings from the legal businesses as from the illegal. A time may come when it may become impossible to separate the two.

**Self Assessment Questions**

1) What do you mean by “Organized Crime”?

**10.3.1 Historical Background of Organized Crime**

According to Chamberlin (1932):

Organized crime is as ancient as civilization. It begins at a time older than recorded history. It is a tradition dating back farther than the days when Hiram Abif, grand architect of the Temple of Solomon, was slain by ruffians who attempted to wrest from him the secret that would enable them to ply their vocation successfully in new fields of endeavour (p.652)

Tyler (1963) states that the history of organized crime in the U.S. is as old as the nation itself. Organized crime syndicates emerged with emergence of the earliest pirates, who were organised, ran a profitable business and had tight political ties with the colonial governments, even sharing their spoils with their political allies. E. J. Hobsbawm coined the term ‘social bandits’ for the gangs which fought on behalf of the Tories and the patriots. Early nineteenth century saw the emergence of the ‘city mobs’ of New York and San Francisco, arising out of ethnic frictions, poverty, and crude politics of the early metropolises. The latter half of the nineteenth century produced gangs encouraged by the profound social antagonisms characteristic of the period before and after the American civil war.

The end of the century produced innumerable gangs of gun totting mercenaries or prime parties involved in multiple social struggles over the new wealth of the nation – land, cattle, grazing fields, mining, and timber properties. Early twentieth century saw the rise of city wide gangs in alliance with the new rich and the new political class in an effort to consolidate their newly acquired wealth and power. These gangs merged themselves with the mobs during the prohibition era. In post-prohibition era, the new recruits to the gangs extended themselves to wide scale industrial rackets and bringing sophistication and class to their activities. Tyler summarizes the discussion on the history of organized crime in America by stating that each decade produces a set of recruits – whether for the refined or the rough end of operations. Organized crime continues, with changed names and changed modus operandi. The institution survives the men- and grows.

In the Indian context, according to Gill (1998), textual and anecdotal sources are replete with advice to the king on how to deal with corruption. The Rigveda, Kalhana’s Rajtarangini, Jatakas, Manusmriti, Yajnavalkya, the Mahabharata and the
Arthashastra have repeated references to corruption and extortion by corrupt officials and wily and deceitful officers robbing the treasury. Later, exchange of gifts was institutionalized during the Mughal period. Offering of Nazrana and bakshish became commonplace and substitute words for corruption, bribery and extortion by government officials.5

In the post independence period, governance has been plagued by corruption in high places, money laundering and hawala transactions (An illegal racket of transferring unaccounted wealth from one destination to another, by paying a commission to the hawala operator. Through this system money can be ‘couriered’ from one city to another in any part of the world, involving a nexus between the underworld and officials who ‘allow’ such operations without being detected.) where the underworld has been a conduit if not a collaborator in siphoning and transfer of ill-gotten wealth, through award of government contracts, primarily in roads, building-construction and infrastructure projects and in the procurement and distribution of goods and services as part of anti-poverty programmes. Singh’s (1999) study details essentially three types of activities under the organized crime network in the country – money laundering, narcotics trade, and diverting funds earned from narcotics into real estate and other businesses. Extortion and contract killings are activities that gangs carry out to maintain their power through the demonstration of brute force and also to earn ‘side income’.

Prostitution and not human trafficking has been mentioned as one of the main activities within the broad ambit of organized crime.6 Singh (1999) does not mention prostitution or human trafficking as one of the activities in the organized crime. Trafficking in human beings particularly in women and children is an organized crime and it goes beyond prostitution.

10.4 HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND ORGANIZED CRIME

“Human trafficking is, without doubt, a major branch of organised crime.”7 The above quote of a German investigator reflects the position of law enforcement agencies. This thought is shared by law enforcement agencies worldwide. But the recognition of the link between human trafficking and organized crime, although it was quite pronounced and was there for everyone to see, took several years. Even it took many years before a universally accepted definition of organised crime was evolved by the United Nations. As per the definition given in Article 2 of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Convention 2000):

“Organized criminal group” shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit”.

The above definition does not apply to a group of individuals formed by chance for immediate commission of a single offence.8

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5 Chamberlin 1932, Johnson Jr. 1962.
That human trafficking is an organized crime was recognized by the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, also referred to as the Palermo Convention (2000). Supplementing this UN Convention (or Palermo Convention) is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children where the definition of “Trafficking in Persons” is defined in Article 3 of the Protocol:

(a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at 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) (United Nations, 2000)

The definition itself establishes that the act of human trafficking cannot be accomplished in the absence of a well-oiled network as there are different stages in human trafficking which calls for strong presence of a network or a crime syndicate with experience in dealing with community and officials at ease. The stages involved in human trafficking are:

- Recruitment,
- Transportation
- Transfer
- Harbouring and
- Receipt

The organized nature of human trafficking is evident from the fact that the people involved in this are not just illiterate and unskilled. They have the full knowledge of areas where vulnerabilities exist and also about families which is looking forward to some help from anyone who could help them overcome the miserable times that they have become victim to. Now, it is very difficult for a trafficker to know about such families and approach them. So, this task is done through a massive network. Persons to be trafficked are identified through a systematic network of various persons at different locations. It is an organized activity involving intelligence gatherers in the source areas linked upwards through various channels to the traffickers and finally to brothel keepers or employers or those who need organ transplantation or those associated with other purposes (for which trafficking is generally done). These agents methodically identify vulnerable persons, for example, families with adolescent girls, orphans, young widows, adolescent girls or boys living with single parents. This includes mostly families or individuals in vulnerable situations like those who are facing difficult social and economical situations for various reasons. Traffickers take advantage of such situations and systematically exploit persons through financial, social or religious means. Under the guise of giving help, families are even given loans by the brothel keepers or employers as advance or sometimes at high interest rates. Usually, the families are not able to pay back the loan and in lieu of the redemption of debt, these families are then forced to send their young
The Trafficking Process

and adolescent daughters or sons to ‘work’ with them. The victims, totally unaware (in some cases parents or guardians are aware of the nature of the ‘work’, but might not know the extent and nature of exploitation as a consequence of such ‘work’) accompany the traffickers to be sold into brothels or work as bonded labour in some remote places.

Self Assessment Question
2) What are the different stages involved in human trafficking?

10.5 THE ORGANIZATION OF RED-LIGHT AREAS AND BROTHEL SYSTEM

The red-light areas follow a set pattern and there are certain norms which everyone follows. The brothels where trafficked victims for commercial sexual exploitation are brought, work in an organized way. A system has evolved through centuries that bind and run these brothels. The ‘brothel system’ is so organized that it does not allow victims to escape, provides maximum security to those involved in trafficking, keeps up with the newer demands of clients and market and earns handsome revenues for those involved in it except the victim. A large percentage of sex workers in any red light area are migrants from other states in India and from neighboring countries such as Nepal and Bangladesh. Once introduced to the sex industry, the majority of sex workers do not return to their native place. Even though prostitution is considered to be a criminal offense in India, in red-light areas, it is prevalent and even flourishing. Given the criminal nature of sex work in India, sex workers do not have any civil rights and live in constant fear of being arrested by the police for soliciting sex. The living conditions of both brothel-based and street-based sex workers are deplorable, and basic needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, and hygiene, are sparsely available. Thus denied civil rights and due to fear of arrest and prosecution by the police, the victims prefer to remain silent and do not seek help from police. Police are also known to be insensitive to the exploitation faced by such women. They book them under various sections of the law and look upon them as perpetrator if they happen to be foreign national without valid passport or staying beyond the limitations as stipulated in their visa. The passports of foreign nationals are usually snatched away from the victims when they are forced into commercial sexual exploitation.

Once the victims stand without any other options in life but to operate and start operating, they have to learn the tricks of the trade. They are provided proper training by the brothel keeper or the ‘mother’. They have to know the latest fashions for the business. The clients like it if these women can speak like the latest movie dialogues. The competition here is fierce...’. It has also been observed that girls are kept outside brothels in a ‘home’ where they are made to learn the local language, wear sarees and do ‘proper’

9 Case study developed by ARZ, Goa as quoted in NHRC 2005: 461.
make up and prepare themselves to look ‘older’ to avoid detection and questioning by the police.\textsuperscript{11}

There is an interdependence between the pimps, agents and brothel keepers. Both need each other to keep their cash registers rolling. The brothel keeper, usually an older woman called ‘Madam’ needs a regular supply of fresh girls for which she relies on the ‘agents’ or ‘girl brokers’ who use their network to procure girls for these madams. The pimps go about the street and fetch clients for the women in CSE. The pimps get a cut in what the client agrees to pay the woman.

Trafficking for CSE ‘has become an enormous machine consisting of endless tiny wheels, intermeshing and inter-dependent. The most important of these small wheels is the madam. She is generally the ex-prostitute, smart and good looking in her youth who has engaged rich clients and has collected enough capital from them to hire a house. That’s the first step- the house. Then she goes out to get the girls. And then she is in business. It is later her daughter who inherits and runs the business after her’. Those without capital have to depend on money-lenders who lend money at a very high rate of interest. They use this money in paying for ‘security deposits’ for hiring rooms on rent. The money usually runs in hundreds of thousands because usually in areas where brothels operate, the space is a scarcity and they are located in the heart of the city. The money lender earns huge profit without doing anything in the business. ‘The second blood sucker is the house-owner’ who gets a huge amount of money as rent per month for even a ‘decrepit, old and unsafe house’. Then comes the police who accepts weekly bribe hafta as ‘an instalment’ and lumpsum bribe as ‘entrance fees’.\textsuperscript{12} In almost all the brothels in India, the trafficked victims operate under adhiya system. In this system, half of whatever each girl earns, goes to the brothel keeper, the ‘madam’. The rest of the half takes care of everything including her food, clothes, medicine and other expenses. Obviously, this money is not enough to meet their needs which also includes expenses on wine, cigarette or if some have children, then their expenses. For all these they have to depend on the moneylender. They usually charge high rates of interest and generally make money by manipulating the amount. The madams borrow from these moneylenders ‘in the girls’ names and then pay back from their incomes. The moneylender takes his instalment from their daily take and the ‘madam’ goes to his shop once a month with her girls to pay it to him. He writes it all down in his book. Since that book is never shown to anybody, the girls or even the madam never knows how much the original loan was, how much interest or how much is paid back and what remains. And besides madam is quite happy to have the girls deep in debt.’\textsuperscript{13}

The brothel owners keep seeking newer and fresh girls for remaining relevant in the ‘business’ by maintaining their clientele. Brothel owners frequently own more than one brothel, and like most of the entrepreneurs seek to expand their enterprise or shift locations depending on the business climate of a particular area. Some brothel owners also send the victims to private houses, hotels or to entertain clients in ‘taxis’ or in their private vehicles.

\textsuperscript{11} A Study of Trafficked Nepalese Girls and Women in Mumbai and Kolkata, India, 2005, Terres des homes.
10.6 ROUTE OF TRAFFICKING AND ORGANIZED CRIME – A CASE OF BANGLADESH\textsuperscript{14}

Traffickers belong as a group to international organized crime consortia, and trafficking is carried out in alliance with corrupt law-enforcement groups in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. It appears, from reports occasionally published in the daily newspapers of Dhaka, that crime networks dominate the trafficking of women and children from Bangladesh. These include villages, towns, and cities in all three countries. Bangladesh members of the syndicates monitor the movement of trafficked women and girls and pass on information to relevant authorities. They also help orchestrate en route changes of the buses, trains, or boats used to transport trafficked women and girls. The women are generally asked to wear a particular band or talisman on their arms for easy identification at the transit points and destinations. At the border, the women and girls are kept in particular houses for pre-arranged fees and then simply walk across fields adjacent to the border at a convenient time. Some corrupt border police in Bangladesh aid in transporting trafficked women across the national border for financial gain and personal sexual favors. Traffickers or their agents pay the police for this service, usually in local currency. Some border police are reported to keep girls and sexually abuse them. The police keep their special choices in their own custody until there are new arrivals, when they make fresh choices. Women brought to the border are sometimes raped by traffickers. Although Bangladesh is surrounded by India on three sides, it is the Western border districts, particularly Jessore and Khulna, that are widely used for trafficking purposes. Three other border districts – Comilla, Dinajpur, and Rajshahi – are also used, though less frequently, for trafficking to India. After crossing the India-Bangladesh border, the women and girls are taken by train or bus to the nearest city, Calcutta, which is well known for prostitution; there they are usually sold. From Calcutta, the well-organized agents take them to Mumbai, Delhi, or Karachi. The magnitude of illegal trafficking in Bangladeshi women decreases as distance increases because of intervening opportunities available in places between the origin and the intended destination. In the minds of many traffickers and captured women, this intraregional migration is an intermediate stop in their westward migration as domestic workers in the Middle East or in the sex industry of the Middle Eastern and European countries. For captured women, migration leads to menial work in carpet weaving or fish-drying industries in Mumbai or Karachi; others are placed into domestic work. Trafficked women may end up in the HIV-infected brothels of Mumbai or other large cities of India and Pakistan. Women transported by air from Bangladesh generally come from upper socioeconomic classes. Their agents are protected by the higher echelons of civil-service and political leadership, though their numbers remain elusive. One report claims that at least fifty women and girls leave Dhaka Airport daily for the Middle East. Corrupt officers at the airport and travel agents are involved in issuing the documents necessary for international air travel for a specified amount of money.\textsuperscript{14}

There are places where regular deals are made. Trafficked women are sold to individual buyers at a premium price as slaves, maids, wives, or prostitutes. Those who don’t find a good price for their ‘catch’ are sold in a lot to brothel keepers or their agents. The networks are so strong that regular auctions are held at fixed places where prices are

fixed and victims are sold. A journalist from Bangladesh witnessed one such auction in Karachi. His experiences are narrated here.15

'At night, girls were being brought to the slum and [the] auction took place indoors. There was no bidding as such because there was always an understanding between the procurers and the customers before auction. Usually the younger and more beautiful girls were sold quickly and at higher prices. The unmarried and virgin girls were sold for 15,000-20,000 taka (U.S.$450-600). Also a group of 10-20 girls was sold together for 50,000 to 200,000 taka (U.S.$1,500-6,000) to brothel owners and pimps.... Some girls were kept aside before the auction to be taken separately to hotels for wealthy buyers who were given the opportunity to inspect the girls individually. Men from villages also came to seek wives.... A Punjabi man gave 10,000 taka (U.S.$300) for an ordinary Bangladeshi girl. The auction ended. Those who were sold went with the buyers. The rest returned to the place they came from. Everyone remained silent. It seemed that the girls were homeless, stateless, and helpless.'

Activity

1) Visit a red light area in your city or district and talk to few trafficked victims to understand how the whole business operates for them and how it victimizes them.

2) Visit an NGO which works with the victims of human trafficking and try to understand from their experiences the challenges that they face when they try to intervene in a case of trafficking and how do they overcome those challenges.

10.7 SUMMARY

We have seen in this unit how human trafficking is carried out in an organized and systematic manner. We have also studied in the light of the definitions of organized crime and human trafficking the link between them. The presence of crime syndicates, regular and strong networks with different set of actors make it look like a 'system'. The very organization of the entire operation only hints at the solution or intervention side of how to make a dent in the whole 'business' which is so highly organized, established and networked. Since the problem is multi-faceted, the intervention approach and strategy should also be multi-sectoral and multi-pronged. Both the law-enforcement agencies and civil society organizations have a very important role to play. The intervention plan has to take into consideration the factors playing their role in both the source and destination areas while enhancing vigil along the transit routes. The increasing density of news about the rescue of child labourers from trains being taken to work in other cities or intercepting traffickers along the international border or from the hotels indicate that people are becoming increasingly aware and action is being taken. Much is yet to be done, although.

10.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1) Write in detail about the historical background of Organized Crime.

2) Discuss the organization of Red-light areas and Brothel system.

10.9 ANSWER AND HINTS

Self Assessment Questions
1) Refer to Section 10.3
2) Refer to Section 10.5

Terminal Questions
1) Refer to Section 10.3
2) Refer to Section 10.5

10.10 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS


