

ECONOMICS BEHIND FORCED LABOUR TRAFFICKING

Comprehensive Case Studies of Child Domestic Labour
and Commercial Sexual Exploitation



GLOBAL MARCH

Against Child Labour
Contra el Trabajo Infantil
Contre le Travail des Enfants

“ *It is a shocking revelation that 360 billion USD or 21 lakh crores Indian rupees are generated by enslaving young girls in brothels and homes that is equivalent to one fifth of the country's GDP. This black money propels capital corruption and most heinous crimes against girls and women. The dream of development and scandal of child slavery cannot co-exist. Time is running out. It is now or never.* ”

- Kailash Satyarthi, Chairperson, Global March Against Child Labour

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Global March Against Child Labour

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- Rescue Foundation: <http://www.rescuefoundation.net/>
- Global Organization for Life Development: <http://goldassam.org/>
- Prayas Juvenile Aid Center: <http://www.prayaschildren.org/>
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*“ Our lives begin to end
the day we become
silent about the things
that matter. ”*

-Martin Luther King Jr.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHTU	Anti Human Trafficking Unit
BBA	Bachpan Bachao Andolan
CDL	Child Domestic Labour
CSE	Commercial Sexual Exploitation
CWC	Child Welfare Committee
DW	Domestic Worker
ECCE	Early Childhood Care & Education
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography And Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMACL	Global March Against Child Labour
GOLD	Global Organisation for Life Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
INR	Indian Rupee
IPC	Indian Penal Code
ITPA	Immoral Traffic Prevention Act
JJ	Juvenile Justice
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MOLE	Ministry for Labour & Employment
MWCD	Ministry of Women & Child Development
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NCPCR	National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights
NCR	National Capital Region
NCRB	National Crime Records Bureau
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office of India
RTE	Right to Free & Compulsory Education Act 2009
RWA	Resident Welfare Association
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime
USD	United States Dollar

INTRODUCTION

Trafficking of human beings is an organised targeted crime in order to lead or drive a human being into exploitative conditions with the aim to make profits (MHA Advisories, 2013). Millions of children and young women are trafficked around the world for forced labour. Trafficking for forced labour as we define in our paper is not restricted to any particular form or industry - it takes place for commercial sexual exploitation, child labour or bonded labour. Despite trafficking being prohibited as per the Constitution of India, it remains a large-scale lucrative industry. The purpose of our paper is to bring to the forefront a comprehensive analysis for public awareness, lobbying and advocacy against the garish realities of forced labour, focusing on child domestic labor (CDL) and commercial sexual exploitation (CSE).

The main objective of our study was to conduct a data-driven statistical analysis to effectively highlight the characteristics, extent, mechanisms and movement of money involved in CDL and CSE.

We collected data from our partner organisations through recorded case studies of victims from India, Nepal, and Bangladesh. We then transposed the hard-coded data into a soft-coded exhaustive database template created by us at Global March Against Child Labour for analysis. Our sample consisted of 420 cases of CDL and 196 cases of CSE in total (differential level of details was reported as per the partner NGOs recording protocols). We then ran rigorous analysis, including regression and correlation analysis to discover the patterns behind trafficking in the source and destination areas, and the economic magnitude of the CDL and CSE forced labour industry. Our findings were further supplemented and strengthened utilising input from a range of key stakeholders, including NGO activists, law enforcement officials, policy advisors, representatives of international agencies such as UNODC and ILO, victims of trafficking (currently housed at partner NGO shelters) and traffickers themselves. It is important to also note that our combined data may contain biases given specificities of operations of partner NGOs.

CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

Introduction

Child domestic labour (child labour in domestic work) refers to situations where paid or unpaid domestic work in households other than their own, is performed by children who are below the minimum working age (as defined by international standards and national laws), or by children above the legal minimum age who are undertaking hazardous labour or are in a slavery-like situation (e.g., bonded labour and trafficking).

ILO believes that ~17 million children are involved in paid or unpaid domestic work globally, and ~11 million of these are considered as CDL.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) states that approximately 168 million children (aged 5-17 years) are still employed in child labour worldwide, with almost 85 million of those children placed in hazardous occupations. These numbers account for 11% and 6% of the child population as a whole (*ILO-IPEC, 2013*). As expected, developing countries in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa share the biggest burden of child labour.

In India child labour is a pervasive problem driven primarily by poverty, lack of appropriate education, and ability of perpetrators to exploit vulnerabilities of underprivileged populations. Lack of awareness at the grassroots level as well as at the level of employers regarding repercussions of child labour and the poor implementation of laws and regulations to prevent the same have exacerbated the problem of forced child labour (*Sharma, 2013*). Estimates as calculated based on the Census of India (*Census of India, 2001*) and the National Sample Survey Office of India (*NSSO Survey, 2004-05, 2009-10*) show that at least ~3-4 million children in India are engaged in child labour. These numbers are likely to be gross underestimates with the civil society estimating child labour at more than 5 fold this number (*GMACL, 2013*).

Table 1: Analysis of official child labour estimates in India for 2013 (in millions):

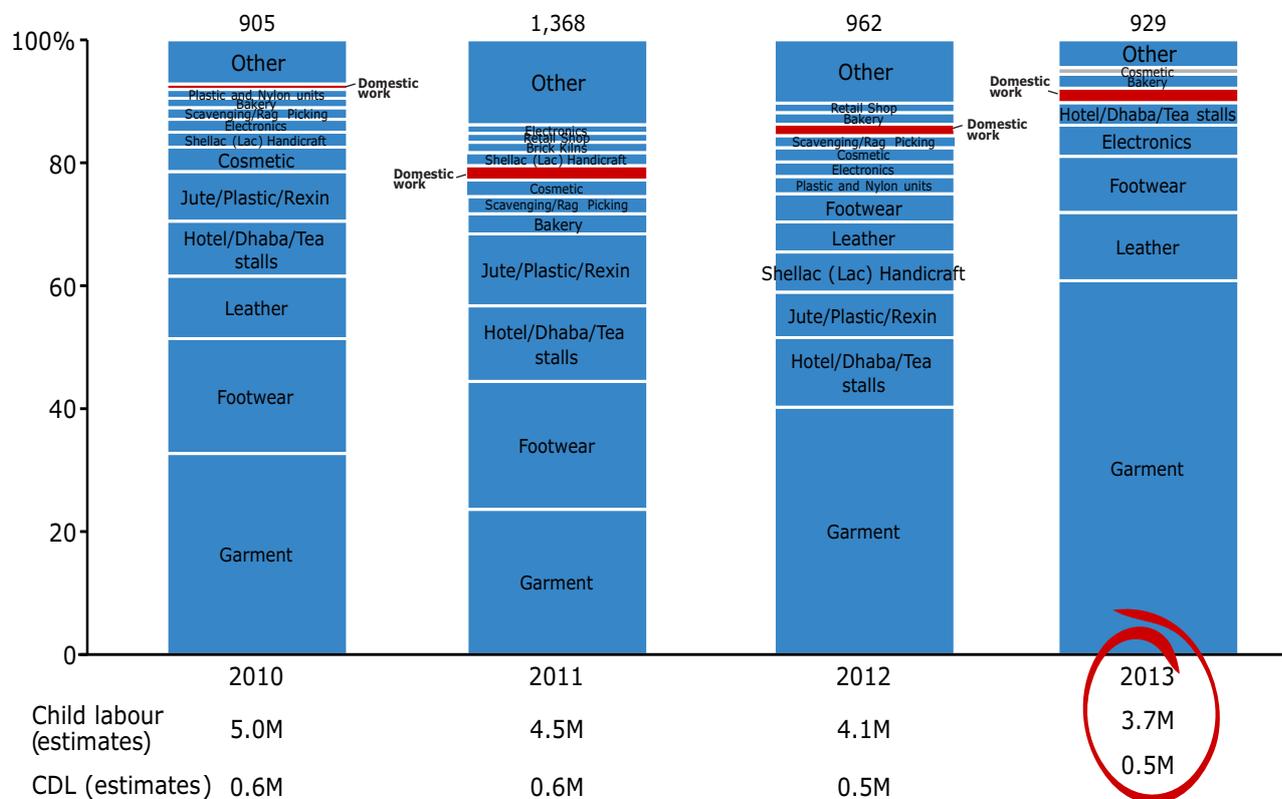
	2001	2005	2010	2011E	2012E	2013E
Child labour estimates in India	12.6	9.1	5.0	4.5	4.0	3.6

Note: 2011E-13E are estimates and not official figures, and are calculated using the 2001-10 CAGR of (11)%

These children are employed across a multitude of industries. Data from the rescued victims' database at Bachpan Bachao Andolan (BBA) enumerates the following as some of the key industries engaging in child labour in India over the last three years: garments, footwear, leather, hotels/dhabas/tea stalls, jute and plastics, shellac handicrafts, electronics, and child domestic labour (CDL) to name a few. It is important here to note that children are unable to appropriately and conscientiously make decisions to participate in the labor force of any industry. They are forced to work either due to their families' dire financial circumstances or because they are duped/kidnapped. CDL thus constitutes an illegal industry, which thrives on forced domestic labour performed by underage children.

Chart 1: Industries engaging in child labour in India

Type of work performed by victims of child labour (rescued victim data)



Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Industry representation based on data of children rescued from child labor by BBA; CDL represented in Red; Estimates of child labor and child domestic labor based upon projections from Census of India 2001 and NSSO surveys (2004-05 and 2009-10)

Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Census of India 2001; NSSO surveys (2004-05 and 2009-10)

Hidden behind private homes, CDL represents an invisible, large-scale and growing industry. Latest estimates indicate that ~220-250 million people, accounting for ~15-20% of the country's population represent the upper-middle and middle class in India (Shukla et al, 2005) - a number that is likely to continue growing, with ~60% of whom live in urban areas (Meyer & Birdsall, 2012). As expected, research conducted during the course of our study indicates extensive trafficking of CDL to urban areas in order to serve these growing urban upper and middle-class families. Government officials including Harish Rawat, Minister of State for Labour and Employment, affirm that almost all of the upper/middle class population in India employs some form of domestic labour, and many even employ over 2-3 individuals for domestic work (Labour File, 2013). According to the ILO the number of domestic workers in the country can be as much as 90 million, with ~20-40% which equals ~18-36 million of whom are CDL (ILO, 2012). Analysis based on prior Census and NSSO data shows the CDL count in India to be less than 0.5 million - this is likely untrue. On the other hand, our conservative analysis shows that the use of CDL among the Indian upper/middle-class would likely increase the population of children employed in hazardous conditions of domestic labour to anywhere between ~7-17 million.

Table 2: Conservative Analysis of CDL estimates in India (in millions):

	Value	Source/Assumption
Middle class in India (in millions, 2013E)	180	NCAER; projected
Upper-middle class in India (in millions, 2013E)	62	5% of country's population; expert interview
Total	242	
No. of households	69	Divided by 3.5 members per urban household

	Low case		High case		Source/Assumption
	Estimate	Total	Estimate	Total	
Upper-middle/ middle class urban households	60%	41	60%	41	Center for Global Development
Employing domestic worker (in any form)	60%	25	80%	33	Expert interviews
Employing CDL for domestic work	30%	7	50%	17	Expert interviews
<i>CDL as a proportion of total</i>	<i>18%</i>		<i>40%</i>		

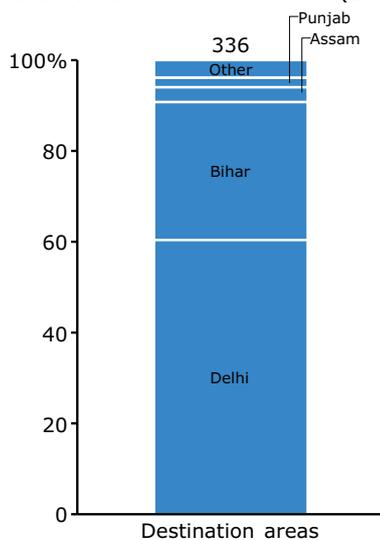
Note: Estimates based on projections from National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) report (2004); Center for Global Development research (2012); Expert interviews

Destination areas for Trafficking of CDL

Urban cities and metropolitan areas are destination hubs for CDL. With the growing wealth and financial stability, the urban population in India is able to employ individuals for assistance in their domestic chores (e.g., cooking, cleaning, dish washing, laundry, ironing, gardening, farming, child minding etc.). CDL are normally sourced from impoverished states in rural India and brought to cities. CDL are cheaper and easily dominated compared to their adult counterparts, and are almost always living in the same households (full-time) as their employers (ILO-IPEC, 2013; Sharma, 2013; Kant, 2013).

Chart 2: Destination areas for trafficking of CDL in India

Destination areas of rescued victims (2010-13)



“Children from villages in Bihar and Assam are often trafficked as CDL to cities in those same states.”

- Project Coordinator, BBA

“Placement agencies in metropolitan areas, particularly those in cities such as Delhi, Mumbai and Bangalore, are increasingly becoming notorious for bringing in children from various other states for domestic work.”

- President, Shakti Vahini

Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL; Data biased to CDL in Delhi and Bihar due to operation areas of NGOs in these regions

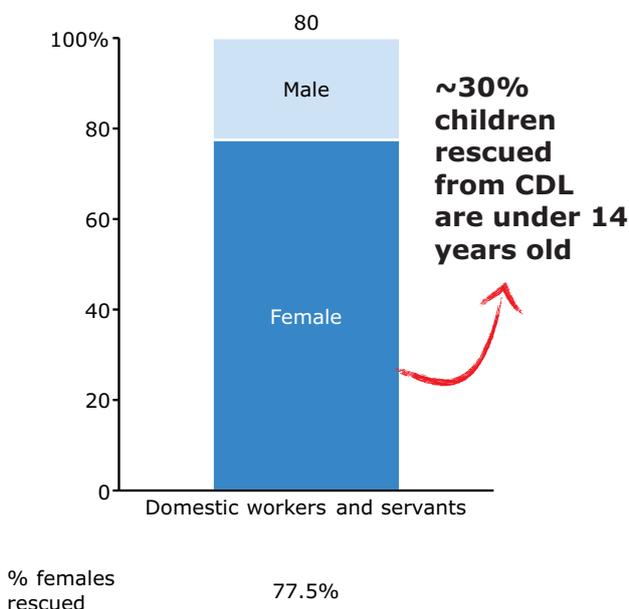
Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert interviews (2013)

Demographic data of CDL in India

Domestic labor continues to be a gender-biased industry, thus it is not surprising that majority of CDLs are young girls. The predominance of females in the profession of domestic help is affirmed by our study. Economically disadvantaged families in rural India have long been attuned to the myth that domestic labour is a 'safe way' for their daughters to earn the much-needed money. Having one less mouth to feed and another pair of working hands exaggerates the willingness of families to encourage their children to forego their childhood and step early into the workforce. Girls as young as 5 years of age are employed as CDL in India. Our analysis indicates that ~80% of the children at the time of rescue are 16 years of age or under, majority of whom fall in the group of 14-16 years of age.

Chart 3: Children employed in CDL are mostly girls

Proportion of male vs. female rescued from CDL



“ I started working in when I was less than 12 years old. My parents died, and I was raised by an aunt who didn't care much about me. I had no choice but to fend for myself. I thought working as a domestic labor would be safer than anything else. ”
 - Rescued Victim, 15 years, CDL, Global organization for Life Development (GOLD)

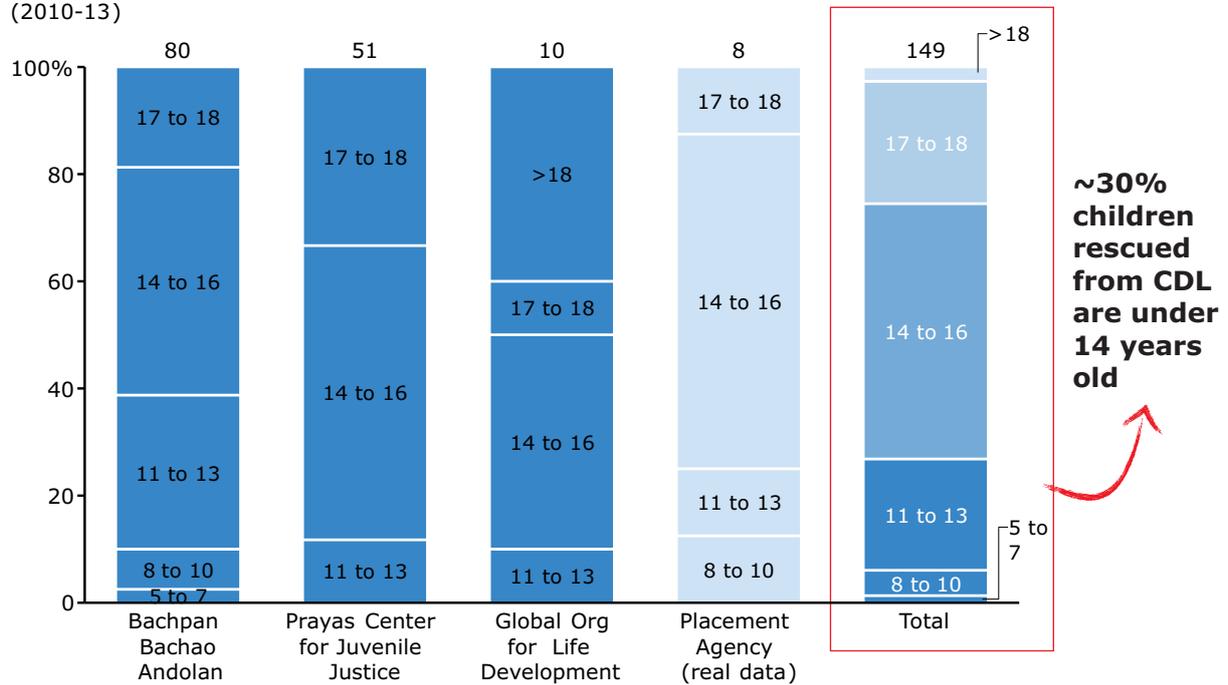
“ Even when I was living at home I was told as a girl it was my responsibility to cook, clean, and take care of the house. So when the placement agency agent came with a job offer in Delhi, my parents were thrilled at the prospect of getting some extra cash in the house. ”
 - Rescued Victim, 14 years, CDL, Prayas

Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL

Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Victim interviews (2013)

Chart 4: Age distribution of children employed in CDL

Age of CDL found at the time of rescue by organisation (2010-13)



Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL except for Placement Agency (real data) from 2008
 Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Placement Agency Dataset (2008)

Source areas for Trafficking of CDL

Trafficking for CDL mostly takes place internally. However, there are cases of children being trafficked for CDL from neighboring countries such as Nepal and Bangladesh as well (UNODC Country Assessment, 2013). Traffickers have been diversifying their network and have established strong organised circuits in impoverished areas to consistently source CDLs. These CDLs are placed in urban cities and metropolitan areas in India often via placement agencies. Our analysis reaffirms the persistent prevalence of Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, and Uttar Pradesh (UNODC Country Assessment, 2013) as key source areas for trafficking of children for CDL. Even within these states, some districts are more notorious than others for trafficking.

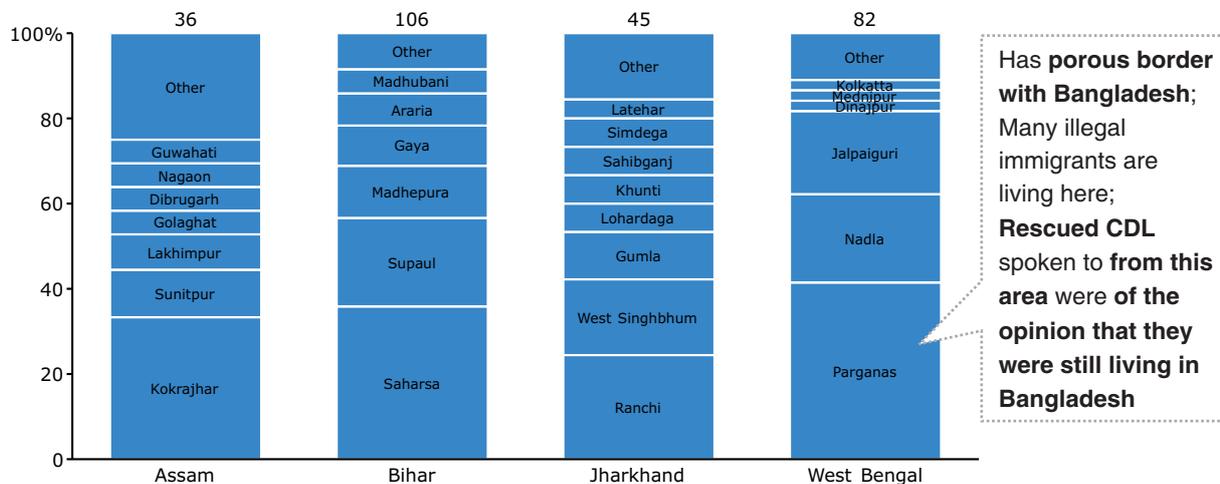
*“The **smallest amount of money is still money**. As parents see children in other families providing financial support, they become **pro having their own child work**.”*
 -In-charge, Raid & Rescue, Rescue Foundation, North

*“Having children work as domestic labor is unfortunately very common in Assam. **Shutting down of many tea factories** in Assam has collapsed the job market, **exaggerating poverty and trafficking in the area**.”*
 -General Secretary, GOLD

*“Traffickers are getting smarter. They are **diversifying source areas** taking into account **economic needs and socio-cultural patterns**, as well as changes in **law enforcement and regulations in an area**.”*
 -Project Coordinator, BBA

Chart 5: Key districts operating as source areas within trafficking-prone states of India

Source areas of victims rescued from CDL (2010-13)



Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL
 Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert interviews (2013)

Socio-cultural and educational background for CDL

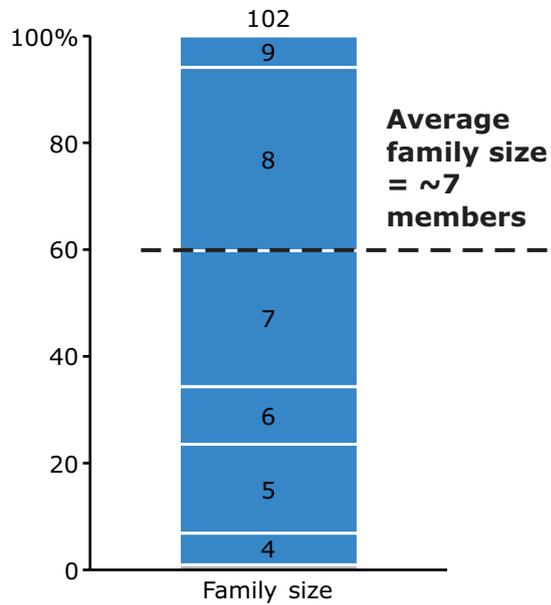
A common thread among the socio-cultural background of rescued CDL is the presence of large family sizes. Analysis shows that on average CDLs are part of families with ~ 6-7 members and some families even ~9-10 members. With many mouths to feed, these families have to shell out most of their meagre monetary resources on basic survival.

In our analysis many rescued CDLs were unaware of the living status of their parents, not knowing if the parents were still alive or deceased. In cases where the victims were aware, we see that ~20% indicated that their parents had passed away leaving the CDL to rely on extended family or fend for himself/ herself. Parents who were currently alive were universally employed in low-wage professions or unemployed. It is this economic impotence, which enables traffickers to recognise and exploit the vulnerabilities of families in rural India.

Our analysis also shows that ~60% children employed as CDL never received any formal education. The remaining ~40% CDL who did go to school on average dropped out before sixth grade in order to work. Lack of education and skill development leaves these children handicapped in growing intellectually and potentially finding alternate means of employment when they turn of age. Collectively these socio-cultural characteristics have left millions of children in India exposed to trafficking and exploitation.

Chart 6: Family size of rescued CDL

Family size of rescued victims (2010-13)



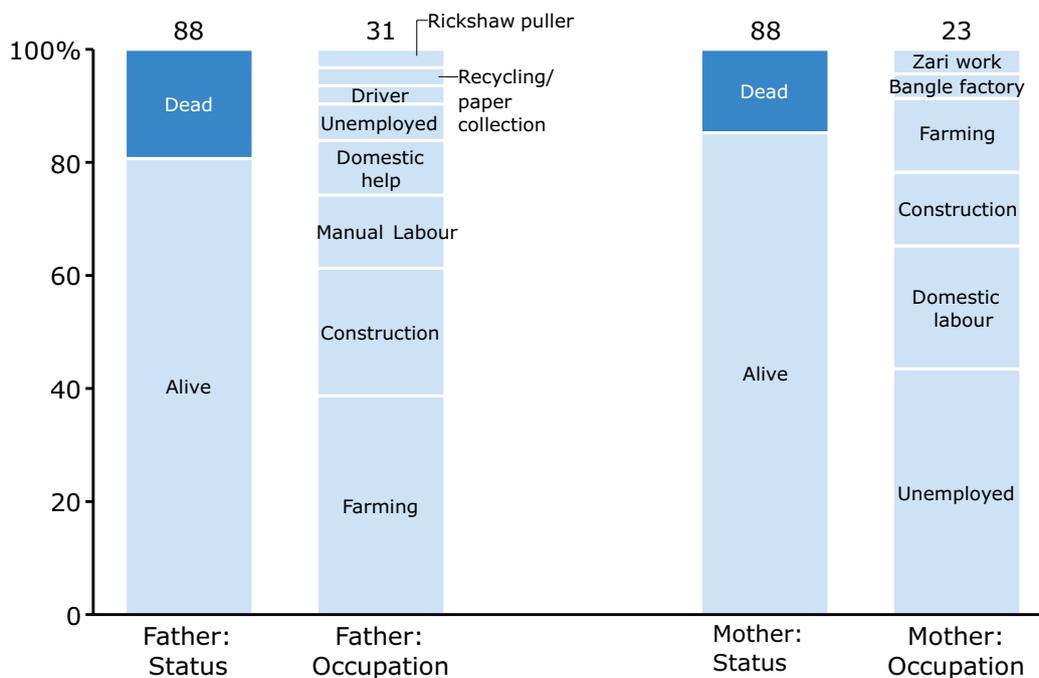
“ *Lack of appropriate family planning and belief that 'more children means more hands at work' increases incidences of large families in rural India. When these families realise that supporting the child also requires resources then they send their children away to work.* ”
 - Project Coordinator, BBA

“ *I am the eldest of 5 children. My mother doesn't work, and ever since my father's injury at the factory, he rarely gets to do some odd jobs. Without any money and food at home we were all suffering. I had to step up and support my family financially.* ”
 -Rescued Victim, 16 years, CDL, Prayas

Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert and victim interviews (2013)

Chart 7: Parent status of rescued CDL

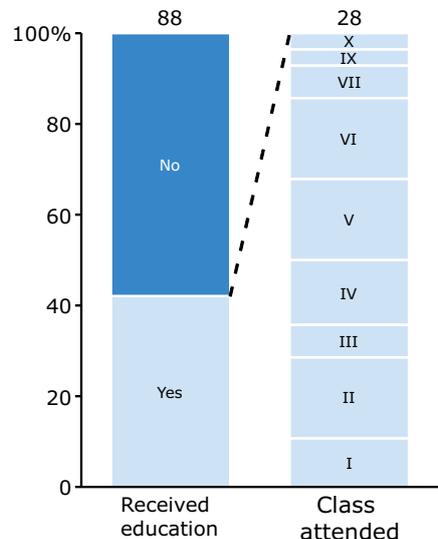
Parent status of rescued victims (2010-13)



Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013)

Chart 8: Education status of rescued CDL

Education status of rescued victims (2010-13)



“ *Going to school as a girl is considered a luxury. It's not an option that was offered to me. I knew from early on that I had to support my family financially.* ”
 -Rescued Victim, 15 years, GOLD

“ *I never went to school. I never fought for it either. I knew I had to help support my family; my elder sisters were also sent to Delhi to work when they were young.* ”
 - Rescued Victim, 13 years, Prayas
 - Rescued Victim, 15 years, GOLD

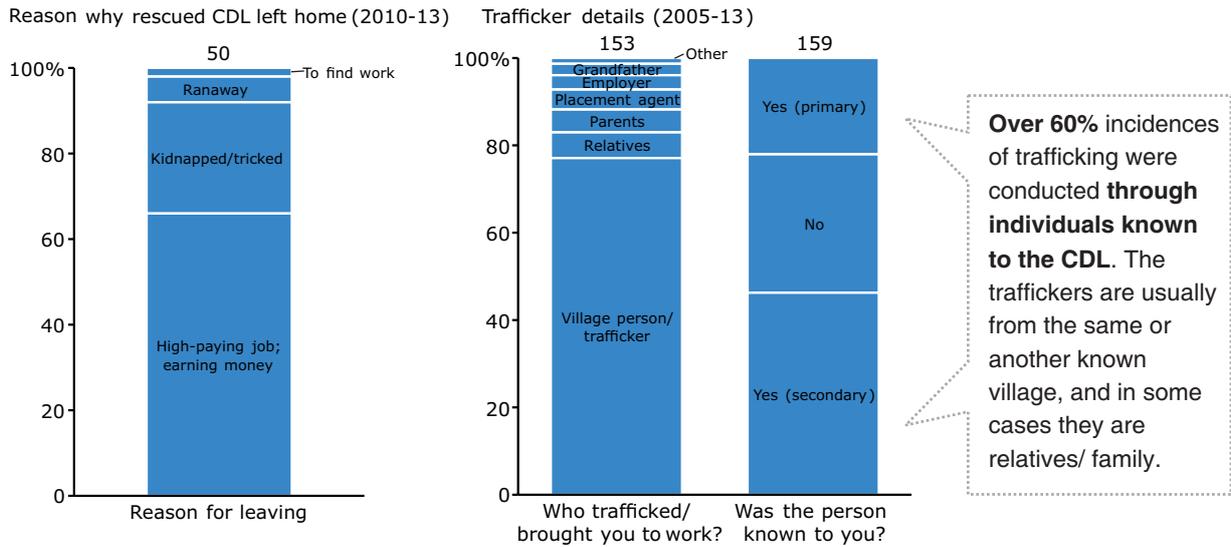
“ *When you have to sleep hungry, you think about money, not about an education.* ”
 - In-charge, Raid & Rescue, Rescue Foundation, North

Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL
 Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert and victim interviews (2013)

Details for trafficking of CDL

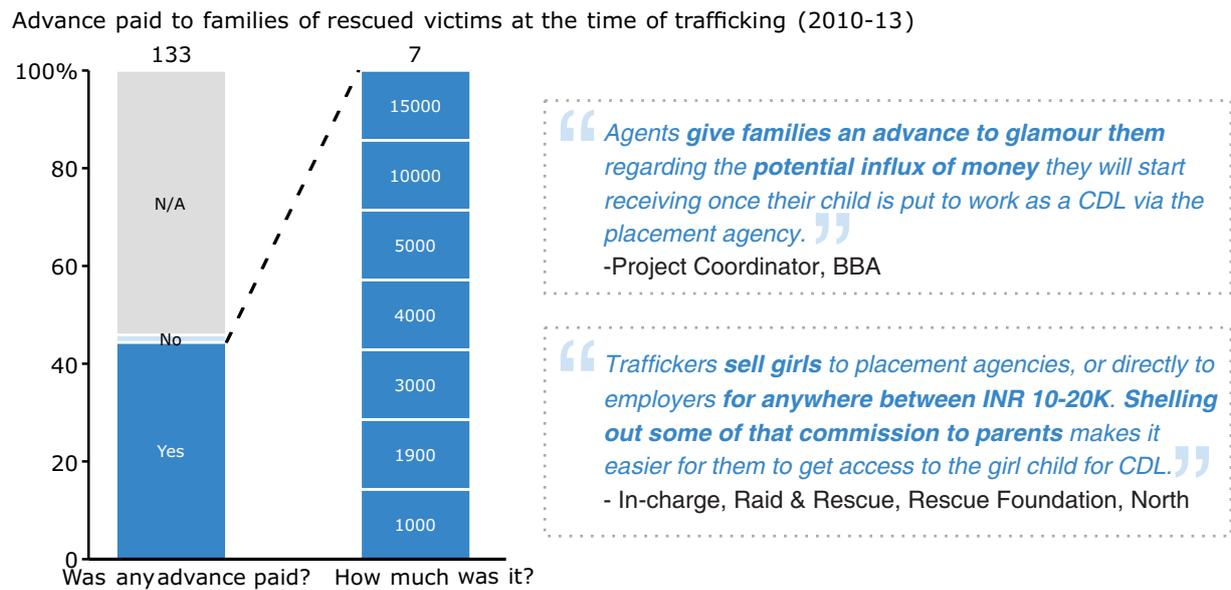
Traffickers are adept at luring children and families under the pretext of lucrative jobs and a better life. Placement agencies have sourcing agents in various villages who act as intermediaries to convince parents and children regarding the benefits of working in big cities. These agents often provide advance payment to the families, reassuring them of the potential of future financial stability. Our analysis shows that ~70% children were convinced to leave their homes and travel to the destination areas for high-paying jobs to earn money. The remaining children were either kidnapped or tricked to work as CDL. If we extrapolate from our analysis of the total number of CDL in India then ~2 to 5 million children are likely kidnapped/ tricked into CDL – a gruesomely large number, which is currently going unnoticed.

Chart 9: Reasons why rescued CDL left their homes and with whom did they leave



Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL
 Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert and victim interviews (2013)

Chart 10: Traffickers often lure families of CDL via advance payments

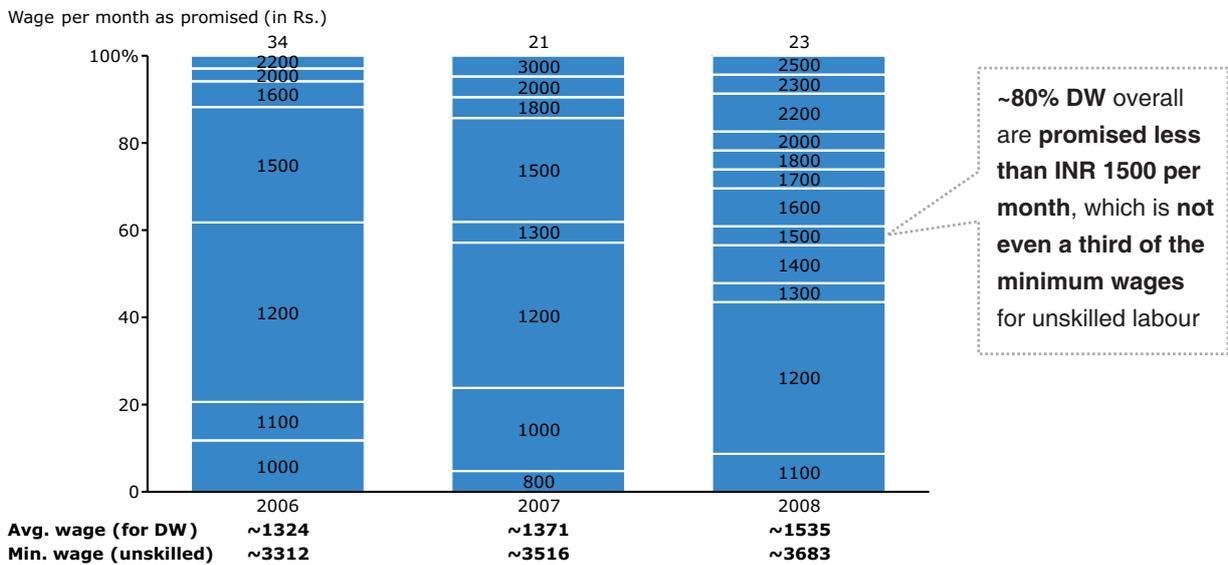


Note: Numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL
 Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at GOLD (2013); Expert and victim interviews (2013)

Wage data and the economics behind CDL

Based on our analysis, on average rescued CDL had already worked for ~12-15 months, some had even worked for as long as 4-6 years. By deduction we claim that the average age at which these children started working as CDL ranges between ~12-14 years [based on: age at which rescued victim was found – number of years rescued victim had worked]. Being far away from homes and family support, and having little-to-no knowledge of their own legal rights renders CDL susceptible to exploitation. Our analysis reaffirms that placement agencies are able to exploit CDL more so than adult domestic workers by paying them lower wages.

Chart 11: Extremely low wages are promised by placement agencies to domestic worker (DW)



Note: Minimum wage data as per Delhi state from Department of Labour, 2013
 Source: Placement Agency Dataset (2008)

Chart 12: CDL are paid lower wages than their adult counterparts by placement agencies



Note: Domestic Worker may or may not ever receive these wages; these only signify the wages promised
 Source: Placement Agency Dataset (2008)

There are multiple beneficiaries banking upon the exploitation of CDL. The biggest beneficiaries are the placement agencies. Research indicates that placement agencies sourcing CDLs are able to place at least ~60-100 CDL per year (i.e. ~5-12 CDL per month) in the National Capital Region (NCR). These agencies receive a commission of ~INR 20-50,000 upon placing CDL in homes of employers (Senger, 2013). CDLs are promised well below minimum wages as monthly salaries (Sharma, 2013) and even these wages are collected directly by the agency. Rarely (if ever) are any wages given to the CDL (except for special cases such as medical attention for self or family or travel to native village) (Victim interviews, 2013). Our analysis shows that through collection of all commissions and monthly wages these placement agencies can accumulate large amounts of money (revenue and profits). On a conservative level, agencies make anywhere between Indian rupee (INR) 23 lakhs to INR 74 lakhs per year. Moreover, the likely market for CDL in the NCR region can cause circulation of as much as INR 205 crores to INR 1554 crores (\$34 million to \$259 million) illegal money in the market.

Table 3: Conservative Analysis of money generated via CDL in NCR (in millions):

	Low estimate	High estimate	Source
Calculations for one placement agency (example area: NCR)			
No. of CDL placed per year	60	100	NGO estimates; research
Commission per CDL placed	INR 20,000	INR 50,000	Expert and CDL interviews
Wages per month per CDL			
Untrained	INR 1,500	INR 2,000	CDL interviews; placement agency database
Semi-trained	INR 3,000	INR 3,500	
Trained	INR 4,500	INR 5,000	
Wages per annum per CDL (untrained)	INR 18,000	INR 24,000	
Total wages per annum for all CDL placed	INR 10,80,000	INR 24,00,000	Analysis
Total income per annum (comm. + wages)	INR 22,80,000	INR 74,00,000	

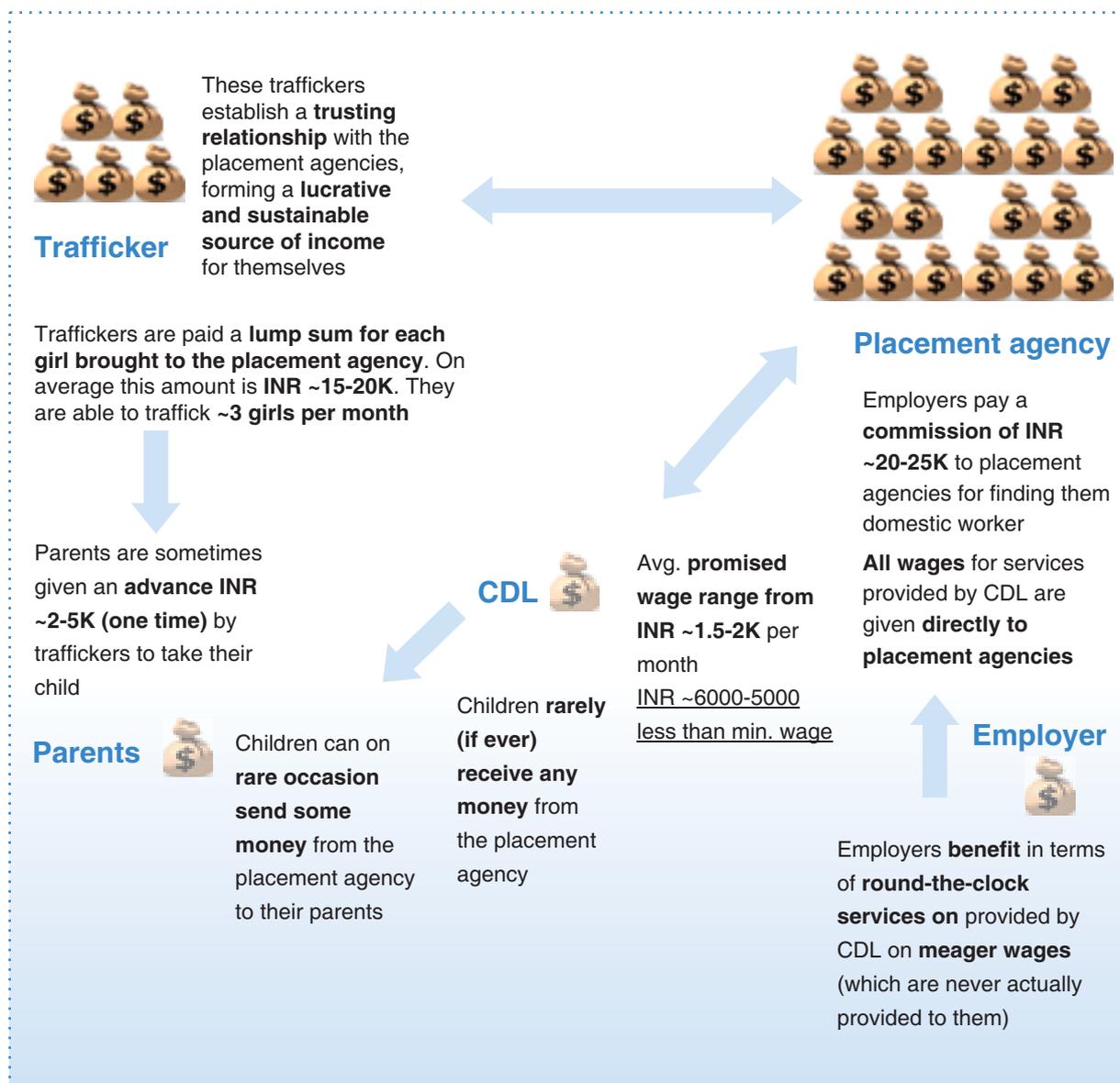
	Low estimate	High estimate	Source
Calculation for all placement agencies (example area: NCR)			
No. of placement agencies in NCR (registered and unregistered)	3000		NGO estimates
% of placement agencies engaging in consistent CDL	30%	70%	Expert interviews
No. of placement agencies engaging in CDL	900	2100	
Money in generated via use of CDL for placement agencies in NCR	INR 205,20,00,000	INR 15,54,00,00,000	
	INR 205 Crores \$34 million	INR 1,554 Crores \$259 million	Exchange rate based on 22 nd Nov 2013

Extrapolating the money in circulation via forced labor performed by the ~7- 17 million CDL in the country then placement agencies are illegally earning between INR ~13 to 41 thousand crores per year (accounting for ~\$2 to 7 billion USD). [If assume on a very conservative level, that the total market for CDL in India is 2.5 times the market in NCR then the illegal money in circulation could be anywhere between ~\$35 to 361 billion USD]

The second set of beneficiaries is the traffickers who get anywhere between INR 15-20,000 per girl who they bring to a placement agency. Most of traffickers have established rings in their respective source areas and are able to procure 4-5 girls per 1-2 months for CDL. The traffickers operate as 'agents' for placement agencies and are able to form a trusting relationship with them, generating a sustainable and lucrative source of income.

Further, employers, parents, village goons and police also benefit at different levels from trafficking of children for CDL. The employers get consistent domestic worker at very low costs; parents can receive an advance during the time of trafficking and on occasion the salary of their child; further, the village goons and police may also take a cut from traffickers in order to turn a blind eye to trafficking.

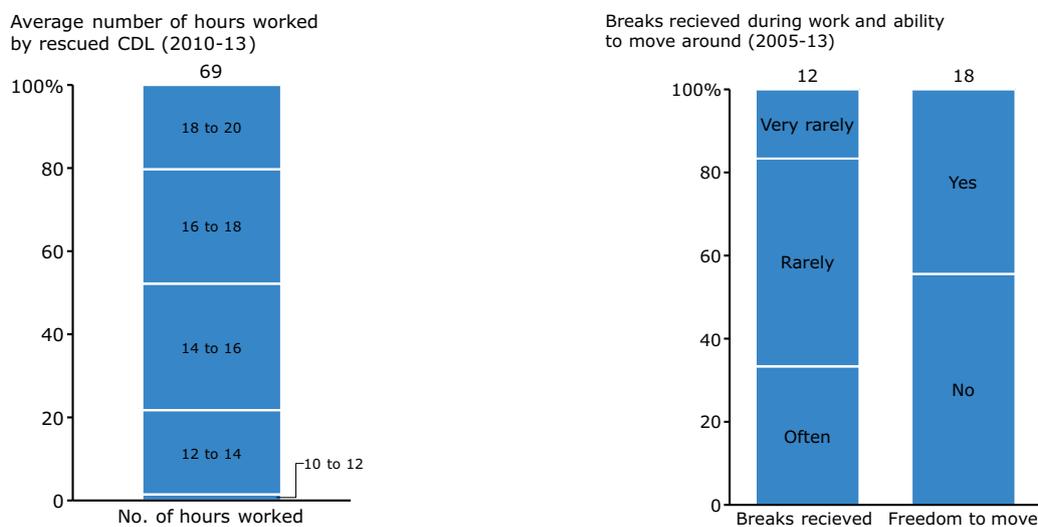
Chart 13: Movement of money caused upon trafficking of a child for CDL (each bag = INR 1 Lakh)



Working and living conditions of CDL

Children forced into CDL have a very difficult life; not only are they employed as labour far away from their homes and paid almost no wage for their hard work, they are also made to work around the clock and be 'on call' from before the first member of the household wakes up to after the last member of the household sleeps (*ILO-IPEC, 2013*). CDL are responsible for all or some combination of the following tasks: cooking, cleaning, dish washing, laundry, ironing, child-minding, pet-minding, and assisting the employer with outside-of-the-house work. Our analysis reaffirms that most CDL work for ~14 to 16 hours on a daily basis 365 days a year. They rarely get consistent free time to themselves and are not allowed to move about very freely outside of the employer's home or neighborhood.

Chart 14: Number of hours worked by CDL and their ability to move freely



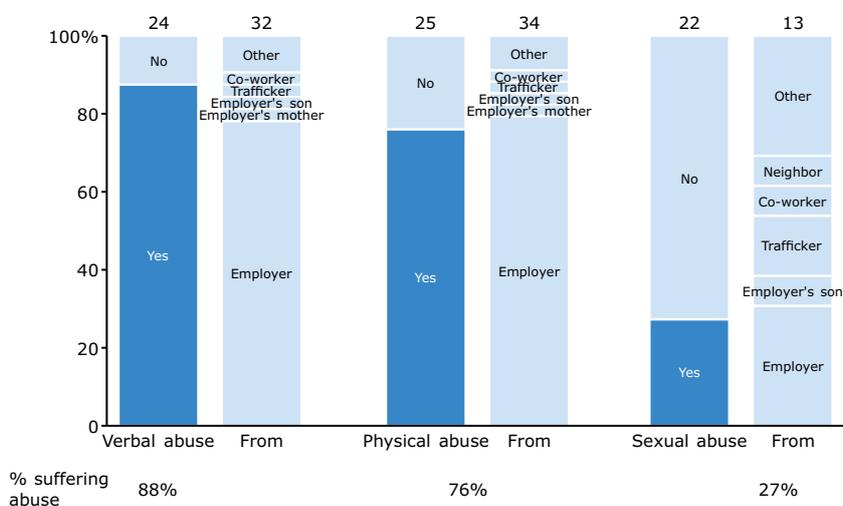
Note: Work hours may not be continuous work hours, but reflect the time they start work to when they end work; numbers on top the bar represents 'n'; Data representative of children rescued from CDL

Source: BBA Database (2010-13); Database created through sample of case studies at Prayas (2010-13)

Additionally, these children are often subject to abuse and torture. Our analysis confirms concerns highlighted in current literature regarding domestic help: verbal and physical abuse is prevalent in majority of CDL cases, with the employers raising their voices and hands at for not performing tasks as per the employer's need (*Victim interviews, 2013*). A disturbing new trend includes the increasing incidence of sexual abuse among CDL by their employers.

Chart 15: Abuse faced by CDL on a regular basis

Abuse faced by rescued CDL (2010-13)



“ If I didn't do my work perfectly or if I slept for 10 minutes more than I should have my **madam would kick me, slap me and pull my hair.** ”
 -Rescued CDL, 18 years, GOLD

“ **Madam's son would come to me at nights, hit me and then do bad things to me. I didn't know who to complain to; my madam didn't believe me. I had no other way out but to run away from there.** ”
 -Rescued CDL, 17 years, Prayas

COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Introduction

Commercial sexual exploitation refers to the practice by which a person(s) achieves sexual gratification, financial gain or advancement through the abuse or exploitation of another person's sexuality by abrogating that person's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being (includes trafficking, and forced prostitution) (*Hughes, 1999*).

Government of India study estimates the number of females in prostitution in India at ~3 million (*MWCD, 2008*).

Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) is a notorious problem worldwide, and is particularly rampant in India. 'Prostitution' remains an illegal industry in India with specific penalties for those involved. Commoditisation of women supports a culture that views females as objects, and sanctions violence against women as well as the perceived 'right' of men to buy acts they sexualise (*Hughes, 1999*).

Over the years, millions of women and children have been trapped in the sex trade. These women and children are raped, tortured and denied their basic human rights. Although we acknowledge that some women are operating in the business of prostitution out of their own volition, majority have been thrown into the sex trade without their knowledge. It must be noted here that even women who are participating in prostitution out of their 'own choice' are doing so due to the vulnerability caused by the lack of alternate means of survival (*Iqbal, 2013*); in effect bringing them under the ambit of forced labour.

An alarming trend seen in the last few years has been an increase in cross border trafficking for sexual exploitation (*UNODC Current Victims Assessment, 2013*). Throngs of women are being trafficked from Nepal and Bangladesh, turning India's metropolitan areas and urban cities into major hubs for trafficking (*Sharan, 2013*). Government estimates state that the number of women in prostitution in India is ~3 million at any given time (*MWCD, 2008*). However, this estimate is based on analysis of red-light areas alone and not the dispersed hidden population of women in prostitution via private brothels, dance bars or massage parlours. If we take into account the decentralised avenues of sexual exploitation then the number of women and girls stuck in this horrific trade could be double or triple ranging between ~6-9 million (*Sharan, 2013; Kant, 2013*).

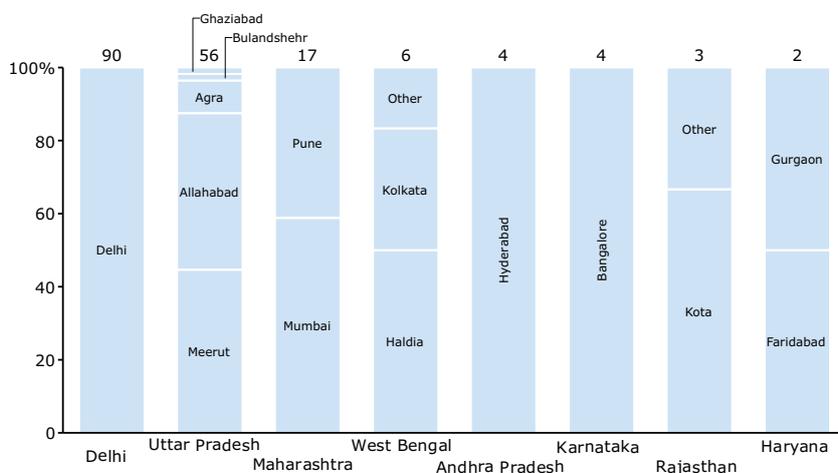
Destination areas for trafficking of CSE victims

CSE is prevalent throughout the country. Rapid urbanisation along with the increase in migration of men to India's growing cities is creating a massive market for CSE (*Senger, 2013*). In the last few years, the sex trade industry has grown in conjunction with financial liquidity of lower and middle classes accentuating the demand for sexual activity (*Sharan, 2013*).

Young women and girls from rural India are in awe of the 'glamourised' city lives and are easily duped into moving to the big cities in search of a better life. Our analysis corroborates that victims continue to get trafficked to prominent red-light areas such as G.B Road (Delhi), Kamathipura (Mumbai), Sonagachi (Kolkata), Budhwar Peth (Pune), Kabadi Bazar (Meerut) and Meergunj (Allahabad); however, new-age metropolitan cities such as Bangalore, Hyderabad, Gurgaon and Ghaziabad are also catching up as major destination hubs for trafficking of women and children for CSE.

Chart 16: Destination areas for trafficking of victims for CSE

Key destination areas for trafficking of victims for CSE (2010-13)



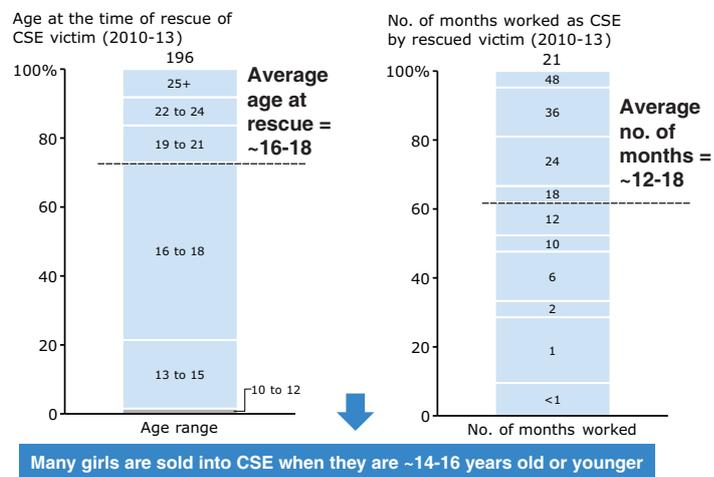
Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
 Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13); Rescue Foundation (North) Database (2010-13)

Demographic data for CSE victims

Although young men and boys are also trafficked for CSE, over 90% of individuals trapped in CSE are females (Kant, 2013). Our analysis only focuses on the presence of these young women and girls embroiled in the sex trade in India. The demand for younger girls in CSE has been increasing with the client base ranging from the 'average Joe' middle-class individual to VIPs such as actors, politicians and individuals in the higher strata of society (Sharan, 2013).

Girls as young as 10 years old are being sold to brothels. Our analysis shows that ~70% of the victims rescued from CSE were ~16-18 years old or younger. On average these victims had worked in CSE for ~12-18 months. Thus, it is our deduction that many victims had been sold to brothels when they were ~14-16 years old or younger. It is a gruesome reality of present-day India that millions of girls are being treated like money-making machines and forced to sell their bodies during childhood.

Chart 17: Age data for rescued victims of CSE



“ Younger girls are sold for more money. Not only are they more in demand in the market, they also have more years to continue working at the brothel. ”
 -In-Charge Rescue and Raid, RF North

“ Most of the girls I met at Sonagachi were ~15-19 years old. Madams always want younger, attractive girls in the brothel. The younger ones also fight back less- they are easily dominated. ”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 17 years, Sanlaap

Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
 Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13); Rescue Foundation (North) Database (2010-13)

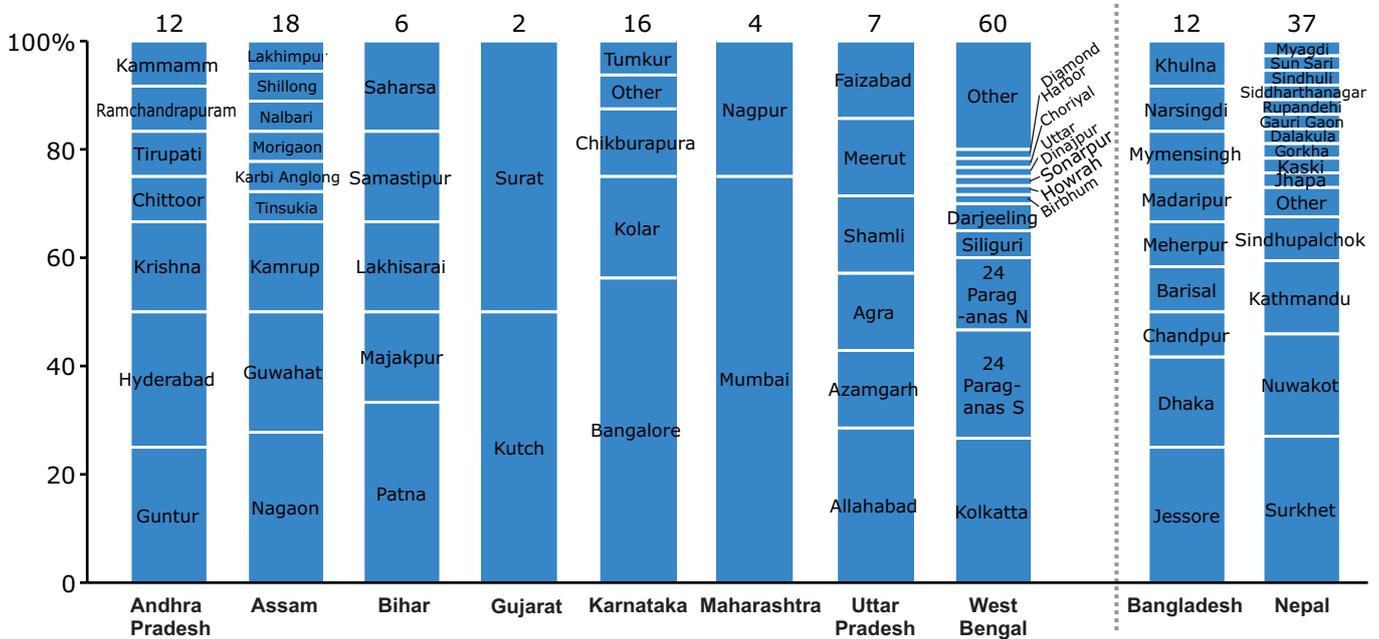
Source areas for trafficking of CSE victims

Key source areas for trafficking of victims for CSE continue to be the impoverished states in India such as West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh. Unfortunately, poverty-stricken Bangladesh and Nepal are also large source areas feeding into the mix of individuals suffering through CSE in India (*UNODC Country Assessment, 2013*).

Our analysis reaffirms the presence of internal and cross-border trafficking for CSE – making this a transnational illegal industry. All source areas have established trafficking rings with the traffickers, law enforcement officials, border guards and village goons involved in eating a part of the lucrative monetary pie generated via CSE (*Kant, 2013*).

Chart 18: Source areas for trafficking of victims for CSE

Key source areas for trafficking of victims for CSE (2010-13)



Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database

Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13); Rescue Foundation (North) Database (2010-13)

Socio-cultural and educational background of CSE victims

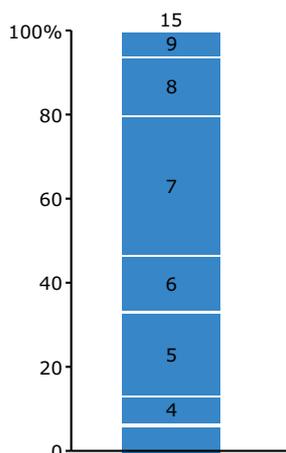
The patriarchal, male-dominant society in India continues to accept sexual violence against women. Lack of holistic education and sensitisation of the population has led to the acceptance of structural inequalities, gender disparities and negative attitudes towards women (*WSP, 2013*). CSE preys on families who have been made vulnerable by poverty and lack of economic development policies and practices (*Hughes, 1999*).

Our analysis shows that families of victims of CSE are large with ~6-7 members. Larger families increase the cost of living per household, causing young women and children to leave in search of work or run-away from home in search of a better life. The high incidence of deceased parents or parents being employed in

low-wage industries exacerbates financial scarcity. Our analysis indicates that in ~50% of CSE cases the father was no longer alive, and in ~30% of CSE cases the mother was no longer alive. Further, in 100% of the cases parents were employed in low-wage industries like carpentry, construction work, domestic worker, farming or rickshaw pulling.

Chart 19: Victims of CSE are usually from large families in impoverished states

Average family size of rescued victims (2011-13)

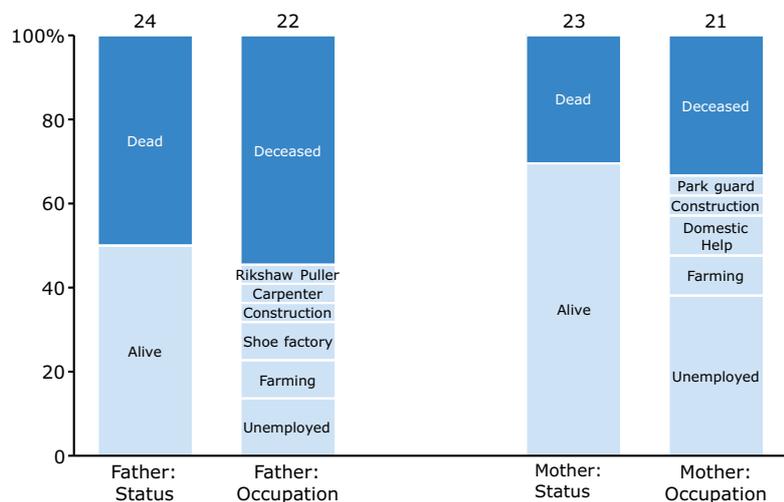


“ I am the **youngest of five sisters**. Most of my family is still in Bangladesh. My elder sister was the first to come to Kolkata because she was told there's a lot of money in India. None of us knew what she did in Kolkata. We **got some money from time to time**. Two-three years later she came to fetch me from our village. There were **too many of us in the house for my mother to look after**. I didn't know the **price of our penury** was going to be my **sister selling me to a brothel in Sonagachi**. ”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 15 years, Sanlaap

Note: Number on top of the bar represents 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
 Source: Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13)

Chart 20: Parent's status and occupation of victims of CSE

Parent status of rescued CSE victims (2010-13)



“ My **father died** when I was two years old. My **mother remarried** and didn't want to take me to her new family, so she **left me with my old grandparents**. An aunty came to our village and asked to **take me as domestic help**, my **grandparents agreed**. I worked at her house for a few years and **when I hit puberty she sold me to a brothel in Rajasthan**. ”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 15 years, Sanlaap

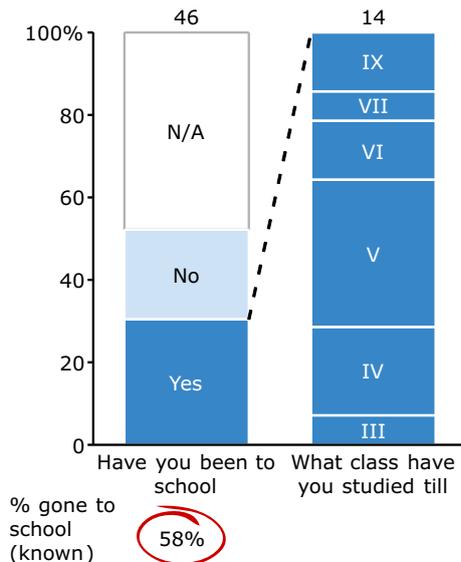
“ We had very little money at home. The **only income** we got was from my **father's construction work**. When I got an '**opportunity**' to leave the village to earn money, I took it. I didn't know where I was going to end up. ”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 17 years, GOLD

Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
 Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13)

Approximately 60% of CSE victims (for whom the education status was known) had attended school. However, none of them had graduated beyond middle school (highest grade recorded was ninth grade). Reasons for leaving school varied from 'leaving school to start a job, and support the family' to 'I ran-away with the man who fooled me, and told me he would marry me'. These girls are unable finish their education, rendering them unskilled or ill-equipped to enroll in many legal, well-paying jobs.

Chart 21: Education status of victims of CSE

Education status of rescued victims (2010-13)



“ I fell in love with 'Raju' when I was in **still in school**. He promised to marry me and build a prosperous life in Mumbai. My **family was struggling** to make ends meet, so I ran away with him. I didn't know he was evil - he sold me to a brothel in Budhwar Peth. ”

- Rescued Victim CSE, 17 years, GOLD

“ I was in **6th grade**, when my mother said she needed me to help with finances at home. She said a man was leaving from our village in Bangladesh for India and would get me a **well-paying job in Kolkata**. Two days later I left with him, and I haven't been home since. ”

- Rescued Victim CSE, 16 years, Sanlaap

Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database

Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13)

Details for trafficking of CSE victims

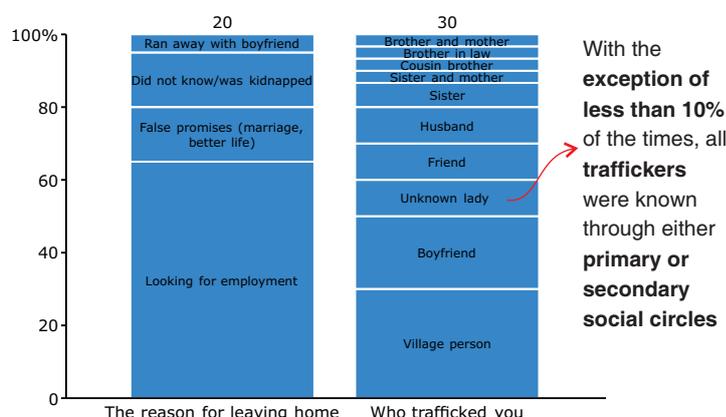
Rampant poverty and lack of opportunities in source areas continue to haunt families, causing them to easily part (or remain parted) with their women and children. Traffickers are adept at remaining clandestine. A lot of them have established their circuit for trafficking of girls along with the village heads and law enforcement officials.

Our analysis indicates that ~60% of CSE rescued victims agreed to leave their homes in search of employment. However, there's a significant proportion of the victim population ~40% who were duped via false promises of marriage, love and a better life or kidnapped. A shocking revelation in our analysis pertaining to trafficking of victims for CSE was the presence of immediate and close family members as traffickers. During interviews with the victims of CSE it was highlighted that sisters of victims who were also working in prostitution would sometimes fetch younger siblings to be sold to brothels; mothers who were struggling to feed their children would agree to send their daughters away with pimps to work in prostitution; brother-in-laws would sell the victims in lieu of a lump sum payment.

One of the major reasons for continued trafficking is the pervasive lack of awareness regarding trafficking and the fate of girls who have left their homes 'in search of jobs' (Sharan, 2013). Additionally, the stigma associated with CSE causes victims to remain silent about their lives further debilitating the level of awareness present in their villages and home towns (Kant, 2013).

Chart 22: Trafficking details of victims rescued from CSE

Trafficking details of victims rescued from CSE (2010-13)



“ I married a man from my village but I didn't know he had another family. I felt betrayed and left for the city in search of a job. An aunty met me and told me she would help me – she sent me to a man in Bangalore, but he trapped me in his brothel and I couldn't escape for more than a year.”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 20 years, Sanlaap

“ I never thought my mother and sister would sell me to a stranger for just INR 10,000. I was tortured at that brothel and I wouldn't dare escape for the fear of my life.”
 - Rescued Victim CSE, 17 years, Sanlaap

Note: Numbers on top of the bars represent 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
 Source: Database created from GOLD case studies (2010-13); Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13)

Economics behind CSE

Most individuals are unable to fathom the totality of money in movement within CSE. Our analysis shows that on a conservative level the amount of illegal money generated for just one brothel per year via CSE can range between INR ~150 to 1,440 lakhs (amounting to ~\$0.3 to \$2.4 million USD per year). Taking the same estimates for extrapolation indicates that the total CSE industry in the country generates revenues between INR ~2 to 21 lakhs of crores (amounting to ~\$30 to 343 billion USD per year). This gigantic sum of money in circulation is black money raised via selling the bodies of enslaved women and girls. None of this money is utilised for the benefit of the country, the impoverished states and the millions living in penury.

Table 4: Conservative analysis of revenue generated per brothel per year (e.g., GB Road):

	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
No. of girls per brothel	50	100	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal), Sharan, Kant (2013)
No. of clients served per day per girl	5	10	
Probability of getting the desired number of clients	50%	80%	
No. of clients actualized	2.5	8	
Rates per client			
15 minutes	INR 400	INR 600	Brothel operator GB Road, Sharan, Kant (2013)
30 minutes	INR 700	INR 1,000	
Half night	INR 1,500	INR 2,000	
Full night	INR 3,000	INR 5,000	
Money earned per girl per night	INR 1,000	INR 4,800	Calculated on least valued rate of 15 minutes
No. of days worked per month	25	25	
Money earned per girl per year	INR 3 lakhs	INR 14 lakhs	
Total money earned per brothel per year	INR 150 lakhs	INR 1,440 lakhs	
In USD	\$0.3 M	\$2.4 M	Based on \$1=INR 60

Table 5: Conservative analysis of revenue generated via CSE in the country per year:

	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
No. of brothels in a red-light area (e.g., GB Road)	118*	140	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal); Sharan; Kant (2013)
No. of red light areas in the country	1000	1,100	Govt. study; Bhola (2013)
Money generated via CSE in India	INR 2 lakhs of crores	INR 21 lakhs of crores	
In USD	\$ 30 B	\$ 343 B	Based on \$1=INR 60

Our research confirms that there are multiple individuals involved in the intricate illegal ring of CSE. Traffickers, brothel owners (madams and pimps), money lenders, law enforcement officials, lawyers, judiciary, and to a certain level even the victims of CSE eventually receive money for participation. The movement of money is quick and creates a mirage for all players involved (*Kant, 2013*). It is following of this mirage that creates a lure to remain involved in this modern-day slavery. Whenever possible individuals peripherally attached to the business (such as, law enforcement, judiciary, doctors, and money lenders) capitalize on the illegality of CSE. Further, stigmatisation of the young women and girls in prostitution subjects them to lifelong imprisonment within the profession – forcing them to generate sustenance from the same.

As per our analysis, using the most 'liberal estimates' the total costs incurred in CSE amounts to ~\$19 to 309 billion USD per year. This causes ~\$11 to 34 billion USD per year to circulate in the economy as unaccounted, untaxed, illegal floating profit.

Table 6: Movement of money and cost analysis for CSE in the country:

Traffickers gain	Low case	High	Source/Assumption
Percent turnover of women in prostitution	10%	30%	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal); Sharan; Kant (2013)
No. of girls and women trafficked for CSE per brothel per year	5	30	Calculated based on size of GB Road brothels
Total no. of girls trafficked for CSE per year	0.5 million	4 million	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
Purchasing cost of girls			
10-12 year old	INR 3 lakhs	INR 5 lakhs	Cost of girls is variable
13-15 year old	INR 2 lakhs	INR 4 lakhs	depending upon their
15-20 year old	INR 1 lakh	INR 3 lakhs	physical attributes and age
Total money given to traffickers for selling of girls per year	INR 12000 crores	INR 172000 crores	Calculated based on 13-15 year old purchasing cost estimate
In USD	\$2.0 B	\$28.6 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
All of this money doesn't stay with the traffickers; portions of this money is pawned off along the way to the parents as advances, to the police, border security and village goons for free movement, and to the lawyers and judiciary in case of bail/trials etc.			

Law enforcement officials gain	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Percent of revenue generated given to law enforcement for support an security to continue operations	5%	7%	Sharan (2013)
Monetary gain of law enforcement officials per brothel per year	INR 7.5 lakhs	INR 101 lakhs	Calculated based on revenue generated at GB Road brothels
Total monetary gain of law enforcement officials via CSE per year	INR 9 000 crores	INR 144000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$1.5 B	\$24.0 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
Money provided to the law enforcement officials is to continue smooth operations of the brothel-based institutions, and not be thrown into jail for participation in illegal activities			

Lawyers and judiciary gain	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Percent of revenue generated given to lawyers and judiciary for support to continue operations	10%	15%	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal), Kant, Sharan (2013)
Monetary gain of lawyers and judiciary per brothel per year	INR 15 lakhs	INR 216 lakhs	Calculated based on revenue generated at GB Road brothels
Total monetary gain of lawyers and judiciary via CSE per year	INR 18000 crores	INR 309000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$2.9 B	\$51.5 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
Money provided to the lawyers and judiciary is to continue smooth operations of the brothel-based institutions, and receive support for trials and bails (in order to not get prosecuted for participation in illegal activities); no lawyers want to easily support brothel-based institutions, thus, large amounts of money are paid to lawyers for consultation			

Healthcare practitioners gains	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Percent of revenue generated given for healthcare of women in prostitution	5%	7%	Sharan (2013)
Monetary gain of healthcare practitioners per brothel per year	INR 8 lakhs	INR 101 lakhs	Calculated based on revenue generated at GB Road brothels
Total monetary gain of healthcare practitioners via CSE per year	INR 9000 crores	INR 144000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$1.5 B	\$24.0 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
It is difficult for women in prostitution with work related injuries (e.g., STDs, childbirth, abortions) or even regular injuries to get medical support from the state hospitals – they are usually told to establish a medico-legal case in order to get any treatment, as a result these women have to search for doctors/health practitioners (Ayurveda, Hakims) willing to provide them with necessary medical treatment			

Money lenders gains	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Money loaned per brothel per year	INR 20 lakhs	INR 40 lakhs	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal), Kant (2013)
Interest charged on the loan	20%	30%	
Minimum money given towards loans per brothel per year	INR 4 lakhs	INR 12 lakhs	
Total money given towards loans to money lenders via CSE per year	INR 24000 crores	INR 57000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$3.9 B	\$9.5 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
Money is loaned by the madams and pimps from these money-lenders in the locality to pay off the costs being incurred on all the other accounts as mentioned in our analysis (law enforcement, judiciary, health care, establishment costs etc.)			

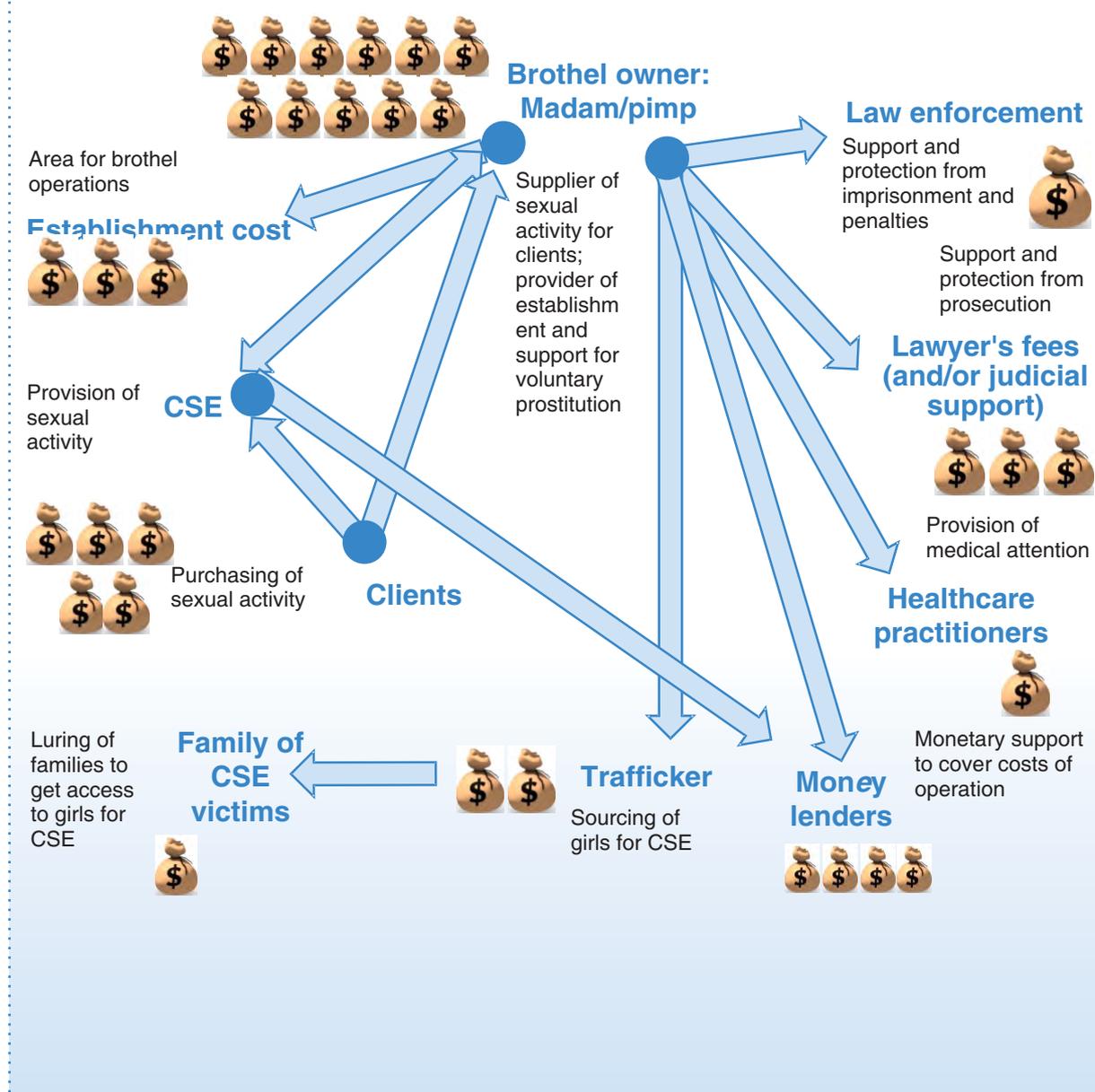
Establishment costs	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Percent of revenue generated utilized in running of the establishment	10%	20%	Sharan (2013)
Total establishment cost per brothel per year	INR 15 lakhs	INR 288 lakhs	Calculated based on revenue generated at GB Road brothels
Money spent on running establishments for CSE per year	INR 18000 crores	INR 412000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$3.0 B	\$68.6 B	Based on \$1=INR 60
Establishment costs incurred include food, clothing, rent, utilities, costs for effectively running the brothel-based establishments			

Wages for women in prostitution who are practicing of their own volition	Low case	High case	Source/Assumption
Percent of women/girls self operating in a brothel	40%	50%	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal), Kant (2013)
No. self-operating per brothel	20	50	Calculated based on individuals per GB Road brothel
Percent of salary paid	40%	60%	Brothel operator GB Road (dalal), Kant (2013)
Money paid as wages per brothel per year	INR 24 lakhs	INR 432 lakhs	Calculated based on GB Road estimates for revenue generated per girl
Total money paid as wages in CSE per year	INR 28000 crores	INR 618000 crores	Calculated based on GB Road estimates extrapolated to the industry
In USD	\$4.7 B	\$102.9 B	Based on \$1= INR 60
After 4-5 years once the madams/pimps are convinced the women won't run away, they give them the choice to leave the brothel or operate on their own accord. Most women feel vulnerable, stigmatized, and are unable to re-integrate with society, as a result they stay with the brothels. They pay for their rent, food, clothing etc. to the madam/pimp and get the remainder of the money as their 'wage'. However, these women barely save any money since they end up giving it to other pimps they've hired to source clients, alcohol and drugs to numb their senses and satiate their built-up addictions, and potentially pay for family and child support.			

	Low case	High case
Total potential cost for CSE industry per year		
In INR	1.2 lakhs of crores	18.6 lakhs of crores
In USD	\$19 B	\$309 B
Total potential profit for CSE industry per year		
In INR	0.6 lakhs of crores	2 lakhs of crores
In USD	\$11 B	\$34 B

Chart 23: Graphical representation of movement of money via CSE to different players in India (1 pot of money = \$1B)

Caveat: All the money generated and present with the brothel owners doesn't stay with them, but it is rather spread across various other unknown entities to keep the building afloat



Working and living conditions of CSE victims

Brothel owners and traffickers have all become experts at increasing their hold on the women and girls, forcing them to stay in prostitution for as long as they remain valuable. Brothel owners even leverage the linguistic differences pervasive in Indian society; girls from the south and east of India are now increasingly procured to work in brothels in the north, reducing their ability to communicate and escape. A disturbing trend that has recently been noticed is that brothel owners and managers want girls to become pregnant and have a child within 1-2 years of having been at the brothel. The child is then held on ransom and tortured unless the girl complies with the demands of brothel owners.

Once sold to a brothel, brothel owners convince the victims that their lives have been bought and that they must repay the price of their lives to the madams/pimps. Girls are expected to solicit work through enticing clients starting early afternoon ~1-2 PM to ~5-6 AM each day (*CSE Victim, 2013*). Girls are pushed to serve ~10-15 clients per day and are abused physically and verbally if they are unable to bring in profits for the day. Their work undoubtedly brings upon them torture of the worst kind (*Sharan, 2013*).

Living in small rooms of 12 feet x 10 feet with anywhere between 50-100 other victims, these girls live abhorrent lives, unsure of when they will be able to escape and live free with dignity. All activities starting from sleeping, eating, bathing to performing sexual activity with clients takes place within those small quarters. Many brothels resemble crowded train stations in the early morning hours with girls lined up against one another to sleep on floors (*Iqbal, 2013*).

If the girls are not rescued in time and stay at the brothels for long enough it becomes their way of life. The life cycle of a victim of CSE is a vicious circle. Once the women/girls have been at one brothel for 3-4 years and are unlikely to run away, the brothel owner either allows them to start soliciting clients on their own or the girls themselves request to start their own business operations. Having lived a life of sexual exploitation and had no contact with the society at large, these victims are afraid to step out into the real world. Fearing the stigma, these women resign themselves to living within brothel-based institutions (*Kant, 2013*). After 10-15 years of experience some of these victims graduate to becoming 'Naikas' – recruiting and trafficking ~5-6 girls for working under them. These Naikas earn money from the ~5-6 girls they 'own' in addition to any money they earn themselves. Eventually, these Naikas may come to own the brothel and start running the entire establishment (*Iqbal, 2013*).

Women who do not become Naikas or madams leave the brothels once they are ~35-40 years old as they are no longer 'valuable' to clients. There are inadequate records or anecdotes available for such women. Most commonly it is said that these women either start running private sex trade establishments, return to their villages with anonymity and get married or many a times commit suicide (*Sharan, 2013; CSE Victims, 2013*).

It is a strange world within these sex trade establishments – no woman really enters through her volition, but she ends up staying because there is paucity of choices provided to her by the civil society and government. It is important recognise all forms of sex work as having strong potency for forced labour involving the exploitation of the individuals themselves, or the exploitation of their vulnerabilities. It is imperative to thus empower and assist women in prostitution, but also women in general to effectively prevent this heinous crime from perpetuating.

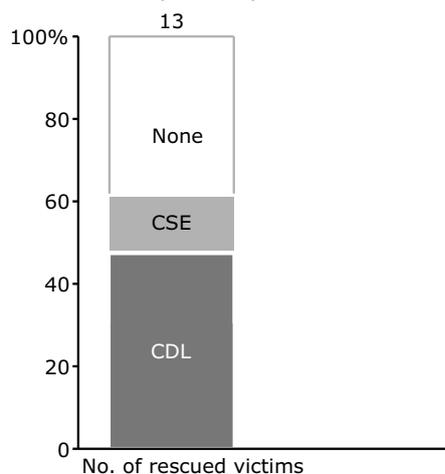
CROSSROADS BETWEEN COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND CHILD DOMESTIC LABOUR

The ILO Convention 182 indicates CDL and CSE to be the worst forms of child labour (*ILO-IPEC, 2013*). The two forms of forced labour seem largely disparate - CDL is often encouraged by families and is an acceptable form of child labour in India; however, CSE is strongly condemned and stigmatised by all within the Indian society. This distinction is borne from the perceived level of seriousness and danger affiliated with CDL and CSE – which unrealistically underestimates the horrors associated with CDL (*ECPAT 2013*). The common threads between CDL and CSE highlighted in prior literature are confirmed by our analysis: majority children involved are girls (*ILO-IPEC 2013*) coming from similarly difficult socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. Additionally, victims of CSE and CDL both face isolation, and are verbally, mentally and/or physically abused by their employers.

Interestingly, our study further indicates noticeable correlation between the mechanisms of trafficking for CDL and CSE. As discussed above, ~60% of CSE victims had agreed to leave their homes in search of employment. There is thus a strong link between 'false employment' and CSE. Our primary research while interviewing victims of CSE concludes working as 'domestic worker' as a key lure utilised by traffickers. Our analysis shows that ~40% of CSE victims at one of our partner NGOs had worked as CDL prior to being forced into CSE. Our inference regarding the strong link between CDL and CSE is reinforced by reported cases of girls and young women who are trafficked to Gulf countries (e.g., Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates) to work as domestic worker but are instead sold off to the sex-trade industry in those countries (*TOI 2013*). This makes us believe that the trafficking rings for CDL and CSE could be linked with the same individuals sourcing girls from impoverished states for both forms of forced labour.

Chart 24: Many victims of CSE had previously worked as CDL

Prior work experience of rescued victims (2010-13)



“ I used to work in a house near Kolkata; I helped with cooking, cleaning, laundry; I liked the house I worked in, but the pay was very little. A lady in the neighbourhood told me she would find me a house to work at with more pay in Mumbai – I believed her. She placed me in a house for a few days, but I didn't like it there, so she said she would find me better house, but this time before I knew it she sold me to a brothel in Kamathipura. ”
- Rescued Victim CSE, 17 years, Sanlaap

Note: Number on top of the bar represents 'n'; Estimates of CSE based upon rescued victims database
Source: Database created from Sanlaap case studies (2010-13)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy amendments

As shown in our analysis, trafficking for forced labor is a major impediment to the progress of India, affecting human dignity and rights of millions of individuals involved (including those trafficked from neighboring countries in the South-Asian region). An amendment to the **ILO Convention 29** (*to suppress the use of forced labour*) is a must to **include** the need for addressing and **combatting human trafficking for forced sexual and/or labour exploitation** as a whole; as well as instating appropriate mechanisms for prevention and victim protection, particularly **monetary compensation** for labour, abuse (physical, mental and emotional), and rehabilitation.

“ Trafficked **victims need to be given monetary compensation** for all that they have to suffer. Many states have adopted plans for victim compensation (ranging from INR 25,000 to 2,00,000), but they are not yet **standardised or adequate.** ”

-Director (SR/CS), Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India

Additionally, as highlighted in our analysis given the mammoth extent of forced labor among children and rampant employment of CDL in India, it is important to **ratify** at least the **following ILO conventions** to protect the rights of millions of children being forced to work in the hazardous industry of domestic labor:

- **Convention 138** (*establishing minimum age for admission to employment*)
- **Convention 182** (*prohibition and elimination of worst forms of child labour, which should include hazardous occupations such as domestic labour*)
- **Convention 189** (*to ensure decent working conditions for domestic workers, ensuring those under the age of 18 years are getting the needed education and support*)

The Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act 1956 as it currently stands only takes into account human trafficking for prostitution and not for any other forms of trafficking. It would be beneficial to **amend the current ITPA 1956 to include all forms of trafficking**; thus, ensuring law enforcement officials have a better understanding and legal backing to prevent spread of human trafficking in totality for all forms of forced labour. Similarly, given the increase in cross-border trafficking for purposes of forced labor going beyond the sex trade, it is imperative to amend the **SAARC Convention on Trafficking of Women and Children** from the ambit of sex trafficking to **incorporate measures to combat all forms of trafficking.**

“ Many placement agencies are **unregistered and running illegally** – these are **hubs for harbouring of CDL.** The **government and law enforcement** needs a **stronger hold on regulating** the operations of such organizations. ”

-Deputy Rep., UNODC

The mushrooming of illegal placement agencies is one of the key reasons for the persistence of trafficking for CDL. It is important to speed up the process to **finalise** the draft of the **Delhi Private Placement Agencies (Regulation) Bill** (*to ensure all placement agencies in Delhi are registered and operating legally*) along with its necessary penalties, and send it to the legislative assembly for discussion on enactment. The drafted bill should be sent to all states in the country, particularly all metropolitan and urban areas with utilisation of private placement agencies for employment of domestic worker.

Data tracking and monitoring

One of the biggest challenges for us was to accumulate adequate data to run a statistically sound analysis. However, once we were able to compile our database we could decipher novel patterns of trafficking. **Accurate data collection, tracking and monitoring at the national level** is essential to understand the **extent and trends** related to trafficking for forced labour, and thus **build a knowledge base to prioritise interventions** effectively (e.g., highlighting the key source and destination areas, understanding upcoming trends in routes and movement of victims for trafficking etc.).

Data should be **integrated on a single government platform** with publicly available data and resources from all government bodies engaged in anti-trafficking efforts (e.g., MHA, AHTUs, MWCD, MOLE, CWC etc.) as well as international agencies (UNODC, UNICEF, ILO, IOM etc.), and NGOs active in the field.

“As activists working to eliminate all forms of trafficking for forced labor we should **share our data and best practices** so we can **effectively end trafficking & forced labour**.”

– Policy Advisor, Global March Against Child Labour

“Lack of data is a big problem. It's only when we **know the extent of a problem** can we **know how to best tackle it**. This may be a difficult proposition but it's not impossible.”

– Senior Director, Prayas Juvenile Aid Center

“The government is looking to ensure better data collection and monitoring. We will soon be **launching a portal capable of compiling data from all state AHTUs** to help us effectively combat trafficking.”

– Director (SR/CS), MHA, Govt. of India

Sensitisation and capacity building

NGO and government organisations should focus on increasing **awareness and sensitisation among the civil society (from the grassroots-village level to the upper and middle echelons of society) as a key measure to driving down the demand** for trafficking for forced labour. Given the number of CDL in India it is essential to highlight the truth behind the hidden destructive web of trafficking forcing children into domestic labour. In the same vein, it is important to inform the civilians regarding the past, present and future helplessness of women and children forced into sexual labour (aggravated by the societal stigma). The civil society should be made to realise their **moral imperative to actively engage in the protection and empowerment of the children of this nation**.

“Employers should **ensure they are hiring domestic help from registered placement agencies, along with appropriate/legally sound demographic documentation**.”

- Project Coordinator, BBA

Engaging all stakeholders such as children, families, teachers, village heads, and law enforcement officials to **set up vigilance committees at the source locations** can be crucial in recognising and preventing trafficking of children. Building these vigilance committees (under the guidance of NGOs and law enforcement bodies) can make it a **strong tool for nipping the pervasive problem of trafficking in the bud** (recognising and penalising traffickers, assisting vulnerable families with support, ensuring protection of children etc.). Further, creating youth leaders by **training children to advocate for their own rights** can be beneficial in motivating them to continue their education and not be easily lured by false testimonies regarding the “prosperous urban life”.

Sensitisation of Border Security Forces and law enforcement officials has begun through efforts via the MHA and UNODC are showing improved understanding for vigilance, protection and prosecution of trafficking crimes. It is necessary to augment these efforts in order to improve anti-trafficking interventions. As per our research, **sensitisation and capacity building of Railway Protection Force** – a prominent law enforcement body during transit, could be **instrumental in breaking the process of trafficking**.

“Targeting trafficking while victims are still in transit for e.g., in trains or at railway stations, can be significant in hindering the completion of selling the victims to placement agencies or brothels.”

- Lawyer, BBA

Social protection schemes

Poverty has exposed millions of families to exploitation in rural India. Lack of socio-economic stability is a primer for trafficking of women and children for all forms of forced labor. Despite the provision of multiple social protection schemes for the betterment of vulnerable populations in India, the utilisation of these schemes remains rather low (e.g., ensuring food security via Right to Food Act or the Anganvadi System; ensuring livelihood security via National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme; ensuring healthcare via National Rural Health Mission). **Increased awareness and utilisation of the social protection schemes** available to the citizens of India will help **mitigate the growing socio-economic disparities**, and invariably protect the lives of those who easily fall victim to these vulnerabilities. Further, the public and private sectors should be encouraged to partner in projects for economic empowerment by increasing employment generation and improving the rural standard of living.

Education

Access to good quality education is a right that no child should be denied. Out-of-school children are most vulnerable to exploitation through engagement with negative influencing forces. The Government of India has instated the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (RTE) to safeguard education for all children between 6-14 years of age. Further, despite the presence of Early Childhood Care and Protection Policy, and the well-known credibility of elementary education in building intellectual curiosity and adherence to school-based education, the mechanisms and measures in place for early education have been unsatisfactory. **Strong measures** should be taken to **proficiently implement the Early Childhood Care & Education and RTE Act** in order to curb the prevalence of forced labor among children. Mechanisms should be established in place for **accountability of the National Commission for Protection of Child Right (NCPCR)** in guaranteeing and monitoring the efficacy of the RTE Act.

“Education and Child Labour are flip sides to the same coin. If we are able to ensure the RTE is in place then children should be in schools and not burdened under forced work. The NCPCR should send out public semi-annual reports to be transparent regarding the progress of education for all in India.”

- Lawyer, BBA

“~60% of the Indian population lives in rural areas yet, not much has been done to significantly improve access to good quality education in rural India. Heavy investment in resources is needed to revamp rural education for improving the future of our nation.”

- Project Officer, Global March Against Child Labour

Law enforcement

There is a **comprehensive framework as per the Indian Constitution**, which if **effectively implemented by credible law enforcement agencies** would be sufficient in preventing trafficking, protecting the safety and dignity of citizens, and prosecuting perpetrators of trafficking in the country (e.g., Immoral Traffic Prevention Act 1956; IPC Section 363-374, Child Labour Act, Juvenile Justice Act, Bonded Labour Act, Prevention of Sexual Offences Against Children Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act 2013). **Interagency collaboration and transparency of efforts between government departments** (e.g., MHA, MOLE and MWCD) would

accelerate the anti-trafficking efforts to provide victims adequate care and protection.

“Collaboration with all responsible agencies is needed for a concrete effort to abolish trafficking and slavery from India.”

- Representative, UNODC,
Regional Office for South Asia

As per the latest National Crime Records Bureau data for “crimes against women” the annual incidence of rape in the country was ~24923, and that of kidnapping and abduction was ~38262 (*NCRB 2012*). No data has yet been published regarding incidence rates, registered cases and prosecution under IPC Sections 370 and 370A. However, prior data from the NCRB regarding crimes under human trafficking from 2005 to 2009 show the number of registered cases ranging from ~6402 to 2851 (less than 0.2% of all IPC registered cases) (*NCRB 2010*). As depicted by our analysis these **registered incidence rates are despicably low** compared to the actual extent of trafficking and its associated problems.

Given the heavily clandestine nature of trafficking, we have shown via our analysis the **benefit of trailing the movement of money to identify key players and recognise the extent of the problem**. It is **important for investigations to follow the audit trail** for curbing organised trafficking rackets. As per our analysis there is an instrumental role played by the law enforcement in the “movement of money” generated via trafficking for forced labour (particularly CSE). Breaking this link of law enforcement within the organized ring of trafficking could potentially enable breaking the demand/supply for trafficked victims, and put an end to generation of high levels of untaxed black money through exploitation of individuals in the market. **Transparency, accountability, staunch penalties for dereliction of duty by law enforcement officials** is an absolute must. **Incentivising law enforcement officials for optimal implementation** of anti-trafficking interventions and severely penalising those engaging in unlawful activities is strongly advised.

Lastly, in order to ensure better conviction rates for perpetrators of trafficking it is important to have victims stand witness providing forensic and material evidence. Cases of trafficking should thus, effectively be placed into **fast track courts** for timely prosecution.

“Mechanisms for accountability are needed all through the law enforcement system. Trafficking is a heinous crime capable of luring officials to perform amorally towards their protective oaths towards the Indian citizens.”

- Deputy Representative, UNODC,
Regional Office for South Asia

“Following trafficking trails from the money laundering perspective is something that the police and investigative teams have not yet engaged with effectively. We could potentially make serious progress using this approach.”

- Director (SR/CS), Ministry of Home Affairs,
Government of India

Working conditions and regulation of industry

One of the biggest reasons for continued heinous crimes against victims of CSE and CDL is due to the lack of regulation of both businesses. No real measures have been undertaken in order to safeguard minimum standards of their working conditions. Domestic work is legal in India, yet, it remains largely unorganized and unregulated. Given the herculean work load of each domestic worker (who is on-call 24 hours a day for almost 365 days a year) it is **imperative for government bodies and trade unions to work in a speedy manner to regulate domestic work** to ensure adequate care and protection. The government enacted the **Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act 2008, to provide social security schemes for unorganised workers** (e.g., life and disability cover, health maternity benefits, old age protection and any other benefits as may be determined by the government) (*Govt. of India 2013*), The **implementation of this act needs to be ramped up**, as it is currently leaving millions of unorganized workers abandoned and unsupported.

Effective mechanisms to regulate the domestic labour market would not only allow the government to fulfill its role of acting as the **protector of rights of its citizens**, but also **prevent illegal money laundering**. It is important that the labour being provided by domestic workers is given the **appropriate wage and monetary compensation** (at least the state-wise minimum wage should be ensured for all domestic workers). Additionally, regulation of the domestic labour market could get the **billions of revenue dollars** produced in placement agencies under the domain of the “service industry” apt for a **sizeable service taxation**. The money collected through this taxation could be used by the government for benefitting the domestic workers, providing them the social security rights they were promised in the first place. Regulation would also ensure spot checking of placement agencies to make sure there is no trafficking of CDL taking place.

Hidden behind private homes, knowing about the working and living conditions of domestic workers are rather challenging. **Law enforcement officials and labour inspectors should devise official mechanisms to check private homes with domestic help to ensure the legality of services being provided** – no CDL should be employed. Further, working in **association with the Resident Welfare Associations** can help law enforcement and labour officers **regulate the domestic help market**, monitoring and tracking domestic workers. Additionally, this association with RWAs could help **ensure that the domestic workers are provided their right to decent work** (without any form of physical, mental and emotional abuse).

Formalisation of the workers into trade unions (e.g., National Domestic Workers' Movement) will give them a **platform for support and advocacy**. It is crucial for domestic workers to know that they have a haven where they can complain against atrocities and feel empowered to fight for their rights.

Rehabilitation and repatriation

Protecting the rights of all its citizens and **alleviating the vulnerabilities** of those endangered is of critical constitutional importance. Having visited protection homes during the course of our study we realized that many of them were not being run up to minimum standards. The **“Ujjawala” and “Swadhar” homes are government sponsored and many of them are currently unable to adequately provide support to the rescued victims of trafficking**. A lot of this problem is being caused due to insufficient disbursement of funding (for rehabilitation, repatriation and reintegration). It is the **duty of the respective regulatory bodies to ensure adequate monetary and personnel support** is provided for the care and protection the women and children present at shelter homes.

Appropriate monetary compensation needs to be provided to each trafficked individual for having suffered (sexual, physical, mental, and emotional abuse) due to the fault lines and cracks in the state's protection mechanisms. It is of **chief importance that all victims are given sufficient financial support to re-start their lives** post rescue. Formalised compensation schemes are in place in over 18 states (*Kumari Singh 2013*), however, they range from anywhere between INR 20,000 to 2,00,000. **Execution of the compensation schemes for victims varies with incomplete adherence** for provision to all victims. A **national policy should be framed on minimum standard for economic rehabilitation, including compensation for victims of human trafficking.**

Repatriation of all individuals should take place through the official routes as facilitated by the state authorities. There is a bilateral SOP signed with the Government of Bangladesh and Government of India. Establishing an official **SOP for repatriation of victims from Nepal** (many of whom are trapped in the torturous industry of CSE) **should be an absolute priority.** It is the **responsibility of the Ministry of External Affairs to repatriate victims of trafficking back to their original countries**, and it should thus be active in ensuring the same (not allowing NGOs to unofficially pass victims back and forth between each other for repatriation).

“ Many of us **government affiliated NGOs** are honestly **doing our best to provide well for our inhabitants at the shelter.** But we have **barely received any funding** in the last year and are **struggling to keep up** with our shelter home operations.”

-General Secretary, GOLD

“ We need to have a **national level official measure for compensating victims of trafficking.** The recent SC judgment on minimum compensation for victims of acid attacks gives a way to do something similar for victims of human trafficking.”

-Director (SR/CS), MHA, Govt. of India

“ An **SOP is definitely needed for repatriation of Nepalese victims.** The **lack of formalised measures** makes it **difficult to appropriately protect** the already **severely vulnerable victims of trafficking.**”

-Deputy Rep., UNODC, Regional Office for South Asia

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to establish and manage an organised trafficking network without creating audit trails (e.g., advertising, rentals, transportation, communication, exploited profits and financial transactions) (*MHA Advisories, 2013*). Our research thus set out to assess the economics behind trafficking for forced labour in order to understand the economic precursors to trafficking, map the movement of money across the organised crime rings, and to understand the economic implications of the same on the individual victims and the country as a whole. While conducting our research we were able to decipher many other geographical, socio-economic and demographic trends, which we felt were essential to share. Our study is based on statistical evidence, making it one of the few research papers in the field heavily relying on data (and not just anecdotes).

The key findings highlighted in our paper represent the jarring realities for victims of CDL and CSE. Millions of women and young girls are being exploited in India alone for these two forms of forced labour. Inevitably the main reason perpetuating the supply of young women and children remains the lack of economic viability and the intense monetary need of their families for survival.

From the traffickers' perspective, despite the high-risks involved in trafficking of individuals, there are high-rewards associated with the same. A key reason for continued prevalence of CDL and CSE remains the immense generation of money and lucrative profit pools for the traffickers involved. To put things into perspective: India's GDP in 2012 was ~INR 110 lakhs of crores (~\$1.8 trillion USD). Of this 14% came from agriculture (~\$250 billion USD), 27% came from the industrial sector (~\$500 billion USD) and 15% came from manufacturing (~\$280 billion USD) (*DataGov.in 2013*). However, an unnoticed illegal monetary pool of anywhere between ~INR 2 to 21 lakhs of crores (~\$35 to 360 billion USD) was generated through the exploitation of victims of CDL and CSE – accounting for ~2-20% of India's GDP.

It is time for governments, law enforcement bodies and civil society to wake up and recognise the devastating large-scale impact trafficking for forced labour is having on the victims and their families as well as on the country's lawlessness, labour force and economy. Our hope is that this paper with its findings is able to open everyone's eyes in order to become aware, vigilant and to recognise their role in creating a better world for the children of tomorrow.

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“ *The costs of human trafficking on economy are staggering. People think it is cheap labour. But, the economic cost to combat human trafficking is far more advantageous than letting it subsist.* ”

- S Suresh Kumar, Joint Secretary (CS),
MHA, Govt. of India.



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