



# Social Norms Research on Gender-Based Differences, Discrimination and Sex-Trafficking



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**Report prepared by**  
**ASK Training & Learning**

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*We are very hopeful that this study answers as well as raises many questions for further inquiry into the topic of social norms and at the same time help pave the way for future interventions.*

*Thanking you,  
Research and Studies Domain,  
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## List of Abbreviations

AHTU	Anti-Human Trafficking Unit
ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
APL	Above Poverty Line
ASK T & L	ASK Training & Learning
AWW	Anganwadi Worker
BDO	Block Development Officer
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CCI	Child Care Institutions
CWC	Child Welfare Committee
DCPO	District Child Protection Officer
DCPU	District Child Protection Unit
DSP	District Superintendent of Police
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIR	First Information Report
ICPS	Integrated Child Protection Scheme
IDI	In depth interviews
ITPA	The Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1956
JH	Jharkhand
KII	Key Informant Interviews
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MoWCD	Ministry of women and Child Development
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
CBO	Community based Organisations
NGO	Non-government organisation
OBC	Other Backward Castes
PRI	Panchayat Raj Institution
PS	Police Station
SC	Scheduled Caste
SHG	Self Help group
ST	Scheduled Tribe
Tdh	Terre des homes
UN TIP	United Nations Trafficking in Persons
UNCHR	United Nations Commission on Human Rights
UNODC	United Nations Organisation on Drugs and Crime
VLPC	Village level Child Protection Committee
WB	West Bengal

### 1.1. Rationale for the Study

This study was conducted by ASK on behalf of Terre des hommes (Tdh), a leading child rights organisation headquartered in Switzerland, and advocating for child rights and working on human trafficking in over 40 countries, including India.

Tdh India implemented a 'Learning Grant Project' (November 2013 to May 2016) supported by Oak Foundation in West Bengal and Jharkhand. The goal of the Learning Grant was to develop the capacity of 24 NGO partners to have a shared understanding and improved planning practices on economic reintegration as well as sustainable reintegration practices of survivors of sexual exploitation and trafficking. The focus was to improve the reintegration practices through increased understanding of the survivors' psychosocial needs and design and implement livelihood plans for the survivors. One of the key learnings was to understand the critical role played by the community and the survivor's immediate environment and how these together impacts and effect the reintegration process of a survivor. As a result of successful outcomes of the first phase of this project; the learning grant project was further extended for 4 years (November 2016 to October 2020) The aim was to build organisational capacities on the aspect of 'psycho-social care and counselling' and integrating the same in the organisational activities. Tdh engages with partners through a capacity building approach and a direct financial support in the form of a seed initiative has been provided to selected survivors' groups for livelihood generation.

The current study was conceptualised, *to identify the existing social norms which create barriers to successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking*. While literature is abound on the reasons, methods and overall context of trafficking from West Bengal and Jharkhand, the literature available of social norms in context of trafficking in India is limited. Social norms have come to be the focus of many intervention and behaviour change programs globally and therefore this study aims to add to the existing literature by bringing forth social norms which hamper as well as facilitate reintegration; and make recommendations for behaviour change.

### 1.2. Objectives of the Study

*The aim of the study was to identify the existing and most prevalent social norms in the context of human trafficking and critically analyse their influence and practice; the emerging social sanctions and identify barriers to transformation of regressive norms which perpetuate gender discrimination and violence. The study also aimed to identify factors such as beliefs, aspirations, attitudes and their interplay with social factors like social networks and support in the context of reintegration of human trafficking. The specific objectives of the study were:*

- ◆ To identify existing and most prevalent social norms that perpetuates stigma against survivors of trafficking, creating obstacle in successful reintegration.
- ◆ To understand how social norms perpetuates attitudes, beliefs and behaviours towards discrimination and violence against survivors of trafficking.
- ◆ *To understand the role of religion in influencing social norms*
- ◆ To deepen understanding of how descriptive and injunctive norms reinforce each other, and how normative beliefs of undetectable practices are created and can be changed
- ◆ To identify *positive norms* that challenge or can challenge the harmful social norms.
- ◆ To identify barriers to transforming social norms, gender norms and norms related to masculinity which perpetuates violence.
- ◆ To explore strategies for changing social norms and make specific recommendations for promoting behavioural change.

### 1.3. What are Social Norms?

A social norm is defined as what people in some groups believe to be normal in the group, that is, believed to be a typical action, an appropriate action, or both (Paluck and Ball 2010)<sup>1</sup>.

Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif say that social norms are ‘formed in group situations and subsequently serve as standards for the individual’s perception and judgment when he is not in the group situation’. Beliefs about what others do, and what others think we should do, within some reference group, maintained by social approval and disapproval, often guide a person’s actions in her social setting<sup>2</sup>. Thus one can derive that norms are shared standards of behaviour in a group. Norms are important as they guide interactions and help individuals coordinate their actions. They help individuals achieve favorable results and/or avoid unfavorable situations.

Social norms are maintained through social influence of ‘approval or disapproval’ and can include others’ covert attitudes or their overt positive sanctions and/or negative sanctions. Social norms can be beneficial as well as harmful in nature. For example, norms around charity and community welfare can be considered as beneficial social norms; while norms on Female Genital Cutting (FGC); child marriage etc. are harmful in nature. Development programs have increasingly started using a social norm change approach to bring about changes in harmful practices by targeting the social norms behind them; understanding the root causes and ways of influencing those norms for a positive change. Some of the important concepts and definitions on social norms and social norm programming are defined in Box 1.

- ◆ **Reference Group/ Network:** The pool/ network of individuals whose behaviours and opinions are of significance to a given individual with regard to decision-making, is called Reference Group/ Network. Reference networks are significant to any interventions/programming for social norms change. The reasons as to why negative social norms persist in any society are because they are adhered to by (groups of) individuals who influence each other.
- ◆ **Descriptive Norms:** The belief of individuals on what other individuals in a group do is called descriptive norms. These descriptive norms influence our choices and behaviours in alignment to the choices and behaviours of the others in the group.
- ◆ **Injunctive norms:** They are beliefs about what the reference network thinks is right and approves of and guiding our actions and behaviours for the desire to be accepted by the reference groups. Unpacking such beliefs at the community level is the very first steps in developing interventions for social norms change.
- ◆ **Pluralistic Ignorance:** The misconceptions about what individuals really do and what they really expect from us, which influence one’s actions and beliefs, are called pluralistic ignorance. Through interventions on social norm change, communities can be helped to overcome misleading conformity and ensure negative/harmful behaviours are not adopted by them just because they wrongly perceive that the ‘others’ approve of them.

**Box 1: Significant Concepts in Social Norms Programming. Source: UNICEF, 2019**

#### 1.3.1. How do (Social) Norms guide Human Behaviour?

Social Science literature considers norms as ‘clusters of self-fulfilling expectations in that some expectations often result in behaviour that reinforces them’<sup>3</sup>. According to social thinker Bicchieri, individual preferences for conforming to any given social norm is conditioned upon “empirical expectations” (which are beliefs that a certain type of behaviour shall be followed) and “normative expectations” (which are beliefs that a certain type of behaviour is ought to be followed). Therefore, compliance to norm results from the mutual presence of one’s conditional preference of conformity and the very belief that other individuals too shall conform and approve of that conformity<sup>4</sup> (or *injunctive*

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4\\_09\\_30\\_Whole\\_What\\_are\\_Social\\_Norms.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4\\_09\\_30\\_Whole\\_What\\_are\\_Social\\_Norms.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf)

norms). Norms, as evident, play a very crucial role in determining individual behaviour/choice since—by moulding individual preferences and needs—they act as criteria for choosing amongst alternatives courses of action/ behaviour. These criteria are also shared by any given community which symbolize a commonly accepted value system. Individuals may choose as per their preference, but their preference in turn is determined by social<sup>5</sup>expectations. When these norms are internalized by a larger group of individuals, norm-abiding actions/ behaviours will be considered as appropriate and any deviance from the given accepted norm will lead to fear of disapproval and non-acceptance from community/society.

While social norm theory focuses on the group norm, individual attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and actions are also important because individuals are heterogeneous in many respects, including norm conformity. According to Cristina Bicchieri and Alexander Funckei, norm change may occur in many ways, but the presence of first movers who are willing to spark it can exert a major influence. Some of the characteristics of these first movers or ‘trend-setters’ as discussed by Bicchieri and Funckei include: *‘low sensitivity to the specific norm one wishes to abandon; individuals who are insensitive to general pressures of conformity and are autonomous in their decision making; have high perceived self-efficacy and are either particularly risk-insensitive, or misperceive the actual risks of deviance’*<sup>6</sup>.

#### 1.4. Importance of identifying Social Norms for Behavioural Change Programs

Much of the earlier work on social norms used a specific understanding of a social norms approach – it assumed that individuals have wrong/false perceptions about the behaviours and attitudes of others (pluralistic ignorance). These perceptions influence individuals’ behaviours, even when they contradict the individual’s personal beliefs/ attitudes/practices. If information is provided, in this situation, the correct social norm, the individuals will change their attitude and behaviour accordingly.

However, in order to design an effective normative behavioural change program, it is significant to understand the nature of social norms within the larger context and other factors that influence an individual/ community’s action(s). To explain the salient nature of social norms in influencing behaviour, many theorists have further explored and considered it important to understand the two types of normative beliefs:

- ◆ Descriptive norms: one’s belief about what others in one’s group do and
- ◆ Injunctive norms: one’s belief about what others in the group would approve and disapprove

A social norm is held in place by the reciprocal expectations of the people within a reference group. Because of the interdependence of expectation and action, social norms can be stiffly resistant to change<sup>7</sup>. People comply with social norms because of the uncertainty in deciding the best behaviour to achieve something in any given context, followed by the will to belong to a group; anticipating of a social reward, or because social norms are enforced by those in power.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, it becomes critical to identify the people’s “reference group,” or the entire network of those who share the norm in any given context.<sup>9</sup>

The nature in which social norms are conceptualised has a bearing on how norms exert influence on any given behaviour. Taking account of the relationship between social norms and behaviour, theories

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<sup>5</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/36608215/Norm\\_Change\\_Trendsetters\\_and\\_Social\\_Structure\\_Appendix\\_THE\\_SOCIAL\\_NORM\\_GAME](https://www.academia.edu/36608215/Norm_Change_Trendsetters_and_Social_Structure_Appendix_THE_SOCIAL_NORM_GAME)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> What are Social Norms? How are They Measured? by Gerry Mackie, Francesca Moneti, Holly Shakya, and Elaine Denny UNICEF / University of California, San Diego, Center on Global Justice (2015) [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4\\_09\\_30\\_Whole\\_What\\_are\\_Social\\_Norms.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Bell and Cox 2015

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

identify four key approaches: *rational choice, evolutionary selection, theory of planned behaviour, and internalisation on the basis of social identity*.<sup>10</sup>

The rational choice approach to understand social behaviour underlines much of political science and economics. This approach is based on the descriptive, subjective, and social definitions of norms wherein it can be argued that it is functional to look at “others” to determine one’s own actions because it is effective and efficient to gain ‘sanctions’, ‘approval’ and acceptance in any given community. Social norms impact on behaviour because it can be assumed that people act in line with their self-interest. It is thus, often argued that social norms are sustained “by the feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, guilt, and shame that a person suffers from”.<sup>11</sup>

- ◆ Seeks Community-level Change (Clearly articulates social change outcomes beyond just individual)
- ◆ Presents the Actual Behaviour Norm (When there is a discrepancy between the actual norm and what people think others expect of them)
- ◆ Emphasizes Creation of Positive New Norms
- ◆ Engages Wide Range of People at Multiple Levels (Ecological Model)
- ◆ Creates Safe Space for Critical Community Reflection
- ◆ Community-led: Roots the Issue within Community’s Own Values
- ◆ Based Upon Accurate Assessment of Social Norms
- ◆ Addresses Power Imbalance/ Inequality
- ◆ Organized Diffusion (Begins with a core group, who then engage others)

#### **Box 2: Parameters of Social Norms (Change) Interventions**

It is interesting to note that self-interest of individuals also leads to the emergence of social norms. Co-operation between groups of individuals is considered mutually favourable and social norms therefore, act as the representation of the aggregate preferences” of the given individuals’.<sup>12</sup> This very interaction between self-interested individuals who are seeking to achieve individual preferences and goals, consequents to the formation of social norms. The evolutionary perspective on social norm also indicates that norms are functional in nature and thus, impact behaviour. The key idea is that social norms go through the rigorous process of competition and selection. It is often argued that social norms are “selected” and thus the shaped human behaviour is highly situational and variable, dependent upon families, culture, and also, exposure to other norms.

Further, the social identity perspective states that the concept of one’s social identity helps to explain how expectations, narratives and societal rules become self-reinforcing and internalised. “The social identity perspective addresses the group as a basis of conformity and a motivating force for feelings of guilt and pressure. It also serves to clarify which “others” will impact on behaviour under certain conditions. Because the norms define who “we” are as a group, when people identify with the group, their behaviour will become more normative.”<sup>13</sup>

#### **1.4.1. Significance of Positive Norms in Behavioural Change Programs**

While it is important to explore the consequences of negative norms and resultant behaviours, social norms theory states that emphasis on the negative norm/behaviour can reinforce that behaviour by increasing its visibility and catapulting it to the community that the given negative norms and behaviours are widely accepted and practiced by the others. This has the potential to strengthen the very norms that need to be altered. Therefore, in order to change (negative) social norms influenced behaviour, it is necessary for policy makers and/or communities to explore the new positive norms that need to be strengthened and bring forth the positive behavioural practices that are (already) emerging in the communities.

<sup>10</sup><https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

<sup>11</sup><https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

<sup>12</sup><https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

<sup>13</sup><https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

This is in alignment with the principle of effective behaviour change communication that calls for focus on positive change. “It also links directly to two other attributes, which are essential to creating and maintaining positive norms: creating safe space for critical reflection; and rooting the issue within communities’ own value systems.”<sup>14</sup> During programming, it is important to understand that a trusted, credible source might vary according to the reference group (for example, source might be different for survivors than religious leaders). This does not however imply that the identified trusted source educates community members on what to do, but rather helps in the promotion of critical community reflection. Although not an inherent characteristic of all interventions for changing (negative) social norms, this is significant to develop effective community-based (negative) social norm change interventions.

#### **Norm Change Approach Vs. Community-Based Programming**

Not all community-based programming involving larger community participation qualify as social norms change interventions.

- ◆ Despite programs being targeted at large number of community members with high level of participation, they can still be creating impact only at the individual level. Individual-level programs lays focus on altering individual knowledge, attitudes and practices, but don’t generate effective reflection on community (negative) norms and values and collective actions to form new positive (social) norms. These programs are often in the form of training or workshop and engaged with the same individuals over time.
- ◆ Community-based programs involving community participation might achieve individual level change, or even behavioural change, but not essentially social norm change.
- ◆ Similarly, interventions designed to alter/replace (negative) social norms, might not essentially alter overall community behaviours. For example, Voices for Change, a non-state actor in Nigeria reported an increase in gender equitable attitudes and practices amongst boys/men in their intervention areas, however not any reduction in IPV (intimate partner violence).

**Box 3: Source: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University, 2017**

Influencing a larger community through small groups to promote behavioural change has had diverse applications such as, delivering health-related behaviour-change interventions; provide self-help and peer support for people with addictions and so on<sup>15</sup>. The applications of this method are wide-ranging, and existing literature explains how small groups work and how they can be used to promote individual change. As per Aleksandra J. Borek and Charles Abraham (2018), *the rationale given for adopting this method for social norm change includes its cost effectiveness as well as its effectiveness in that interaction in groups can generate psychological and behaviour change in ways that one-to-one or self-delivered interventions cannot*<sup>16</sup>. The same study states that individuals continually self-evaluate based on comparisons with others. Thus, such comparisons may be especially powerful when they involve members of a valued group to which they belong, thereby implying the power of small groups. Group behaviour, as opposed to individual behaviour, is characterized by distinctive features such as perceived similarity between group members, cohesiveness, the tendency to cooperate to achieve common goals, shared attitudes and beliefs and conformity to group norms. Once an individual self-categorizes as a member of a group, she will perceive herself as ‘depersonalized’ and similar to other group members in the stereotypical dimensions linked to the relevant social categorization. Insofar as group members perceive their interests and goals as identical—because such interests and goals are stereotypical attributes of the group—self stereotyping will induce a group member to embrace such interests and goals as her own, and act to further them. It is thus predicted that pro-social behaviour will be enhanced by group membership<sup>17</sup>. The power of small groups to effect behaviour change in turn is dependent on

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<sup>14</sup> [http://irh.org/wpcontent/uploads/Learning\\_Collaborative\\_Attributes\\_of\\_Normative\\_Change\\_Interventions.pdf](http://irh.org/wpcontent/uploads/Learning_Collaborative_Attributes_of_Normative_Change_Interventions.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/aphw.12120>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/social-norms/>

the development of the group itself, its membership and influence on individual members amongst other things<sup>18</sup>.

### 1.5. Conclusion

It is significant to understand when and how social norms impact behaviour and to achieve a pronounced consensus in the terminology. Public policymakers are well accustomed with the concept of social norms, reference groups and the consequent social influence. Despite this familiarity, there exists much confusion on what constitutes a “norm” and also, disagreement about the process through which social norms impact human behaviour. Until recently research on the concept of social “norm” has focused on norms being external to the individuals/ groups and the very idea their power lies in the dynamics of conformity, social (dis)approval, and peer pressure. One of the known examples of a kind of social norm change approach is the effort to decrease binge drinking across universities in the USA. Here, the defining attribute of a social norms change approach was to make visible the actual behaviour norm, i.e. to correct the misperception. However, not every social norm change is linked to pluralistic ignorance or misperception: there are multiple other attributes which are needed to define the approach of social norms (change).

Policymakers continues to struggle when it comes to creating visible changes in individual/ group’s behaviours, and consequently changes in the larger society. When policymakers rely on social science, the field offers inconsistent and fragmented and largely individualised “solutions” to their needs. In contrast, the social identity analysis offers “an integrated and parsimonious analysis of a single process through which change at both the level of the “individual” person and the level of society takes place. With psychological change that redefines who “we” are – our social selves – behaviour change also becomes possible.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/aphw.12120>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.governanceinstitute.edu.au/magma/media/upload/ckeditor/files/Problem%20of%20behaviour%20change%20.pdf>

This section elaborates on the methodology adopted for the ‘Social Norms Research on Gender-Based Differences, Discrimination and Sex-Trafficking’ in West Bengal and Jharkhand.

**2.1. Research Design**

The research design was finalised based on inputs received from Tdh, the thorough desk review undertaken and the scoping exercise conducted in West Bengal and Jharkhand. Given the scope of the study and the requirement for in-depth inquiry, it was decided that the research would be effectively completed through qualitative methodology of data collection. To fulfil the objectives of the research a qualitative and exploratory method of data collection was selected. The approach for the said research was participatory and non-threatening in nature. The method employed a critical gender and diversity lens ensuring inclusion of both men and women in the process of data collection. The participants of the study included girls/women and boys/men (only as none of them identified with any other gender). The diversity of participants of the study was reflected in participants belonging to different regions, diverse religious and caste communities; different age groups, diverse socio-economic backgrounds and occupations. The study did not come across survivors who belonged to the LGBTQ community or who were differently abled. The study has aimed to bring forth realities from the ground to help design the next steps of the project and interventions of Tdh Foundation in West Bengal and Jharkhand. The methodology included secondary as well as primary data collection methods, with the latter being the primary thrust for this research. The research tools used for the study have been listed here. The study framework and the detailed tools have been given in Annexure I and II respectively.

**Table 1: Research Design**

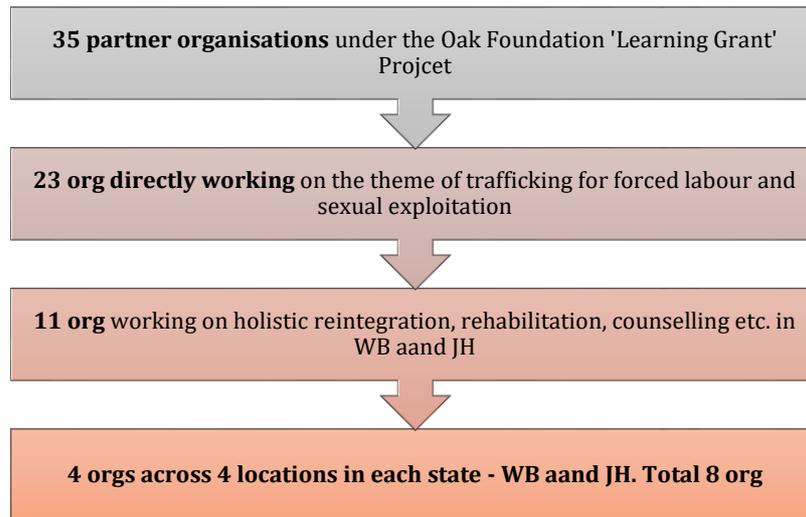
S. No	Methods of Data Collection	Objective
1.	<b>Secondary Data Collection</b>	
♦	Desk Review	Carried out to develop the background and context of the study. This included studies on social norms; human trafficking; gender discrimination etc. The desk review also included the review of project documents of Tdh Phase 1 of the ‘Learning Grant’ (2013-2016).
2.	<b>Primary Data Collection</b>	
♦	In Depth Interviews (IDIs) with the Survivors from all project locations of West Bengal and Jharkhand; and with Partner organisation staff	The objective was to gather qualitative information on survivor’s experiences, sentiments, opinions, values, etc. These were also applied in the context of this study while interviewing parents and family members of survivors.
♦	Key informants Interviews (KIIs) conducted with committee members, village level functionaries and service providers, Panchayat members, religious leaders and with social researchers/professors.	KIIs were conducted with the listed stakeholders to bring forth qualitative data and narratives on the social norms, stigma and gender based differences in the context of trafficking. Some of these stakeholders were ‘reference groups <sup>20</sup> ’ and KIIs with them yielded rich material on their perception, attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis survivors of trafficking.
♦	Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted with community members and various groups in the community like children groups, youth group and women’s group.	Discussions on sensitive topics like gender roles, gender norms, trafficking for labour and/or sexual exploitation were approached through FGDs. The study team followed the FGD guidelines shared by Tdh.
♦	Application of Vignettes methods -	It was used during IDIS and FGDs to measure social norms. It

<sup>20</sup> These reference groups were identified keeping in focus the survivor of trafficking and these were identified based on desk review and during the scoping exercise. The reference groups represented diverse socio-economic backgrounds, age groups, occupations, and caste & religious communities. The reference groups identified were from both genders; however the study did not come across persons with disabilities and those belonging to LGBTQ community.

survivors, their parents and family members, adolescent/ youth groups, NGO staff members, government officials	was tailored to each respondent to understand their specific perspectives on the issue of trafficking
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## 2.2. Sampling of Project Locations

Based on the scoping exercise and inception meetings with Tdh, the selection of partner organisations for the study was considered critical. ASK had shared an information template with Tdh on all 35 partner organisations to arrive at organisations with whom the study can be conducted. The parameters for sampling of organisations for the Social Norms Study have been depicted in Figure 1.



**Figure 1: Sampling of Organisations**

Thus, from a list of 11 sampled organisations from West Bengal and Jharkhand, 4 partner organisations were selected per state for the study based on further selection criteria like:

- Diversity of locations amongst the partner organisations who are working directly on reintegration of survivors of trafficking. For example, in the state of West Bengal, the final selection would include partners from multiple locations. It would be critical to conduct the study in different geographies as they have different demographics, externalities – all which would influence the social norms. Additionally, since social norms are context specific, the findings cannot be generalised. Thus, to capture the diversity emerging from these realities, the final selection was done according to the following:
  - Organisations which can demonstrate positive case studies of reintegration of survivors of trafficking
  - Willingness of the organisation to be part of this research study
  - Facilitating access to survivors and their families and community members; and
  - The overall cooperation that can be extended by each organisation for undertaking this study.

The study covered a total number of 8 partners NGOs across 8 districts in Jharkhand and West Bengal (Table 2).

**Table 2: Sampled Locations for Data collection**

State	Locations	Organisation	Area of work of the Organisation <sup>21</sup>
West Bengal	Kolkata	Sanlaap	Holistic reintegration
	North 24 Parganas	Barasat Unnayan Prostuti (BUP)	Holistic reintegration
	South 24 Parganas	Goranbose Gram Bikash Kendra (GGBK)	Holistic reintegration
	Murshidabad	Suprava Panchashila Mahila Uddyog Samity (SPMUS)	Holistic reintegration
Jharkhand	Ranchi	SAHIYA	Holistic reintegration
	Chatra	Lok Prerna Kendra	Holistic reintegration
	Gumla	Srijan	Holistic reintegration
	Pakur	Jan Lok Kalyan Parishad (JLKP)	Rehabilitation

### 2.2.1. Sampling of Respondents

The study was conducted in eight districts in the State of West Bengal and Jharkhand and based on the understanding of the study objectives, the following list of stakeholders (identified at 3 levels) were approached during primary data collection in Jharkhand and West Bengal.

- Government and civil society stakeholders whose policies and actions aim for reintegration
- Community members identified as influencers and reference groups
- The survivors and their families

A total number of 27 survivors in West Bengal and 18 in Jharkhand were interviewed during this study based on their availability and willingness to participate in the study. The survivors and their families were mobilised by respective partner organisations across the 8 locations. Table 3 provides a brief summary of other stakeholders met for the study.

**Table 3: List of Stakeholders met for the Study**

S. No.	Stakeholder	West Bengal	Jharkhand	Total
1.	Survivors of Trafficking	27	18	45
2.	Family members	10	3	13
3.	Partner Organisations - Staff - Social workers	3*	4*	8
4.	Shelter homes – - House mothers /father - Probation officer/In charge - Counsellors	3	4	7
5.	Govt. Officials at the district level for Child Protection - District Child Protection Officer - Social workers /out-reach workers - Officials at the Child Welfare Committee - District Social Welfare Officer - State level consultants	13	19	32
6.	Religious Leaders	4	4	8
7.	Village functionaries like teachers PRI members, ASHA, ANM, AWW,	7	9	16
8.	Community members like youth groups, mothers clubs,	10**	8**	18

\* This figure indicates the number of interactions which included FGD with multiple staff

\*\* This figures indicates the number of interactions which included FGD with groups ranging from 5 to 15 participants

Interviews were conducted ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents. The objective was to bring forth perspectives of the survivors on social norms, social sanctions and discrimination they have

<sup>21</sup> As per matrix shared by TdH

faced if any. A brief profile of survivors has been given in Table 4 and a comprehensive profile discussed in state chapters. The detailed list of all stakeholders covered during this study is attached in Annexure V.

**Table 4: Brief Profile of Survivors**

No.	State	Total survivors	Gender	Age group	Education	Religion
1.	West Bengal	27	Female=27	10-15 years: 3 16-18 years: 8 18 years Above: 16	Illiterate: 0 Primary school: 7 High school: 19 Higher secondary: 1	Hindu: 14 Muslim: 13
2.	Jharkhand	18	Female: 17 Male: 1 <sup>22</sup>	10-15 years: 8 16-18 years: 7 18 years above: 3	Illiterate: 2 Primary school: 5 High school: 10 Higher secondary: 1	Hindu: 7 Muslim: 0 Christian: 6 Other (Sarna): 5

### 2.3. Research Process

The study included inception meetings with Tdh, scoping exercise and data collection in West Bengal and Jharkhand. The study commenced in August 2019, with data collection concluding in October 2019.

#### 2.3.1. Desk review

The study commenced with a through literature review of secondary literature (references attached in Annexure IV) on the theme of human trafficking, social norms and measuring social norms. The detailed review of secondary literature helped formulate the Social Norms Study Framework (See Annexure I). The Study Framework was prepared in line with the objectives of the study detailing the scope of inquiry against each objective, the stakeholders to be met and study tools to be administered.

#### 2.3.2. Inception Meetings with Tdh

A Preliminary Meeting was held on 13<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 at ASK office with Kyra Marwaha (Country Representative, India) and Simrit Kaur (Child Protection Regional Advisor) from Tdh. The Draft Study Framework was shared during the meeting and Tdh team shared their inputs on the same. The inputs and the learnings from the discussion were incorporated in the study framework and were incorporated during the data collection and reporting as well. Another Inception Meeting was held in Tdh office in Kolkata on 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 wherein Tdh team members, Paulami De Sarkar (Programme Manager – Child Protection/Safeguarding Focal Point); Nairita Banerjee (Programme Manager – Child Protection) and Asif Rehan (Programme Manager– Child Protection) shared the details of the Oak Foundation’s Learning Grant Project under which this particular study is being conducted.

#### 2.3.3. Scoping Exercise

Prior to the data collection phase, the team members from ASK conducted a scoping exercise in both West Bengal and Jharkhand. The key objectives of the pilot testing exercise were twofold:

- i. Familiarization of the ASK team with the local geography, NGOs working with survivors of trafficking and identifying related stakeholders
- ii. Suitability assessment of draft study framework

Post the scoping exercise, ASK team, in consultation with Tdh India, finalized the **Inception Report** which detailed the research design, study framework, sampling framework and data collection tools. The Inception report was finalized in consultation with Tdh and feedback and comments were incorporated in the research design, and study tools. The finalized study tools have been given in Annexure II.

<sup>22</sup> Owing to the gendered nature of trafficking and the focus of most organizations on working with female survivors of trafficking, the study could interact with only 1 male survivor of trafficking (for labour) in Pakur district (Jharkhand).

### 2.3.4. Data Collection

Data Collection commenced in September and concluded in October 2019. The data collection schedule across the 8 districts and 2 states has been give here:

**Table 5: Data Collection Schedule**

Date	Location
<b>West Bengal</b>	
20 – 22 <sup>nd</sup> September	GGBK, South 24 Parganas
23 – 25 <sup>th</sup> September	BUP, North 24 Parganas
26-28 <sup>th</sup> September	Sanlaap, Kolkata
30 <sup>th</sup> September – 2 <sup>nd</sup> October	SPMUS, Murshidabad
<b>Jharkhand</b>	
14 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> October	SAHIYA and Diya Seva Sansthan, Ranchi
17 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> October	Srijan Foundation, Gumla
20 <sup>th</sup> -22 <sup>nd</sup> October	Lok Prerna Kendr, Chatra
23 <sup>rd</sup> -25 <sup>th</sup> October	Jan Lok Kalyan Parisad, Pakur

### 2.3.5. Data Collation and Analysis

The researchers took detailed notes of the in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. After the data collection, the research team prepared a matrix of key findings against study objectives which also informed the chapterisation plan. The notes were read by the research team for identification of themes and sub themes and key insights were collated based on the study framework to present the findings of qualitative research in a coherent and meaningful way. It was through this consensus building approach that social norms, religious norms in context to gender and human trafficking were compiled and analysed. Similarly, positive and harmful social norms were identified, reference group analysis prepared and recommendations were given for further implementation.

## 2.4. Challenges and Limitations of the Study

The limitations experienced by the ASK team during the research study are mentioned below:

1. Hesitance of survivors<sup>23</sup> to respond to the interview questions in the fear of disclosing personal information. This was overcome by assuring the respondent of confidentiality and privacy of information shared. Care was taken to ensure that the survivors had shared their consent and were apprised of the objectives of the study.
2. Challenge faced by survivors (age group 10-14 years) to fully comprehend the interview questions and respond accordingly. This was addressed by simplifying the questions and probes; engaging partner organization staff in the interaction to assist with the local dialect as well as context.
3. Unavailability of survivors during the study period owing to their residence in distant districts from the local NGOs, especially in Jharkhand. Wherever possible the study team directly visited the community locations to meet survivors (example in Pakur district). In some cases attempts were made by the partner organization to contact survivors telephonically, but owing to poor network and changes in contact numbers, contact was forged in only 1 case and the survivor was able to make the visit to the organization. Additionally, the study ensured extensive coverage of other stakeholders of the study.
4. Hesitance of community members to engage in group discussions fearing intrusion by external parties, especially in the Pahadiya community in Pakur, Jharkhand. The partner NGO staff helped facilitate community interaction by engaging the community leaders of the Pahadiya community in dialogue. The intent and purpose of the visit was clarified and the community assured of no harm, confidentiality and privacy.

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<sup>23</sup> There is no data on the number of survivors contacted and how many of those refused to participate in the study.

## 2.5. Ethical Protocol and Quality Assurance

To ensure quality during the overall process the following steps were taken:

**1. Adhered to Tdh's Child Safeguarding Policy protocols for respondents under 18 years of age:**

The study was conducted in strict accordance with Tdh's Child Safeguarding Policy, which specifies the conditions to be ensured while interviewing children. The study followed the following principles:

- Treated all children with respect and equality, regardless of their age, sex, language, religion, opinion or nationality, ethnic or social origin, status, class, caste, sexual orientation, or any other personal characteristics.
- Usage of non-violent and positive behaviour methods when interacting with children.
- Planned all activities and interviews/ discussions in a way to minimise the risk of harm, taking into account the age and development of the child.
- Ensured that information concerning children, families and communities remains confidential.
- Behaved in a culturally appropriate manner (avoid smoking, showing disrespect towards colleagues, etc.).
- Obtained verbal permission from the child/ their parents/ NGO staff/ CCI staff before the interviews and discussions.

**2. Ensured that all the universally accepted principles of research adhered to:** Respect for the confidentiality of identity of respondents, respect for their right to refuse an interview, or/and end the conversation at any stage<sup>24</sup> or refuse to share a particular detail, respect for privacy and personal dignity of respondents, etc. were duly observed. Not only during the data collection but also while processing the data, these ethical principles were adhered by. The names and case studies mentioned in the report have been changed to protect identify of the survivors.

**3. Respondent's consent sought while conducting the assessment.** Voluntary verbal consent was sought after expressly stating the purpose of conducting the survey before starting the interview with the respondents.

**4. Ethical considerations of caste, gender and age** – Care was taken to ensure that intrusive questions or behaviour with respect to age, gender or caste would be appropriately stated.

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<sup>24</sup> Referrals were not made as that was not discussed with TdH in the scope of the study. Additionally the Organisation had facilitated mobilisation of the survivors and the interviews were conducted within organisational premises. Thus, org staff was present if required.

3.1. West Bengal: An Overview

West Bengal is the fourth most populous state in India with a population size of 9.13 crores as per the 2011 Census; borders 5 other states of India and shares international boundaries with 3 countries. In the west it is surrounded by Bihar and Jharkhand, while Odisha lies in the southern side and Sikkim in the north. Bangladesh and Nepal are the immediate international boundaries on the east and west respectively. Bhutan lies in the north-east. The state's geographical location - which comprises sharing multiple international borders which are often porous and difficult to police, and plays a key role in higher rates of trafficking. In West Bengal, 20% of the population falls below the poverty line (BPL) which is close to the national rate of 21.9 %<sup>25</sup>. Poverty, lack of sustainable livelihood options, and high rates of unemployment are all well-documented push factors that contribute to human trafficking in and from West Bengal. West Bengal, owing to its location and other socio-economic factors is thus a source, transit and destination for human trafficking. Shakti Vahini, a pan-India anti-trafficking organisation records that out of every ten girls rescued from brothels and red light areas across the country, seven are from West Bengal's South and North 24 Parganas districts.<sup>26</sup> Data suggests that the maximum proportion of trafficked individuals in West Bengal account for being involved in sexual exploitation, and for the other forms of sexual exploitation<sup>27</sup>. The National Crime Record Bureau of India (NCRB) under the Ministry of Home Affairs collates data about the situation of Human Trafficking in India. The latest data on human trafficking from West Bengal collated by NCRB has been given in Annexure IV. According Shakti Vahini, a pan-India anti-trafficking NGO, estimates that out of every ten women rescued from brothels and red light regions throughout the nation, seven are from the 24 Parganas districts of North and South Bengal<sup>28</sup>. As stated earlier, West Bengal acts as both source and a demand driven state - for example, as of its destination nature, Sonagachi in Kolkata, the red light area and also the largest in Asia, records of over 9,000 girls who have been trafficked from within West Bengal, Nepal and Bangladesh and Bhutan. The major destinations for trafficked individuals from and through West Bengal are the major metropolitan cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Bangalore and Hyderabad.

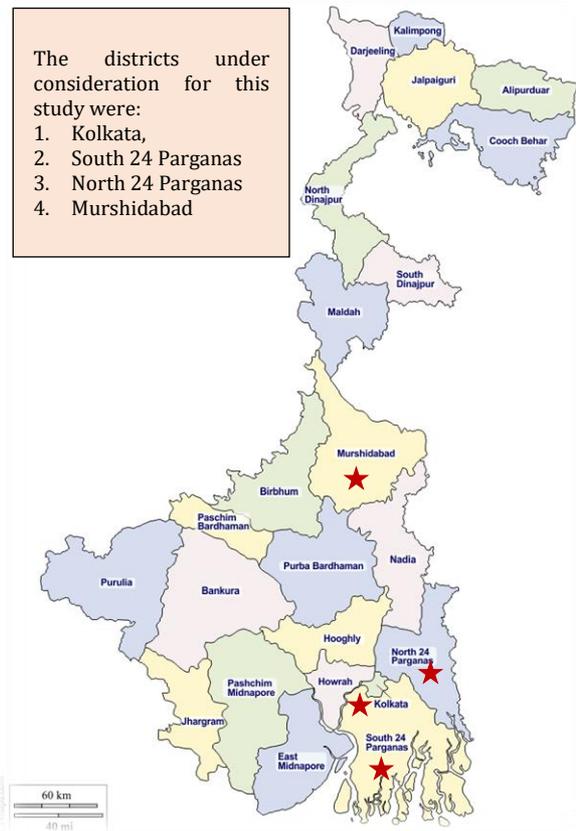


Figure 2: District-wise Map of West Bengal

In India, trafficking is primarily an offence under the Indian Penal Code, 1860. It defines trafficking as (i) recruitment, (ii) transportation, (iii) harbouring, (iv) transfer, or (v) receipt of a person for exploitation by use of

<sup>25</sup> Press note on poverty estimates, 2011-12, Planning Commission Government of India website [http://planningcommission.nic.in/news/pre\\_pov2307.pdf](http://planningcommission.nic.in/news/pre_pov2307.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/news/12400-bengal-new-epicentre-human-trafficking>

<sup>27</sup> other forms of sexual exploitation is as defined under NCRB. This category has not been clearly defined in the annual Crime Data reports published by NCRB.

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/news/12400-bengal-new-epicentre-human-trafficking>

certain forceful means.

In addition, there are also other laws which regulate trafficking for specific purposes. For instance, the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1986 deals with trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Similarly, the Bonded Labour Regulation Act, 1986 and Child Labour Regulation Act, 1986 deal with exploitation for bonded labour. Each of these laws operates independently, have their own enforcement machinery and prescribe penalties for offences related to trafficking.

#### Box 4: Trafficking of persons, as defined in India

### 3.2. Demographic Profile of Survivors

The total number of survivors interviewed in West Bengal was 27. Owing to the gendered nature of trafficking for sex work all the interviewed survivors in the study locations were female. The socio-economic and educational profiles of survivors interviewed in West Bengal have been given in the Table 5. The majority of the survivors had studied in high school (i.e. between Grade V to X) and none of the survivors were found to be illiterate. While many survivors were unable to state their caste, it was found that of those who knew their caste status, the maximum belonged to the Other Backward Castes (OBC) communities. With regard to family profile, most of the survivors in West Bengal belonged to nuclear families comprising of four to six members which included father, mother and elder/ younger siblings (boys and girls). Fathers of survivors had completed schooling till standard 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup>. Some of the survivors were married and stayed with their husband and had children as well. Mothers of survivors were either functionally literate or illiterate. Reasons of drop-out for fathers were due to financial instability and early engagement in paid work to augment to family income. A few mothers were drop-outs post standard 4<sup>th</sup>. Reasons of drop-outs for mothers were reported to be early marriage and lack of financial resources.

Table 6: Profile of Survivors: West Bengal

West Bengal (n=27)				
<p><b>Gender</b> Female: 27 Male : 0</p> <p><b>Age Group</b> 10-15 years: 3 16-18 years: 8 18 years above: 16</p>	<p><b>Caste Group</b> General : 3 SC: 4 ST: 0 OBC: 13 Don't know: 7</p> <p><b>Religious Group</b> Hindu: 14 Muslim:13 Christian: 0 Other: 0</p>	<p><b>Education</b> Illiterate: 0 Primary school: 7 High school: 19 Higher secondary:1 Graduation: 0</p>	<p><b>Livelihood of the HH</b> Agriculture: 3 Daily wage labour: 5 Self-employed: 8 Other: 10 Don't know: 1</p> <p><b>Monthly HH Income (in INR)</b> Below 5,000: 10 5-8,000: 7 8-11,000: 1 Above 11,000: 0 Don't know: 9</p>	<p><b>Marital Status of survivors</b> Married: 6 Single: 18 Separated: 1 Divorced: 2</p> <p><b>Survivors who have children</b> No children: 20 1-2 children: 7</p> <p><b>Residence with/at/by</b> Oneself: 2 Shelter home: 7 Husband: 6 Parents: 12</p>

The economic profile of the survivors, mentioning their main source of income for the household has been mentioned here. Of the 27 survivors interviewed, 22 were not engaged in any economic activity and mostly were staying with their families (parents or husband). Only 2 survivors were staying by themselves and were employed to sustain themselves; while 7 of the survivor's interviewed were currently residing in shelter homes. Survivors, who were in shelter homes during the course of the study, were undergoing some form of art/dance lessons together-with vocational skills such as block printing and stitching.

The income range and BPL status of survivors and their families depict that they belong to a weaker economic category. The approximate monthly income was recorded to be less 8,000 INR for an average family of 4-6 members. Fathers/ husbands of respondents were self-employed as *paan*-shop owners,

auto drivers, or worked in fisheries, as street food sellers in and around the communities and/or skilled labourers (such as masons), agricultural labourers and daily wage labourers in the respective villages. It was seen in most cases that the females of the household including the mother of the survivors, sisters and the survivors themselves were not employed.

### 3.3. Context of Trafficking in West Bengal

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used..”

International law provides a different definition for trafficking in children. Trafficking of a child will exist if the child was subjected to some act, such as recruitment or transport, the purpose of which is the exploitation of that child.

#### Box 5: Definition of Trafficking in persons as per the Palermo Protocol, 2000<sup>29</sup>

As per the definition given in Box 5, the three key elements that must be present for a situation of trafficking in persons (adults) are: (i) Means (bribe, threat etc.) (ii) Actions (recruitment) (iii) Purpose (exploitation- physical/ sexual).<sup>30</sup> For trafficking in children (i.e. persons below 18 years of age), the “means” element is not required in this case. It is necessary to show only: (i) an “action” such as recruitment, buying and selling; and (ii) that this action was for the specific purpose of exploitation<sup>31</sup>. In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with survivors and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with government officials and NGO staffs revealed that most of trafficking survivors for sex work in the study locations are girls. Additionally, all the survivors interviewed for the study were also females who were trafficked for sex work. There is negligible trafficking of boys either for sex work or labour- boys usually *migrate* for seasonal employment to states like Delhi, Karnataka, Telangana, and Maharashtra, as shared by government officials. When they migrate for work - the boys are employed as *Rajmistris* (masons), auto pullers or private car drivers and construction site workers in these states. In case of trafficking, a government official from South 24 Parganas shared that there have been recent cases wherein boys below 18 years of age have been trafficked for labour in jewellery-polishing industry in Tamil Nadu. However the overwhelming majority for trafficking from West Bengal continues to be girls and women who are engaged for sex work.

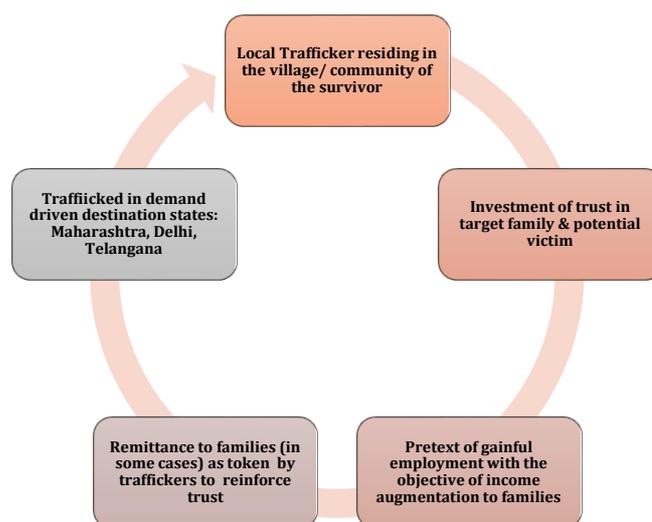
Findings from the study revealed that the traffickers are mostly located within the community of the potential victims. “*The traffickers are local people whom the community members have trust upon and in some cases, they are also relatives (dada, Kaka, Kaki, Pishi, Mashi) of the survivors families*” – a government official, Murshidabad. Even in cases where the trafficker is not a community member, they spend time in building a relationship with the local community or with their ‘targets’. In some cases, they pose as prospective grooms and promise matrimony with the daughter of the house; in cases where they are offering employment, they would give money to the girl’s parents (after trafficking her) for up to 3 months to continue the trust in the relationship. In these situations, trust becomes a significant component in the trafficking of girls: trust caters the process of trafficking easier and convenient for the trafficker. “*I went with her because she was our neighbour who used to be in good terms with our family*”- Survivor, Murshidabad. In case of a survivor from South 24 Parganas, she trusted the man she was in a relationship with for many years, who then trafficked her after traveling together to Mumbai. Families of

<sup>29</sup> [https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FS36\\_en.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FS36_en.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

girls (survivors) often do not pose enquiry and investigation into the information about the job and intentions of suitors as they are often known persons. Under the pretext of high paying private jobs in private companies, shops, and banks in the destination states of Delhi and Mumbai, the girls are tricked by the trafficker. According to parents of survivors (from South 24 Parganas) they were not aware that the person taking their child was a trafficker or of the subsequent consequences. They believe that the girl will be gainfully employed and contribute to the household financially. The community perception in these cases is either that the *'parents knowingly sent their daughter to earn.'* Trafficking also takes place through the promise of love and allurements of a better life standard post marriage. The victimization process begins by deploying false hopes, and in most cases, the hope and aspiration to escape poverty is used as powerful bait by the traffickers. *"I ran away from home because my mother refused to give me 100 rupees for mobile phone recharge. And then, I met a local known person who said would employ me in work in Delhi- so I went with him"*- Survivor. *"Girls are also trafficked in the pretext of marriage in two ways: (i) Traffickers often marry the girls within the village in support of the girls' families after which they traffic/sell them (ii) Traffickers offer the proposal of a marriage to survivor's families to which families readily agree to: wherein survivors are trafficked"*- government official, Murshidabad. Traffickers specifically target the most vulnerable families<sup>32</sup> – these families typically share these characteristics – economically weaker families who fall into living BPL category; families with daughters; daughters who are not enrolled in school and/or not employed. All of the 27 survivors interviewed for the study displayed these characteristics. In terms of economic benefits, NGO staff from the 4 districts shared that traffickers varied and could earn between 10- 40,000 INR per person.



**Figure 3: Trust Circle**

It can be seen that 'trust' often reiterates both empirical and normative expectations within the communities and the girls themselves: for example, when family X sends their girls with the local person (the trafficker) for 'gainful employment' without enquiring into the nature of work, location, payment/wages etc. - this consequently, influences other families and girls (from within the community) to do the same. This coupled with the aspirations of girls themselves to earn and provide for self and the family becomes an established norm in the community which further propels girls to seek work outside the village. *"Girls get easily convinced with the hope to be in a better place with better amenities- food, clothes, and accommodation. Here in the villages, out of poverty, families fail to provide even these basic amenities: let alone be continuation of education after class 8"* – NGO staff. Income generating opportunities available locally are limited to agriculture and labour in the regions considered under the study. According to

<sup>32</sup> The study was largely qualitative in nature and collected data points only of those survivors interviewed (represented in Table 6). There was no village level mapping done to identify and collate numbers of vulnerable families.

interaction with young boys from North 24 Parganas, they believe that girls trust easily when a 'good looking' boy makes promises of better life chances. They further added that girls are 'softer', 'naïve', 'do not ask many questions' and thus tend to trust faster. Thus, the boys associated the incidence of trafficking with girls being attracted to physical appearance of the trafficker and 'inherent' traits of girls.

A similar trust circle would be relevant even for Jharkhand, wherein the traffickers are often known individuals to the family or the victim. The context of poor education; poverty; lack of employment opportunities; the societal setup of women taking the lead in running households and higher social mobility for girls (and boys) make young girls vulnerable to being trafficked for labour work in cities such as Delhi and Mumbai. Often a relative offers help by linking the young girl to employment opportunities in cities, and this ends with the girl being trafficked by subsequent persons in the chain. In some cases, even the relatives might be unaware of the consequences of his/her actions. Since migration for work is a regular practice amongst the communities in Jharkhand, young people leaving the village in search for work outside are not considered an aberration. This further enhances the risks of young girls and boys falling into the trap of being trafficked for labour work. Apart from 'push' factors; 'pull' factors are also functional in the context of Jharkhand wherein young people aspire for better lives and material wellbeing. These findings from Jharkhand have been further discussed in Chapter 4 of this report.

### 3.4. Role of Social Norms in Reintegration of Survivors

#### 3.4.1. Brief overview of process after rescue of survivors of trafficking

For most of the trafficking survivors interviewed during this study, rescue from the destination states occurred through the local NGOs working on rescue and reintegration in collaboration with Child Line and the police. *"She (survivor) was transported to the local railway station here (source state), she then called her father, who then informed us. We went to the railway station with local PS representatives and Child Line members for the rescue"*- NGO staff. Post rescue, survivors under 18 years age group are placed in Shelter Homes/ Child Care Institutes (CCIs) operated by the government or by local NGOs in the destination location. From these Shelter Homes, information is provided to appropriate source-level intuitions including Child Welfare Committee (CWC), police and NGOs who undertake home address verification (also called as the Home Investigation Report). The survivors are then transferred to the source level CCI where they undergo counselling and are either enrolled in a school or undergo vocational training etc. Based on recommendations of the source-level CWC and the situation of the family, the survivor is reintegrated in the family with regular follow-ups as mandated by the CWC. IDIs with survivors revealed the structured stigma and in some cases violence as faced by them right from the rescue stage to the reintegration stage. During the rescue and rehabilitation stage they experience stigma from duty-bearers like police, shelter home staff and even CWC members in some cases (See Table 8 for details). At home and in the community, survivors have faced physical violence, isolation, stigma, shame and guilt, perpetuated by family members and neighbours. These experiences are discussed in the section on social norms. This experience of stigma coupled with inadequate institutional support (See Table 8 for details), limited alternative livelihood opportunities, lack of a strong social support system at the community level, isolates survivors creating challenges in successful reintegration. The social norms operating at the community level which pose several challenges for reintegration have been discussed in forthcoming sections (Sections 3.4.2 and 3.3.4).

#### 3.4.2. Most prevalent Social Norms that act as barriers to reintegration

The most prevalent social norms, which act as barriers to reintegration of survivors of trafficking, as witnessed in context of West Bengal, have been discussed here.

##### ◆ *Notion of Bhalo Mey (good girl)/ Kharap Mey (bad girl):*

The overarching norm resulting out of patriarchal societal set-up is based on the notion of 'Bhalo Mey' and 'Kharap Mey' in West Bengal. In a patriarchal society, family honour is placed in the daughter's purity

and chastity; and honour relating to a girl mirrors the characters of the entire family and shapes its relationship with the community. In this context, reintegration of survivors becomes a huge challenge. The parameters of a *Bhalo Mey*/ Good Girl are based on social attitudes and practices prevalent in the study locations (given in the Box 6). *“The girls who follow the prescribed norms are good girls: they are loved by the community and get a good groom for marriage”*- Women’s group in North 24 Parganas. These indicators were collated and derived based on the various interactions with men’s groups, women’s groups, adolescent boys and girls.

**Social indicators of a *Bhalo Mey*/ Good Girl**

- ◆ Listens to parents and respects elders
- ◆ Is quite and does not talk to strangers and stays at home
- ◆ Does not spend any night outside home
- ◆ Restricted or no interaction with male community members, including male peer group
- ◆ Goes to school and returns home and does not loiter about
- ◆ Is engaged in household chores and tasks of cooking, cleaning etc.
- ◆ Does not engage in paid employment outside the village
- ◆ Is married after reaching the appropriate age of 18 years
- ◆ Is a Home maker- Takes care of husband and in-laws
- ◆ Understands the notion of purity and pollution by not engaging in sexual acts before and outside of marriage and does not express any sexual desires

**Box 6: Social Indicators of a 'Good Girl'**

There is a distinction between good girls who deserve protection and bad girls (survivors) who forfeited their right to protection against abuses by violating the social codes of conduct (engaging in sex work) and thus, being impure by the community members, family (in some cases), neighbours, relatives and local PRI members. *“Once a survivor is rescued, she has to be told what she did was wrong. She should not have gone: she should have shouted when she was being taken by the trafficker”*- PRI member. Interesting to note, is that the focus is on the survivor and not the trafficker, which results in another norm of ‘victim-blaming’ discussed ahead. The survivor has to be ‘remedied’ of the situation by offering advice, help etc. in order to avoid a similar situation thereby implying that the situation was brought on by the concerned girl out of choice. There is very little focus (by parents and community members) on the trafficker and his/her actions. A survivor of trafficking is considered ‘*kharap*’ or bad girl as she has seemingly flouted these indicators of a ‘*bhalo mey*’/good girl as she has – stepped out of the village; has engaged in sexual intercourse with multiple men; is impure and thus unfit for marriage. Survivors’ interviews demonstrated that the strong prevalence and acceptance of this norm by the larger community results in stigma against them (survivors). It is important to note that here community largely includes female relatives, neighbours and the larger village community.

*“Community says we are the bad girls now. We have engaged in bad activities: went out to work outside village. They try and insult us in every opportunity they get: calling names and taunts”*- Survivors group, North 24 Parganas. Survivors in South 24 Parganas have mentioned that owing to their connoted ‘impure’ status by the community members, they were discriminated in fetching water from the common water tap in the communities. *“I was barred from fetching water from the kol/ tap. They (neighbours) said if I touched the tap, it will be impure and they will not be able to collect water from the same”*- Survivor, South 24 Parganas. The notion of impurity stems from the accepted norm that girls are not supposed to engage in sexual activity prior to marriage as virginity is considered an important trait for girls wanting to get married. The notion of purity and pollution is also seen to be associated with not just the survivor but the immediate family as well. In case of a survivor from South 24 Parganas, her elder sister is unable to get married as community associates transference of impure status. The survivor stated that the neighbours state if *“one girl from the family has engaged in sex-work, all girls must be following the same”* and thus they are claimed to not worthy of getting married to. The notion of ‘*Bhalo Mey*’ and ‘*Kharap Mey*’ is

internalised even by families of survivors in some cases and the survivors themselves resulting in self-stigma. These together contribute in restricted mobility of the survivor, restricted access to social spaces, often has to face ridicule and in rare cases violence – resulting in unsuccessful reintegration in the family and community.

*Jharkhand<sup>33</sup>: In case of survivors of trafficking in Jharkhand, this notion of ‘good girl’ and ‘bad girl’ is not evident, especially in the tribal communities. Nevertheless, there are different normative and empirical expectations of girls and boys. These expectations of girls comprise – taking care of the family, being responsible, attending school, engaging in all household chores, getting married at an appropriate age etc. The normative and empirical expectations reinforce each other. Add to this the conditions of poverty, which lead to girls seeking work outside the village to earn in order to support the family. This increases their vulnerability to trafficking. A survivor, thus, on return faces lower stigma, especially in cases where the family has encouraged the girl to work and earn money for the family.*

◆ **Division of labour- men as bread-earners and women as home-makers**

Discussions with women’s groups, IDIs with survivors and KIIs with government officials brought forth that there is a clear division of labour between the two sexes with majority of women in the study locations being home makers. Women were seen to be engaged as domestic help within the community with a monthly income varying from 3000- 5000 INR. On the other hand, the men in the family were engaged as daily wage labourers; as agricultural labourers; were running small businesses (like *paan* shop, grocery stores etc.). The daily income earned through daily wage ranges from 200-300 INR per day and those in self-employment earning between INR 5,000 to 10,000 per month.

Therefore, engagement of women in employment activities outside the village is considered a deviation from the descriptive and injunctive norms of the larger society. “Girls can go to work only within the communities. Men have to support families- so they will need money. For money they will go to work” - Men’s group in North 24 Parganas. There are two beliefs at work here which precludes participation of girls and women in economic activity – one, the norms that men are bread earners and providers of the family while girls and women are nurturers and home makers providing for family; and the second belief that (post-pubescent) young girls stepping out for employment might lead to sexual exploitation and/or wilful engagement in sexual activities by the girl - which would render her impure for marriage. As has been depicted in Box 7, the injunctive and descriptive norms on mobility and employment of women both reinforce each other. This results in the norm of ‘women being home-makers and not engaged in economic activity outside the village’ having strong hold over the community. Consequently, any girl ( as seen in case of survivors of trafficking) owing to their engagement in employment outside the village, are relegated to the category of ‘*kharap mey*/ bad girl.’ The family of the survivor is also blamed for allowing the girl to have stepped out of the village and being engaged in such work.

	<b>Descriptive norm</b>	<b>Injunctive norm</b>
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	Girls from community do not step out except for schooling. Married women are engaged in economic activity – albeit within the village or at home	Girls should not step out as something bad happens to her. (this gets validated for community when a girl gets trafficked – community says she deserved it – ‘negative sanction’)
	Both norms reinforce each other leading to restricted mobility of girls and women	

**Box 7: Norms on mobility and employment**

*Jharkhand: Juxtaposing this division of labour in West Bengal against the findings in Jharkhand, it brings forth that in tribal communities in Jharkhand, it is the women that play the role of ‘bread-winners’ in the family. The women are engaged in agriculture, collecting forest produce, daily wage labour as means of earning a livelihood in addition to the household chores. Women are thus reference points for girls who*

<sup>33</sup> Jharkhand findings are mentioned here briefly and discussed in detail in Chapter 4

*mirror this responsibility – and seek work outside the village to support the family. Women and men in the family are cognizant of the circumstances under which the girl gets trafficked (and sometimes even partake in it indirectly by sending the girl to work in the city with a relative/acquaintance), thereby resulting in lower or even no stigma being perpetrated.*

◆ **Boy-preference in community and lower social positioning of girls**

The social positioning of girls is lower compared to boys who are seen to have more preferences and privileges. The preference for boys is very deeply ingrained in the gender norms and patriarchal societal set up. Lower value attached to a girl child within the family gets manifested as low social positioning of girl is in all aspects of life, within the community. This further reinforces the vulnerability before being trafficked and also after returning as survivors, leading to their continued marginalisation.

The denial of the right to choices (education, clothes and lifestyle, partner for marriage, employment) and having no access to decision making at the household levels (together-with inherent gender discrimination) have positioned girls at the lower rungs of the social ladder across the study locations. According to a PRI member from South 24 Parganas, families give preference to boys on all counts ranging from education, work, preference of partner etc. Additionally he stated that even though boys might make mistakes, they do not face social sanctions as they are not bound by many rules. This was reiterated during FGD with a women's group who stated, *"Boys can choose whoever they want to marry, but it is different for girls. They cannot make their own choices: their parents should take the responsibility of choosing a groom"*. It thus, becomes convenient for opportunist traffickers to further exploit these already marginalised girls by luring them with materialistic desires. With survivors of trafficking there is double discrimination owing to the structural position of girls in society and also as girls who have not followed the prescribed social norms.

*Jharkhand: While there is lower discrimination between girls and boys amongst tribal communities, there are different role expectations from both girls and boys which make the former more vulnerable to trafficking. Additionally since boys inherit the land and homestead, the normative expectations of boys resulting from this is that they will not work as hard. Additionally the reference group for them being the men in the family and other boys in the community who are characterised by alcohol abuse and migrating seasonally for work. Thus lack of inheritance rights, the normative and empirical expectations to take care of family being placed with the girl, makes the girls in Jharkhand more responsible; albeit also more vulnerable to trafficking.*

◆ **Girls representing family honour**

Interactions with survivors' family members as well as community members through KIIs and FGDs indicated that girls are perceived to represent the honour of her family. *"Any family bestows its honour in its daughters. If she does not value that and engages in anything unacceptable to the society, it is sheer bad luck"*- Father of a Survivor. Adolescent boys in North 24 Parganas also stated that the family's honour is placed in the girl as any mishap (mishap implies sexual exploitation, elopement, pregnancy etc.) with the girl is associated with the respect allocated to the family. The adolescent boys further stated that protection of girls is protecting family honour. Protection of family honour results in restricted mobility for girls – specifically post-pubescent and unmarried girls. *"Our parents do not let us go out in the evenings. This is because of the behaviour of men/ boys in the village: they stare and pass comments. Once a boy took hold of my hand forcefully but I fled"* - Adolescent girl, North 24 Parganas. Thus the notion of family honour fosters normative attitudes and behaviours which compel the girls to act in socially desirable/ acceptable ways. Any deviation from the same leads to stigmatization of the girl as well as her family.

Further, KIIs and FGDs with survivor's families and community members respectively, indicated that "what is socially acceptable" weighs more in importance than "what is right or wrong". Thus social norms have more weightage than personal morals. In case of survivors of trafficking, they are considered to have violated the family honour - *"I used to roam with my head held high before; after my wife got trafficked and*

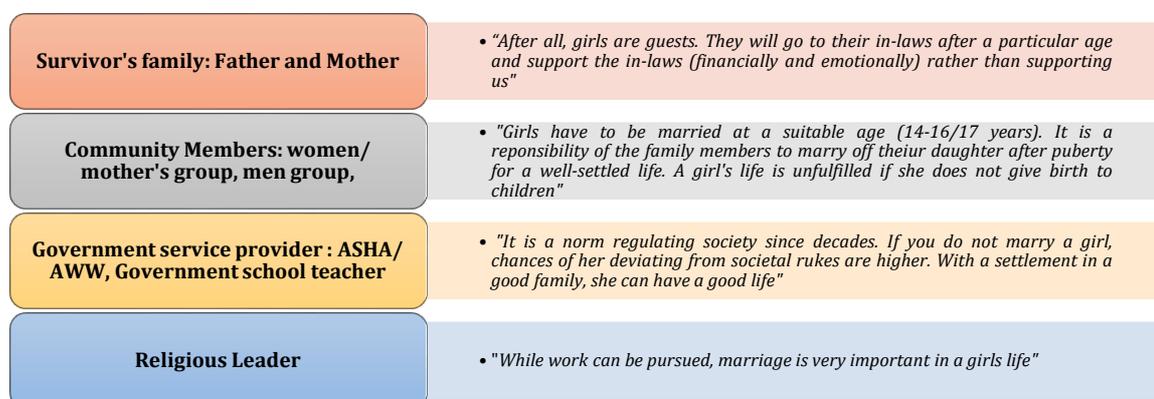
was rescued, my head was hung in shame. Although it might not be her fault, I cannot meet anybody's eye now in my community.”- Survivor’s husband. Families of survivors indicated that if their social status within the community including the respect of the family members is in threat, then the concerned families shall adhere to the socially sanctioned punishments for the survivor. This would be done by forceful alienation of survivor from participation in community events- *melas/ fairs*; restriction in mobility by confining the survivors within home, limited interaction with peer groups and other community members etc. Thus community’s injunctive norms result in family adopting these as descriptive norms vis-à-vis the survivor (as seen in Box 8).

	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	Fear of ridicule from community and intention to protect survivor family restrict mobility of the survivor.	The family of survivor should not allow girl to interact with others as ‘one bad apple’ might spoil another bad apple.’ There is chance of the girl wanting to escape again and hence her mobility should be restricted.
	Both norms reinforce each other leading to restricted mobility of survivors thereby precluding them from mainstream participation	

**Box 8: Norms related to Family Honour**

*Jharkhand: The notion of family honour was more evident in Hindu communities in Jharkhand as opposed to tribal communities. The ‘honour’ in this case is similar to what was seen in West Bengal, where a girl is said to bring dishonour to the family if she elopes, falls in love (outside one’s religion/caste), gets trafficked. All efforts thus were to be made that such dishonour is not caste on the family – thus restricting mobility, emergence of vigilante groups which monitor cases of elopement was seen in Jharkhand.*

◆ **Early marriage of girls**



**Figure 4: Perceptions on Marriage**

Girls are seen as a ‘poor investment’ as they will be leaving the family upon marriage. Survivors, community members including women and even PRI members, and religious leaders shared that girls are perceived as ‘guests’ in the maternal home and they have to be ‘sent-off’ post marriage. To ensure better prospects for marriage the maternal family has to protect the girl from harm’s way (i.e. sexual exploitation, molestation, elopement and pregnancy etc.). There are opportunity costs with this protection vis-à-vis limited/restricted education, mobility, employment, interaction with peers and exercising choices. As age increases chances of marriage are seen to be difficult and dowry (prevalent but hidden) increases; therefore early marriage is considered necessary. Families often tend to marry the girls with prospective grooms either within the caste and religious group. As indicated through discussions, girls often get married at the age of 14-16 years, while some (especially in Muslim communities) are married at the age of 12-13 years. While the legal age of 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys is known to all, the community context results in early marriage of girls. Depicted in Box 9 are the legal and social norms on marriage, with the latter being reinforced by existing gender norms.

	<b>Descriptive norm</b>	<b>Injunctive norm</b>
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	Parents are aware of this legal norm but engage in early marriage in lieu of protection/safety of the girl child post puberty.	In case of marriage, people in the community, adolescent girls and boys, religious leaders are influenced by the legal norm of law-determined age of marriage being 18 for girls and 21 for boys.
	Here the injunctive norm does not reinforce the descriptive norm and thus the former is weak. The descriptive norm translated into practice of early marriage is influenced by other gender norms (of honour and purity) prevalent in society.	

**Box 9: Norms on marriage**

As seen, marriage is considered an important life stage for girls – as shared by multiple stakeholders. In this context when a girl is trafficked for sex work, the chances of her getting marriage prospects is limited since trafficking represents loss of virginity; multiple sexual partners. The community attaches the incident to individual character and hence the girl is considered to being ‘spoilt’ and being unsuitable for marriage. Considering the chances of a survivor to getting married decreases and the prevalence of the normative expectation of girls to be married, survivors of trafficking are further stigmatised as being a liability on the family.

In Murshidabad, the FGD with the organisation’s staff revealed that marriage of survivors of trafficking is seen to be more difficult amongst girls belonging to Hindu religion as opposed to Islam. The notions of purity and pollution are stronger in the former religion according to them. Amongst Muslims, the survivors of trafficking will get married (as multiple marriages are allowed in the religion) albeit the situation of the groom would not have been considered suitable under circumstances where the girl was not trafficked, for example, the age of the groom might be higher; he might have a physical disability etc.

*Jharkhand: The norms on sexuality and marriage amongst tribal and Hindu communities in Jharkhand were distinct. The Hindu community reflected similar findings as seen in West Bengal where mobility of girls, virginity, expression of their sexuality, choice of marriage partner etc. – is restricted and determined by the family (which in turn draws its norms from the caste, patriarchal structure). Any non-compliance is considered as taboo and dishonour. Thus for survivors belonging to Hindu communities, the stigma is higher.*

*Amongst tribal communities in Jharkhand, existence of traditions likes ‘dhukku pratha’ (where the girl lives with the family of the boy before marriage) implies higher choice for females to choose their partner, and acceptance of pre-marital sex. Thus for girls, higher mobility, freedom of choice thus precludes any stigma that might result from exercising these choices.*

◆ **Victim-blaming**

All 27 survivors interviewed stated that either overtly or covertly the community as well as government officials engage in victim blaming. The survivors shared that the community engages in stigma, labelling and name-calling because they believe that the girls engaged in prostitution out of free will to earn more money. As a consequence of this, survivors face a situation of the ‘male-gaze’ and are covertly or overtly propositioned to engage with them sexually. According to one survivor in North 24 Parganas, the boys and men in the community have approached her and made suggestive remarks. According to her, the men behave like this because they feel that ‘she will be ready to go along with them.’ Another survivor from Murshidabad stated that she initially she had to face teasing at the hands of young boys who would pass innuendos at her and make remarks like “if you can go with customers, why not have spent some time with us?” These incidents point towards implicit belief amongst the young boys and men that the survivors had been trafficked at their own will and that they would be willing to engage in a similar kind of association with them. Through the IDIs the survivors shared that even government officials and shelter home staff indulge in victim blaming. “Kapde utarne ka kaam karte hain, accha lagta hain” (They like the work which they do which involves ‘removing clothes’ -implied sex-work)– as commented by a CCI staff and shared by a survivor from North 24 Parganas (the stigma perpetuated by Shelter home staff and the barriers it creates for reintegration have been detailed in Table 8). The same survivor added that the shelter home staff assume that the girls enjoyed doing what they did. The NGO staff across all four locations shared

than often registering and FIR is a challenge owing to this norm which is prevalent even amongst police officers who state that the *'girls run away of their own accord.'* Another reason for victim blaming by police officials is to avoid filing a case and take the efforts required in an investigation, as shared by KIIs with NGO staffs. Rashmi, a survivor from North 24 Parganas recalls that after she was rescued and returned to her family, the police visited her home for official work. While on the visit, they gathered neighbours and announced Rashmi was trafficked thereby completely violating the confidentiality and exposing the identity of the survivor. This behaviour of the police reflects both – lack of training on dealing with survivors of trafficking as well as the norm of 'victim-blaming' where a survivor is being held responsible for being trafficked and being modelled as a negative example in the community.

Sarita, 18, a survivor from South 24 Parganas shares her story of reintegration wherein she experienced victim-blaming by the police, the PRI members and the village community. Sarita and her family both experienced blame and stigma for the incident of trafficking.

When Sarita was rescued (by an NGO) and she returned home, she and her family wished to file an FIR against the trafficker who was their neighbour. The police blamed Sarita and said, *"You girls go on your own, your mistake and you put the blame on boys."* The police did not file and FIR and compelled her to change her statement against the trafficker. Even while going for a deposition, the police made her sit in police van along with the trafficker whereas she has requested that she wished to sit with her parents in another van.

The family approached the PRI members for support, but not only did the PRI members not help Sarita with her situation but her father's name was removed from the housing list scheme. She and her family feel that this discrimination perpetuated by the PRI members is because Sarita was trafficked and she has made attempts to file a complaint against a fellow villager. The PRI members commented, *"How can we believe what you are saying, when the village people are saying that you were not trafficked but went out of choice?"* Sarita shared that the village community has also been indirectly supporting the trafficker, and blaming her family saying that, *"We did not send out our children to earn. Why did you send your child?"* Sarita states that the community<sup>34</sup> believes that no one is sold out of force and that girls run away of their own will to earn money. Even when an incident of suicide took place in the trafficker's family (his brother committed suicide), the community covertly blamed Sarita and her family for the incident, whereas there was no causal explanation or linkage of the suicide to Sarita's case.

#### Box 10: Case Study I

A common observation amongst survivors was that if the community members knew that they were trafficked under false pretext, they would not give stigma. FGDs with women's group, adolescent girls and boys and even government officials in the study locations brought forth their beliefs that the girls being trafficked is not out of choice but out of deception and the survivor is not at fault (thus revealing an injunctive norm that victim blaming is undesirable). However the descriptive norm (as seen through the case study I and other experiences discussed above) suggests that victim blaming is practised by multiple stakeholders. Thus, it can also be derived that personal beliefs of individual community members do not necessarily translate into behaviours and actions at the larger community level. Victim-blaming can have very real consequences for survivors. A study titled 'Victim-blaming as normative: examining prescriptive and descriptive norms regarding victim-blaming' by Stacey M. Rieck (2017) states that *'the experience of secondary victimization reduces coping and well-being. Victims may internalize these beliefs that they were somehow at fault or deserving of what happened, leading to decreases in self-worth and increases in depression or anxiety. Further, victims may feel isolated from their community or support network, factors that are important in coping and recovery'*<sup>35</sup>. While the survivors with whom IDIs were conducted did not directly display self-blame, their reintegration into the community was directly and adversely affected by the various stakeholders engaging in victim blaming.

<sup>34</sup> Interactions with community members were done in the field area of partner organisations but not directly in the immediate neighbourhood of the survivor to protect identity and maintain confidentiality.

<sup>35</sup> <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/dddb/5a1f903538783cb1bf3afacc65d8c1d1b715.pdf>

### 3.4.3. Religious norms in reintegration of survivors and resultant stigma

Religion is an organized set of beliefs, cultural systems, and world views that relate to humanity and an order of existence. Religion shapes cultures and social, political, and economic lives and is a powerful force in influencing social norms.<sup>36</sup> Often times, social norms and religious attitudes and practices are intertwined and when social norms and religious attitudes and practices come together, they significantly affect the way individuals interact with the society and its institutions. Religions often maintain male social dominance within social structures, with religious texts encouraging the exclusion of women from leadership in the family, institutions, and society, influencing the way people behaves toward each other and how women are treated in their homes, in society, and at work. It is in this context that the role of religious leaders (*Purohitis, Maulavis, Kazis, etc.*) comes into play. These leaders can act either as a positive or negative reference group for the survivors during the process of reintegration.<sup>37</sup> The study interacted with male and female religious leaders practising and preaching Hinduism and Islam i.e. priests, maulavis and madrasa teachers in the study locations of West Bengal. The role both these religions and religious leaders play in context of reintegration of survivors is variable and has been discussed likewise.

#### ◆ **Extent of influence of religion**

Both Hinduism and Islam were seen to be widely practiced across study locations. In South and North 24 Parganas, the interactions with priests brought forth that the major role played by religion and religious leaders is officiating over rituals like festivals, functions, poojas and facilitating rites of passage like birth, marriage and death. In case of the religious leaders practising and preaching Islam state that the role of religion includes advise on religious matters like offering daily prayers (Namaaz), presiding over marriages, resolve any family matters, issues between community members etc.

A priest from North 24 Parganas stated that he does not officiate over marriages below 18 for girls and 21 for boys. However he also added that in case of poor economic conditions, parents are compelled to marry off girls as soon as they reach puberty. The communities as well as priests stated that in case of other issues, conflicts, matters of advice, the elders in the community or PRI members are approached and not priests. The age of marriage – as accepted by the religious leader and community was seen to be lower in Muslim communities. In South 24 Parganas, the KII with the Imam brought forth his views that girls should be married by age of 16-17 years and boys by the ages of 20 years. According to him, *'keeping girls at homes becomes difficult'* after 16 years of age. The reason for the same being after puberty, the situation changes for girls and they are more vulnerable. The study observed that the influence of religion and religion determined norms (in context of Muslim community) was stronger in Murshidabad than other study locations of South 24 and North 24 Parganas.

The specific religion determined norms have been discussed here:

#### ◆ **Religious norms determining behaviour of girls**

**Hindu:** In matters of reintegration of survivors, the priest stated that religious leaders will have a limited role to play. *"Religion would support her if her character has been good – i.e. the girls respects everyone, talks properly with everyone and overall behaviour within the society will be judged."* According to the priest, a girl is stigmatised in the community as they think that it has been her fault that she got trafficked. The incident is associated with that of 'bad character' as she has had to 'spend multiple nights with multiple men' and the community would consider her unfit to get married. The priest added that this attitude and behaviour of the community is because of a 'traditional mind-set', illiteracy and because of the close proximity in which the village community resides and interacts. The priest stated that *he will have to follow what the community wants as religion is for all people in a community*. He said his personal beliefs would not matter and even if a religious leader or priest is progressive and will continue to accept

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<sup>36</sup> <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK493719/>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

and not discriminate against the girl, established norms on gender, sexuality would play a more important role than religion<sup>38</sup>. Thus, religion in this case seems to play the role of implicit support to the established norms perpetuated by the community.

**Islam:** This study brought out that the influence of religious norms was more pronounced in the Muslim dominated communities of Murshidabad relative to other study locations. In the Murshidabad study locations, the interaction of religious (and social norms) on gender and related roles guided the manner of living for the community, especially for the girls. *“We always read the Quran and follow what it says. For example, staying inside ‘purdah’ ”*- Adolescent girls, Murshidabad. Some of the behavioural norms guided by religious beliefs in the Muslim community of Murshidabad are given in Table 7 below. These have been reported by community members, religious leader, adolescent girls and survivors during FGDs and KIIs.

**Table 7: Religion on the prescribed behaviour of girls and boys**

Religious beliefs prescribing behaviour of girls/women	Religious beliefs prescribing behaviour of boys/men
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Wearing burqa/ purdah (veil) – as a matter of honour and protection</li> <li>◆ Being an ardent home-maker and raising children</li> <li>◆ No engagement with any males apart from husband</li> <li>◆ No communication/ engagement with any community male after puberty: Girls under 18 years visit the male Maulavi while girls above 18 years visited the female Maulavi for advices on leading a content life.</li> <li>◆ Restricted freedom of mobility of community spaces</li> <li>◆ Employment activities can be pursued within one’s home and not outside community/ village</li> <li>◆ Abiding the advices of community elders and religious leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Avoidance of substance addiction</li> <li>◆ Supporting family financially</li> <li>◆ Protecting family from abuse and exploitation (often through the means of violence against women)</li> <li>◆ Abiding by the advices of community elders and religious leaders</li> </ul>

Discussions with community members and religious leaders indicated that adherence to these religious norms offers sanctions in the form of better acceptance within the community, for example: better social support from the community members during times of medical emergency, personal and financial crisis. *“Allah predicted the world before anybody else did thousands of years ago. He made some rules accordingly for our better life- so we should abide by them. If we don’t, then we will face punishment in various forms; these differ for different people based on their karma (action)”*- Maulavi, Murshidabad.

As for reintegration of survivors, community members and religious leaders believe that adherence to the above mentioned religious norms reduces the chances of being trafficked for any girl/ woman. Further, even if that girl/ woman (who is an ardent follower of Islam religion and prescribed rules) is trafficked, her acceptance in the community becomes easier. This is because she was a *Bhalo Mey/ Good girl* before being *trafficked against her will*. Any girl who fails to follow the prescribed religious norms is a *Kharap Mey/Bad Girl* and might get trafficked and her chances of acceptance in the community after rescue remains uncertain. The maulavis North 24 Parganas and in Murshidabad stated *“If the girl has been trafficked without any fault of hers, she will be accepted. However if she has gone willingly, it would be considered her fault”*. A survivor belonging to the Muslim community from North 24 Parganas reinforces this phenomenon, *“I was not afraid of being accepted in my community as I was confident of my behaviour*

<sup>38</sup> The study interacted with one priest from Hindu community. The ‘setting norms on sexuality’ has been discussed in the previous sections – related to honour etc. As to who sets the norms was a question the study did explore, but has been reiterated across all stakeholders that these norms have been functional forever and integral to the fabric of their society. Enforcers of norms are men, people with position/power in the community.

before I was trafficked. I was respectful of the elders, went to school and did not loiter about, never fell in love etc. Even when I returned (the family told the community that she had gone for domestic work), I stayed at home more, listened to my parents, did not dress-up or use make-up and blended it without getting attention to myself.” An adolescent girl from Murshidabad stated how community decides by themselves whose fault it is without actually verifying. She stated - “We can understand if a girl is good or bad by looking at her: the way she dresses, the way she interacts, her peer groups etc. If a survivor, post her return, does not wear a burqa, goes out in the evening, talks to male members/ peer groups, then she is a bad girl who went with the trafficker by choice.” Behavioural aspects of dressing, using make-up and having a different demeanour (than other girls in the community) is noted and disapproved of- and is in fact considered a sign of her being trafficked, thereby leading to stigma.

In this case there is a clear reinforcement of injunctive norms of what is approved and disapproved for girls and the survivor actually adopting those norms by displaying the prescribed behaviour- as has been given in Box 11.

	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	Survivors, to blend in, have to ensure their behaviour; practices; interactions adhere to the prescribed norms (of religion) for example wearing burqa.	A survivor should not display behavioural signs which are different from other girls (like make-up, accessories, clothes). Sanction in case of not following these norms include additional stigma (that what is already attributed to survivors), labelling. Peers will be discouraged from interaction with survivor.
	Thus, both norms reinforce each other resulting in a strong hold over the behaviour, practices of survivors with respect to clothing and such other choices.	

**Box 11: Religion determined norms on Bhalo Mey and Kharap Mey**

◆ **Belief in Religious leaders for ‘purification’ of survivors**

The study has found a belief in religious leaders (*Maulavi and Kazis*) amongst the Muslim communities. Discussions with religious leaders, community members, survivors and government officials in Murshidabad have revealed that post the restoration of survivors in the family, family members approach the local *Maulavis/ Kazis* (religious leaders) for purifying the survivors off their sins through ‘*jhaar-phook*’ (religious rituals). “My mother took me to the *Maulavi* after my return. This often acts as an occasional means of livelihood for some religious leaders. Monetary amounts ranging from 2000 to 5000 INR are siphoned off from the survivor’s families to ‘redeem them (survivors) for leading a regular social life in the community’. This is indicative of the overt financial exploitation of survivors and their families.

“He gave me a locket and gave me life advices. I felt much better and protected after that. This really works for us.”<sup>39</sup>  
 - Survivor.

“It is important to go to the religious leader for such girls (survivors). The religious leaders are the best people to give them life advices and keep them away from wrong doing. My daughter also visits the female religious leader regularly for her classes in the evening.”  
 - Women’s group

**Box 12: Community Speak I**

The above statements by the survivor are also reflective of the attitude of stigmatising the survivors followed by the religious leaders and families. Religious leaders come into the play in order to *purify the girls off their sins*. Therefore, rather than considering the trafficking as an accident, it is often the survivors who are at the receiving end of accusations. “If the girls commit a sin, it is our responsibility to tell them about it to avoid these incidences in the near future. She does not understand that her behaviour and actions also influence the respect of the family in the community”- Religious leader.

<sup>39</sup> It works at a psychosocial level where the survivor felt protected. It does not necessarily translate into less stigmatization. But the survivor felt more accepted.

Further, discussions with government officials and shelter home staffs have revealed that consequent to this belief in local religious leaders, families (of survivors) are often apprehensive to refer the survivor to the CWCs for any form of psycho-social counselling and legal support and protection of survivors under 18 years of age. *“They start questioning the CWC and CCI members and their methods. This is a result of illiteracy amongst the communities. They are also not aware of the significance of CWC protection for survivors and consequently harm successful reintegration process of girls”*- Counsellor.

◆ ***Belief in life after death: Jannat/ Heaven and Jahannum/ Hell***

The study findings found a belief in the life after death and sanctions/ punishments amongst the Muslim community particularly in Murshidabad. As per the *Maulavi*, they believe that there will be a Day of Judgement at the end of all human life where every human will be judged by Allah on their actions in their life on earth: Allah shall decide who should be rewarded with a place in Jannat/Paradise and who should be punished in Jahannum/Hell. As a result, their actions are directed towards the prescribed guidelines which will determine their place in *Jannat/ Jahannum*. Owing to the deviance to the religious (and social) norms on mobility; interaction with male members outside family; engagement in pre-marital sex or engaging in sex outside marriage; revealing one’s identity to other men (not wearing purdah/burqa), survivors belonging to the Muslim communities in the study locations of Murshidabad are asked to ‘seek their life after death’ in Jahannum/ Hell by the community members (especially females).

**3.4.4. Stigma as a barrier to reintegration**

FGDs with community members and KIIs with NGO staff and government officials indicated that any aberration from the prescribed social and religious norms results in stigma against the survivors. This stigma takes the form of travesty, social and cultural alienation and verbal/ physical abuse. The survivors are deemed with punishment in the form of disrespect, discrimination and labelling.

*“A survivor should remain at home for a few days for allowing the community some time to get over her situation. If she steps out of home right after her rescue, she will be ridiculed by the neighbours and relatives”*- ASHA worker. Amongst the community members and relatives, it is mostly the female members who display discriminatory behaviour more than the community men. These female ‘reference groups’ were varied for different survivors including pishi (father’s sister), mashi (mother’s younger sister), jethi ma (mother’s elder sister), kakai ma, (elder/younger uncle’s wife). In case of survivors who were married, most had not revealed their experience of trafficking except in 1 case. In the latter case, the survivor did face stigma, which has reduced over time. The survivor shared that in case of familial arguments/fights, her history with trafficking is brought up as means to invalidate her argument and/or hurt her. The reason for more females displaying stigma, as shared by survivors, being that since women are engaged in housework, they are the most at home, engage in conversations with neighbours more. The men go out to work and thus have limited avenue to interact daily with fellow villagers. This stigma is in the form of verbal abuse, taunting, shaming and victim—blaming

As opposed to this experience with female relatives and neighbours, it is the male members within the family who are the ones to perpetrate violence as punishment for deviating from the prescribed code of conduct. It is often the survivors’ own male family members- brothers and fathers, who stigmatize (in the form of verbal and physical abuse) the girls more than the mothers and sisters. *“My brother and father shouted at me after I returned: because they were angry at me for going”* -Survivor. When enquired if women display the same violence, *“men are emotionally unstable and cannot contain emotions unlike women/girls and hence perpetrate violence”* - Women’s group, North 24 Parganas. Additionally, the women’s groups and a few survivors stated that since men engage more with society, they face more ridicule and stigmatization in addition to the blame that they (men in the family) could not/did not protect the girls. These factors lead to men projecting the stigma they face in society on to the survivors in the form of verbal or physical abuse. As for survivors, some shared that they have accepted that fathers and brothers often engage in physical violence against them to *‘tame them and tell them that it was wrong*

for them to get trafficked'. This has a bearing on the survivor's reference group: all the survivors have mentioned of their mothers and sisters to be their immediate support system over fathers and brothers. "I am close to my mother and sister-in-law. Shared my experience with her- not with my father"- Survivor. This opinion was also shared by other adolescent girls in the study locations.

Maya Khatun, 20, was trafficked when she was studying in class 6th (12 years of age). She was rescued after a year or so and when she returned home, she faced ridicule and physical violence at the hands of her elder brother. While the parents questioned her, they still accepted and supported her; but could not stop the reactions of her brother.

At the age of 14 years Maya was married off. The husband and in-laws both knew about the incident. According to her, they accepted her despite the incident of trafficking because their own son was an alcoholic and was not earning; and were expecting the daughter-in-law to work, earn and support as well as take care of the family. He parents, owing to the incident of trafficking, married her off in haste without any background check on the groom and his family. Additionally, Maya's parents had given them a sum of 30,000 INR and gold as dowry at the time of the wedding. A year into the wedding, the husband took to gambling, addiction increased and started abusing her physically. In light of this, she returned to her parental home; but was called back by her parents-in-laws stating that the son will turn over a new leaf. This process of returning to her parent's home and being called away happened three times over. Every time she felt that things would improve. However eventually the parents-in-laws also started abusing her after 2 years of marriage brought up the incident of trafficking to shame her.

Maya, finally returned to her parent's place for good and registered a complaint against her husband and his family in a Mahila Samiti. Since then she has maintained no contact with her husband and his family and they have not reached out to her. At her parent's place the abuse has not ended and her brother is scared that she will step out and get trafficked again. He and his wife verbally and physically abuse her occasionally. "Bhabhi apni nahi hain (Sister-in-law is not as close)", states Maya and adds that her sister-in-law wants her to leave the house. She states that her brother behaves in this manner out of fear of being isolated from the community and fear of his wife (leaving him). Maya is contributing financially to the household by working in a sequin/embroidery unit for sarees. She and her parents are both supportive of each other. Maya adds, "If I were a boy, all this would not have happened. Since I am a girl, there is no place for me."

Maya herself is determined and has set her mind in earning, supporting her parents and bringing up her child. She is associated with an NGO wherefrom she receives support and advice. She also has support system in the form of another sister-in-law (uncle's daughter-in-law) who has become her confidante and friend. She stays in her neighborhood and Maya shares all her troubles with her. According to Maya, her sister-in-law has helped her through a phase when she was depressed and almost suicidal. She helped by talking to her, calming her down and encouraging Maya to continue working for her parents and her son.

**Box 13: Survivor's experience of having faced violence**

As derived from the study findings, the standing of the survivors is determined by their local social world, and maintaining the status depends upon meeting the prescribed social obligations and norms (for example: parameters of a *Bhalo mey*) . However, these survivors' stigmatized conditions are *de facto* unable to meet these requirements. Thus, stigma (against the survivors) decays survivors' ability to hold on to and/or aspire for better life chances which is dependent upon variables, such as education, employment and relationships. <sup>40</sup> Table 7 describes stigma and barriers to reintegration which can be attributed to the various stakeholders in the ecosystem of survivors in their rehabilitation phase.

**Table 8: Nature of Stigma and Barriers to Reintegration**

Stakeholder	Nature of Stigma and resultant barriers to reintegration
	<b>Rescue</b>
<b>Police</b>	Stigma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Verbal abuse/ ridicule during rescue and victim blaming "You went by your choice", "You will go back after a few months, won't you"</li> </ul>
	Barriers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Failure to maintain privacy of survivor's identity: During address verification and home investigation, police often reveals the details of the survivors to the neighbours.</li> <li>◆ Refusal to take FIRs of survivors because of their political bias, linkages with the accused and therefore inability to hold him/her accountable and to avoid the 'tedious' legal proceedings.</li> </ul>

<sup>40</sup> [https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/2757548/klienman\\_stigmasocialcultural.pdf?sequence=2](https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/2757548/klienman_stigmasocialcultural.pdf?sequence=2)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Refusal to file FIR owing to prejudices against survivors emerging from norm of victim blaming. <i>“When we went to the local PS for filing the complaint, they abused me and her (survivor). They questioned our upbringing and used foul words with my daughter which I cannot even tell you;”</i>- Survivor’s father</li> </ul>
<b>Doctors/ Nurses</b>	<p>Stigma</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Victim-blaming (especially if the girl is above 18 years of age).</li> <li>◆ Verbal abuse/ ridicule during medical test following rescue: <i>“If you could survive there (destination state) for all these months, you can survive these tests too”</i></li> </ul> <p>Barriers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Criminalisation (owing to victim-blaming) of survivors by medical personnel</li> <li>◆ Inappropriate touch by male doctors during medical examination</li> <li>◆ Absence of female doctors during medical examination in some cases, thereby causing uneasiness amongst survivors. <i>The doctor asked me if I plan to go back again. There were no female doctors during the check-up”</i>- Survivor.</li> </ul>
<b>Rehabilitation</b>	
<b>CCI care-mothers/ case workers</b>	<p>Stigma:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Socio-cultural background of care-mothers coupled with pre-conceived notions of a <i>Bhalo Mey/Kharap Mey</i> and the larger societal norms determine interactions between shelter home staff and survivors. As shared by a survivor, if a resident girl is sleeping late, she would be slapped by the house mother/staff to get up and questioned <i>“hum tumhare naukar hain kya?”</i> / <i>“Are we your servants (that you keep sleeping).”</i> Another survivor shared that the staffs (in the CCI) considered the girls as ‘neech’ /inferior as they ‘did bad work’ / ‘were engaged in sex work’.</li> <li>◆ Work pressure owing to overcrowded CCIs and lack of adequate capacity building/ training of CCI care-mother/case workers often result in victim blaming attitude and verbal abuse/ ridicule/ against survivors.</li> <li>◆ There is stigma which is perpetuated by the shelter home staff towards survivors who are pregnant. They staff believes that the father of the child is not known and hence he/she will be ridiculed; the girl will not be accepted by the family and community, hence it is in best interest of the girl to abort the child. This perception is held even if the girl expresses her wish to not abort.</li> </ul> <p>Barriers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The limited number of shelter homes, which are often overcrowded and deprived of essential facilities, pose additional challenges for reintegration. In particular, shelter homes run by the government are often not equipped to deal with psycho-social rehabilitation of survivors, which is the key to help them rebuild a meaningful life after being brought under institutional care.<sup>41</sup></li> <li>◆ Residents of shelter homes (including survivors) being called as inmates – a terminology associated usually with prisons – indicates towards a vulnerable position of the survivor in a hierarchical set-up which views the survivors as to be ‘controlled’ and ‘monitored.’ This is evidenced in the fact that in certain CCIs survivors’ stated that CCTV cameras have been installed in all places in the shelter home including the dormitories. This was confirmed by CWC members stating that cameras (not in all CCIs) have been installed to monitor ‘inmate’ activities like attempts to suicide, any conflict situation, and homosexual behaviour etc.</li> <li>◆ Lack of child-friendly and victim-friendly medical and court proceedings. Trafficked victims are re-victimised by the defence during interrogation</li> </ul>
<b>Reintegration</b>	
<b>Immediate male family members-fathers, elder brothers</b>	<p>Stigma</p> <p>Discussions with male community members and IDIs with survivors have demonstrated that the male members in the survivors’ family (father and elder brother) perpetuate more stigma than mothers and sisters. This is because it is often the male members (of the survivors’ family) who are visible in the public eye owing to their freedom of mobility and engagement in economic activities in the community. This results in their daily interface with other community members (neighbours and extended relatives) who transfer stigma (in the form of ridicule/ mockery, travesty on their upbringing of daughters/ sisters) from the survivor to the male members from her family. This leads the male members to further project their received stigma (from community) to their daughter/sister in the form of stigmatisation of survivors &amp; victim blaming.</p> <p>Barriers</p>

<sup>41</sup> Rebuilding Lives: A Participatory Assessment of Practices of Reintegration of Survivors of Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in Jharkhand and West Bengal (July 2015) commissioned by Tdh and undertaken by Praxis

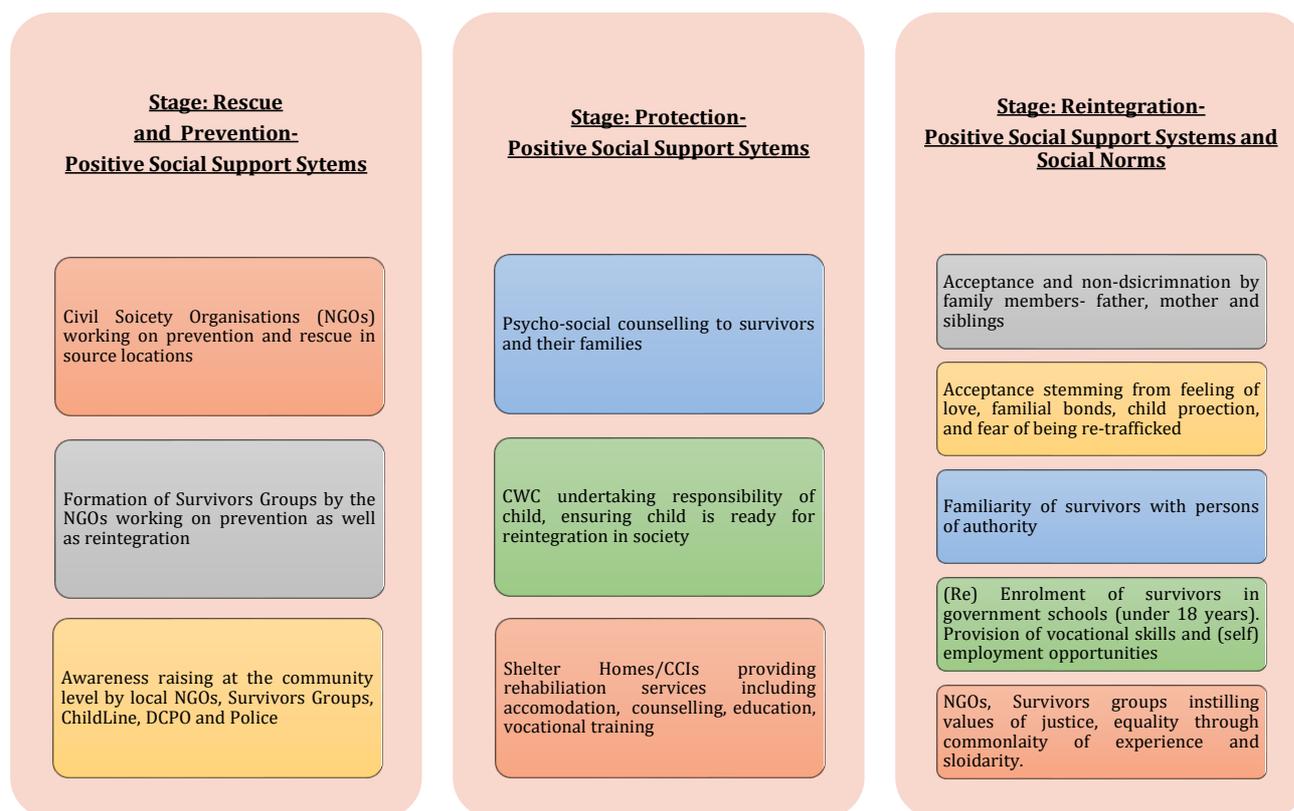
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Restriction in mobility of survivors to avoid ‘public eye’, shame and disregard</li> <li>◆ Forceful separation from peer groups</li> <li>◆ Early marriage post restoration, at times, against the survivor’s will.</li> <li>◆ Verbal and physical abuse (in some cases)</li> <li>◆ Disowning of survivors (as shared by government officials, NGO staffs)</li> <li>◆ Self-stigma as a barrier: The structured alienation by the community coupled with the tag of Kharap Mey/ Bad Girl for disregarding norms, often create self-stigma amongst the survivors. <i>“Ami ekhon ki bhabe bari jabo?”</i> (“How do I return home after this’?) - were reported by survivors.</li> <li>◆ Lack of parents’ initiatives on reporting the trafficking cases on time owing to lack of knowledge on reporting body and the pressure to maintain ‘a respectable family status’ in the community</li> <li>◆ Lack of employable skills for seeking alternate livelihood coupled with curtailed mobility deterring the survivors to transition to a normal life, especially for 14-18 years of survivors</li> </ul>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Extended female relatives- pishi, mashi, jethi ma, kakai ma, and Neighbours</b></p>	<p>Stigma: As against the stigma received by the survivor from the male members of her own immediate family (brothers/father), the female members of survivor’s extended family (jethi ma, kaki ma, bou di, pishi, mashi, kaki ma) and the neighbours also perpetrate stigma. This is because of two key reasons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Female’s availability in the household more than the males owing to their role of ‘home-maker’</li> <li>◆ The socialisation process of these female stigmatisers being rooted in the (same) patriarchal culture with stringent code of conduct.</li> </ul> <p>Stigma is perpetrated by this group in the form of ridicule, verbal abuse, forced alienation from interaction with the survivor and her family, connotation of impurity to survivors by not allowing fetching water from the community ‘kol’ (water tap).</p> <p>Barriers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ <i>“Despite registration, our names from the housing list (under Gol’s Indira Awas Yojana) were removed by the Block officer. This was done because of my status as a survivor: the stigma is transferred to my family which hampers our way of life in the community”</i>: Survivor, South 24 Parganas</li> <li>◆ KIIs with CCI counsellor, care givers and IDIs with survivors have indicated that this self-stigma, in some cases, translates into violent behaviour amongst survivors. For example, counsellors and case workers have reported of self-harm activities (including attempts to suicide and elopement to undeclared destinations post rescue).</li> </ul>

From the above table, it can be derived that stigma is a process which is based on the social construction of an identity (*Bhalo Mey/ Kharap Mey*). Survivors who get associated with a stigmatized condition pass from a “normal” to a discredited social status. There exists a component of multi-structural discrimination, or the institutional disadvantages placed on stigmatized groups (survivors). This elucidates the multiple ways that power – social, economic, and political – determines the distribution of stigma within the social milieu. <sup>42</sup>

### 3.4.5. Positive Norms influencing Reintegration of Survivors

It is important to understand that if norms can thrive and spread, they can also diminish over time. This study found similar instances of positive social norms and positive interventions at multiple stages- Rescue and Prevention, Protection and Reintegration, across the project locations in West Bengal. While Rescue, Prevention and Protection stages are characteristic of positive interventions in the form of establishing positive social support systems; the reintegration stage is characterised by the prevalence of both positive social norms and positive interventions by local NGOs such as: enrolment of survivors in schools leading to continuity of education and possibility of better life chances and provision of vocational skills thereby enabling self-employment opportunities for survivors. Interviews with survivors indicated that the culmination of such positive social support systems and social norms across the different stages has a bearing in determining the measure of a successful reintegration of survivors. This has been depicted in the figure below.

<sup>42</sup>[https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/2757548/klienman\\_stigmasocialcultural.pdf?sequence=2](https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/2757548/klienman_stigmasocialcultural.pdf?sequence=2)



**Figure 5: Positive norms influencing reintegration**

The section below attempts to detail the **positive social norms prevalent in the reintegration stage** such as: impact of a socio-economic status on reducing stigma, role of marriage in leading to acceptance of survivors, protection of survivors by family owing to fear of re-trafficking and interaction with fellow survivors in CCIs. These positive norms displayed by individuals or groups can be termed as positive deviance: Positive deviance is the observation that in most settings a few at risk individuals follow uncommon, beneficial practices and consequently experience better outcomes.<sup>43</sup>

◆ **Socio-economic position of a reference group member**

Information abounds on the ways in which socio-economic characteristics, including social class, has a potential; bearing on the stigma experienced by survivors across the project locations. Discussions with community members and survivors revealed that proximity and exposure of the community to (peri) urban setting and its' related development process and presence of 'influential individuals' in the survivors' families reduce the impact of stigma against the survivors: this was reported by survivors and government duty bearers in the study locations. Survivors indicated that the anonymity offered in the peri-urban settlement coupled with the exposure to the metropolitan culture of Kolkata city, engagement of both male and female in regular paid employment in/near Kolkata city, and limited community/kin interaction reduce the extent of stigma in these communities thereby facilitating mainstreaming into everyday life easier. Further, presence of any politically/ socially/ economically influential male relatives (Dada and Kakas); male members (Madrassa teacher) in the survivors' family and/or community further lessens the stigma on survivors. The latter is a manifestation of the patriarchal set up which gives more weightage to boys and men compared to women. Thus, if such influential men or relatives display positive deviance by accepting a survivor of trafficking and does not give stigma, there is wider acceptance for the survivor in the community as well.

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC527707/>

Rita, 15 years old, is a sex-trafficking survivor, currently residing in North 24 Parganas with her parents and is in close association with her uncle who is a neighbour and, whom she calls Dada. He is an email writer in the district court and is a locally respected elderly man in the community.

Post her rescue, when Rita went to the local government school for enrolment, she was denied admission by the head-master on accounts of her 'association with shelter home and related legal proceedings'. However, on her next visit, Rita went to the school with her Dada- the neighbour. With his support, Rita was enrolled in the school. She is now studying in standard 8th and aspires to be a lawyer.

During discussion with her Dada, he mentioned, *"Some girls (survivors) face discrimination post their restoration. This is because of lack of support from family and extended family members. In her (Rita) case, she had her family support and me. So, the neighbourhood did not dare to discriminate and stigmatize her"*

#### Box 14: Case Study II

##### ◆ *Role of marriage in acceptance of survivors*

The inherent significance and sanctity of marriage is characteristic of the Indian culture. As of survivors of trafficking, marriage and procreation acts as significant social norms in the acceptance of survivors in the community post rehabilitation. Interviews with survivors have revealed that in situations where a married survivor who also has children, is trafficked for sex work, chances of her acceptance remains high as compared to the unmarried survivors. Here, children often are the reason of acceptance of survivors first by husbands, followed by acceptance by in-laws. Interviews with survivors and their husbands have indicated that there exists a negative connotation to second marriages in the Hindu community: first, because of the widely accepted monogamous marital practices of the Hindu community and second, fear of ill-treatment of children by the step-mother/ father which has the potential of increasing the vulnerability of the children to social and cognitive development and also, to trafficking. *"If I did not accept her (the wife), my two children would get affected. No step mother will take care of them like her (the wife). Without proper care, my children will be vulnerable to elopement from home wherein, they might get trafficked."* Survivor's husband.

On the contrary, discussions with NGO staff in Murshidabad specifically have indicated that this acceptance of married survivors remains absent in Muslim communities. *"Owing to the polygamous nature of Islamic marital system, husbands of survivors often abandon them to avoid social/ family stigma and opt for a second marriage"*- NGO staff in Murshidabad. To be noted here, is that while early marriage amongst girls (including survivors/non-survivors) belonging to Muslim communities is prevalent; the re-marriage of already married survivors (who might have been abandoned by the husband after the incident of trafficking) was cited to be a challenge by NGO staff in Murshidabad. This however was not sufficiently reinforced based on discussions with individual survivors.

Mouni Sahetra, 23 years of age, was trafficked in the year 2016, post marriage. Her husband, Kamal, 30 years age, is an agricultural labourer and both of them have two girl children (5 years and 8 years respectively). When the news of Mouni's traceability, her husband and father along with the staff of local NGO operating in her community, went to the railway station to pick her up. Post her return, Mouni and her husband filed an FIR at their local police station and also, hired an advocate. However, with the political bias of the advocate and bribe paid to him by the accused, Mouni's case could not be proceeded further in the district court.

At home, Mouni reported of facing stigma from the female neighbours. Her husband, Kamal also faced opposition from his family for accepting her back. Kamal mentioned, *"Previously I used to walk in the community with my head held high. Now after her incident, I lack the courage to meet the eyes of the community members"*. Despite this situation, Mouni is grateful to her husband for accepting her. When asked the reason for acceptance to her husband, he mentioned, *"I accepted her because of my daughters. Without a real mother, my daughters are also vulnerable to stigma and to being trafficked in the future."* Based on these grounds, Kamal has also convinced his family to accept Mouni.

However, as for Mouni, she mentioned of the restriction in her mobility of community spaces post her restoration: *"I stay at home and look after the children. Only in a few months, I go with my husband to the community mela (fair). I do not have any friends now- I did not share my experience with them to avoid stigma and discrimination."*

#### Box 15: Case Study III

Additionally for survivors who have been trafficked when they were single, marriage plays a significant role in mainstreaming and acceptance. More often than not, the survivors have shared their experience of trafficking with their husband and not with the parents-in-laws. It is only in rare cases where the survivor's parents-in-laws know about the complete situation – represented in Case Study IV in Box 16.

Saira (25) was trafficked 6 – 7 years back where she met another girl from a neighbouring village of her native village. They forged a strong friendship and were eventually rescued. This friend's brother voluntarily decided to marry Saira. He was empathetic towards her knowing that his own sister had had similar experiences. Saira is happily married with 2 children. She mentions that her parents-in-law are aware of the situation because their own daughter had gone through it and thus are more accepting. She does not face stigma from her parents –in-laws but gets negative remarks occasionally from her husband's elder brother. In such a scenario her husband defends Saira and is protective of her.

*The researchers had expressed meeting Saira's husband as an instance of positive deviance and to understand his perspective. His permission however was denied by Saira citing that she is not comfortable that we talk to him regarding this issue.*

#### **Box 16: Case Study IV**

##### **◆ *Acceptance and Protection of survivors by family owing to fear of re-trafficking***

According to community members, the reason for parents to accept the survivors is the prevalent fear that their daughter, once victimised, might fall into the trap again if not taken back into the family fold. There is fear that non-acceptance and stigma might lead the survivor back on the path of being re-trafficked or to destitution. To avoid this situation, and out of existing familial bonds, the survivor is accepted by the immediate family. In case of families where the number of children is less (2-3), there is a high chance of acceptance of survivors by the family, neighbours and relatives. *"In such families, the emotional dependence of families are stronger than the others which have multiple children coupled with poor economic situation),"* - NGO staff, Murshidabad.

##### **◆ *Non-discrimination practiced by NGOs and the Survivors Collectives which stand for values equality and justice***

The survivors universally shared that NGOs offer a space wherein they can openly talk with staffs and other survivors. They shared that staffs are friendly and talk with respect and have genuine concern to help those in need. From the peer interaction with other survivors, a sense of solidarity and empathy is generated. The underlying norm of this space created by NGOs is of non-discrimination, equality and justice as well as freedom of choice. The latter is an important factor as many survivors expressed the confinement they have had to face after the incident of trafficking; and the lack of choices in mobility, education etc. One survivor from South 24 Parganas stated, *"I have had to wear the burqa ever since I have returned. However I can be myself here and remove the burqa and freely interact with everyone."*

The study interacted with 2 Survivors Collectives in South and North 24 Parganas. The collectives comprise of survivors of trafficking and NGO staff. These collectives are working proactively of multiple fronts of trafficking – from raising awareness to prevent trafficking; dispelling prejudices and discrimination against survivors, counselling survivors and their family, advocating for the rights and entitlements of survivors with the local government machinery and so on. The members of these collectives regard the support they receive from these groups as a very important catalyst which has facilitated successful integration into society. The Collectives help survivor to critically analyse society and her situation and empower her with information about rights, entitlements and against discrimination by practising and espousing values of justice, equality, empathy. *"Anyay ka pratisaad kareng"* ("We will fight against injustice") – Survivor, North 24 Parganas.

### 3.5. Reference Group Analysis of Survivors

The pool/ network of individuals whose behaviours and opinions are of significance to a given individual with regard to decision-making, is called **Reference Group/ Network**<sup>44</sup>. Social norms generate out of beliefs and behaviours of multiple stakeholders with whom the survivors are associated with. The reasons as to why negative social norms persist in any society are because they are adhered to by (groups of) individuals who influence each other. These reference networks may not be obvious, especially to an outsider. In order to establish who is part of the reference network of survivors and the kinds of role they may play is to consider the diverse types of relationships that exist within the survivors, their families and community.<sup>45</sup> It is also important to particularly understand the reference groups which perpetrate discrimination against survivors. The below figure depicts the different reference groups that propagate different social norms in different intensity that have a bearing on the actions and behaviours of the survivors. Reference networks are significant to any interventions/programming for social norms change. Mapping out the reference networks of survivors is critical to ensure the behavioural programme is targeted at the right stakeholders. Given in Figure 6 are the interconnections between different reference groups from the point of view of a survivor of trafficking. While this mapping will be different for different individuals – determined by her context, socio-economic and religious background, the Figure 6 has tried to encapsulate the key reference groups and their interconnections.

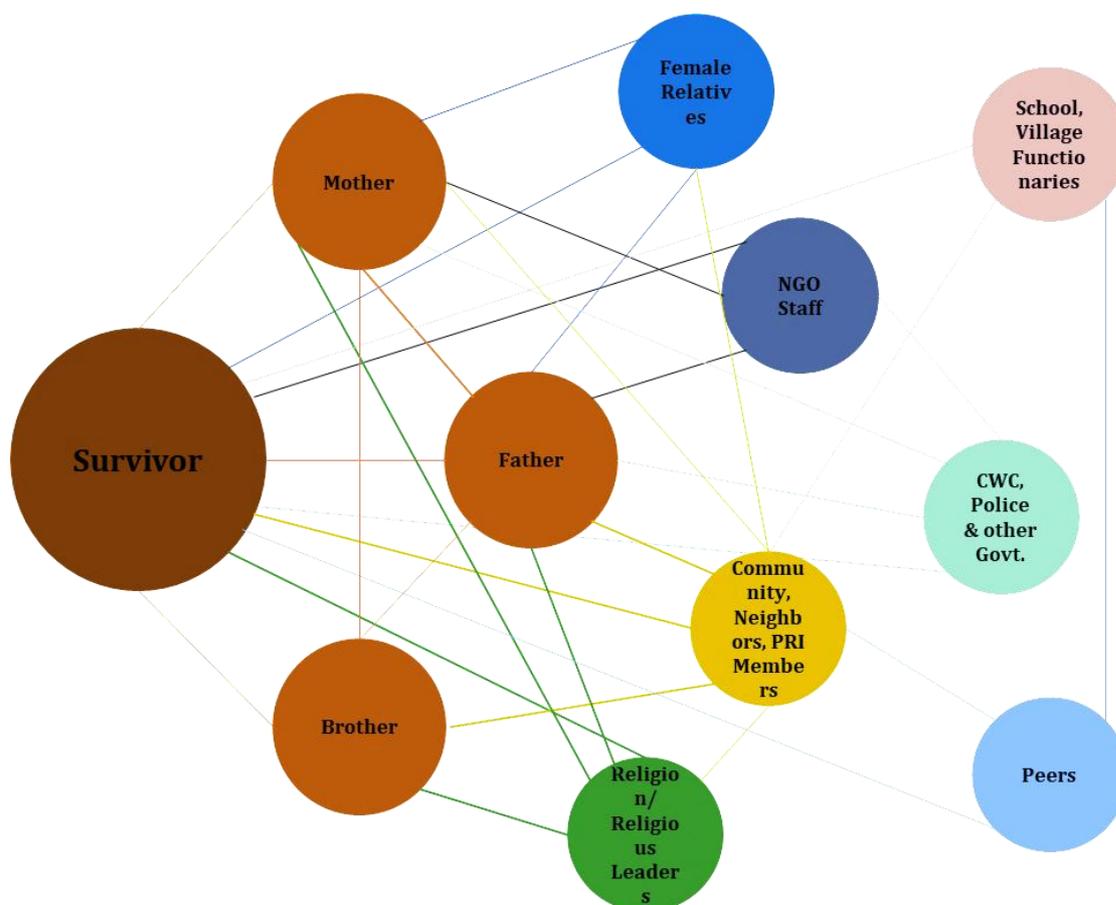


Figure 6: Mapping Reference Groups: West Bengal

<sup>44</sup> [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4\\_09\\_30\\_Whole\\_What\\_are\\_Social\\_Norms.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf)

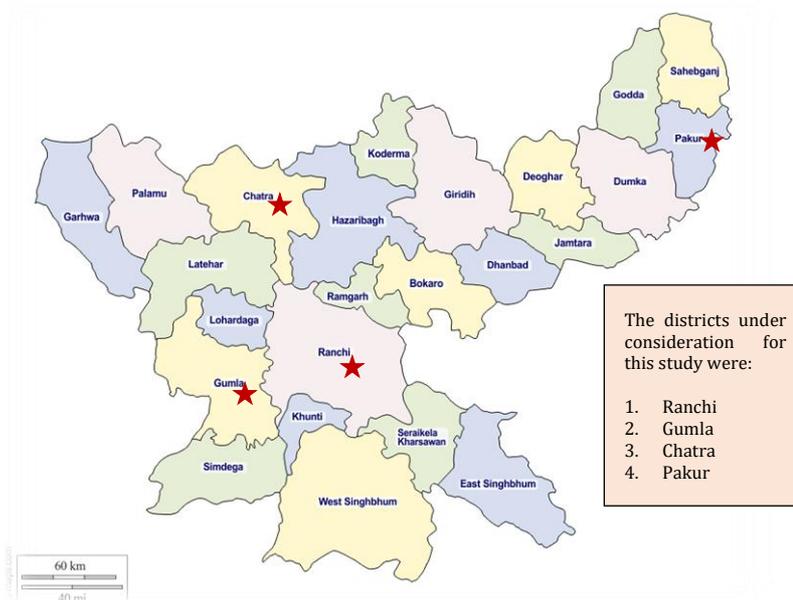
<sup>45</sup> <https://www.unicef.org/mena/media/4891/file/MENA-C4D-Report-May2019.pdf.pdf>

**Institutional reference group** includes the government officials in the child protection and human trafficking ecosystem i.e. the ICPS officials, CWC members, AHTU, police and medical doctors and CCI/shelter home staffs. It also includes the NGOs working on the theme of trafficking and reintegration of survivors. The different stakeholders within the institutional reference group display both harmful social norms as well as positive social norms, as has been discussed in previous sections.

The **key non-institutional reference groups** for survivors include survivor's immediate family members, neighbours, relatives and religious leaders. In the context of the non-institutional reference groups of survivors, there is a strong correlation between injunctive and descriptive norms. Here, the need to be accepted by society (as of survivor's family and extended family members) weighs more than the need to act in ways which are (morally) acceptable. Discussions with family and community members of survivors indicated that acceptance/ non-acceptance of survivors post their rescue are mostly guided by the injunctive norms: *'what I think others expect me to do'*. Families of survivors have revealed that often times the social pressure to save family honour compels them to alienate the survivors. There is a close interaction of survivor's families with other community members (neighbour and relatives) in the rural context of West Bengal. Therefore, the inherent fear in restriction in mobility of community spaces, social alienation by larger community in the form of exclusion in cultural and religious events, fear of stigma being transferred to the male head (father, brother and also, mothers in single parent families) act as deterrents in the complete acceptance/ reintegration of survivors

### 4.1. Jharkhand: An Overview

Jharkhand constituted as the 28<sup>th</sup> state of India on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000, is surrounded by West Bengal in the east, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh in the west; Bihar and Odisha lie in the in the north and southern side of it. The population of Jharkhand according to the 2011 Census stands at about 3.3 crores, making it the 13<sup>th</sup> most populated state in India<sup>46</sup>. As per the Global Slavery Index 2016, most female domestic workers migrate from India's least developed regions such as Jharkhand, West Bengal and Assam to urban areas and works as domestic help in order to cater



**Figure 7: District-wise map of Jharkhand**

to the growing middle class demand<sup>47</sup>. Between 2014 and 2015, there has been a significant rise in the number of children and women trafficked for domestic

servitude from Jharkhand. According to NCRB data, in 2014, 37 children below the age of 18 years were trafficked for domestic work; while 2015 saw a jump to 73 children being trafficked. Similarly in the category of women (above 18 years of age), there was a rise from 40 women trafficked in 2014 to 90 women being trafficked in 2015. Forced labour from Jharkhand saw a similar rise from 40 children (2014) to 66 children (2015); and 8 women (2014) to 26 women (2015). The purpose-wise figures on trafficking for the state of Jharkhand for the year 2016 and 2017 have been given in Annexure III. The districts of Palamu, Garhwa, Sahibganj, Dumka, Pakur, West Singhbhum (Chaibasa), Gumla, Palamu, Hazaribagh and Ranchi are highly prone to trafficking<sup>48</sup> while the destination locations for the trafficked victims are major metropolitan cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, and Bangalore.

### 4.2. Demographic Profile of Survivors

The total number of survivors interviewed in Jharkhand was 18. All 18 survivors belonged to one of the 4 districts under consideration for the study i.e. Ranchi, Gumla, Chatra and Pakur. While Jharkhand witnesses trafficking of children and adults including girls/women and boys/men for labour, domestic work etc., the NGOs under consideration for the study were largely working with female survivors of trafficking. Thus, the interactions with survivors for data collection in Jharkhand were mostly with girls – with only 1 out of the 18 survivors being an adolescent boy from Pakur.

The socio-economic and educational profiles of survivors interviewed in Jharkhand have been given in the figure below. The majority of the survivors have studied till high school (i.e. between Grade V to X) and two of the survivors interviewed were found to be illiterate. Reasons of dropping out of school for

<sup>46</sup> Census 2011 <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/jharkhand.html>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/country-studies/india/>

<sup>48</sup> <https://2bu924cc6vd2agpvm33dx7lq-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/JHARKHAND-DRAFT-REPORT-2.pdf>

survivors included distance of the school being far from the village; fear of naxals abducting children; lack of financial resources etc. The majority of the survivors belonged to Scheduled Tribes<sup>49</sup> (STs) communities like Oraon, Munda, and Lohra while 5 of the survivor interactions were with members of the Pahadiya tribe, categorised as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG)<sup>50</sup> by the Government of India. With regard to family profile, most of the survivors in Jharkhand belonged to families comprising of five to six members which included parents and elder/ younger siblings (boys and girls). Parents of survivors were mostly illiterate or had completed primary level of schooling. In case of the survivors belonging to the PVTGs, the survivors themselves were the first generation learners.

**Table 9: Profile of Survivors: Jharkhand**

<b>Jharkhand (n=18)</b>				
<b>Gender</b> Female: 17 Male : 1	<b>Caste Group</b> General : 0 SC: 0 ST: 12 OBC: 1 Don't know: 5	<b>Education</b> Illiterate: 2 Primary school: 5 High school: 10 Higher secondary: 1 Graduation: 0	<b>Livelihood of the HH</b> Agriculture: 7 Daily wage labour: 8 Self-employed: 0 Other: 3 Don't know:	<b>Marital Status of survivors</b> Single: 18
<b>Age Group</b> 10-15 years: 8 16-18 years: 7 18 years above: 3	<b>Religious Group</b> Hindu: 7 Muslim: 0 Christian: 6 Other (Sarna): 5		<b>Monthly HH Income (in INR)</b> Below 5,000: 4 5-8,000: 6 8-11,000: 0 Above 11,000: 0 Don't know: 11	<b>Survivors who have children</b> No children: 18
				<b>Residence with/at</b> KGBV: 2 Parents: 16

The economic profile of the survivors comprising of main source of income of the household and the monthly household income has been mentioned also given in Figure XX. Of the 18 survivors interviewed for the study, none engaged in any economic activity and were staying with their families (parents). Only 2 survivors were staying in Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalay (KGBV), the residential school for girls.

The tribal communities in the areas under the study are largely dependent on agriculture, agriculture labour, daily wage labour, forest produce, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) etc. The men and women are both engaged in livelihood activities – with the women engaged locally in agriculture, labour etc. while the men migrating for 6 months.

#### 4.3. Context of Trafficking in Jharkhand

Jharkhand has emerged as a vulnerable state for trafficking of women and children for forced labour and slavery and girls are trafficked mainly for domestic servitude in metropolitan cities. According to the National Crime Record Bureau, among the various purposes of human trafficking, trafficking for forced labor is the most prevalent, followed by prostitution (NCRB 2016) while in West Bengal trafficking was mostly for commercial sexual exploitation.

Extreme poverty accompanied by illiteracy, unemployment and alcohol addiction seemed to be the underlying factors favoring the victims' decision to leave home. Most of the survivors stated that absence of sustained source of income led to a willingness to leave home. The trauma of losing a parent drives them to leave home for work reported by few survivors. Therefore a weak family structure, compounded with poverty, illiteracy, and addictions, made children alienated from their own families and increased their vulnerability towards trafficking. *"Children do not continue their education due to poverty and the*

<sup>49</sup> Scheduled Tribe: Schedule Tribes are community of people who lived in tribal areas (mainly forest). Article 366 (25) defined scheduled tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this constitution.

<sup>50</sup> No. 19 under List of PVTGs published by Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India: <https://tribal.nic.in/DivisionsFiles/ListofPVTGs191212.pdf>

*school drop outs are more vulnerable to trafficking, Government Official, Ranchi.* Young girls are more inclined towards migrating from their homes due to a lack of social support and an increased difficulty to meet financial needs for survival (Shared Hope International 2011). Additionally, children belonging to ST/PTVG families; single parent families; families comprising 3-4 daughters, etc. are even more vulnerable. -The women trafficked from Jharkhand belong to Oraon, Munda, Santhal (including endangered Pahariya ) and Gond tribes, out of which, maximum are from Oraon and Munda<sup>51</sup>.

Most victims were trafficked by known relatives, neighbors and friends. The majority of survivors stated that the process of trafficking began from the victims' homes<sup>52</sup>. As was reported in West Bengal; in Jharkhand as well, traffickers took advantage of their impoverishment and lured them by promising a better life in cities like Delhi, Pune, and Chennai. *"Traffickers approach those families which have more children, particularly girls. Poverty and larger family size adds to their vulnerability, making it easy to lure parents to send their daughter to earn money in bigger cities, Relative of survivor."* This perception largely came from government officials in Jharkhand who shared that in the case of larger families, even if one child goes out to work, the parents do not take huge cognizance and often are willing to take this risk if there is sustained income promised by the trafficker. Gumla, Chaibasa, Lohardaga, Dhanbad, West Singhbhum, Simdega are prime districts for trafficking of girls for domestic work to bigger cities like New Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Bangalore reported by the project staff.

The aspirational factor plays a major pull factor in trafficking shared by the government officials. Aspirations for better earnings and optimism of not being trafficked; results in parents encouraging and even sending children out for work. *" Re-trafficking is a reality and despite one incidence of trafficking in a family, the child or his/her parents would be willing to take a another risk if the trafficker lures by giving an advance amount of money and ensuring the family receives money till up to 3-4 months after trafficking the child"* Government official, Gumla. Additionally, after one or two such experiences, the survivors are willing to take a risk under the hope that they would not be trafficked and would get employed. According to NGO staff and government officials the poverty and deprivation is higher at home, which compels them to seek work outside.

The ratio of girls and boys being trafficked is 75:25 (a rough estimate shared by government officials and NGO staffs in Jharkhand). According to a government official, Gumla, boys do not get trafficked but mostly migrate to work as labour. He stated that Jharkhand girls are known for being hard-worker and can work for more than 10 hours since they are habituated to work at home, in the fields, collect firewood from forest etc. The girls maybe engaged in work for over 10 years, may or may not get paid, are vulnerable to verbal, physical and sexual abuse from their employees and/or the placement agencies. Another perspective which emerged from Jharkhand was that girls are not trafficked for sex-work owing to their body structure and are considered 'more suited' to labour work.

Rina, 14, is a survivor from Ranchi who was trafficked for domestic work. According to Rina's aunt given the same socio-economic situation of 2 families, the difference between two families wherein from one a girl gets trafficked and not from the other is - that in the former there is the possibility of a precedent wherein either the mother or elder sister have stepped out for work; there is higher alcoholism (amongst the parents) leading to negligence of children. In the latter family, there is the belief that children need to be protected and should stay with the family irrespective of any situation. This was reiterated by NGO staff in Ranchi who stated that families wherefrom members have migrated/or been trafficked are more vulnerable as the siblings have precedent to follow within the family. In case of Rina, both her parents were negligent of their children, were into alcoholism, could not provide for their children; hence Rina sought work outside and got trafficked.

**Box 17: Case Study V**

<sup>51</sup> <https://2bu924cc6vd2agpvm33dx7lq-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/JHARKHAND-DRAFT-REPORT-2.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> The study did not meet with the traffickers – as they are not easy to identify and locate. Such persons in the community would not disclose their actions as traffickers as well.

According to another government official from Ranchi, the difference in the two families is sincerity and towards raising children and providing a protective environment. In the family where trafficking takes place, the parents are seen not to be involved in the children; are not aware about the movement of the children; do not monitor their activities, behaviour and whom they meet. Another government official from Gumla echoed these by stating that parents are engaged in either earning a livelihood (mostly women) and/or or alcoholism (mostly men), leaving them no time to nurture children as is seen in the cities. Parents are occupied in ensuring 2 meals a day for the family and thus have no time to engage in a dialogue with their children. According to him, if a child is missing for a few days, the parents are not alarmed as they assume he/she would be with relatives and would return in a few days' time. According to government official, Gumla some parents are well-aware of the situation and voluntarily send their child with trafficker in order to earn money. The trafficker instils trust with parents by sending back money for a few months. According to him as long as parents are receiving money from the trafficker, they do not complain. However, once the trafficker stops sending money, the parents register a compliant/file and FIR. According to him there have been cases when parents have registered a compliant after 3-6 months as well. NGO staff from Gumla reiterated this point of parents delaying complaining owing to multiple reasons of economic compulsions, fear of police and procedures etc. However, with more propagation about trafficking, communities are being made aware to take cognizance of the situation of their child and report a missing case immediately.

#### 4.4. Role of Social Norms in Reintegration of Survivors

To understand how social norms perpetuate beliefs and behaviours towards discrimination and violence against survivors of trafficking, it is important to understand the operation of stigma within the given context of trafficking in Jharkhand.

##### 4.4.1. Trafficking and stigma against survivors in context of Jharkhand

The nature and extent of stigma faced by survivors of trafficking from Jharkhand is **distinct** from West Bengal. Of the 18 survivors interviewed, a few did face overt and covert stigma; while most did not face debilitating stigma. The organisations working in the 4 study districts also stated that the level of stigma is lower as girls are trafficked for domestic work unlike West Bengal where majority are trafficked for sex work. Girls might get more stigmatised as they move out of home for work; and community members might assume that the girl might have been sexually exploited. However, girls often do not share the trauma or sexual exploitation which they might have had to face at the destination or in transit, hence any stigma which may arise from sexual exploitation is not experienced. According to a counsellor working in Gumla, the survivors do not openly talk and share about stigma and even deny it, according to her, as they are shy and reserved. However, it was found that of those who did experience more debilitating stigma, they belonged to the Hindu communities where the caste and gender prescribes norms of mobility and sexuality that are more stringent; and non-compliance by individuals and/or their families results in stigma.

##### 4.4.2. Most prevalent Social Norms

While the focus of the study was unpacking social norms in context of reintegration of survivors of trafficking, the study findings revealed certain social norms which act as catalysts to the incidence of trafficking. These norms also reveal the reason for lower or lack of stigma when a survivor is rescued and rehabilitated within the family. Thus, this section discusses the social norms in the context of trafficking, as witnessed in Jharkhand.

##### ◆ *Different expectations from girls and boys - 'girls are more responsible'*

While there is lower discrimination amongst girls and boys in the tribal communities, different behavioural expectations from girls and boys are prevalent. It was found that the girls are more noticed

and commented upon as compared to boys. *“Chore jaisa karti hain jab cycle chalata hai”* (“Acts like a boy while riding the bicycle”) - Adolescent girl, Ranchi. Some of the normative expectations of girls and boys, as collated from multiple stakeholders, have been collated here (Box 18).

Normative expectations of boys/ Injunctive norms	Normative expectations of girls/ Injunctive norms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Have to attend school</li> <li>- Doesn't get addicted to substance</li> <li>- Earns a livelihood</li> <li>- Takes care of parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not wear clothing like jeans and shirt</li> <li>- Not loiter about in the village</li> <li>- Attends school</li> <li>- Gets married at appropriate age</li> <li>- Takes care of family</li> </ul>
Empirical expectations of boys Descriptive Norms	Empirical expectations of girls/ Descriptive Norms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Will loiter around with friends</li> <li>- Can go out without informing parents</li> <li>- Not engaged in household chores</li> <li>- Not as hard working as girls</li> <li>- Don't have many rules and have free will to act as per wishes</li> <li>- Get addicted to alcohol</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Is sincere so will attend school regularly</li> <li>- Will listen to parents</li> <li>- Engaged in all household chores</li> <li>- Take care of family</li> </ul>

**Box 18: Normative and Empirical expectation of Boys and Girls**

Therefore girls have to adhere to more societal expectations than boys like girls have to stay mostly at home; take care of family, engaged in agricultural work and doing the household chores. Girls are not allowed to study after 8<sup>th</sup> while boys have the freedom to study and even graduation if the family can afford it. The concept of *'beti paraya dhan hoti hain'* is very much prevalent and girls are expected not to go out and work and should get married after age of 18 years where as boys get married after the age of 25 years and mostly migrate to cities for work. Also Girls are not allowed to go outside the village for work for fear of physical and sexual abuse. IDIs with women revealed that safety is more important for girls than boys – as the boys are strong enough to take care of themselves and there is more probability of exploitation on girls.. The community would blame the family saying *“ladki jaat ko bahar nahi bhejna chahiye.”* However, this is not the case with boys as it is a normative expectative that boys will eventually migrate to earn a livelihood.

Boys are the ones who inherit the property and so they do not take extra efforts to study or work and loiter about, get involved in alcoholism, might elope and marry early and beget children. *“Ladke hi sare property lete hai aur issi wajah se kuch padai aur kaam nahi karte aur nasa bhi karne lagte hai. Women group”* There is no clear (negative) sanction on this behaviour of the boys as their reference point is also the men in the family and the community who indulge in alcohol consumption and this put more responsibility on women to manage the house. Such addiction by their fathers and older brothers drove the girls to migrate for work and in the process get trafficked. *“ According to a counsellor associated with an NGO in Ranchi, boys are able to somehow manage their expenses by doing odd jobs. They look out for themselves, however the young girls in the families feel more responsible and their objective is to earn money to sustain the family at large. Additionally, the girls have a clear reference point in their mothers who are the ones being most responsible for the family- the girls thus naturally adopt this trait. Thus, while the 'normative expectations' are clearly defined in the communities (both tribal and non-tribal), the exigencies of poverty and aspirations lead to some girls venturing out of the village for work (and get trafficked).*

*My father had taken me out to earn money and the middle man offering work, trafficked me. After rescue,, my mother was aware that my father was responsible for it and thus no stigma and in fact reprimanded the father - Survivor, Ranchi*

**Box 19: Survivor Speak I**

The normative and empirical expectation of 'looking out for the well-being of the family' is stronger than other norms in case of survivors. On return, a survivor is also seen to have not adhered to these normative expectations (injunctive norms) listed above and face stigma. Whereas stigma is lower for a survivor, where the family members encouraged the girl to seek work outside village

◆ **Norms on sexuality and mobility in tribal communities**

The tribal communities in the areas follow 'Dhukku Pratha' wherein a couple gets together and the girl lives with the family of the (self-chosen) boy prior to marriage. They are then wedded off by the larger community and accepted in lieu of a grand feast with *khasi (goat meat)*. Village melas and festivals are prime locations for adolescents to interact, form bonds and elope, as stated by a women's group from Gumla. It was found that there is an increase in, adolescent girls and boys eloping stated by community people. However, there is no stigma attached, with this system and the couple are accepted by the family and community members (See Box 20).

As can be derived, there is lesser parental and by extension community control through strict norms on sexuality, marriage and mobility amongst the tribal communities. Government officials from Gumla shared that in tribal communities there is greater choice available to decide on matters of marriage and mobility, thereby there is more tolerance and acceptance when a survivor of trafficking returns to the family and community. "In tribal communities, there is lesser control over children; they are more mobile and have the freedom of movement and association and sexual relations are often forged before marriage and are acceptable in the society"- Care Giver, Gumla. This shows a higher tolerance of expression of sexuality and higher mobility amongst both boys and girls and results in greater acceptance of the survivors of trafficking.

	<b>Descriptive norm</b>	<b>Injunctive norm</b>
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	Adolescents in tribal communities make their own choice in selecting a partner for marriage. Often they elope and marry called as 'haran vivah' or the girl starts living with the boy's family as seen in 'dhuku pratha'	The expectation of girls and boys is that they marry at an appropriate age – appropriate age for girls is considered 18 and above 20 for boys
	Both norms reinforce each other leading to tolerance and normalisation of pre-marital sex, freedom of choice, mobility thereby precluding any stigma that might result from loss of virginity (f as seen in Hindu communities)	

**Box 20: Norms on marriage and sexuality in Jharkhand**

◆ **Distinct norms related to marriage and virginity in Hindu communities**

As can be gleaned from differential experiences from survivors from tribal communities and Hindu communities (OBCs primarily) there is lower acceptance of survivors of trafficking amongst Hindu communities as opposed to tribal communities. This is further reiterated by project staffs of different organisations and government officials in the 4 districts. , "With survivors of Hindu communities, we have often seen parents do not want to accept the child. We have to call parents multiple times to ensure they visit the child in the CCI. However with tribal communities, we have seen that parents, despite their poverty, manage to come to the CCI and insist on taking the child back home as soon as possible, CCI counsellor Gumla." Children who are not accepted by families continue to stay in the shelter or are enrolled in a residential school (this study did not meet such survivors). In Hindu communities "Premarital sex is a taboo" and therefore it would be difficult for a (girl) child to get married after going through an incident of trafficking. This is because the girl was outside the purview of her parents for a long time and her status of being a virgin cannot be guaranteed where as in tribal communities, sexuality is expressed and accepted much more and existing customs like 'dhukku' and 'haran vivah' results in the society not stigmatising girls owing to loss of virginity. In Gumla, the NGO staff shared that the concept of family honour being eroded if a girl is abused/is sexually active/or has stepped out of the village by herself is higher in Hindu communities thereby the acceptance is lower and stigma is experienced by the survivor.

Bina, 17, a survivor from Gumla shared that the survivor's chacha-chachi (father's brother [uncle] and his wife [aunt]) keep taunting her that she should not have gone out. Their elder son is of a marriageable age and the chachi says that unless Bina's parents feed the community & family, people will ostracize even their family. Her mother states: *"Alag kitna rahenge, log humare ghar uthna-baithan kam kar denge. Hum jhuk gayein hain smaaaj ke saamne"* ("For how long would we stay separately, people will stop visiting us. We have been humiliated in front of the society"). Bina belongs to a Hindu OBC family and stays in village comprising of Oraon families. The mother is afraid to send the daughter alone and accompanies her everywhere. The mother fears for her physical safety and was abroad that her cousin brother (chacha's son) would physically abuse Bina owing to the 'dishonour' that his family status was brought to the family. Her chacha commented that Bina has lowered their status in society. However he and his son haven't yet indulged in any physical harm, but the chacha and his family (who are their neighbours) have stopped visiting their house. She said that the pressure is more from their community than from the villagers – *"Neeche jaate mein kuch bhi ho sakta hain, chalta hain. Humarein yahan bade log kehte hain woh manna padega."* ("In lower castes everything is acceptable; in our community, we have to listen to the elders"). Elders include parents in law and elder men/women relatives of the family.

#### Box 21: Case Study VI

##### ◆ Norms in case of a pregnant survivor

Acceptance of survivor who is pregnant by family and society was explored through vignettes with the community, organisation staffs and government officials as none of the survivor at the time of rescue or post rescue were pregnant. However, it was found that a survivor who is pregnant, her acceptance in community would be a challenge reported by multiple stakeholders. This was true of tribal and non-tribal communities as well.

The study findings revealed that survivors of trafficking are often abused and sexually exploited. They do not share their trauma openly and often do not know they are pregnant. In case of pregnancy, it was found that most parents do not accept the child due to the fear that the survivor would not be accepted and cannot get married. In this case, it is the responsibility of the CWC to take the necessary action with family involvement to prevent further stigmatisation and acceptance of the survivor by the family and community. *"If a survivor is pregnant and if the family refuses to accept, and the pregnancy is below twenty weeks, abortion is recommended but in case the pregnancy has proceeded beyond 20 weeks, the girl has to undergo delivery – either at her parents place or in a shelter home." Both the girl and the child become the responsibility of the CWC and in some cases there is an attitudinal change in the survivor post-delivery and acceptance for the child"*- Government official, Ranchi.

While the government has a set procedure to follow in case of pregnancy of a survivor, there is a community level perception and response as well. The responses to this situation were seen to be different from different stakeholders in the same location. According to the women's group interactions in Ranchi, they shared that a baithak (meeting) will be organised and the Gram Sabha and village headmen takes the decision. While the men in the community would not want the survivor to go ahead with her pregnancy while the women would be more understanding as they know it is not her fault<sup>53</sup>. The opinion of the survivor will not be considered as the family has to balance between the child's wishes and the societal expectations. The PRI member of the same village in Ranchi however refuted this and stated that this sort of a baithak (meeting)s will not be organised as everyone in the GS will have a different opinion and the GS will isolate the family. According to him if the family will not accept, the society will also not accept (as they share the same norms). Thus to avoid this scenario, the family would either send the girl to the relative's place or take the appropriate government department's help. .

Interactions with women from Gumla indicated that in case a survivor is pregnant, the men in the family (especially the brother) and community will not accept the girl easily. The reason being *"Ladki ki shaadi*

<sup>53</sup> The reason for the apparent contradiction being: one, this finding was particular to the context of Jharkhand; two the finding of female neighbours/relatives being the main stigmatisers was the experience of survivors from West Bengal.; three, often it was noted that respondents would reply with what would be considered an appropriate answer.

*nahi hui hain aur baap ka pata bhi nahi hain*” (The girl is unmarried and the father of the child is not known) – women’s group, Gumla. The women would be more accepting, especially the mother whose strong maternal instincts would make her more accepting of her daughter - *“Ma aka dil koma hota hian, who samajh leti hain”* – Women’s Group, Gumla In such a case the girl will be sent to relative’s place to escape trauma and stigma she might face in her own village community.

As can be deduced, while norms around sexuality, marriage and mobility might be different in tribal and Hindu communities, in case of pregnancy (outside marriage), the girl under consideration and her family would be stigmatised in Hindu as well as tribal communities. In Pakur, in case of the PVTG the religious leader (Church Father) working with this community shared that in case of out-of-wedlock pregnancy also, there is no major stigma and the girl as well child would be accepted and would not be questioned on *‘who is the father.’*

#### 4.4.3. Religious norms

Durkheim argued that religion acted as a source of solidarity and identification for the individuals within a society, especially as a part of mechanical solidarity systems, and to a lesser, but still important extent in the context of organic solidarity. According to Durkheim, religion reinforced the morals and social norms held collectively by all within a society. Religion provides social control, cohesion, and purpose for people, as well as another means of communication and gathering for individuals to interact and reaffirm social norms.<sup>54</sup>

The areas of the study witnessed multiple Hindu communities like Dalits, OBCs and tribal communities like Oran, Lohra, Munda, Pahaydia (Pahadiya fall under PTVG i.e. Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups<sup>55</sup>). The religions practised include Hindu, Christianity and Sarna (See Box 22).

<b>Sarna</b>	Central to Sarna dharam is the worship of nature <sup>56</sup> , preserving and worshiping sacred groves. The tribal communities have a ‘prarthana sabha’ every week wherein religious thoughts are shared by the pahan/priest. This sabha is quite influential; however no social issues are discussed. Some exceptions are there wherein in some villages the pahan actively advocated against alcohol consumption. According to the women in Gumla, the pahan presides over matters of festivals, death, birth and marriage; on all other matters or problems, the villagers approach the ward member or the mukhiya for assistance. Thus, the role and influence of pahan is limited in nature and the influence of Sarna religion in determining social norms is also limited.
<b>Christianity</b>	Many tribal communities in Jharkhand have adopted Christianity, while also maintaining tribal customs and traditions. Certain social norms related to family, men and women’s role, role of children and adolescents are important teachings disseminated by the Church – emerging from this is the social norm around family, which has been discussed ahead
<b>Hinduism</b>	KII with priest from Jharkhand brought forth that the major role played by religion and religious leaders is officiating over rituals like festivals, functions, poojas and facilitating rites of passage like birth, marriage and death. Additionally the caste determined customs and roles also play an important role in maintaining social order, as stated by the priest.

**Box 22: Religions practiced in Jharkhand**

#### ◆ *Family as the basic unit of society*

The study met two religious leaders (Church Father) to understand about religion and its role vis-à-vis trafficking survivors. It was found that that the religious leaders lay high importance on family – seen as smallest unit of society and on which the Church is based. According to them, the members of family propagate values which hold this unit together. The religious leader of church play a key role in maintaining solidarity through their teachings like they prepare youth for marriage and also facilitates a dialogue between couple before they get married. Even after marriage, counselling is provided to help

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.redalyc.org/html/607/60724509005/>

<sup>55</sup> No. 19 under List f PTVGs published by Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India: <https://tribal.nic.in/DivisionsFiles/ListofPVTGs191212.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> Page 109: In the Shadows of the State: Indigenous Politics, Environmentalism, and Insurgency in Jharkhand, India (2010) By Alpa Shah [https://books.google.co.in/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Oe8uYsl\\_GD8C&oi=fnd&pg=PT7&dq=sarna+religion+jharkhand&ots=cHYJeLSIAC&sig=S\\_iwzKlTaCqCLSb\\_oqFObJX4sql&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q=sarna&f=false](https://books.google.co.in/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Oe8uYsl_GD8C&oi=fnd&pg=PT7&dq=sarna+religion+jharkhand&ots=cHYJeLSIAC&sig=S_iwzKlTaCqCLSb_oqFObJX4sql&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=sarna&f=false)

them understand and perform the new roles – women are linked to the Mahila Sangh and men to the Purush Sangh. According to the Father in Gumla the roles are different and unique as determined by nature – with the wife being the primary care taker, nourishing and bringing up children; while the father is the head and protector as well as provider for the family. The church also organises camps and conventions for youth and children wherein teachings of Christianity, about their role as students, their role in family and social life are shared. They are oriented on matters of faith, education and career.

According to a counsellor associated with an NGO in Ranchi, the tribal families who have adopted Christianity, there is more focus on education, keeping the family together. The Church (including the priests) provides support not only through advice but even monetary support in certain cases to help the community members in need. *“The Church, is giving more information and awareness generated on matters of family, education. There are age appropriate modules wherein children, adolescents and adults are taught morals, values and even skills through training centres, Project staff, NGO.”* The counsellor further reiterated that these systems – of advice, monetary support, focus on family, marriage etc. are positive norms that help combat trafficking and might also help in effective reintegration of the survivor.

In terms of Hindu religion, it primarily plays importance to caste and gender norms. Thus a family is a sub-set of a caste community and has to adhere to the caste-prescribed norms. The focus is on honour and protection of the female members from being lured by those from outside the caste. The interaction with the religious priest did not bring forth a strong focus of the Hindu religion to matters of education and career; while the focus was on spirituality, dharma (religious faith and practice).

◆ **Religion and associated norms on marriage, sexuality etc.**

While importance of family, child upbringing and child protection is forwarded by the Church, the tribal communities continue to practice certain cultural practices which might be contrary to teachings of Christianity – particularly vis-à-vis marriage and sexuality. While both the stakeholders associated with the Church stated that the Church propagates single sexual partner, marriage at the prescribed legal age, doesn't approve of pre-marital sex and abortion; they stated that certain tribal norms around marriage (i.e. *dhukku pratha* and *haran vivah*) and sexuality ('free sex') continue to exist.

	<b>Descriptive norm</b>	<b>Injunctive norm</b>
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	ST communities witnesses free sexuality, mobility of adolescents and youth through the <i>dhukku pratha</i> and <i>haran vivah</i>	In context of Church, it prescribes single sexual partner; marriage at the prescribed legal age, doesn't approve of pre-marital sex and abortion
	Women fulfil multiple roles in the family – including earning a livelihood, taking care of household chores and children. As shared by women from ST communities themselves, high alcoholism amongst men is a key factor for them not fulfilling their duties in the family	In context of Church, it prescribes women being the primary nurturer; care taker and men being the providers/bread winners of the family
	Thus, in this case, the injunctive norms, as propagated by the Church on marriage, sexuality, role of women are weak as the descriptive norms are those determined by the socio-cultural context of the region	

**Box 23: Norms on marriage and sexuality**

**Hinduism:** The study findings revealed prevalence of religious norms on gender, caste, women, marriage and mobility. Some of the norms which are more prevalent are described below:

◆ **Caste-determined functioning of society**

*“As per Hindu dharma, each caste has its own sub-culture and norms and people belonging to these communities should follow these norms, Priest Chatra.”* According to the priest there is more discrimination in upper caste communities than lower castes as the latter 'adjust' with each other. Further the tribal communities have a distinct set of rule for marriage (i.e. *dhukku pratha* and *haran vivah*) which are looked down upon by the Caste Hindu communities which follow norms of arranged marriage by parents, ; inter-caste marriage and do not approve of pre-marital

sex. On trafficking, the priest opined that trafficking takes place mostly in lower caste communities and tribal communities and indicated towards growing elopement along religious lines and due to influence of external attractions which have reached the interiors of Jharkhand through the mobile phone and internet.

◆ **Girls representing honour of the family**

IDIs with the priest revealed that there is a division of role amongst men and women, with women being the home-makes and men providing for the family. However, the field observations reveal that women from SC/ST communities are more engaged in working outside the house owing to high alcoholism amongst men. On the issue of trafficking, as per the Hindu dharam, protecting girls from elopement; trafficking; sexual abuse etc. is important and multiple local groups are working towards the same like Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Jagran Manch etc., “*ladki ek baar bhatak jaati hain, sudharna kathin hain*” (*It is difficult to reform a girl once she has strayed off-course*), Priest, Chatra “. There is also a belief that any girl going through an incident of trafficking would bring dishonour to the girl as well as her family. It would be a challenge for such a girl to be married off. According to priests, it is common for families to migrate to other villages in case they have had to face such an incident. The only way to reform a girl who has ‘strayed off-course’ is by educating her to walk on the ‘dharmik’ path. This comprises following the spiritual teachings of the religion; instilling a good character and good behaviour; following caste values and morals (as each caste propagates different morals and values).

	<b>Descriptive norm</b>	<b>Injunctive norm</b>
<b>Cialdini (social norms)</b>	As seen in earlier sections, within OBC communities, there is a greater stigma given to survivors owing to the societal and religious position on gender and caste,	The caste Hindu society reinforces and prescribes traditional gender norms in addition to caste-based norms which restrict mobility. Sanctions follow and are usually different as per caste
	Both norms reinforce each other leading to greater control over girls and women; their sexuality, mobility. Since the normative and empirical expectations overall, this norm is seen to hold strong ground in the caste Hindu societies.	

**Box 24: Norms on caste and gender**

**4.4.4. Barriers to Reintegration**

In the context of Jharkhand, there are multiple barriers to reintegration including stigma experienced by survivors. However, since the nature, extent of stigma faced by survivors in Jharkhand is distinct, this section discusses the challenges to reintegration as have emerged organically from survivor’s experiences; from experiences of the civil society members working on the issue of trafficking and multiple government officials associated with child protection.

The aspect of survivors facing physical violence at the hands of the family or community has not emerged from the multi-stakeholder interactions in Jharkhand, hence has not been part of discussion under this section. While the aspect was thoroughly probed with all stakeholders, overt physical violence was faced by survivors at destination and not after returning and reintegrating with family.

◆ **Stigma as a barrier to reintegration**

There is stigma given by community for some time after the survivors returns, however it is not a permanent tag/label attached, as shared by the relatives of survivors and survivors themselves. As per a family member of a survivor, that if a girl has gone by her ‘own will’ she will be taunted as opposed to a girl who was ‘forced to go.’ This aspect of free will is ambiguous and it is up to each one to judge if the survivor had gone of hi/her own will or otherwise. There is no common parameter to judge or there is no effort made on part of the community to seek information on this aspect. However in case where the parents knew about the situation or were perceived to be directly responsible for the same, the family

would be blamed saying, *“Beti ki kamayi ka khaate hain”* (You are surviving on the daughter’s earnings). In situations where the survivor returns within a short span of time and/or is rescued from her way to the destination state, there is a higher chance of ridicule/ stigma by the community. Questions like *“kyun gayi thi bahar?”* (Why had you gone out?) are often posed for the survivors. In other situations where the girls are rescued from traffickers after a span of 2-3 years, chances of ridicule/ stigma are lesser as the family is happy and relieved that the girl has returned home safe.

*‘Dilli-returned’* is the most common articulation of stigma faced by survivors, irrespective of the actual destination location to where the girls were trafficked. An aunt of a survivor (who is now studying at KGBV), who is her local guardian stated that survivors of trafficking are not labelled as ‘bad girls’ if they blend in the society as before. According to her if there is change in lifestyle like different clothes, use of make-up, accessories etc. is evident, she will be termed as *‘Dilli- returned’* thereby perpetuating covert stigma. A change in language, outlook and lifestyle will invite ridicule from the community members. As shared by the NGO staff parents of adolescent girls in the community will not allow them interacting with *‘Dilli-retuned’* girl for the fear that the survivor will influence them.

**‘Dilli-return’**  
 This list has been collated as per experiences and responses of multiple stakeholders to understand the implicit and explicit meaning associated with the term *“Dilli-returned.”* The most commonly observed meanings have been noted here. However, the term doesn’t mean aggregation of all the observations listed here, but would mean a combination of the meanings listed here.

- Girls who have gone out for work/were trafficked
- Displays a change in lifestyle
- Wears clothing like jeans, uses make up
- Use of accessories and mobile phone
- Change in language -‘talks fast’/ ‘talks in Hindi’
- Has become ‘fair’ and ‘healthy’
- Has earned money and upgraded household lifestyle materially – example contributed to education of sibling; buying a bicycle etc.
- *“Bahut sara ghat ka paani pike aayin hain”* Has multiple sexual partners

**Box 25: Unpacking the term ‘Delhi-returned’**

◆ ***Self-stigma, humiliation as barriers to access education***

According to the social worker in Ranchi, reintegration through education can be a challenge as survivors do not want to seek re-admission in the school as their friends have either left the school or are in higher classes; they feel humiliation to study in lower classes as the difference might be apparent; they are often questioned by the teacher as to why they had dropped out- adding to their humiliation. Additionally in local village community it is not possible to keep identity protected and schoolchildren and teachers do come to know about the survivor’s incident of being trafficked. Thus even fear of stigma or humiliation (not just for being a survivor, but related to age) deters survivors from continuing education. Of the 18 survivors, at least 2 survivors – 1 from Chatra and 1 from Gumla reiterated these sentiments and despite being below 15 years of age at the time of rescue, did not continue their schooling.

The study met with two teachers (one, a warden of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalay [KGBV] in Palkot and second, a missionary head of a school for tribal children belonging to communities in Pakur). While the latter stated that there has been no enrolment of survivors of trafficking yet, the former stated that currently the Palkot KGBV has enrolled 4 survivors of trafficking. This one interaction with a teacher points towards limited understanding of the phenomenon of trafficking and limited awareness of precautions to adopt while enrolling survivors of trafficking. Additionally, the warden seemed to reflect certain community perceptions of a survivor ‘transferring’ unfavourable values to other girls in the institution. The warden’s experience has further elaborated in Box 26.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV), Palkot: The KGBV, Palkot has currently 4 survivors of trafficking enrolled. According to the warden, the girls initially do not like the restricted atmosphere of the school and hostel. She stated that since they are habituated to freedom, earning money, they often do not wish to stay and study. They prefer a particular type of lifestyle which they cannot afford while staying KGBV. This leaves them agitated; whoever over time, they settle down through regular counselling and interaction with teachers and in the group. **While there is no written policy to protect identity of the survivor, the students and teacher come to know about the incident of trafficking – either through the girl's demeanour or she herself shares about the incident. The warden and teachers have received no orientation on trafficking from the Govt, but the NGO has had session on human trafficking.** The warden shared that at times they are afraid that girls might influence the behaviour and thought-process of other girls negatively. They are scared that they might transfer values that she might have learnt staying in Delhi. She commented that in case of survivors of trafficking, "*Bahar ka haava-paani lag gaya hain*" (The girls have been exposed to the outside world). On being asked to elaborate the 'value' the warden meant associating oneself with boys, attractions of clothes, mobile phone etc.

**Box 26: Experiences of the Warden from KGBV, Palkot**

◆ ***Poor economic condition coupled with fear of authority***

A government official from Ranchi stated that facilitating reintegration (especially on the legal front) is a challenge owing to the poor economic condition of the families of the survivors. Often they do not have sufficient money to commute from the village to the district place to avail of the entitlements meant for the survivors. Thus, filing court case by the family against a trafficker is very rare since they do not have the economic wherewithal to fund the expenses accrued while fighting a legal case. Echoing these views, another government official from Gumla stated that often the survivor's family is reluctant to get involved in court proceedings citing monetary concerns. Often the survivor's family is bribed by the trafficker to not file an FIR or complain. In some cases, parents enter into an understanding with the trafficker in lieu of settlement money and withdraw the lodged FIRs. A government official added, "*Police ka mehnaat khaali ho jaata hain!*" According to him, the police want traffickers to be prosecuted and put behind bars. Government officials from Gumla added that parents are glad to have the child back with them and do not wish to file an FIR. Another reason is that if the trafficker is a relative, parents do not want to file an FIR as antagonising a relative is against the social norm of the community.

◆ ***Lack of reintegration owing to exclusion from institutional support***

According to the government officials from Ranchi and Gumla children aged 15 to 18 are even more vulnerable to re-trafficking as they are outside the ambit of any protection scheme of the government. For children aged 15 years and below there are residential schools; for 18 years and above there are skill development initiatives. However for adolescents aged 15 to 18 years, they are beyond the age to be admitted in schools and not yet eligible for skill development initiatives of the government. According to the government officials from Gumla, the adolescents are reintegrated back to the same situation where the survivor's vulnerability to re-trafficking is high.

◆ ***Unable to adjust –leading to re-trafficking or migration***

According to a social worker in Ranchi, not all survivors have faced abuse and discrimination at destination. If such survivors, after they are rehabilitated with family, do not receive counselling and such other support, if there is no systematic follow-up; they feel isolated and do not adjust to the village situation. They are unable to adjust to the lack of facilities in the village, the local food once they have been exposed to a different lifestyle comprising different types of food, television, easy access to water, mobile, internet etc. These survivors themselves find a *dalal* and want to escape their situation of poverty.

According NGO workers and government officials from Gumla, this situation hold true even for survivors who might have faced discrimination or abuse. "*Girls who have escaped debilitating poverty, any 'injustices' or 'abuse' perpetuated at destination by the employers is 'relative' compared to the injustice they face belonging to a deprived section of the society*" – Government official, Gumla. NGO workers in Gumla shared that some survivors gain more awareness after one incident of trafficking and know how to avoid pitfalls. Thus, the next time they take more precautions and migrate willingly as locally they do not receive the requisite support and the avenues to earn a livelihood. The counsellors in Gumla shared that currently there is no system to regularly follow up with survivors once they are rehabilitated with their parents.

Thus, there is gap in follow up to understand the challenges survivors might face and take any appropriate actions.

The NGO perspective on what survivors should do is varied and not universal. In scenarios where the survivors have had positive experiences and have been rescued wishes to return to destination in which case the NGO (in Gumla) counsels and advises on safe migration (only if survivor is 18 years above). They counsel on the precautions to be taken like registering with the labour officer, getting a green or red card (is allocated by dept. depending on the information they have and if they are going be self or through an agent) informing parents and the Panchayat, being in touch with the NGO if required etc.

#### **4.4.5. Positive Norms and Practices influencing Reintegration of Survivors**

It was found that the stigma faced by the survivors of trafficking in Jharkhand is lower (compared to witnessed by survivors in West Bengal), the study attempted to unpack the positive norms in context of Jharkhand.

##### **◆ *Women playing a major role in providing for family***

A key observation recorded universally from multiple stakeholder met during the study is that in the tribal communities in the areas visited for the study, the women are the primary 'bread-winners' for the family. The rate of alcoholism is high amongst the men in the community which results in the men either not working on a regular basis and/or spending the money earned on alcohol, thereby contributing very little to the running of the household. The women on the other hand are engaged in agriculture, collecting forest produce, daily wage labour as means of earning a livelihood in addition to the household chores. Similarly, the adolescent girls were seen to take on more responsibility of the family (as described in the section on most prevent social norms.)

Thus, when a trafficked girl is rescued and rehabilitated in the family, there is an implicit understanding of the reasons (above mentioned) for the girl being trafficked/seeking work. A girl contributing to the household is not stigmatised and even when a survivor returns (with or without money), the family accepts the girl. This was also seen with most survivors interviewed under the study wherein the family readily accepts the girl and stigma, if any, emanates from women relatives, community and only during the immediate phase after the girls has been rehabilitated in the family.

##### **◆ *Lower discrimination between girls and boys in tribal communities***

According to interactions with NGO members in Jharkhand, the discrimination between girls and boys in tribal communities is lower. While the society does have patriarchal norms of 'girls not getting share in family property'; 'early marriage of girls preferred,' 'controlling the dressing of girls' etc.; there is lower discrimination on lines of education, mobility, sexuality, division of work, choice of partner in marriage-wherein girls also take decisions/play a role. Additionally, there is no overt boy-preference in tribal communities. This along with existing practices of dhukku pratha and haran vivah which signify lower taboo on expressing sexuality (by boys and girls both; higher mobility and decision making amongst girls and boys. These two factors of lower discrimination based on gender and existing traditional practices results in lower stigma. Thus a survivor, rescued and returned to family is largely not considered a liability and hence stigma is not a common reaction amongst family members and by extension the community. The girls (and even boys) are gladly accepted by family members.

##### **◆ *Strong kinship and familial bonds leading to acceptance***

Most of the stakeholders stated that familial bonds lead to acceptance of survivor in the community. According to women's group, parents will accept as she is their 'own blood' thereby stressing on familial bonds as positive norm which would facilitate acceptance by the family. The survivor's mobility might be restricted for some time citing safety and the reducing the possibility of 'people talking' i.e. reducing interaction with people to preclude questions and stigma. Further members of the Jagriti Mahila Samiti

Ranchi, also stated that a survivor of trafficking will be accepted and will not face stigma or discrimination.

*Some of the positive arenas for reintegration have emerged from institutional support (of government and education) and prevalent practices like migration. These have been elaborated ahead:*

◆ ***Migration and movement of persons***

Migration and movement of young persons is an accepted reality in the villages of Jharkhand. Hence a survivor of trafficking returning to the village does not attract negative attention. Reiterating this though, were the counsellors of the shelter home in Gumla, migration and movement of people is a common phenomenon, hence there is no stigma attached when a survivor returns home. They also shared that stigma might be negligible because most of the girls migrate for domestic work and there is no stigma attached with domestic work; additionally it is often the parents who send the children, so they themselves do not perpetuate stigma. Even if parents do not send children, they understand the situation which compelled them to seek work outside, hence do not stigmatise their own children.

◆ ***Education as means of reintegration***

In Jharkhand, for survivors aged 15 years and below, Vishesh Vidyalays and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) are avenues to continue education till Class 8 and Class 12 respectively. Vishesh Vidyalays are a recent initiative of the government and hence have not been established in all districts. KGBV is exclusively for girls, hence post Class 8, any boy survivor of trafficking would have to return to his local government school to complete his schooling, exposing him to the same vulnerabilities and threats which led him into trafficking.

Richa (a survivor from Ranchi) was rescued and rehabilitated in a KGBV in Ranchi where she would be studying for 2 years. According to her, the teachers and fellow students do not know of her experience of trafficking and she does not choose to talk them about it as well. She likes studying and aims to finish schooling post which she will be looked after by her aunt. The aunt wants Richa to study ahead and associates higher education with *"gaining respect, earning a living, and being independent."* She is thus encouraging her niece to study well at the KGBV, where the atmosphere is safe and secure for girls to study.

Within KGBV however, survivors from Ranchi stated that there is discrimination at times perpetuated by the staff while giving food. One survivor state that the cook comments, *"pahaad banake lete hain"* (fill up the plated too much). They stated that they belong to 'Samarth Ashram' – an NGO run shelter home for girls (including survivors) and attend the neighbouring KGBV. The staffs disapprove that that KGBV resources are allocated to the girls who attend KGBV from Samarth Ashram. They were unable to however draw linkage if the discrimination resulted from them being survivors of trafficking.

**Box 27: Experiences from KGBV**

◆ ***Institutional support***

According a government official, Ranchi successful reintegration would involve survivors being linked to education or vocational training; are earning a livelihood and their basic need are fulfilled. He added that a survivor is best rehabilitated with family as opposed to a shelter home which is his/her 'natural' environment. According to a government official from Gumla, successful reintegration would be where survivors are studying, staying happily with their family, are able to study and work, where parents take care and love their children and after 18 years of age (girls) get married. Thus, marriage for girls is considered an important life stage to achieve. Another government official from Gumla reiterated that successful reintegration would involve linkage with government schemes for the survivor and his/her family; exploring foster care as an alternative; sponsorship for schooling. The existing gaps on reintegration of 15 to 18 year olds were indeed challenge as shared by government officials of Gumla.

The overall norm on reintegration emerging from multiple arms of the government is of state support through education and skilling of the survivor and scheme benefits to the family. There is lesser focus on the unearthing the social, economic and psychological challenges faced by survivors post return to the family and community.

#### 4.5. Reference Group Analysis

The pool/ network of individuals whose behaviours and opinions are of significance to a given individual with regard to decision-making, is called **Reference Group/ Network**<sup>57</sup>. Social norms generate out of beliefs and behaviours of multiple stakeholders with whom the survivors are associated with. Given in Figure 8 are the interconnections between different reference groups from the point of view of a survivor of trafficking. While this mapping will be different for different individuals – determined by her context, socio-economic and religious background, the Figure 8 has tried to encapsulate the key reference groups and their interconnections.

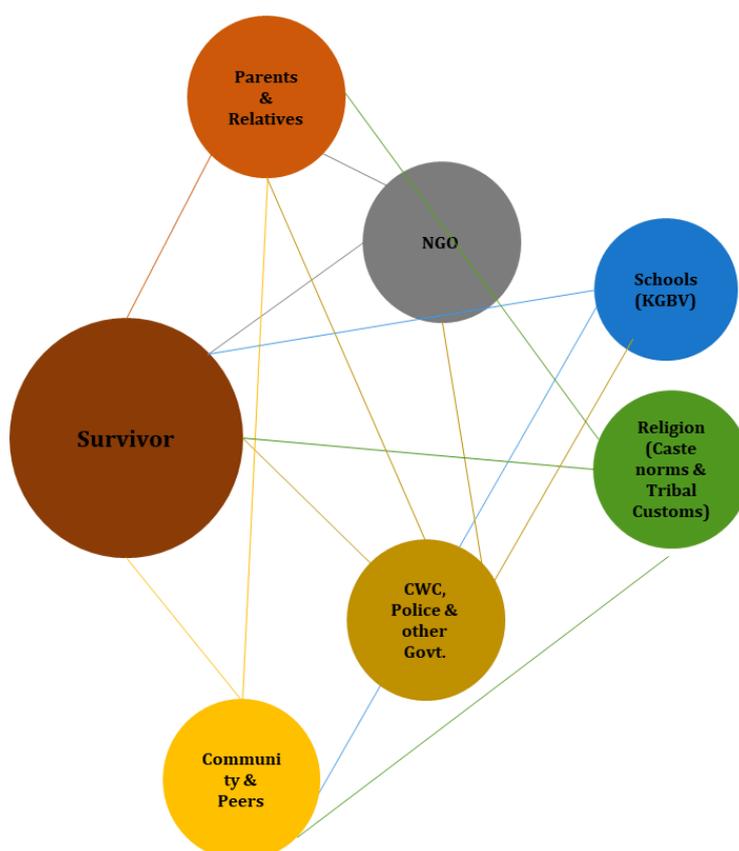


Figure 8: Mapping Reference Groups: Jharkhand

The preceding sections have discussed the positive as well as harmful social norms displayed by different stakeholders – these are the ones who are part of the reference group for the survivors. The reference group are the source of perpetuation of certain harmful social norms. Table 9 puts further light on the institutional and non-institutional reference groups and their position vis-à-vis trafficking of survivors. **Institutional reference group** includes the government officials in the child protection and human trafficking ecosystem i.e. the ICPS officials, CWC members, AHTU, DCPU, police and medical doctors and CCI/shelter home staffs. It also includes the NGOs working on the theme of trafficking and reintegration of survivors. The **key non-institutional reference groups** for survivors include survivor’s immediate family members and relatives, neighbours, relatives and religious leaders.

Table 10: Reference Group Analysis in case of Jharkhand

Reference Groups	Status
<b>Non-institutional Reference Groups</b>	
Family & relatives	Within the family, the <b>mother</b> plays an important reference point for the survivor

<sup>57</sup> [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4\\_09\\_30\\_Whole\\_What\\_are\\_Social\\_Norms.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf)

	<p>upon return. In cases where the parents have themselves sent the survivor for work, there is higher acceptance. Stigma results not from trafficking but displeasure was recorded by parents as the girl has stopped earning now.</p> <p>The acceptance and level of stigma perpetuated within family depending on the <b>caste or tribal group</b> the family belongs to. Additionally, <b>religion</b> also plays a role, as seen in the earlier section of this chapter.</p> <p>With reference to extended family members/relatives, caste, religion and proximity to the family play an important role in determining stigma. Where relatives have been traffickers, the family has not filed FIR considering they are part of the family network. In case where relatives are stigmatisers, the family is under pressure to comply with social norms of the community and make efforts to regain acceptance.</p>
<b>Neighbours</b>	<p>In tribal villages, households are scattered and precluding daily interaction with neighbours. According to most survivors, the questions range from concern, inquiry/curiosity to mild taunting and lastly stigma. As has been stated through the chapter, the level of stigma is lower and survivors might have to face temporary attention, especially if there is a noticeable change in their behaviour and demeanour.</p>
<b>Peer group</b>	<p>Peer group play a reference group as an influence to seek work outside. The community members and government officials as well as a few survivors have mentioned that in case of a precedent of girls stepping out for work within the village exist; the same age group girls (and boys) would be vulnerable to follow the same steps.</p> <p>In matters of reintegration, the survivors experiences it can be gleaned that peer group play neither a positive role nor a very negative role in reintegration. In just two cases out of the 18 survivors, did the girls mention about peers giving stigma.</p>
<b>Religion &amp; religious leaders</b>	<p>In case of Christianity, while religion prescribes certain norms with respect to marriage, sexuality, division of work etc.; the same do not translate into empirical expectation as the existing tribal social norms are still much stronger.</p> <p>With respect to Hinduism, the caste and gender norms can be seen as injunctive as well as descriptive norms</p>
<b>Institutional Reference Groups</b>	
<b>NGOs and civil society organisations</b>	<p>The NGOs largely play a positive role in reintegration. Some of the perspectives held by NGOs has been given here:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The survivors want to get educated or learn a skill to be gainfully employed. Most of the survivors want to go home and are not afraid of stigma since there is no stigma associated with domestic work. Survivors above 18 years of age want to get skilled and be self-dependent.</li> <li>- According to a social worker, not all survivors have faced abuse and discrimination at destination. Such survivors indirectly or directly act as influencers to other girls in the community through the change (upgrade) in their dressing, language, use of make-up etc.</li> <li>- NGOs share that getting police to register an FIR is a challenge as they say that the girl has gone by her own will; they don't pay attention to poor parents who cannot bribe them; police on the other hand say that parents are wasting their time.</li> </ul> <p>Survivor's perspectives on NGOs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Overall the survivors shared that they find support in the NGO either by way of counselling, linkage with schemes, linkage with skill development and overall providing a space to interact and talk about their experiences</li> <li>- The survivors in certain cases felt that they do not gain anything by attending meetings and have to spend time and at times their own money for meetings. One survivor shared that multiple people have come and spoken to her regarding her experience of trafficking – but she is unsure what happens</li> </ul>
<b>State actors including</b>	<p>The state actors were seen to be playing a limited but positive role in reintegration. In context of survivors of Jharkhand, the police, CCIs and other state department personnel were seen not to be a major source of stigma. In only one case the survivor (from Gumla) mentioned about the negative treatment and behaviour from CCI staff. She mentioned that there would be constant monitoring of behaviour she faced in a CCI; verbal abuse and CCI staff stopping interactions amongst the residents.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Police</b></li> <li>- <b>AHTU</b></li> <li>- <b>DCPU</b></li> <li>- <b>CWC</b></li> <li>- <b>KGBV</b></li> </ul>	

<p>- <b>CCI/Shelter Homes</b></p>	<p>According to government official Ranchi, the lower level of stigma might be because of the nature of trafficking being for domestic work. There is the attitude of pity, sympathy amongst the state actors and the norms with respect to reintegration are determined by the legal norms than the social norms. Some of the common observations of the state actors vis-à-vis survivors of trafficking and their family have been listed here:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The parents do not pay attention and monitor activities of their children</li> <li>- Parents are not immediately worried if a child goes missing. They first try to find within their own network; wait for a few days, at times even weeks before approaching the authorities</li> <li>- Parents approach authorities at time after years – only because the girls has stopped sending money back home</li> <li>- The Pahadiya tribal community is very vulnerable as they are isolated, 'backward', illiterate and socio-economically marginalised</li> <li>- In larger tribal families, they do not bother if one child goes missing.</li> <li>- Some parents are well-aware of the situation and voluntarily send their child with trafficker in order to earn money.</li> <li>- Migration is a reality in villages in Jharkhand – there is constant movement of people. Hence anyone leaving or returning is not particularly significant</li> <li>- The tribal communities have 'open sex' i.e. there are no rules, they can have multiple partners, marry person of their choice, engage in pre-marital-sex. Thus, in such a set-up, a survivor of trafficking doesn't get stigma</li> <li>- Survivors prefer injustices of the city compared to the deprivations of the village. They are attached to the lifestyle and once they experience it, they do not like staying with parents in the village – they keep finding ways to return to destination</li> <li>- Survivors return – often in lieu of sending another girl in their own place. They often turn traffickers themselves to keep earning money.</li> <li>- Reintegration should involve: education; linkage with government schemes; counselling</li> <li>- NGOs working in this field should not duplicate government efforts but indicate the gaps and demonstrate the solutions which can then be taken up by the government.</li> </ul>
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5.1. Synthesising the Findings from West Bengal and Jharkhand

There is a vast amount of literature available on the situation of human trafficking in India which discusses the root causes of trafficking, the methods – routes and destinations; the stigma faced by survivors, models of successful reintegration and so on. This study has attempted to understand and unpack the social norms existing in the community when a survivor is rehabilitated with her family – social norms which determine the behaviour, attitude and practices of the survivors reference groups- which either enable or hamper reintegration. The data collection exercise has attempted to engage with a multiplicity of stakeholders and reference groups in context of survivors of trafficking to bring forth the deeply held beliefs of individuals and groups. While the focus was on unpacking social norms, there was a distinction made into norms which were harmful and acted as barriers to reintegration and positive norms which facilitated reintegration. Additionally, the study also explored whether religion is a factor in reintegration of survivors of trafficking – and its nature and influence on norms.

As seen in Chapters 3 and 4, the contexts of West Bengal and Jharkhand were diverse and thus the emergent findings have differences and few similarities. This section synthesises the findings into a matrix which discusses **the key social norms** as witnessed in the community; mentions the individual or group which displays this social norm the most; and lastly deliberates on various aspects of the social norm – i.e. whether it acted a barrier or a catalyst, its relative strength, if there were instances of positive deviance vis-à-vis the norm and so on.

Social Norm	Unpacking the social norm	
	Individual and/or group displaying this social norm the most	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Barrier or Catalyst for reintegration</li> <li>◆ Strength of the social norm,</li> <li>◆ Positive deviance, if any and from whom</li> <li>◆ Any other specifics</li> </ul>
<b>Notion of Bhalo mey( good girl) and Kharap mey (bad girl)</b>	<p>This notion is displayed by neighbours, community members, relatives (especially female relatives), family (not universal and by men in the family like elder brother, father and uncle). This norm is also displayed in government institutions and caregivers of the shelter homes, as shared by survivors.</p>	<p>This is a barrier for reintegration as it stigmatises the survivor by implicitly labelling her and any unequal treatment meted out to survivors stems from this norm.</p> <p>This norm is relatively stronger in the context of West Bengal and was experienced by survivors belonging to all religions and castes. This norm is commonly prevalent as it is most experienced by survivors and in certain cases gets internalised almost survivors as well.</p> <p>Government officials, NGO staff did not display this during the KIIs and the perspective on trafficking is that it is seen as an incident/accident which needs to be overcome through institutional assistance. Survivors Collectives also do not display this norm; where they make the distinction between the sex-work (that they were forced to do) and the girl – i.e. they state that while the work is considered ganda/bad; the girl herself is not kharap/bad.</p>
<b>Traditional gender roles and gendered division of labour and boy preference in the community</b>	<p>These norms are prevalent amongst most members of the community including survivor’s families. Some religious leaders displayed the norm of division of labour more strongly.</p>	<p>This is a barrier for reintegration as it stigmatises the survivor who is seen to have actually flouted this gender norm, and is thereby linked the first norm of labelling a survivor ‘kharap mey’ as seeking work outside/ stepping out of village (willingly or forced), is considered incorrect for girls.</p> <p>This norm is relatively stronger in the context of West Bengal and was experienced by survivors belonging to all religions and castes. This norm was more apparent</p>

		<p>in Hindu communities in Jharkhand.</p> <p>The situation amongst tribal communities in Jharkhand is different as women are more actively engaged in economic activity to sustain the household – thus girls stepping out of hoe/for work etc. are not seen as an aberration and there is no strict division of roles.</p> <p>Positive deviance displayed by NGOs, Survivors Collectives who focus on economic empowerment as a means for reintegration.</p>
<p><b>Girls representing family honour and associated norms of marriage, purity (indicating virginity) and pollution (indicating pre/extra marital sexual relations)</b></p>	<p>This norm is displayed by family members, relatives, neighbours, the larger community and shelter home/CCI staff. Survivors in some cases display these norms, as they have been socialised into the same societal context.</p>	<p>This is a barrier for reintegration as it stigmatises the survivor by explicitly labelling her and any unequal treatment meted out to survivors stems from this and associated norms of sexuality &amp; virginity, purity and pollution. All the notions on family honour are linked to marital prospects. Marriage is seen as the most important life stage and every decision/act prior to that is geared towards ensuring marriage prospects are not harmed. Stigma is given as survivors of trafficking are seen to have engaged in pre/extra marital sexual relations with multiple men and flouts the unsaid pre-condition for marriage of girls i.e. virginity indicating purity.</p> <p>These norms are strongly held by various individuals and groups as mentioned here. This was seen very strongly in West Bengal and in Jharkhand in caste Hindu communities. The norm is pervading as survivors themselves displayed self-stigma through their initial period of rescue and reintegration. Self-stigma leads to self-harm in certain cases by way of attempting suicide; isolation and depression amongst survivors. This is an injunctive as well as descriptive norm, thereby indicating the strength of the same.</p> <p>While government officials did not directly express this norm; but the focus on reintegration through marriage and settling down was evident. While reintegration through economic empowerment was also expressed as a need, marriage was considered by Government officials, families and even survivors as critical for reintegration.</p> <p>Positive deviance displayed by NGOs, survivors and Collectives who delink sexuality with purity; delink loss of virginity and lowering of marital prospects and view trafficking as an accident/incident</p> <p><u>Jharkhand:</u> According to most stakeholders in Jharkhand, the survivors of trafficking from JH do not face as much stigma as they are trafficked for domestic work; while from Bengal girls are trafficked for sex work. In the former the aspect of loss of virginity and sexual activity is not a factor, thus not considered as strongly.</p>
<p><b>Victim blaming</b></p>	<p>This norm is displayed by relatives (female) neighbours, and the larger community (specifically the men) and shelter home/CCI staff. Even police officials, government officials, doctors in certain cases are reported to have displayed this norm.</p>	<p>This is a barrier for reintegration as the survivor is herself blamed for her situation, thereby adding to her mental trauma, diminishing her self-worth and even negatively affecting the service/reintegration provided. The latter is true when police refuse to file FIR stating that the girl had gone 'of her own will'</p> <p>This norm when tested in individuals or groups is not evident as these stakeholders (probably to appear</p>

		<p>correct) state that girls are victims and they get tricked into being trafficked. However the girls experience victim blaming as a norm from the larger community, especially men whose 'male gaze' is further oppressive. The community also blames the family in certain cases by drawing examples of how 'all girls font get trafficked' indicating a particular quality/trait or willingness on part of the survivor or her family to have sent her out for sex-work; and having failed to protect her.</p> <p>Positive deviance displayed by NGOs, survivors and Collectives, and government officials who deconstruct the trafficking phenomenon to analyse the role played by socio-economic factor, leveraging of vulnerabilities by trafficker etc. in leading to the incidence of trafficking. This is displayed also by mothers groups to some extent who are more open and empathetic towards survivors and do not resort to direct victim blaming, but also do not counter the societal views on the same.</p>
<p><b>Norms on sexuality and mobility in tribal communities</b></p>	<p>This norm is specific to tribal communities in Jharkhand.</p>	<p>Dhukku pratha and Haran vivah comprise adolescents choosing a partner for sexual relations and/or marriage. This norm acts as an unintended catalyst as owing to these norms, there is higher tolerance towards expressing sexuality and mobility for both girls and boys.</p> <p>However within Jharkhand, since caste Hindu communities do not follow this norm, there is higher stigma most survivors of trafficking from these communities. There the norms on sexuality, virginity, purity and pollution play a factor in reintegration of survivors.</p>

## 5.2. Exploring strategies for changing social norms and improving behavioural change

The challenges of reintegration are multi-dimensional in nature and require an appropriately multi-dimensional response. Successful reintegration of survivors would include a concerted and tandem effort on part of the administration, family, civil society and the community. Interventions have to effectively address the multi-dimensionality of the challenges a survivor faces starting from rescue to reintegration. The stigma and social sanctions attached to trafficking makes reintegration a challenge, not only for the organizations dealing with the issues but also for the survivors. The diverse profile of survivors and unique nature of issues attached to each of them requires a case specific approach and calls for customized reintegration plans.<sup>58</sup> Each stakeholder within the 'reintegration framework' is a critical actor as they display certain norms which either act a barriers or catalysts to reintegration. The strategies and recommendations made here are specifically in context of these social norms – either changing existing harmful social norms and consequently discourage harmful practices and behaviour; and promoting social norms which are positive and healthy. The strategies and approaches mentioned here have been derived from exiting secondary literature available on social norm interventions and aligning and drawing parallels to the context of survivors of trafficking from West Bengal and Jharkhand. For Behavioral Change Programs, no single strategy or intervention would be useful, but a combination of interventions to create a comprehensive program that has mutually reinforcing program elements.

<sup>58</sup> Rebuilding Lives: A Participatory Assessment of Practices of Reintegration of Survivors of Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in Jharkhand and West Bengal (July 2015) commissioned by Tdh and undertaken by Praxis

◆ **Awareness raising on matters of child protection**

As a first step, it would be important to engage communities by sensitizing them towards creating a protective environment for children (both girls and boys) to reduce the risks of trafficking. Key stakeholders in the community can be engaged to create safer communities by establishing gatekeeping mechanisms based on the local context and risks of trafficking – for example, entry of any stranger in the village community can be monitored by the village level child protection committees (VLCPC) for any suspicious activities. Families can be made more aware on certain precautions to follow with respect to the safety of their children and ensuring all children are enrolled in school and complete their schooling till 14/15 years of age.

◆ **Community sensitization involving participation of multiple stakeholders**

The stigma attached to one's identity as a victim of trafficking or sexual exploitation remains one of the biggest challenges of effective reintegration of survivors and needs to be addressed head-on. Measures aimed at bringing about greater sensitivity and understanding of the local communities regarding the ordeals faced by a survivor and her 'right' to a life of dignity and normal choices are extremely critical. A model reintegration programme must have in its quiver suitable strategies to engage with larger masses through public awareness campaigns and mass media, to contribute to stigma-reduction at scale.<sup>59</sup> Given rural context of WB and JH, community engagement activities can be conducted with multiple stakeholders comprising neighbours, female relatives, and village functionaries like PRI members for awareness-raising. Mass campaigning should focus not just on preventive aspects, but also counter harmful gender norms and norms of 'victim-blaming;' dispel prejudices/notions related to trafficking (and sex-work). *The survivors themselves suggest that if communities were aware that the trafficking incident was not a choice, but was either through deception or force, they would be more accepting of the girls.*

◆ **Identifying and promoting positive deviance/ trend-setters**

Cristina Bicchieri and Alexander Funcke suggest the method of identifying trend-setters to change existing social norms. When a social norm is present, the actions of individuals are dependent on each other; since individual choices depend on expectations of what relevant others do and approve of. Hence, changing a norm must involve a collective change of both empirical and normative expectations. Norm change may occur in many ways, but the presence of first movers who are willing to spark it can exert a major influence.<sup>60</sup> Each community has individuals who are willing to counter tradition, are relatively insensitive to general pressures of social conformity. Such positive deviance or trend-setters will be specific to each community and context and will have to be identified likewise. Interventions should identify positive deviants/ trendsetters and forge alliances with them to build a network of individuals, in influential positions, who can display positive social norms that nurture acceptance of survivors and reduce stigma. Creating subgroups of positive deviants/change makers to influence the larger groups has been found to be very successful for bringing about a shift in harmful social norms.

**Positive deviance/trendsetter #1:** The study came across one Madrassa teacher who is actively engaged in rescue and rehabilitation of survivors of trafficking. The teacher did not have any orientation on the issue, but when a student from his school went missing and her parents approached him for help, he used his network to help track down the girl. Since then he has been voluntarily engaging on this issue and has made linkages with the NGO, doctors to support survivors of trafficking.

**Positive deviance/trendsetter #2:** Similarly, the study came across another female PRI member who is actively working with the NGO to help survivors of trafficking. The PRI member herself has been a victim of and challenged harmful social norms and thus has a reference point to empathise with survivors. The PRI member under consideration is living with HIV and has forged an inter-religious marriage (second marriage) with another HIV positive person. She runs a small business to sustain herself, is engaged socially and politically in the community and is looked upon as an advisor.

<sup>59</sup> Rebuilding Lives: A Participatory Assessment of Practices of Reintegration of Survivors of Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in Jharkhand and West Bengal (July 2015) commissioned by Tdh and undertaken by Praxis

<sup>60</sup> Norm Change: Trendsetters and Social Structure by Cristina Bicchieri and Alexander Funcke

### Box 28: Example of Positive Deviants/Trend setters in the community

#### ◆ **Sensitization amongst duty bearers**

Since some of the key findings of the study point towards apathy, lack of sensitivity and perspective amongst duty bearers like police, medical personnel and shelter home staff, working with them to build a supportive and positive rescue, rehabilitation experience for survivors would be required. Undertaking sensitization workshops with these stakeholders; engaging them in a reflective dialogue vis-à-vis on the phenomenon of trafficking, the lived experience of survivors and emphasising the crucial role they play in the process could go a long way in improving the situation of survivors. A positive, empathetic and stigma-free rescue and rehabilitation process would instil greater confidence amongst survivors and create a network of positive reference groups/support systems for them.

#### ◆ **Promoting Survivors Collectives and Adolescent Girls Groups**

2 Survivors Collectives (in West Bengal) and 1 Adolescent Girls Football Group (in Jharkhand) have been formed by partner organisations. The Survivors Collectives is working on multiple levels – with survivors on empowerment and with community to bring about awareness leading to behavioural change. They Collectives through various activities like meetings, counselling, community outreach, community based plays, interactions with government officials etc. have attempted to bring about a change in attitude and behaviour of community members. This has helped them gain more acceptance within the family and community owing to the solidarity (in perspective and in numbers) provided by the Collective. Thus, forming Survivors Collectives can be considered a possible step in addressing the multi-dimensionality of challenges and as one intervention towards challenging and changing existing harmful social norms.

#### ◆ **Selective Prevention and Individual Feedback with stakeholders**

Alan D. Berkowitz provides approaches to social norm intervention that focus on three levels of prevention specified as universal, selective, and indicated<sup>61</sup>. *Universal prevention* is directed at all members of a population without identifying those at risk of abuse – this has been discussed under community sensitisation through mass campaigning. *Selective prevention* is directed at members of a group that is at risk for a behaviour. *Indicated prevention* is directed at particular individuals who already display signs of the problem.

*Selective prevention* focuses on members of specific groups through Small Groups Norm Model wherein targeted messaging has helped achieve behavioural change for alcohol abuse interventions. The SGNM can be used with community stakeholders like men's group or adolescent boys group to communicate positive social norms and positive gender norms wherein the program design is tailored to address their attitudes and behaviours which might be perpetuating discrimination and violence against girls and women. Methods like role plays, gender labs, power analyses etc. can be utilised to help boys and men to deconstruct harmful gender norms and nudge them towards behavioural change.

Similarly, *indicated prevention* is a format of individual feedback/counselling which can be explored with family members and institutional stakeholders who have displayed harmful social norms like shelter home staffs, police officials etc. Family members can be counselled on trafficking, stigma, gender roles and norms to help them critically analyse society and capacitate them to positive reference group for survivors.

#### ◆ **Formation of an inter-religious priest forum**

It would be critical to engage religious leaders and community leaders in a dialogue of trafficking and sensitise and capacitate them with the appropriate responses and support to be provided in case of reintegration. The findings show that religious norms are prevalent and the priests do play a role in social life. Consequently an inter-faith religious forum can be formed in project locations wherein priests from

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<sup>61</sup> [http://www.alanberkowitz.com/articles/social\\_norms.pdf](http://www.alanberkowitz.com/articles/social_norms.pdf)

the different religions collaborate and work in the community to not just spread awareness but provide the required 'nudge' to initiate behavioural change amongst community members. Religious festivals and such other platforms (like *Durga pooja* in WB and *melas* in JH) can be utilised as forums wherefrom mass awareness messages can be communicated and IEC materials can be distributed.

◆ ***Grassroots advocacy through network of NGOs***

A network of NGOs working on the theme trafficking, gender, women empowerment can be formed to design and execute mass awareness campaigns in districts with high vulnerability to trafficking. The network can utilize mass media; social media and conduct workshops on gender, trafficking and discrimination with multiple stakeholders including police, AHTUs, government officials and the communities. Dedicated teams which convey messages of anti-discrimination through the medium of street plays, distribution of IEC materials and engaging the community in a participatory dialogue to act as a catalyst to behavioural change.

## Annexures

### Annexure I: Study Framework

<i>Objectives</i>	<i>Areas of Inquiry</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Tools</i>
<p>1. To understand how social norms perpetuates beliefs and behaviours towards discrimination and violence against survivors of trafficking.</p> <p>2. To identify existing and most prevalent social norms that perpetuates stigma against survivors of trafficking, creating obstacle in successful reintegration.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Socio-economic profile of the survivors of trafficking</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Religion &amp; caste</li> <li>- Gender (including transgender communities)</li> <li>- Age group</li> <li>- Disability</li> <li>- Education status</li> <li>- Basic economic profile of family</li> <li>- Nature of trafficking (forced labour; sexual exploitation, marriage etc.)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <u>Identify social norms which discriminate against survivors of trafficking and perpetuate violence</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nature of stigma and violence faced by survivors (of sexual trafficking) vis-à-vis reintegration</li> <li>- Challenges faced by survivors of trafficking (of forced labour) vis-à-vis reintegration</li> <li>- Impact of these stigma, violence and challenges on the survivor – in terms of economic, social, behavioural, emotional well-being etc.</li> <li>- Explore the root causes of this stigma and challenges – identify the prevalent social norms vis-à-vis survivors of trafficking</li> <li>- What are the deeply held beliefs about survivors of trafficking (forced labour and sexual exploitation) amongst family members; community members; service providers; peer groups etc.?</li> <li>- What is the prevalence of these beliefs?</li> <li>- Identify linkage between commonly held beliefs and actual behaviour in terms of inclusion and exclusion of the survivors in community life. Is there congruence between belief and behaviour or a dissonance between the two?</li> <li>- How are these social norms perpetuated? Identify the positive (rewards) and negative sanctions (punishments) implemented to ensure conformity to these social norms</li> <li>- What is the survivor's perception of self; perception of the beliefs that perpetuate stigma and violence against them?</li> <li>- Identify the root cause of anticipated stigma of the survivor and the collective consciousness of the community, if any congruence between the same</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</p> <p>Community members – young/adolescent girls and boys; including men and women; mothers groups; youth collectives</p> <p>Service providers like ASHA, ANM, teachers</p> <p>Institutions like Police; Child Welfare Committees (CWCs); District Child Protection Units(DCPU) under ICPS; BDO etc. (institutional actor would be met based on availability and linkage of the partner org)</p> <p>Village level functionaries like Panchayat members; Village level Child Protection Committees</p> <p>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</p>	<p>IDIs</p> <p>KIIs</p> <p>FGDs – using vignettes</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Influencers/ decision makers</u></li> <li>- Reference groups for survivors of trafficking family; extended family; peers (adolescent boys and girls); community members; service providers; village functionaries; religious leaders, state institutions like police, shelter homes etc.</li> <li>- survivors themselves as positive reference groups for other survivors</li> <li>- the positive/negative/neutral role played by these in facilitating reintegration</li>   <li>• <u>Reintegration</u></li> <li>- Identify specific arenas of inclusion of survivors of trafficking and note the factors and actors that aid reintegration</li> <li>- Identify specific arenas of exclusion of survivors of trafficking and note the factors and actors that act as barriers to reintegration</li> <li>- Identify exclusion/loss to rights (like right to education; development; safe &amp; secure environment etc.) How much do interventions measures address this?</li> <li>- Identify instances of interventions made under interventions which has led to a shift in social norms</li> <li>- What does the survivor and his/her family consider as successful reintegration- what do they think are the barriers and the root causes in achieving this level of integration in the community</li> <li>- How does the community perceive re-integration? Role played by community in re-integration of survivors – positive or negative</li> <li>- How does the partner define reintegration? What is the perspective of social workers who are directly engaged in facilitating reintegration</li>   <li>• <u>Explore any linkage between the previously identified norms and gender norms held by the community</u></li> <li>- What is the position of women in family and society vis-à-vis education, economic participation, political participation, participation in community life, decision-making</li> <li>- Identify social beliefs around sexuality and female sexuality</li> <li>- Identify gender norms which act as barriers to reintegration of survivors of trafficking (of sexual exploitation)</li> <li>- Any changes noted in traditional gender norms –what action triggered that change?</li> <li>- Did practices of any survivors influence a shift in existing social norms</li> </ul>		
<p>3. To understand the role of religion in influencing social norms</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious and caste profile of the survivors and the community members</li> <li>• Extent of influence of religion and caste in social, cultural and</li> </ul>	<p>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</p>	<p>IDIs</p>

	<p><i>economic life of survivors and their family</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Identify the key reference group for religion-determined norms.</i></li> <li>• <i>What are the religious beliefs and portrayal of women; their role in the family and society. Religious beliefs and taboos surrounding female sexuality</i></li> <li>• <i>Roots of the beliefs held by religious leaders themselves</i></li> <li>• <i>Identify any religious sanctions in place for compliance and non-compliance of these norms</i></li> <li>• <i>Identify if religion and caste directly influence any particular social norms</i></li> </ul>	<p><i>Religious leaders</i></p> <p><i>Community members – young/adolescent girls and boys; including men and women; mothers groups; youth collectives</i></p> <p><i>Service providers like ASHA, ANM, teachers</i></p> <p><i>Village level functionaries like Panchayat members; Village level Child Protection Committees</i></p> <p><i>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</i></p>	<p><i>KIIs</i></p> <p><i>FGDs – using vignettes</i></p>
<p>4. <i>To deepen understanding of how descriptive and injunctive norms reinforce each other, and how normative beliefs of undetectable practices are created and can be change</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Identify descriptive norms and injunctive norms of the reference group under study vis-à-vis</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Survivors of trafficking (forced labour and sexual exploitation)</i></li> <li>- <i>Discrimination and violence against survivors</i></li> <li>- <i>Gender and mobility; gender and sexuality</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• <i>Linkages between descriptive norms and injunctive norms – and emergent behavioural practices</i></li> <li>• <i>Does individual behaviour influence perpetuation of a norms and vice-versa</i></li> <li>• <i>Identify if any gaps exist between actual norms and descriptive norms and injunctive norms</i></li> </ul>	<p><i>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</i></p> <p><i>Community members – young/adolescent girls and boys; including men and women; mothers groups; youth collectives</i></p> <p><i>Service providers like ASHA, ANM, teachers</i></p> <p><i>Institutions like Police; Child Welfare Committees (CWCs); District Child Protection Units(DCPU) under ICPS; BDO</i></p> <p><i>Village level functionaries like Panchayat members; Village level Child Protection Committees</i></p> <p><i>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</i></p>	<p><i>IDIs</i></p> <p><i>KIIs</i></p> <p><i>FGDs – using vignettes</i></p>
<p>5. <i>To identify positive norms that challenge or can challenge the negative social norms.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u><i>Positive norms</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Identify positive norms held by reference groups with respect to women and gender equality</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><i>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</i></p>	<p><i>IDIs</i></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Identify prevalence of any positive norms with respect to non-violence in the community</li> <li>- Extent of portrayal of these positive norms in society – through different institutions like family, religion, popular culture etc.</li> <li>- Identify if any ‘rewards’ attached for compliance to these positive norms</li> <li>- Strength of the positive norms to challenge existing negative norms.</li> </ul>	<p>Positive role models amongst survivors</p> <p>Community members – young/adolescent girls and boys; including men and women; mothers groups; youth collectives</p> <p>Service providers like ASHA, ANM, teachers</p> <p>Institutions like Police; Anti-Human Trafficking Units (Police); Child Welfare Committees (CWCs); District Child Protection Units(DCPU) under ICPS; BDO</p> <p>Village level functionaries like Panchayat members; Village level Child Protection Committees</p> <p>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</p>	<p>KIIS</p> <p>FGDs – using vignettes</p>
<p>6. To identify barriers to transforming social norms and masculinity which perpetuate violence</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Masculinity and violence</u></li> <li>- Identify perceptions of masculinity and</li> <li>- Identify inherent gender norms linked to traditional masculinity</li> <li>- Identify its manifestation in behaviour (in form of violence – social, physical, emotional, etc.) towards girls and women</li> <li>- What factors act as barriers to transform these norms that perpetuate stigma, violence towards survivors? Identify prevalence of any positive norms with respect to ideas of positive masculinity as opposed to masculinity that is harmful</li> </ul>	<p>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</p> <p>Community members – young/adolescent girls and boys; including men and women; youth collectives</p> <p>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</p>	<p>IDIs</p> <p>KIIS</p> <p>Likert Scale</p> <p>FGDs – using vignettes</p>
<p>7. To explore strategies for changing social norms and make specific recommendations for improving behavioural change.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>These will emerge from the findings of objectives from 1 to 6.</b></li> </ul>	<p>Survivors of trafficking and their family members</p> <p>Positive role models amongst survivors</p> <p>State institutions</p>	<p>IDIs</p> <p>KIIs</p>

		<i>Village level functionaries like Panchayat members; Village level Child Protection Committees</i>	
		<i>Partner organisations; staff and social workers</i>	



- a. How would you describe was their attitude and behaviour towards you and other adolescent girls/boys?
  - b. Were you surprised by the way they behaved or did you expect them to behave in the way they did? Please elaborate and give reasons.
  - c. What do you think the case worker/ social worker thought of your situation? Why?
  - d. What was your attitude and behaviour towards the case worker/ social worker? Why?
20. How did other residents of the shelter home i.e. other adolescent boys/girls behave with each other?
- a. Did they/you share their experience with each other? If no, what were the reasons?
  - b. What was the similarity &/or difference in their and your experience
21. How you & other residents at the shelter home were expected to behave by those in authority? Why?
- a. What kind of attitude and behaviour of resident girls/boys was considered unfavourable by those in authority? Why?
  - b. What happened when resident girls/boys of the shelter behaved in a way that was not considered favourable?
  - c. Did you feel like doing something that was not expected? What stopped you from doing what you felt?
22. Did you witness any incidences of discrimination &/or violence at the shelter? Please elaborate.
23. Can you identify any person(s) – other residents or those in authority who particularly helped you during this period? In what way did they help you? What made them help you?

**Experience wrt reintegration in the family and community**

24. When you returned home, what was the attitude and behaviour of your family members/parents, extended family?
- a. Why do you think they behaved the way they did?
  - b. What do you think your parents thought you should do?
  - c. Did you share their beliefs based on which they behaved with you? What were these shared beliefs?
  - d. What did you expect them to do, and what did they actually do in the period after your return?
25. What was the change in your attitude and behaviour towards your parents? Why?
- a. What were you underlying beliefs for this change?
  - b. What did your parents expect about how you behave with them? Why?
26. How did your family members (mention relations) assist you when you returned?
- a. From whom did your family seek external assistance to help them cope with the situation? What was the perception of these persons vis-à-vis your situation?
27. Who has been the most important person you could openly share your trafficking experiences with in the family and who provided you support?
- a. How is their attitude and behaviour same &/or different than others?
28. What behaviour does your family expect of you (after having been trafficked and rescued)?
- a. What is the change from what was expected of you in terms of attitude and behaviour before you got trafficked? Can you give examples
  - b. What are their current aspirations for you in terms of your life choices on education, health, employment, marriage, mobility, social interactions etc.? Who is the main decision maker for you (and your siblings) on these matters?
  - c. How similar &/or different are these for your siblings who are girls/boys?
29. Have you seen any shift in the perception of your parents over a period of time? If yes, on what aspects and how did this shift come about? Who or what was responsible for this shift?

30. If you have gone through/are going through experience of shame/self-stigma, what do you think are the reasons for this? According to you, where does self-stigma originate from?
31. In the community, is your incident of trafficking known or is your experience and identity being protected? Can you share specific details of your interaction in the community including service providers
- Elaborate any difficult situations (*probes: stigma/shame, discrimination, violence, isolation*) you might have faced from any community members?
  - Elaborate any difficult situations (*probes: stigma/shame, discrimination, violence, isolation*) you might have faced from any service provider/ village functionary. How did they behave with you when you went to avail any specific service?
32. Why did the community members and service providers behave the way they did?
- What do you think the community members and service providers expect you to behave in what manner? Why?
  - What did you expect them to do in the period after your return?
33. Can you identify any members of the community who played a positive role in your reintegration?
- Who were they & how did they help you? What made them help you?
  - How was their attitude and behaviour towards you different from others?
34. How important is religion for you and your family?
- On what matters do you/your family seek advice from the religious leader in the community?
  - In what other way religion determines actions of its followers? Does it prescribe any rule/codes of conduct for girls and boys? Can you give examples?
  - What do you think religious leaders perceive your situation like? According to you, how would religious leaders expect a survivor to behave? Why?
  - What would happen if a survivor didn't behave in that manner?
35. Were you able to openly share your experiences with your peer group?
- How was their attitude and behaviour towards you after being trafficked and rehabilitated? What can be the reasons for the same?
  - What did you think they would do, and what did they actually do? Why?
36. How would you define was the attitude and behaviour of government officials/ lawyers/judges you interacted with during this time period?
- What did you expect from these officials in terms of their behaviour and assistance?
37. Can you name any other support groups/ role models amongst survivors - you can go to or would like to go to? How has being associated with an NGO helped you in reintegration?
- How is the attitude and behaviour of social workers with you? Is it same and/or different like your family and community?
  - What does the organisation expected you to do after you returned?
38. What is the difference in reintegration of male and female survivors?
- Are there different rules of behaviour/conduct for adolescent boys and girls who have survived trafficking? What are these differences?
  - Who do you think find it easier reintegrating into the community? On what aspects?
39. With respect to family/community perceptions (on trafficking) and behaviour (towards survivors), what do you think needs to be changed to facilitate successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking? How do you think this can be done?
40. What are your future aspirations for your own self - on aspects of education, health, employment, marriage, mobility, social interactions etc.?
- How do you plan to go about in achieving the same?
  - What factors will facilitate these aspirations?

- c. What factors in the current situation will act as barriers?
41. How would you define successful reintegration – what are the important aspects/indicators of inclusion for you?
    - a. Where do you think you stand with respect to these parameters?
    - b. What should be done to prevent girls/boys being – re-trafficked?
  42. Please identify any positive aspects of family and community life – in terms of the beliefs, actions, and behaviours of persons which have made you feel included and accepted?
  43. What are certain positive attitudes/beliefs or norms on the position and role of girls in the family and community?
    - a. Have the traditional beliefs and norms undergone any shift? How? What factors led to these shifts?
    - b. What are the newer beliefs and norms accepted by community vis-à-vis girls, their mobility, position and role in the family and community?
  44. Any other comments/recommendations

## Tool 2: Interview with Partner Organisation Staff

### **Introduction**

Date: Organisation name & location:  
Name & Designations of respondents: Years operational:  
Locations working in: Target group working with:

### **Context of the community**

1. What is the composition of the region in terms of the social groups and the key livelihoods followed by them? What is the overall economic status of the community in the given region (ex with reference to BPL status)
2. What are the key religions being practiced amongst social groups in the region? What is the extent of influence of religion the region i.e. what is the importance or religion in various aspects of life?
3. Can we discuss the issues associated with gender, roles and masculinity?
  - a. What are the key similarities and differences in which parents behave with their sons and daughters in the given region? Can you elaborate with examples
  - b. What roles does a family assign to the son(s) and daughter(s) in the family? Are these roles interchangeable?
  - c. Which actions of girls/women are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - d. Which actions of boys/men are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - e. What are the positive consequences for following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/different for boys/girls or men/women?
  - f. What are the negative consequences for not following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/different for boys/girls or men/women?
  - g. What are the indicators of being 'manly'/'masculine' in this region?
4. Which of the two genders has more proclivity towards violence in the region? What are the reasons for the same? Can you identify any connections with prevalent gender norms, traditions, religious preaching etc. with the particular gender having tendency towards violent behaviour?
5. Can we discuss the issues associated with sexuality in the given community?
  - a. From what age and in what situation is it acceptable for boys and girls to have sexual relationships with a partner? Where do you think these rules have emerged from?
  - b. What is the consequence if a boy/girl does not comply with these unsaid codes and his/her parents or elders find out about it? What is the similarity &/or difference in consequences for boys and girls?
  - c. What would the community expect the father/mother of a girl who has engaged in sexual relations (prior to marriage) to do? Is this same expectation associated with boys as well? Who are the persons who are most influential in these matters within the community?
  - d. What do girls and boys do if they want to have a sexual relationship?
6. Please share a brief context to the situation of trafficking from this region? (type/age/sex/vulnerabilities of the trafficked persons)
  - a. How aware is the community on issues related to trafficking and what measures have they taken at the community level to prevent trafficking?
  - b. Apart from economic reasons, are there any other key drivers of trafficking which are embedded in the way the society is structured?

### **Approach of Org work**

7. Please explain in brief the organisation's approach while working on the theme of trafficking? What stages does the org work in – from prevention, to rescue to rehabilitation and reintegration?

8. What is considered as successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking?
  - a. Can you identify specific parameters of the same?
  - b. Who has defined these parameters of successful reintegration – donor/organisations themselves/ govt accepted/ survivors have defined etc.?
  - c. Do you think these are appropriate indicators - what can be added/deleted and for what reasons?
9. What are the prevalent factors in the community which hamper reintegration of survivors of trafficking? What are the prevalent factors in the community which facilitate reintegration of survivors of trafficking?

### **Community attitudes and perception wrt survivors of trafficking**

10. What are the challenges faced by a survivor once he/she is rehabilitated?
  - a. Challenges faced in a shelter home?
  - b. Challenges faced when survivor is being reintegrated back into the family and community? (*In terms of stigma, violence, discrimination, lack of access, loss of rights/entitlements etc.*)
  - c. Can you identify any difference in attitude and behaviour of the family and community vis-à-vis a boy and girl who is a survivor of trafficking? What can be the reasons for this difference?
11. Who are the individuals within family, community, government functionaries which are most important for a survivor and in what respect?
  - a. In your experience with which individual do survivors feel safe, protected and can openly share their experiences?
  - b. Are there any sections of the family/community that the survivors feel threatened from? Who are these and what are the reasons for this perception? Do these threats actually translate into discriminatory/ violent behaviour towards the survivors?
12. What are the specific challenges faced by survivors in different arenas of reintegration?
  - a. Educational wrt enrolment in school or seeking higher education
  - b. Economic wrt pursuing employment/ economic mobility
  - c. Social wrt acceptance within the family, community and matrimony
  - d. Religious – acceptance from within the religion and religious leaders
  - e. Self –acceptance – what are the challenges of self-image, confidence the survivor has to deal with?
  - f. Are these challenges common across all types of trafficking and faced by both boys and girls? Or specific to a particular type and gender?
  - g. Can we identify the reasons for these emergent barriers?
13. Have there been incidences of overt or covert violence (verbal/physical/emotional/economic) being perpetuated against survivors? Who were these perpetrators? Why did they behave the way they did?
14. What are the existing support systems available at the source level for a survivor of trafficking? *Probes: community based; government mechanisms and NGOs etc.* Are these effective in handling the multiple challenges associated with reintegration?

### **Positive social norms and success stories**

15. Please identify any positive aspects of family and community life – in terms of their beliefs, actions and behaviours of key persons which have aided or can aid reintegration of survivors of trafficking? Please elaborate with examples
16. Similarly, please identify existing positive social norms wrt non-violence, non-discrimination, gender equality, child protection within the community?
17. Through the multiple interventions of the organisations, what have been the changes/shift in community perception wrt

- a. Traditional gender roles and gender norms
  - b. Traditional ideas of masculinity
  - c. Perception vis-à-vis survivors of trafficking
18. Identify any success stories/stories of successful reintegration; and/or identify positive role models within community who have aided reintegration of survivors? What were the key factors which aided this reintegration?
19. What would your recommendations be in challenging existing societal attitudes, perception and behaviours which act as barriers to successful reintegration? What can be the methods to achieve this?
20. Any other comments/recommendations

**Attitudes and behaviour of social workers/case workers (can be of shelter homes/associated with NGOs)**

1. What do you think are the key reasons for trafficking of girls/boys from the region?
2. What are the most commonly held beliefs and observed patterns of behaviour amongst survivors of trafficking vis-à-vis their own situation? What is their impact in terms of reintegration?
  - a. As a social worker what is your perception of these beliefs and behaviours?
  - b. Why do survivors think the way they do?
  - c. How do you address those beliefs and behaviours which are harmful for the survivor himself/herself?
3. Who (within family/community) do you think should play an important role for survivors and in what respect?
  - a. Who (within family/community) actually plays an important role and in what respect? Example who is the decision maker for the survivor within the family?
  - b. Who are there any sections of the family/community that the survivors feel threatened from? What are the reasons for this perception?
4. What role do village functionaries, service providers and government officials play vis-à-vis reintegration of survivor?
  - a. What is the perception of these stakeholders' vis-à-vis survivors of trafficking? Why?
  - b. How would you say is their attitude and behaviour towards the survivors?
  - c. What do survivors think of this attitude and behaviour of these stakeholders?
5. How do you think a survivor should behave once rehabilitated with family?
  - a. What should their participation in family and community life be like? In which arenas of community life should they participate/not participate – and why?
  - b. What is their actual level of participation?
  - c. Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?
  - d. What do survivors think that they should behave like? What do they feel about their level of participation in family and community life?
6. How does the family/community expect the survivor to behave?
  - a. What are the similarities &/or differences for the boys as well as girls?
  - b. What are the differences of expectations in terms of behaviour and assigned roles between two siblings within the same family – one who is a survivor and the other is not?
  - c. What would the consequences be if the survivor does not comply with these expectations?
  - d. What do survivors think, their family and community members should behave like?
7. What kind of actions should the survivor and his/her family adopt to prevent re-trafficking? Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?

8. In your opinion, what is considered as successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking?
  - a. Can you identify specific parameters of the same?
  - b. Who has defined these parameters of successful reintegration – donor/organisations themselves/ govt accepted/ survivors have defined etc.?
  - c. In your opinion what parameters can be added/deleted and for what reasons?
  - d. Have you shared these opinions with the organisation you work with? What was the result of the same?
  - e. What would happen if you did not comply with the established understanding of the organisation/institution?
  - f. What do you think the survivors would consider as successful reintegration?
9. How does your family and peer group perceive your work and the individuals you work with?
  - a. How do you think they would behave with the survivors of trafficking?
  - b. What challenges do you face within the family/community owing to the work you do? Please elaborate with examples? How do you respond to these situations?
10. Please identify any positive aspects of family and community life – in terms of their beliefs, actions, and behaviours of key persons which have aided or can aid reintegration of survivors of trafficking? Please elaborate with examples
11. Any other comments/recommendations

### Tool 3: Government officials –CWC, DCPU, and AHTU at the block/district/state level

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_ Organisation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Designation/Position (if any): \_\_\_\_\_ Institution/Org Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Years working as: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Please explain in brief the role played by the office?
2. What are the different types of trafficking – how prevalent are these in the region?
3. What are the various steps followed by in rehabilitation or reintegration of survivors?
4. What are the most commonly held beliefs and observed patterns of behaviour amongst survivors of trafficking vis-à-vis their own situation? What is their impact in terms of reintegration?
  - a. As a govt official what is your perception of these beliefs and behaviours?
  - b. Why do survivors think and act the way they do?
  - c. How do you address those beliefs and behaviours which are harmful for the survivor himself/herself?
5. Briefly mention the individuals (within family, community, govt officials) that are important for a survivor from the point he/she is rescued to the point he/she gets rehabilitated either in an institution or in the community and thereafter?
  - a. What role do these individuals play in the process?
  - b. How would you describe their attitude and behaviour towards the survivors?
  - c. What are the underlying norms which guide this attitude and behaviour?
  - d. What are the expectations of survivors from these persons? Specify with examples
6. What are the key challenges in reintegration of survivors of trafficking?
  - a. Faced by the survivor and his/her family? (*of stigma, violence, discrimination*)
  - b. Faced by government institutions like yours?
  - c. What is the nature of challenges faced by you in this process- example related to attitudes and beliefs; related to resources; related to capacity. Please give examples.
7. How do you think a survivor should behave wrt his/her participation in family and community life?
  - a. In which arenas of community life should they participate/not participate – and why?
  - b. What is their actual level of participation? Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?
  - c. What do survivors think that they should behave like? What do they feel about their level of participation in family and community life?
8. How does the family/community expect the survivor to behave?
  - a. What are the similarities &/or differences for the boys and girls, if any? What do you think might be the reasons for these differences?
  - b. What would the consequences be if the survivor does not comply with these expectations?
  - c. In your experience, what did you commonly observed wrt compliance of survivors to family expectations? Why do you think this happens?
9. What are there any underlying beliefs held by the community vis-à-vis trafficking which lead to these barriers and challenges of stigma and discrimination?
10. What are they key differences in reintegration of male and female survivors of trafficking? Is there a difference based on the type of trafficking (example, difference between trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation)?

11. How would you define successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking? Do you think there is an alternative method/way for rehabilitation and reintegration?
  - a. Can you identify specific parameters of the same?
  - b. Who has defined these parameters of successful reintegration? In your opinion what parameters can be added/deleted and for what reasons?
  - c. Have you shared these opinions with the organisation you work with? What was the result of the same?
  - d. What would happen if you did not comply with the established understanding of the organisation/institution?
  - e. What do you think the survivors consider as successful reintegration?
12. What steps should be taken to prevent re-trafficking of survivors? Are there any existing community based mechanisms for this?
13. How do you think behavioural change amongst community can be brought about to aid reintegration of survivors?
14. What are certain positive attitudes/beliefs or norms on the position and role of girls in the family and community?
  - a. Have the traditional beliefs and norms undergone any shift? How? What factors led to these shifts?
  - b. What are the newer beliefs and norms accepted by community vis-à-vis girls, their mobility, position and role in the family and community?
15. Please identify any success stories/stories of successful reintegration; and/or identify positive role models within community who have aided reintegration of survivors? What were the key factors which aided this reintegration?
16. Any other comments/ recommendations



- b. If no, do you think religion and religious institutions cannot play any role in this matter? Please elaborate.
  - c. What role do you think the survivors and his/her family expect from religious institution?
11. Please identify any positive religious, cultural norms which can help in reintegration of survivors?
- a. Have any traditional norms undergone a shift? Specifically on matter of position and role of women?
  - b. Have you integrated newer ideas on gender equality in your religious teaching? If yes, how. If no, why not?
  - c. *Probes: positive social norms wrt non-violence, child protection, gender equality*
12. Any other comments/ recommendations



10. Are there different rules of conduct for male and female survivors of trafficking in the community? If yes, can you identify these differences? What do you think might be the reasons for these differences?
11. In your line of duty, have you been witness to service providers discriminating against survivors of trafficking? If yes, what are the stigma attached and what do you think are the reasons for the same?
12. Are you aware of government mechanisms established to facilitate reintegration of survivors of trafficking? If yes, what are they and do you occupy any position in such spaces? What are your key roles?
13. How would you define successful reintegration of survivors of trafficking? Do you think there is an alternative method/way for rehabilitation and reintegration?
  - a. Can you identify specific parameters of the same?
  - b. Who has defined these parameters of successful reintegration? In your opinion what parameters can be added/deleted and for what reasons?
  - c. Have you shared these opinions with the organisation you work with? What was the result of the same?
  - d. What would happen if you did not comply with the established understanding of the organisation/institution?
  - e. What do you think the survivors consider as successful reintegration?
14. How do you think behavioural change amongst community can be brought about to aid reintegration of survivors?
15. What are certain positive attitudes/beliefs or norms on the position and role of girls in the family and community?
  - a. Have the traditional beliefs and norms undergone any shift? How? What factors led to these shifts?
  - b. What are the newer beliefs and norms accepted by community vis-à-vis girls, their mobility, position and role in the family and community?
16. Can you identify any success stories/stories of successful reintegration; and/or identify positive role models within community who have aided reintegration of survivors? What were the key factors which aided this reintegration?
17. Any other comments/ recommendations

## Tool 6: Village functionaries like teachers

Date: Location: Organisation:

Name: Sex:

Designation/Position (if any): Year working as:

1. What is the composition of the region in terms of the social groups and the key livelihoods followed by them? What is the overall economic status of the community in the given region?
2. Can we discuss the issues associated with gender, roles and masculinity?
  - a. What are the key similarities and differences in which parents behave with their sons and daughters in the given region? Can you elaborate with examples
  - b. What roles does a family assign to the son(s) and daughter(s) in the family? Are these roles interchangeable?
  - c. Which actions of girls are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - d. Which actions of boys are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - e. What are the positive consequences for following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/ different for boys/girls?
  - f. What are the negative consequences for not following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/ different for boys/girls?
3. What according to you comprises trafficking? What are the different types of trafficking – how prevalent are these in the community?
  - a. What are the vulnerabilities of children (girls/boys separately) from the given community to trafficking?
4. What role does the SMC or any other school-led committee play to address this issue of trafficking in the community?
  - a. Are these issues discussed with the students? In what way are they capacitated to combat trafficking? Elaborate
5. Vignette: Parul, 13, is a girl who has been recently rescued from a brothel in Mumbai and been rehabilitated in her family. Parul, supported by a local org, wishes to continue her schooling. However her parents and close relatives feel she should be married before the news of her trafficking is revealed in the community. They say that if she studies and is associated with an organisation, getting her married in future would be difficult. They state that they do not wish to risk her getting trafficked again.
  - a. What should Parul do according to you?
  - b. What do her family and community expect her to do?
  - c. If Parul were a boy trafficked for labour work in brick kilns, how different would the situation be? Please elaborate with reasons.
  - d. What advice would you give her parents, if they approach you as a school teacher?
6. How do you perceive survivors of trafficking and their situation? How do peers perceive survivors of trafficking from their community?
  - a. Have you interacted with any survivor in the past? In what capacity – can you share more details of your interaction?
7. On being rehabilitated in the community, what are the challenges faced by survivors? Can you specify challenges faced in context of schooling and education?
  - a. What role can education play in reintegration of survivors of trafficking?
  - b. Does your school actively enrol such students? If yes, how many have been re-enrolled after being trafficked? If no why not?
  - c. How do you protect the identity of survivors in the school?
  - d. How do parents view their children interacting with survivors of trafficking? What might be their concerns? What are the underlying beliefs which guide these concerns

- e. What kind of discrimination do survivors face at the hands of their peers?
8. In your line of duty, have you been witness to teachers discriminating against survivors of trafficking? If yes, what are the stigma attached and what do you think are the reasons for the same?
  9. How do you think a survivor should behave wrt his/her participation in family and community life?
    - a. In which arenas of community life should they participate/not participate – and why?
    - b. What is their actual level of participation? Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?
    - c. What do survivors think that they should behave like? What do they feel about their level of participation in family and community life?
  10. What are the key differences in educational mainstreaming of male and female survivors of trafficking? What is the difference based on the type of trafficking (*example, difference between trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation*)?
  11. How do you think behavioural change amongst community can be brought about to aid reintegration of survivors?
    - a. What changes within the schooling system and within the family/community needs to be done to facilitate re-enrolment of survivors in school?
    - b. In this context, who can be the change-makers at the community level?
  12. Any other comments/ recommendations

## Tool 7: PRI members

Date: Location: Organisation:

Name: Sex:

Designation/Position (if any): Institution/Org Name: Year working as:

1. Please explain in brief the role played by the PRI structure in the community?
2. What is the composition of the region in terms of the social groups and the key livelihoods followed by them? What is the overall economic status of the community in the given region?
3. Are you aware about the phenomenon of trafficking? What according to you comprises trafficking? What are the different types of trafficking – how prevalent are these in the community?
  - a. What do you think are the factors that lead to children and adolescents being trafficking?
  - b. Does trafficking take place from any specific community/ social group from within the village? If yes, can you elaborate
4. What are your government mechanisms established to combat trafficking?
  - a. Do you occupy any position in such spaces? What are the key roles you play? Apart from this, what efforts has the PRI structure undertaken to curb trafficking from the village?
  - b. What are the informal community level mechanisms in place to protect children and adolescents from being trafficked, if any?
5. Are trafficking related issues- causes, prevention rehabilitation, and reintegration discussed during meetings with the community and/or in Panchayat meetings?
  - a. What are some of the commonly held attitudes and beliefs about trafficking survivors within the community? Please elaborate
6. Are you aware of any trafficking survivors in the community?
  - a. Have you interacted with any survivor in the past? In what capacity – can you share more details of your interaction?
  - b. How do you perceive survivors and their situation? How do you think they should behave? Why?
  - c. What expectations would a survivor have from a PRI member?
  - d. What do you think the survivor and his/her family should do to prevent re-trafficking?
7. Vignette: Parul, 13, is a girl who has been recently rescued from a brothel in Mumbai and been rehabilitated in her family. Parul, supported by a local org, wishes to continue her schooling. However her parents and close relatives feel she should be married before the news of her trafficking is revealed in the community. They say that if she studies and is associated with an organisation, getting her married in future would be difficult. They state that they do not wish to risk her getting trafficked again.
  - a. What should Parul do according to you?
  - b. What do her family and community expect her to do?
  - c. If Parul were a boy trafficked for labour work in brick kilns, how different would the situation be? Please elaborate with reasons.
  - d. What advice would you give? Why?
8. What do survivors usually do upon return? What are their observed attitude and behaviour patterns? Are they different &/or same for a girl and boy survivor? Why do they behave the way they do?
9. Which are the service providers, village functionaries at the village level whose support survivors and their family can seek for reintegration?

- a. What are the attitudes and behaviours of these service providers towards survivors? Why?
10. On being rehabilitated in the community, what are the challenges faced by survivors? Challenges wrt educational; employment; marriage; social etc.? Can we discuss the reasons for the same?
11. Specify any instances of discrimination and violence against survivors of trafficking that have taken place. Does the nature of discrimination and violence differ based on the gender of the survivors and the type of trafficking? If yes, can you elaborate
12. How do you think a survivor should behave wrt his/her participation in family and community life?
  - a. In which arenas of community life should they participate/not participate – and why?
  - b. What is their actual level of participation? Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?
  - c. What do survivors think that they should behave like? What do they feel about their level of participation in family and community life?
13. What are the aware of government mechanisms established to facilitate reintegration of survivors of trafficking? Do you occupy any position in such spaces? What are your key roles?
14. What is your role in the reintegration process of trafficking survivors into the local community? *Example- community sensitization on sex trafficking survivors, campaigns against trafficking economic and social support to survivors' families etc.?*
  - a. Whose support do you mobilise/ seek in the process of reintegration?
  - b. What is the nature of challenges faced by you in this process- *Probes: related to attitudes and beliefs; related to resources; related to capacity.* Please give examples.
15. What are certain positive attitudes, beliefs and/or norms on the position and role of girls in the family and community?
  - a. How have the traditional beliefs and norms undergone any shift? What factors led to these shifts?
  - b. What are the newer beliefs and norms accepted by community vis-à-vis girls, their mobility, position and role in the family and community?
16. Please identify any success stories/stories of successful reintegration; and/or identify positive role models within community who have aided reintegration of survivors. What were the key factors which aided this reintegration?
17. Any other comments/ recommendations

## **Tool 8: FGD Checklist for community members like youth groups, mothers clubs**

Date: Location: Organisation:

Total number of participants: Type of group: Age group:

Males/females:

### **Introduction, gender norms and understanding on trafficking**

1. Provide a brief background of the socio economic and religious context of the community in the given location
2. What are the key religions being practiced amongst social groups in the region? What is the extent of influence of religion the region i.e. what is the importance or religion in various aspects of life?
3. Can we discuss the issues associated with gender, roles and masculinity?
  - a. What are the key similarities and differences in which parents behave with their sons and daughters in the given region? Can you elaborate with examples
  - b. What roles does a family assign to the son(s) and daughter(s) in the family? Are these roles interchangeable?
  - c. Which actions of girls are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - d. Which actions of boys are generally considered unfavourable by the family?
  - e. What are the positive consequences for following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/different for boys/girls or men/women?
  - f. What are the negative consequences for not following assigned gender norms/roles? Are these same/different for boys/girls or men/women?
  - g. What are the indicators of being 'manly'/'masculine' in this region?
4. What is the extent of mobility of adolescent girls and women in the region? Do they pursue higher education and economic opportunities? How is this situation different for boys and why? Please elaborate and also discuss reasons.
5. Can we discuss the issues associated with sexuality in the given community?
  - a. From what age and in what situation is it acceptable for boys and girls to have sexual relationships with a partner? Where do you think these rules have emerged from?
  - b. What is the consequence if a boy/girl does not comply with these unsaid codes and his/her parents or elders find out about it? Are these consequences same for both boys and girls?
  - c. What would the community expect the father/mother of a girl who has engaged in sexual relations (prior to marriage) to do? Is this same expectation associated with boys as well? Who are the persons who are most influential in these matters within the community?
  - d. What do girls and boys do if they want to have a sexual relationship?
6. What are the various types of trafficking witnessed in the community? Are there any social groups which are more vulnerable to trafficking? What are the reasons for the same?
7. What are the main drivers of trafficking of adolescent girls and boys?

### **Attitude and Perceptions wrt Survivors and Reintegration**

8. Have you ever interacted closely with a survivor of trafficking?
  - a. What was your perception before & after interacting with a survivor?
  - b. What were the challenges they faced when they returned to the community? OR what do you think would be the challenges a survivor would face on returning to the community?
  - c. *Probes: aspects of schooling, participation in community events, accessing public spaces, getting married, on being employed etc.*
  - d. What do survivors do after being rehabilitated? What are the changes in attitude and or behaviour, if any? What might be the reasons for the same?

9. What are the commonly held perceptions amongst community members' vis-à-vis adolescent girls who have been trafficked?
  - a. What is the community attitude and behaviour towards them?
  - b. How do young boys and men in the community perceive a girl who has been trafficked? Why?
  - c. What are the similarities &/or differences in perceptions when a girl as opposed to a boy has been trafficked? What can be the reasons for the same?
  
10. Vignette: Parul, 13, is a girl who has been recently rescued from a brothel in Mumbai and been rehabilitated in her family. Parul, has been told by her family to not fetch water from the community well as they might not appreciate it.
  - a. What should Parul do according to you?
  - b. Why does the community not want her to fetch water from the community well?
  - c. How do you think, must Parul feel about this whole situation?
  - d. If Parul were a boy trafficked for labour work in brick kilns, how different would the situation be? Please elaborate with reasons.
  
13. How does the community think a survivor should behave once rehabilitated with family?
  - a. What should their participation in family and community life be like? In which arenas of community life should they participate/not participate – and why?
  - b. What is allowed and what is disallowed?
  - c. Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?
  - d. What expectations do you think the survivors have of their family and community?
  
11. Will/do your parents allow you to be friends with a survivor?
  - a. Yes/no – reasons – why do they think the way they do?
  - b. What is their fear – what would happen if you are friends with a survivor?
  - c. What would you do in that situation? Why?
  
12. Does religion play any role in the phenomenon of trafficking and reintegration?
  - a. For example, are there any religious norms which make certain sections more vulnerable to trafficking
  - b. What do religious leaders discuss about this aspect in the community? What is their perception on the issue of trafficking of survivors (especially girls who have been trafficked for sex work)?
  - c. How can religious leaders play a key role in influencing attitudes/norms?
  
13. What kind of actions should the survivor and his/her family adopt to prevent re-trafficking? Are these same for the boys as well as girls? What are the differences, if any?

#### **Positive Social Norms**

14. What are certain positive attitudes/beliefs or norms on the position and role of girls in the family and community?
  - a. How have the traditional beliefs and norms undergone any shift? What factors led to these shifts?
  - b. What are the newer beliefs and norms accepted by community vis-à-vis girls, their mobility, position and role in the family and community?
  
14. Please identify any positive aspects of family and community life – in terms of their beliefs, actions, behaviours which have aided or can aid reintegration of survivors of trafficking. Please elaborate with examples
  
15. Similarly, what are the existing positive social norms wrt non-violence, non-discrimination, gender equality, child protection within the community?
  
16. What would your recommendations be to address the challenges faced by survivors and their families in successfully reintegrating in society?

17. Any other comments/recommendations

**Tool 9: PRA exercises like Vignettes and Likert Scale to be used during FGDs**

**1. Educational Reintegration and Barriers**

<b>CARE's Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP)</b>		<b>Example of a vignette used to explore</b>
Narration	<b>Setting the background</b>	<p>Participants are introduced to the scenario: The main character is faced with a situation when a social norm under diagnosis would come into play,</p> <p>Parul, 17 years of age belongs to a family of day wage labourers who own marginal land in XXX district of WB/JH.</p> <p>Parul has recently been rescued and restored by an NGO from sex trafficking from Mumbai city. After being restored with her family, she expresses her earnest desire in enrolling for secondary education to her family. On hearing this, the father was taken aback. He thinks she should be married at the soonest to avoid further mishappenings, as according to him, marriage is the safest mode of adequate reintegration within the community.</p>
Question	<b>Reference Groups</b>	Whose opinion matters/ would matter most to Parul?
Question	<b>Descriptive Norms</b> (What I think others do)	Participants are asked what they think others in their setting would do if they were the main character (or another character engaging in the behaviour of interest) What do you think most parents in this situation would do or suggest? Why?
Question	<b>Injunctive Norms</b> (What I think others expect me to do)	Participants are asked what they think others in their settings expect the main character (or another character engaging in the behaviour of interest) to do. What do you think Parul's father or other fathers expect Parul to do in such a situation?
Narration	<b>Non-compliance of the main character</b>	Participants are presented a twist in the narration: The main character (or a new character) does not comply with the (potential) norm. Parul refuses to get married and enrolls for distance learning and for a computer course at the block level.
Question	<b>Sanctions</b> (Anticipated positive or negative reactions to non-compliance)	Participants are asked about the opinion or reaction of others (to the non-compliance) – specifically others whose opinions matter to participants What would others say about Parul's actions and her situation? What would her father say? What do you think will other do about Parul refusing to get married – how do you think her father will react?
Question	<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b> (Strength of sanctions over decision to comply or non-comply)	Participants are asked: If the character incurs negative sanctions for non-compliance, would he/she comply in the future Would opinions and reaction of her peers make Parul change her mind about refusing marriage?
Question	<b>Exceptions</b>	Participants are asked: Under what circumstances would it be okay for the non-complying character to break the norm. Under what circumstances would it have been okay for Parul to refuse getting married?

**2. Economic Reintegration and Barriers**

<b>CARE's Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP)</b>		<b>Example of a vignette used to explore</b>
Narration	<b>Setting the background</b>	<p>Participants are introduced to the scenario: The main character is faced with a situation when a social norm under diagnosis would come into play,</p> <p>Ashima,16, had been trafficked to Mumbai under the pretext of job opportunity. Her family was very poor, were landless, father had passed away and she had 4 younger siblings to feed and educate.</p> <p>She was trafficked to Mumbai but rescued</p>

			<p>by government agencies and brought back after 6 months. She faced a lot of violence and was forced in undertaking sex work in a red light area in Mumbai.</p> <p>Ever since she has returned, Ashima has been facing challenges in finding alternative employment. She is good at cooking and is willing to work in a hotel, and an NGO has linked her to a prospective employer. But the owner thinks her reputation will risk the business.</p>
Question	<b>Reference Groups</b>		Whose opinion is important in this scenario? Whose opinion would be important when a survivor seeks employment opportunities?
Question	<b>Descriptive Norms</b> (What I think others do)	Participants are asked what they think others in their setting would do if they were the main character (or another character engaging in the behaviour of interest)	What do you think most employers in this situation would do or suggest? Why?
Question	<b>Injunctive Norms</b> (What I think others expect me to do)	Participants are asked what they think others in their settings expect the main character (or another character engaging in the behaviour of interest) to do.	What do you think the hotel owner expects Ashima to do in this situation?
Narration	<b>Non-compliance of the main character</b>	Participants are presented a twist in the narration: The main character (or a new character) does not comply with the (potential) norm.	The hotel owner decides to employ Ashima on trial basis. He sees however those customers have started gossiping about Ashima.
Question	<b>Sanctions</b> (Anticipated positive or negative reactions to non-compliance)	Participants are asked about the opinion or reaction of others (to the non-compliance) – specifically others whose opinions matter to participants	What do you think regular customers to the hotel would do? Would they continue visiting the hotel or will they stop visiting? If the latter, what are the reasons for the same?
Question	<b>Exceptions</b>	Participants are asked: Under what circumstances would it be okay for the non-complying character to break the norm.	Under what circumstances would it have been okay for Ahsima to work in the hotel without any repercussions?

### 3. Likert Scale – Completely Agree-Partially Disagree Completely Disagree exercise (part of FGD)

**Objective:** To identify the social norms acting as barriers to reintegration of trafficking survivors.

<b>Normative Statements</b>	<b>Completely Agree</b>	<b>Partially Disagree</b>	<b>Completely Disagree</b>	<b>Discuss wy</b>
1. Only girls and women are trafficked & trafficking of boys does not take place at all				
2. Trafficking only means trafficking for sex work				
3. Trafficking occurs because of the persons own faults and his/her behaviour				
4. Trafficking of girls occur because they have the freedom of mobility within the community				
5. Community believes that trafficked persons are immoral and impure				
6. Trafficking survivors should be rehabilitated in separate institutions only				
7. A survivor should not come back to the family as that will bring dishonour to the family				
8. Any family in the community will not accept a girl who has had a history of being trafficked getting married to their son				

9. <i>Trafficking survivors have the same fundamental rights as the rest of the society etc.</i>				
10. <i>Survivors are be able to seek employment anywhere they want</i>				
11. <i>Girls who have been trafficked are a burden on the family</i>				
12. <i>Survivors of trafficking should be supported by their family members to return to school/college or employment, as is applicable</i>				
13. <i>Trafficking is nothing but an accident/incident in a person's life</i>				
14. <i>A girl who has been trafficked once will again get trafficked</i>				
15. <i>Boys who are trafficked for labour work do not need psycho-social care</i>				

**Annexure III: NCRB Data on Human Trafficking for West Bengal and Jharkhand**

**Table 11: Human Trafficking Data of West Bengal, 2016 and 2017<sup>62</sup>**

Purpose	2016		2017	
	India	West Bengal	India	West Bengal
Forced labour	1059	23	1657	0
Sexual Exploitation for prostitution	4980	155	1275	33
Other forms of sexual exploitation	2590	165	0	0
Domestic Servitude	412	4	113	0
Forced Marriage	349	121	240	44
Petty Crimes	212	161	9	0
Child Pornography	162	0	0	0
Begging	71	0	358	0
Drug Peddling	8	2	0	0
Removal of Organs	2	0	0	0
Other Reasons	3824	2164	2137	458
<b>Total</b>	<b>23117</b>	<b>2793</b>	<b>5789</b>	<b>535</b>

**Table 12: NCRB Data on Trafficking in Jharkhand, 2016 and 2017<sup>63</sup>**

Purpose	2016		2017	
	India	Jharkhand	India	Jharkhand
Forced labour	1059	20	1657	32
Sexual Exploitation for prostitution	4980	2	1275	18
Other forms of sexual exploitation	2590	0	0	0
Domestic Servitude	412	18	113	34
Forced Marriage	349	3	240	58
Petty Crimes	212	2	9	0
Child Pornography	162	0	0	0
Begging	71	0	358	7
Drug Peddling	8	0	0	0
Removal of Organs	2	0	0	0
Other Reasons	3824	0	2137	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>23117</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>5789</b>	<b>158</b>

<sup>62</sup> National Crime Record Bureau . National Crime Record Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs. 2016 and 2017. <http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2016/pdfs/Table%2014.5.pdf> and <http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2017/pdfs/CII2017-Full.pdf>

<sup>63</sup> National Crime Record Bureau . National Crime Record Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs. 2016. <http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2016/pdfs/Table%2014.5.pdf>

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### Annexure V: List of Stakeholders

West Bengal				
S. No	Name	Designation	Institution	Stakeholder category
1	Mamta	Social Worker	GGBK	NGO
2	Mamta	House Mother	SANLAAP	NGO
3	Yasmin	House Mother	SANLAAP	NGO
4	Rituparna	Counsellor	SANLAAP	NGO
5	Habibur Sardar	Madarassa Teacher	Religious +Edu Inst	School Teacher
6	Rajjaka Sardar	Madarassa Teacher	Religious +Edu Inst	School Teacher
7	Abdul Aziz Ali Sheikh	Imam	Masjid	Religious Leader
8	Alamgir Mandal	Sarpanch	PRI	PRI Member
9	Soma Dogra	ANM	Health	Govt
10	Bholanath Rai	Pandit	Mandir	Religious Leader
11	Mhd Yaddali	Maulavi	Masjid	Religious Leader
12	Habib Alam	DCPO	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
13	Habib Alam	PO Institutional Care	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
14	Sunayan Das	DSWO	Social Welfare Dept	Govt
15	Sapna	Social Worker	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
16	Madhumita Halder	Consultant	Directorate Of Child Rights And Trafficking	Govt
17	Rabibul Islam	Husband Of Survivor	Family	Family
18	Rupali	PRI Member	PRI	PRI Member
19	Rubina	Maulavi	Masjid	Religious Leader
20	Krishna Ghosh	AWW	BUP- Madhapur	AWW
21	Sarita	ASHA	North 24 Parganas, BUP	Govt Service Provider
22	Mr. Chatterjee	CWC	North 24 Parganas, BUP	Govt
23	Chandra Sarkar	Teacher	Kolkata	Teacher
24	Arjan Dutta	DCPO	Murshidabad	Govt
25	Ananda Das	CWC Board Member	Murshidabad	Govt
26	Jamal Uddin	CWC Board Member	Murshidabad	Govt
27	Shobha	CWC Chairperson	Murshidabad	Govt
28	Bhakuiri	PRI Member	Murshidabad	Govt
29	Kakoli	AHTU	Murshidabad	Govt

Jharkhand				
S. No	Name	Designation	Institution	Stakeholder Category
1	Sitaji	Director	DSS, Ranchi	Organisation
2	Sewak Ram	DCPO	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
3	Bharatiya Kisan Sangh	Community Worker	Org Staff	NGO
4	Reena	Counsellor	Sahiya	NGO
5	Elis	Counsellor	Sahiya	NGO
6	Arun Kumar	Org Staff	Sahiya	NGO
7	A. Sairam Kumar	AHTU Officer	AHTU	Govt
8	Kripa	CWC Member, Ranchi	CWC	Govt
9	Sushma	CWC Member	CWC	Govt
10	Sanjay	CWC Member	CWC	Govt
11	Sambhu Singh	Ex-CWC Chairman, Gumla	CWC	Govt
12	Sanjay Kumar	DCPO, Gumla	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
13	Upendraji	Project Manager	Org Staff	NGO
14	Subhashi	Counselor	Org Staff	NGO
15	Runa Singh	In-Charge	Ghanshyam Shelter Home, Gumla	NGO
16	Anamika	Counselor	Ghanshyam Shelter Home, Gumla	NGO

17	Savita	Warden	KGBV	Teacher
18	Father Thomas	Father	Church	Religious leader
19	Saleha Naz	CWC member	CWC	Govt
20	D N Yadhav	CWC member	CWC	Govt
21	Vinod Pramak	CWC member	CWC	Govt
22	Rama Shankar	CCI House Father	CCI	NGO
23	Anthony	Probation officer	CCI	NGO
24	Vyas Thakur	DCPO	ICPS-DCPU	Govt
25	Father Anthony	Father	Church & Edu Institute	Religious leader + teacher
26	Seema Sharma	DCPU	DSS, Kechera	Govt
27	Saiber Ram	DCPU	DSS, Kechera	Govt
28	Tanushree Sarkar	CWC	DSS	Govt
29	Leela	Mukhiya	Ranchi	Village functionary
30	Sarita pann	Warden	Kasturba Gandhi Vidyalay, Palkot	Teacher
31	Father Mosses	Father	Church	Religious leader
32	Anita Devi	AWW	AWW, Chatra	Village functionary
33	Sandhya Pradhan	Chairperson, CWC	CWC, Chatra	Govt
34	Sweta Jaiswal	CWC member	CWC, Chatra	Govt
35	Reema	DLSA	Chatra	Govt
36	Indu Bhushan	CWC Member	Chatra	Govt
37	MD Akhtar	Maulavi	Religious head, Simariya block	Village functionary
38	Pooja Kumar	Centre Coordinator	ChildLine, Pakur	NGO
39	Srinath Bhandari	Team Member	ChildLine, Pakur	NGO
40	Md Mahgra Ansari	Team Member	ChildLine, pakur	NGO
41	Jyoti Bhagat	Volunteer	ChildLine, Pakur	NGO
42	Sanjay kumar	DSP, Pakur	DSP	Govt
43	Tejnarayan Prasad	Ward Sadasya	PRI, Chatra	PRI