

The University of San Francisco

USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center

Doctoral Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects

2019

Prevention and Education: A Case Study of an Anti-Human Trafficking Nongovernmental Organization in Mumbai, India

Danielle Kraaijvanger

University of San Francisco, danielle.kraaijvanger@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.usfca.edu/diss>



Part of the [Educational Leadership Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kraaijvanger, Danielle, "Prevention and Education: A Case Study of an Anti-Human Trafficking Nongovernmental Organization in Mumbai, India" (2019). *Doctoral Dissertations*. 519.
<https://repository.usfca.edu/diss/519>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects at USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized administrator of USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. For more information, please contact repository@usfca.edu.

The University of San Francisco

PREVENTION AND EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF AN ANTI-HUMAN
TRAFFICKING NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION IN MUMBAI, INDIA

A Dissertation Presented
to
The Faculty of the School of Education
Department of Leadership Studies
Organization and Leadership Program

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Danielle Kraaijvanger
San Francisco
December 2019

THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

ABSTRACT

Human trafficking is a crime, a direct violation of human rights, and a pervasive global problem. The International Labour Organization and the Walk Free Foundation (ILO) estimate that 40.3 million men, women, and children around the globe are victims of contemporary slavery. While the ILO report educates the general public and galvanizes proponents of the anti-trafficking movement, it also confirms that, even with multiple efforts and laudable gains in the international arena since the adoption of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol in 2000, the international community is far from eradicating human trafficking. Given the high human cost associated with trafficking, an urgent need exists to better understand the effectiveness of interventions focused on the prevention of human trafficking. Moreover, while the international literature points to the critical importance of prevention and education in combatting human trafficking, it lacks breadth and depth in clearly identifying and documenting the connections between education and human trafficking, as well as the role of community-based nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in delivering prevention and education interventions.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based NGOs in developing and delivering prevention interventions and nonformal education programs that work to end human trafficking of at-risk women and children. Specifically, the study explored the intersection between human trafficking and education, and the critical role NGOs play in human trafficking prevention. Essential to understanding this phenomenon was giving voice to the experiences of children who are the recipients of such prevention and education interventions.

An international community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO—Prerana—served as the case study setting. Direct observations and participant interviews took place in Mumbai, India, where Prerana is located. The 18 participants included the organization’s leadership, teachers, and staff, as well as children in Prerana’s care. Research questions centered on the organization’s human trafficking prevention approach; the goals and methods of its Education Support Program; the children’s experiences with the organization and its education programs; and the relationships between staff members and the children, their families, and communities.

Participant narratives provided rich details on the organization’s efforts to prevent human trafficking and to infuse education throughout its prevention efforts. Findings pointed to the importance of a comprehensive human rights-based prevention approach that is child-centered, involves mothers/families, engages and educates communities, and works to shift negative societal attitudes and perceptions of marginalized women and children. Conclusions drew from the findings; recommendations address the application of the findings and the need for further research.

SIGNATURE PAGE

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

Danielle G. Kraaijvanger
Candidate

November 19, 2019

Dissertation Committee

Patricia A. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Chairperson

November 19, 2019

Monisha Bajaj, Ed.D.

November 19, 2019

David Cohen, Ph.D.

November 19, 2019

Walter Gmelch, Ph.D.

November 19, 2019

DEDICATION

To the children of Prerana.

Thank you for being such beacons of hope.

To my own children, I love you to the moon and back.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation journey has most certainly been a collective endeavor. I am eternally grateful for the numerous people who helped me along this exciting and challenging tour in ways both large and small.

Foremost, I want to extend my sincere gratitude to the leadership, staff, and children of Prerana. I thank you for so kindly welcoming me and for so generously giving of your valuable time to help me better understand “what works” in the fight against human trafficking. To Priti and Pravin Patkar: your vision, leadership, and determination to ensure that the women and children of the red light areas of Mumbai are afforded lives of dignity is at once courageous and admirable. You have had such a profound effect on countless lives. To Prerana’s outstanding staff: your unwavering commitment, your passion, and your devotion to the children are clearly evident, and very commendable. A special thank you to my translators Rashmi Chouhan and Madhuri Shinde for devoting so many hours of your time to help me with this research endeavor, and always with a smile. And to the boys and girls of Prerana: I thank you for lending your voices to this research and openly sharing your stories with me. I greatly admire your focus and determination to work toward achieving your goals and realizing your dreams. Your smiles will be forever etched in my memory. It is so fitting that Prerana means “inspiration.” You will all remain my inspiration as I continue on this journey to shed light on practical solutions that work to end human trafficking.

To my Dissertation Committee: I extend my sincerest thanks. To Dr. Patricia Mitchell: I offer you a heartfelt thank you. Your kindness, your support, and your infectious laughter made this entire journey so very special. As my academic advisor, you encouraged, challenged, and guided me every step of the way. And as my dissertation chair, your leadership and confidence in

my abilities made all the difference. To Dr. Monisha Bajaj: I thank you for your invaluable expertise and encouragement, and for challenging me to think more deeply about the role and impact of human rights education. Your sage words and intellectual insights will continue to anchor my thinking. To Dr. Walter Gmelch: thank you for your time, for your guidance, and for lending your thoughtful insights and keen intellect to this dissertation process. And to Dr. David Cohen: thank you for generously serving on this committee, for sharing your in-depth knowledge and expertise, and for engaging in the most thought-provoking conversations about human rights, human trafficking, and myriad other interesting topics. I am honored and humbled to have had all of you as my guides.

To the Organization & Leadership and International Multicultural Education professors who made this doctoral journey so compelling, challenging, and intellectually stimulating: thank you. I am grateful for all the wisdom and knowledge you imparted. A special thank you to Dr. Susan Katz for your passion for human rights education and for walking my application down the hall. And to the Drs. Marion and Tommy Moreno for being so kind and supportive; reminding me to always ask the question: To what end? To my USF friends and colleagues who traversed this path with me: it was such a fun ride with all of you. I thank you for your support, your integrity, and your dedication to academic excellence.

I would also like to thank the many friends and colleagues in my human rights community of practice who helped contribute to the success of this endeavor, many without even knowing it. You are consummate professionals who work tirelessly to protect and defend human rights, to support and empower women, to protect and care for children. I thank you for being sounding boards for my thoughts and ideas and for lending your invaluable insights and expertise. A special thank you to Alyse Nelson, CEO of Vital Voices Global Partnership, not

only for introducing me to Prerana but for working diligently to support women leaders, like Priti Patkar, who are affecting positive social change all around the globe. And to Liam Dall, my colleague and long-time friend: Thank you.

To my dear friends, too many to name here: your support and encouragement sustained me throughout this long journey, from start to finish. I thank you for being such strong, intelligent, thoughtful, and kind women whom I deeply admire and whose friendships I cherish. I offer a special thank you to Lori Febbo, Amanda Meisner, Cath Dawes, and Britta Branigan for being there. I am so grateful for our years of friendship, for the weekly hikes, and for the countless laughs. And a special heartfelt thank you to Barbara Alexander, my sage mentor, my friend. I thank you for your steadfast belief in me and for your guidance over these many years.

To my extended family: my dear mom, Lilli Sandino, my wonderful aunts, Ann Salyer and Leana Bragger, my “aunt Rocky,” Raquel Garcia, and my sister-in-law, Dianne Kraaijvanger, a fellow “mother-scholar.” I am so appreciative of the “warm blanket” you provided throughout this process, and for all of your generous help with the kids. Each of you women embody such strength, independence, resilience, and kindness. I am blessed to have you as role models in my life.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my husband, Paul, and our three children, Alex, Lia, and Olivia. I literally could not have done this without you. To Paul, my best friend and partner of 25 years: thank you for being on this larger life journey with me and for helping make this dream a reality. I am forever grateful for the countless times you held down the fort, and for all the times you made me laugh when I felt like I was sinking. And, you never let me believe, not for one moment, that I couldn’t do this. Your love and enduring support carried me throughout this entire process. To Alex, Lia, and Olivia: you are my true inspiration, my grounding force,

my genuine happiness. Thank you for your love and hugs and patience, and bright smiles at the end of very long days. I am so honored to be your mother and so proud of the thoughtful and compassionate people you are becoming. I have no doubt that each of you will embark on your own journey to make this world a better place. I love you so very much.

From the bottom of my heart, I thank you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------------|
| ABSTRACT | II |
| SIGNATURE PAGE | IV |
| DEDICATION | V |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | VI |
| LIST OF TABLES..... | XIV |
| LIST OF FIGURES..... | XV |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | XVI |
| CHAPTER I: THE RESEARCH PROBLEM..... | 1 |
| Statement of the Problem..... | 1 |
| Background..... | 3 |
| Need for the Study | 7 |
| Purpose of the Study | 8 |
| Research Questions..... | 9 |
| Theoretical Framework..... | 9 |
| Social-Ecological Model | 9 |
| Human Rights Education..... | 13 |
| Confluence of SEM and THRED | 16 |
| Limitations and Delimitations of the Study | 17 |
| Significance of the Study | 20 |
| Definition of Terms | 21 |
| Summary | 23 |
| CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW | 25 |
| Human Trafficking | 25 |
| What is Human Trafficking? | 25 |
| Underlying Causes and Factors That Increase Vulnerability | 29 |
| Government Responses to Human Trafficking | 31 |
| Persistent Challenges to Combatting Human Trafficking..... | 35 |
| Summary..... | 36 |
| Human Trafficking in India | 37 |
| Overview of Human Trafficking in India..... | 37 |
| Underlying Causes and Factors that Increase Vulnerability | 40 |
| Government Responses to Human Trafficking | 42 |
| Persistent Challenges to Combatting Human Trafficking..... | 44 |
| Summary..... | 46 |
| Prevention, Education and Human Rights Education..... | 47 |
| Human-Trafficking Prevention | 47 |
| Education and Prevention..... | 49 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Human Rights Education and Prevention..... | 53 |
| The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations | 58 |
| Anti-human Trafficking NGOs | 58 |
| Anti-human Trafficking NGOs in India | 60 |
| Addressing Persistent Challenges | 63 |
| Human Rights-Based Approach | 63 |
| Community-Based Approaches | 66 |
| Prioritizing Prevention..... | 67 |
| Research Needed | 69 |
| Literature Review Summary | 72 |
| CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY | 75 |
| Restatement of the Purpose..... | 75 |
| Research Design | 76 |
| Research Setting | 77 |
| Participants..... | 78 |
| Instrumentation | 79 |
| Interviews | 79 |
| Observations | 80 |
| Documentation | 80 |
| Validity and Reliability..... | 80 |
| Data Collection | 82 |
| Interviews | 83 |
| Observations | 84 |
| Documentation | 84 |
| Data Sources and Research Questions..... | 85 |
| Data Analysis | 86 |
| Ethical Considerations | 88 |
| Protection of Human Subjects | 89 |
| Iterative Process..... | 90 |
| Background of the Researcher | 90 |
| CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS | 92 |
| Overview of the Participants..... | 92 |
| Prerana Overview | 93 |
| Education Support Program Overview | 95 |
| Research Question 1: Approach to Human Trafficking Prevention | 96 |
| Theme 1: Use a Child-Centered Approach | 98 |
| Theme 2: Involve and Support Mothers/Families | 112 |
| Theme 3: Engage and Educate Community Stakeholders | 117 |
| Theme 4: Work to Shift Societal Attitudes | 121 |
| Theme 5: Overarching Prevention Strategies | 126 |
| Theme 6: Education is Central | 134 |
| Summary for Research Question 1 | 137 |
| Research Question 2: Educational Programming | 137 |
| Theme 1: Goals and Objectives of the ESP..... | 138 |
| Theme 2: Education Methods of the ESP..... | 140 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Theme 3: Child-Rights Education | 144 |
| Theme 4: Children Share What They Learn with Others | 147 |
| Theme 5: Program Challenges | 148 |
| Summary for Research Question 2 | 150 |
| Research Question 3: Children’s Voices | 150 |
| Experiences with Prerana | 151 |
| Experiences With Prerana’s Education Programs | 158 |
| Summary for Research Question 3 | 164 |
| Research Question 4: Staff Relationships | 164 |
| ESP Teachers | 165 |
| ESP Outreach Staff | 167 |
| Naunihal Shelter Home Staff | 170 |
| Post Rescue Operation Staff | 172 |
| Build Trust and Rapport | 175 |
| Summary for Research Question 4 | 176 |
| Summary of Findings | 177 |
| CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS | 180 |
| Summary | 180 |
| Discussion | 181 |
| Research Question 1: Approach to Human Trafficking Prevention | 182 |
| Research Question 2: Educational Programming | 194 |
| Research Question 3: Children’s Voices | 197 |
| Research Question 4: Staff Relationships | 198 |
| Conclusions | 201 |
| Implications and Recommendations | 204 |
| Connect Human Trafficking and Human-Rights Education | 204 |
| Increase Collaboration and Coordination Between Government Entities and Community-based Anti-trafficking NGOs | 206 |
| Further Disseminate Best Practices to NGOs | 207 |
| Engage With the Philanthropic Sector | 208 |
| Recommendations for Future Research | 210 |
| Intergenerational Human Trafficking | 210 |
| Anti-Human Trafficking NGOs | 211 |
| Organization and Leadership | 212 |
| Personal Reflections | 212 |
| REFERENCES | 214 |
| APPENDIX A: HUMAN RIGHTS MOST RELEVANT TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING | 227 |
| APPENDIX B: INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION VULNERABILITY FACTORS | 228 |
| APPENDIX C: INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION CONVENTIONS ON FORCED LABOUR | 230 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE..... | 231 |
| APPENDIX E: VALIDATION PANEL INVITATION LETTER AND RUBRIC | 234 |
| APPENDIX F: SAMPLE LETTER OF CONSENT FOR ADULT PARTICIPANT | 236 |
| APPENDIX G: SAMPLE LETTER OF CONSENT FOR PARENT OR GUARDIAN OF A MINOR..... | 240 |
| APPENDIX H: SAMPLE LETTER OF ASSENT FOR OLDER CHILD..... | 242 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1 <i>Profile of Victims According to Forms of Trafficking, by Percentage</i> | 4 |
| Table 2 <i>Literacy Rates in India, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, by Percentage</i> | 40 |
| Table 3 <i>Comparison of Citations Referencing Research Terms in Goździak Bibliographies</i> | 74 |
| Table 4 <i>Participant Data</i> | 93 |
| Table 5 <i>Needs-Based Programming</i> | 127 |
| Table 6 <i>Components of Prerana’s Approach Aligned With the Literature Review</i> | 182 |
| Table 7 <i>Transformative Human Rights Education Principles and Prerana’s Education Support Program</i> | 195 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Figure 1.</i> Bronfenbrenner’s model of human development. | 11 |
| <i>Figure 2.</i> Finigan-Carr et al. (2018) Traumagenic social ecological framework for child sex trafficking. | 12 |
| <i>Figure 3.</i> Key elements of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol, Article 3(a), 2000..... | 26 |
| <i>Figure 4.</i> Maintaining a chain of evidence..... | 81 |
| <i>Figure 5.</i> Data sources aligned with research questions. | 86 |
| <i>Figure 6.</i> Prerana key program overview..... | 95 |
| <i>Figure 7.</i> Prerana’s Education Support Program. | 96 |
| <i>Figure 8.</i> Research Question 1 Themes and subthemes..... | 97 |
| <i>Figure 9.</i> Education Support Program goals and objectives. | 139 |
| <i>Figure 10.</i> United Nations recommended actions incorporated in Prerana’s prevention approach..... | 192 |
| <i>Figure 11.</i> Constituent elements of Prerana’s best-practice model..... | 202 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ATC | Anti-trafficking Center |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| CSE | Commercial Sexual Exploitation |
| ESP | Education Support Program |
| HRBA | Human Rights-Based Approach |
| HRE | Human Rights Education |
| IJM | International Justice Mission |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IPP | Institutional Placement Program |
| MSCPCR | Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights |
| MWCD | Ministry of Women & Child Development |
| NCC | Night Care Center |
| NCRB | National Crime Records Bureau |
| NGO | Nongovernmental organization |
| OHCHR | United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights |
| PRO | Post Rescue Operation Program |
| RLA | Red-light areas |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goal |
| SEM | Social Ecological Model |
| SRTIP | Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children |
| THRED | Transformative Human Rights Education |
| TIP | Trafficking in Persons Report |

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| TVPA | U.S. Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children’s Fund |
| UNODC | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime |
| UN Trafficking Protocol | U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children |

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

Human trafficking is a crime, a direct violation of human rights, and a pervasive global problem. Emerging from a long history associated with slavery and considered by many as modern-day slavery, trafficking in persons involves “the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion” (U.S. Department of State, 2015, p. 7). Although the scale of human trafficking is difficult to determine, the International Labour Organization and the Walk Free Foundation (ILO) estimate that worldwide, 40.3 million people are victims of modern slavery (ILO, 2017). Women and girls comprise 71% of that share, whereas children account for 25% (ILO, 2017). Annual illicit profits equal \$150 billion (ILO, 2014).

Whether industrialized or developing, almost every nation serves as a country of origin, transit, or destination. Thus, the United Nations (U.N.), U.N. member states, and nongovernmental actors have crafted and implemented multiple responses to combat human trafficking, ranging from enacting anti-trafficking legislation to training criminal-justice practitioners to increasing public awareness and providing victim protection and recovery services. As part of the menu of responses, education is a critical component of efforts to address human trafficking. Article 9(5) of the U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (U.N. Trafficking Protocol) calls on signatories to “adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures ... to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking” (U.N. General Assembly, 2000, p. 35). Further,

the U.N. Trafficking Protocol seeks the protection of victims through several provisions including “employment, educational and training opportunities” (Article 3(d)) and acknowledges the unique needs of children, including “appropriate housing, education and care” (Article 6(4)).

Recognized as a critical mechanism in the prevention of trafficking and in the protection of victims, the U.N., international institutions, national government agencies, corporate entities, the media, and human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have developed myriad education initiatives. Human-rights NGOs, in particular, play a critical role in the development and implementation of anti-human trafficking education measures. As acknowledged by the U.N. General Assembly, “non-governmental organizations play an important role in the national, regional and international levels in the promotion and protection of human rights through education and learning” (2007, p. 1). Moreover, recognition is growing that community-based NGOs at the forefront of combatting human trafficking are central to trafficking prevention and protection of victim-survivors.

The U.N. and others point to the importance of education as a key mechanism to counter human trafficking. However, the academic literature lacks breadth and depth in clearly identifying and documenting the connection between education and human trafficking, and the role that community-based NGOs play in anti-trafficking prevention efforts. To help fill this gap, the current case study examined the work of a community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO that works in the red-light areas (RLAs) of Mumbai, India. According to the U.S. Department of State (2018), India is a source, destination, and transit country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. The Mumbai-based NGO was chosen because of its 33-year history in preventing the exploitation of women and children by “defending their rights and dignity, providing a safe environment, supporting their education and health and leading

major advocacy efforts” (Prerana, 2017g, para. 1). Further, education is at the center of the organization’s human trafficking prevention approach.

Background

The U.S. Department of State (2015) maintains that

“Trafficking in persons,” “human trafficking,” and “modern slavery” have been used as umbrella terms for the act of recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining a person for compelled labor or commercial sex acts through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. (p. 7)

Exploitation is at the center of the many manifestations of human trafficking that include sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, forced labor, bonded labor or debt bondage, domestic servitude, forced child labor, and unlawful recruitment and use of child soldiers (U.S. Department of State, 2015). The U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2014) detected at least 510 trafficking flows globally between 2010 and 2012, identifying victims with 152 citizenships from 124 countries.

The U.N. Trafficking Protocol (2000) requires U.N. member states to “take or strengthen measures to alleviate the factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, such as poverty, underdevelopment, and lack of opportunity” (Article 9(4)).

Perpetrators of human trafficking exploit such vulnerabilities typically by luring victims with promises of employment opportunities. Traffickers can be individuals, men and women, acting independently or as members of organized crime syndicates, operating locally, regionally or transnationally. The promise of lucrative economic gains, low barriers to entry regarding the financial investment required, and the low risk of arrest coupled with light sentencing draws small and large traffickers to these practices.

In 2018, the UNODC reported data on the profile of victims according to forms of exploitation. Table 1 illustrates that women and girls comprise the majority of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, whereas men and boys are predominantly victims of forced-labor exploitation.

Table 1

Profile of Victims According to Forms of Trafficking, by Percentage

| | Sexual exploitation | Forced labour | Other purposes |
|-------|---------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Women | 83 | 13 | 4 |
| Men | 10 | 82 | 8 |
| Girls | 72 | 21 | 7 |
| Boys | 27 | 50 | 23 |

Note. Adapted from *Global report on trafficking in persons*, by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2018, retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GLOTiP_2018_BOOK_web_small.pdf

In response to the ubiquitous problem of trafficking in persons, the U.N. and U.N. member states have developed numerous legal instruments, policy initiatives, and programmatic interventions to eliminate trafficking and coordinate international efforts to that end. In the year 2000, for example, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. This “universal” international instrument requires states

- (a) To prevent and combat trafficking in persons, paying particular attention to women and children;
 - (b) To protect and assist the victims of such trafficking, with full respect for their human rights; and
 - (c) To promote cooperation among States Parties in order to meet those objectives.
- (Article 2)

Additionally, two U.N. human rights treaties directly reference trafficking: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979, and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

These above-named international instruments work to counter the severity and scale of the human trafficking problem and indicate the degree to which human trafficking has become a salient global issue. Key to any significant progress, however, is that U.N. member states adhere to the obligations set out in the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. According to the UNODC (2014), since the adoption of the Protocol, over 90% of nations have created legislation that criminalizes trafficking alongside institutional implementation mechanisms. However, the UNODC also acknowledged that, although considerable progress has been made with regard to legislation on trafficking, its implementation often falls short in that it does not comply with the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. Further, the UNODC (2014) asserted that as a result, “more than 2 billion people are not protected as required by the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol” (p. 12).

Against this backdrop, recognition grows that additional and more effective responses to human trafficking are needed. One such response is education, considered a critical and integral component of prevention and protection strategies. According to the U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR, 2014), a need exists for “education and awareness-raising aimed at improving understanding of trafficking, mobilizing community support for action against trafficking, and providing advice and warning to specific groups and individuals that may be at high risk of victimization” (p. 40). To that end, governmental and nongovernmental entities have developed and implemented numerous anti-human trafficking education programs. At the international level, for example, the UNODC has published a library

of educational materials on human trafficking and a corresponding toolkit that covers a range of issues such as legislative frameworks, law enforcement and prosecution, victim identification and assistance, prevention of trafficking in persons, and monitoring and evaluation. Most recently, in 2019, the UNODCb developed detailed secondary and tertiary education modules on trafficking in persons as part of its Education for Justice Initiative. At the national level in the United States, one of the most far-reaching educational efforts comes from the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. The agency engages in extensive education efforts and publishes an annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report that serves as "the world's most comprehensive resource of governmental anti-human trafficking efforts" (U.S. Department of State, n.d., para. 4).

Human rights NGOs also dedicate significant resources and play a critical role in fighting human trafficking by increasing awareness through education, by shifting public and political attitudes, and by advocating for and meeting the needs of victims. Birkenthal (2011) observed,

As human trafficking becomes more sophisticated and widespread, the relative absence of effective government and international grassroots initiatives means that NGOs have taken up the challenge of organizing locally, nationally, and internationally to spread awareness of the problem and to advocate for and meet the needs of victims. (p. 35)

Moreover, recognition grows of the pivotal role that community-based organizations play in combatting trafficking, given their in-depth knowledge of the local context. The U.S. Department of State (2018), for example, highlights the need to better understand human trafficking in its local context, given that "local communities are the most affected by this abhorrent crime and are also the first line of defense against human trafficking" (para. 4). Additionally, the U.S. Department of State (2018) found that "proactive community-driven measures strengthen our

ability to protect our most vulnerable and weaken a criminal's ability to infiltrate, recruit, and exploit" (para. 4).

The ILO (2017) estimates that 40.3 million men, women, and children around the globe are victims of contemporary slavery. While the ILO report educates the general public and galvanizes proponents of the anti-trafficking movement, it also confirms that, even with multiple efforts and laudable gains in the international arena since the adoption of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol in 2000, the international community is far from eradicating human trafficking. In part, this failure is due to what the UNODC (2009a) calls the crisis of "fragmented knowledge and disjointed responses" (p. 7).

Need for the Study

Against this backdrop, and given the high human cost associated with human trafficking, the need is urgent to better understand which approaches are working, which can be improved, and which additional measures are required to address persistent challenges. Part of that equation is gaining a better understanding of the effectiveness of NGO-led prevention and education interventions. According to Spires (2015), who examined education as a response to human trafficking in Thailand, "more work is needed to understand the role of education in the prevention of human trafficking, and how education can be used to assist human trafficking victims and at-risk populations" (p. 8). Additionally, Limoncelli (2016), in a study of 1,861 anti-trafficking NGOs, found that "while the academic literature on human trafficking has grown enormously in the last 20 years, few studies have been done that empirically examine the organizations taking part in anti-trafficking responses" (p. 316).

Although academic research has been limited, ample evidence exists of anti-trafficking NGOs implementing prevention and education programs at the local level. The imperative then

rests in capturing the knowledge and experiences of community-based NGOs working to prevent trafficking in persons to better understand the factors and dynamics that lead to successful outcomes. One such community-based, anti-trafficking organization, and the focus of this study, is Prerana. Prerana (meaning *inspiration*) was founded in 1986 and works to end intergenerational trafficking of children in the RLAs of Mumbai, India, where human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation are pervasive (Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights & International Justice Mission [MSCPCR & IJM], 2017; Prerana, 2017b; U.S. Department of State, 2016). Prerana operates three Night Care Centers (NCC, 2017c), an Anti-Trafficking Center (ATC, 2019i), and a girls' shelter home, as well as an Education Support Program (ESP, 2017a), an Institutional Placement Program (IPP), a Post Rescue Operation Program (PRO), and an After-Care Project (Prerana, 2013). At the core of Prerana's work is the belief that children in the organization's care must be afforded dignity and basic human rights, including their right to education.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based NGOs in developing and delivering prevention interventions and nonformal education programs that work to end human trafficking of at-risk women and children. The community-based NGO, Prerana, located in Mumbai, India, highlights the intersection between human trafficking and education, and the critical role that NGOs play in trafficking prevention. Important to understanding this phenomenon was giving voice to the experiences of the children who are the recipients of such prevention and education interventions.

Research Questions

The following questions guided this study:

1. How does a community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO approach human trafficking prevention?
2. What are the goals and methods of the organization's Education Support Program?
3. What do the children in the care of the NGO convey about their experiences with the organization and its education programs?
4. How does the NGO's staff perceive their relationships with the children, their families, and members of the community?

Theoretical Framework

Researchers and stakeholders have examined human trafficking from various perspectives including, among others, globalization, migration, criminal justice, and gender equality. Although various perspectives inform the discourse on human trafficking and emphasize different dimensions of this phenomenon, the current study called for combining elements of the social-ecological model (SEM) of human development and transformative human rights education (THRED) to explore the human trafficking prevention and education efforts of a community-based NGO working to end trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women and children.

Social-Ecological Model

SEM (also commonly referenced as ecological-systems theory, human-ecology theory, and the bioecological model), provides an important and useful lens to examine the complexities of the human trafficking phenomenon in that it examines the dynamic relationships between individuals and their environments with a focus on social, institutional, and cultural contexts.

With its intellectual foundations in the field of psychology and roots in systems thinking, developmental psychologist Bronfenbrenner (1977) first conceived the study of SEM. SEM contends that

in its early stages, and to a great extent throughout the life course, human development takes place through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment. (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, p. 572)

With the individual (or child) at the center, the environment, or context comprises four interrelated systems—the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem—all of which influence the individual’s development. Figure 1 illustrates Bronfenbrenner’s model of human development. The *microsystem* comprises the individual’s immediate physical and social environment, including, for example, the family, school, peers, and church. The *mesosystem* includes those entities that indirectly influence the individual, such as family social networks, parental workplaces, local political systems, and neighborhood communities. The *exosystem* reflects broader social, political, and economic conditions and the *macrosystem* encompasses cultural values, customs, and attitudes.

Researchers have applied SEM to the study of politics, economics, child maltreatment and abuse, public health, and health promotion. Others have used SEM to study violence prevention, as well as childhood trauma, and children’s experiences in wartime (Boothby, 2008; Dahlberg & Krug, 2002). Relevant to the current study is that researchers have applied SEM to human trafficking research, albeit primarily in the social work domain, to highlight the multiple factors and systems of relationships found in the human trafficking cycle. For example, researchers have used SEM to study the physical, emotional, and psychological journey of child

trafficking and exploitation (Rigby & Whyte, 2015), and to assess child and family risk factors associated with child trafficking (Rafferty, 2008). Rafferty (2013b) pointed to the utility of SEM in examining child trafficking in that microlevel factors, such as demographic characteristics of potential victims, can be viewed in tandem with exolevel factors, such as armed conflict and natural disasters, and macrolevel factors like gender-based discrimination, economic inequality, and lack of access to education.

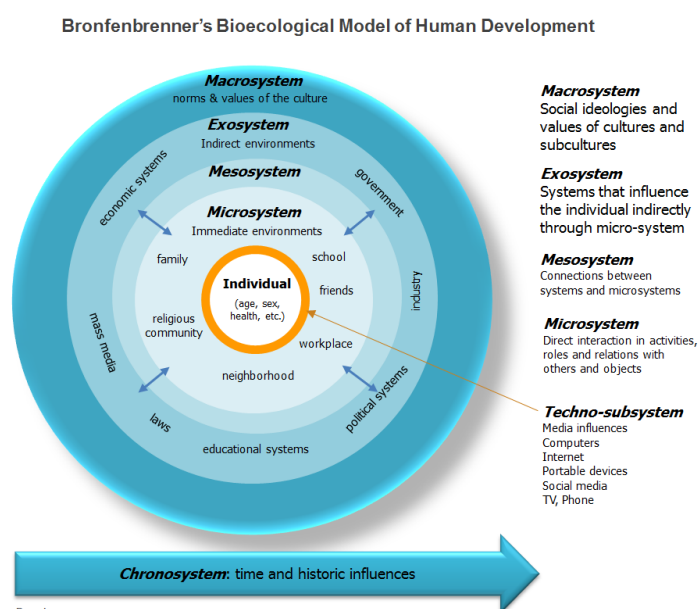


Figure 1. Bronfenbrenner's model of human development.

Note. From "Shaping influences–human development," by D. Lichtenberger, 2012 [Blog post], retrieved from <http://drewlichtenberger.com/6-shaping-influences-humandevelopment/>

In examining the work of community-based anti-trafficking advocacy work in the United States, Houston, Odahl-Ruan, and Shattell (2015), found that "a social ecological perspective is especially useful for community issues, like human trafficking, because many individuals, groups, and systems are involved" (p. 5). Moreover, a number of scholars have adapted SEM to analyze factors that contribute to a child's vulnerability to trafficking (Finigan-Carr, Johnson, Pullmann, Stewart, & Fromknecht, 2019) and to assess intervention strategies (Burner, Koch, & Camp, 2017). Finigan-Carr et al. (2019), posited "this theory is ideal for understanding the

individual, relational, social and environmental relationships which occur with a phenomenon like child trafficking” (p. 2). Figure 2 illustrates how Finigan-Carr et al. used SEM to examine risk factors that contribute to a child’s vulnerability at the child, interpersonal, community, and societal levels. According to Finigan-Carr et al. (2018), the SEM framework can be used to “identify and group intervention strategies on the basis of social ecological level, as each level can be thought of as both a level of influence and a key point of prevention” (para. 1).

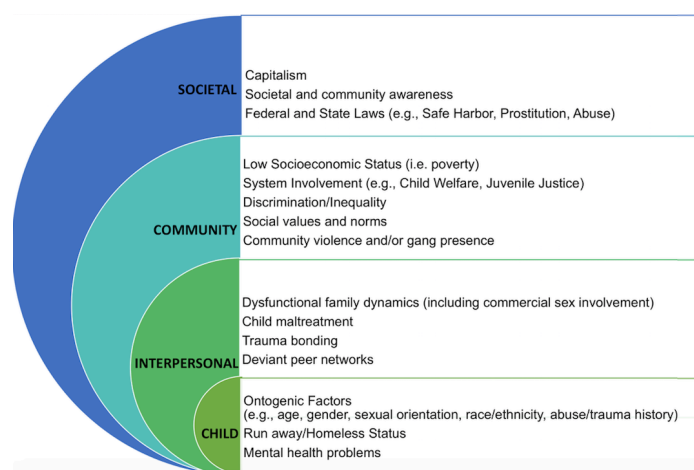


Figure 2. Finigan-Carr et al. (2018) Traumagenic social ecological framework for child sex trafficking.

Note. From “A traumagenic social ecological framework for understanding and intervening with sex trafficked children and youth,” by N. M. Finigan-Carr, M. H. Johnson, M. D. Pullmann, C. J. Stewart, & A. E. Fromknecht, 2019, *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 36, p. 3 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-018-0588-7>. Reprinted with permission.

Particularly useful to the current analysis is the consideration given by SEM to the “complex, multilevel social and economic factors that facilitate trafficking” (Barner et al., 2017, p. 4). For this study, SEM provided a framework for assessing how, in its efforts to prevent trafficking of at-risk women and children, a community-based, anti-trafficking organization works to identify the social and economic needs of at-risk women and children and to develop corresponding interventions to support those needs. According to Rigby and Whyte (2015), “an ecological model should be particularly suited to understanding the varied risk factors that may

contribute to the trade, the needs of the exploited children and the interventions required to support them” (p. 41).

Human Rights Education

Although SEM provides a model by which to assess interactions among individuals, the family, the community, and society, human rights education (HRE) provides a conceptual framework to examine the impact of HRE at various “levels of change” including the individual, the organization/group, and the broader community/societal levels (OHCHR, 2011, p. 11). The U.N. defined HRE as

Learning, education, training and information efforts aimed at building a universal culture of human rights. It involves not only learning about human rights and the mechanisms that protect them, but also the acquisition or reinforcement of skills needed to apply human rights in a practical way in daily life, the development of values, attitudes and behavior which uphold human rights as well as taking action to defend and promote human rights. (OHCHR, 2011, p. 9)

Firmly established in international human rights law, numerous human rights instruments have included provisions of HRE including, among others, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26 (2)); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article 13); the CRC (Article 29); the CEDAW (Article 10); and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Article 7). In addition, the U.N. marked 1995–2004 as the U.N. Decade for Human Rights Education, established the World Programme for HRE in 2005, and adopted the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training in 2011.

The U.N. Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training focuses on “preventing human rights violations and violent conflict, promoting equality and sustainable development, and enhancing people’s participation in decision-making within democratic systems” (OHCHR, 2011, p. iii). Further, the Declaration states that HRE and training encompasses the following:

- (a) Education *about* human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection;
- (b) Education *through* human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners;
- (c) Education *for* human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others. (Article 2(2))

According to the OHCHR (2011), “the ultimate goal is greater respect for human rights leading to social change” (p. 1). Taken together, these international instruments illustrate the importance of and commitment to HRE on the part of the international community.

In practice, HRE takes many forms, including formal education, nonformal education, professional training, and community-based NGO programs and initiatives. Formal education refers to the normally three-tiered structure of primary, secondary, and tertiary education, for which governments generally have the principal responsibility, whereas nonformal education encompasses “instruction that is organized and structured, but usually occurs outside of the formal education system” (OHCHR, 2011, p. 4).

HRE scholars have created various models for “theorizing its emergence, conceptualization, and implementation across the globe” (Bajaj, 2017, p. 6). One such conceptualization is a model based on the ideological orientation of HRE, where HRE is seen in

the context of global citizenship, coexistence, and transformative action. HRE for global citizenship focuses on knowledge and skills related to universal values and standards, whereas HRE for coexistence centers on “the inter-personal and inter-group aspects of rights and is usually a strategy utilized where conflict emerges not from absolute deprivation, but from ethnic or civil strife” (Bajaj, 2011, p. 490). Grounded in concepts of agency and solidarity, HRE for transformative action addresses issues of power and social justice, recognizing “the need for action to rectify the often-wide gap between current realities and human rights guarantees” (Bajaj, 2011, p. 493). Bajaj (2011) posited that these forms of HRE are not mutually exclusive; rather, they offer “a way to conceptualize the primary reason for the introduction of HRE, since it generally responds to some perceived need in a particular educational system, program, or school” (p. 489).

Another conceptualization of HRE is a three-tiered model categorizing HRE practice by values and awareness, socialization; accountability, professional development; and activism, transformation (Tibbitts, 2002). The Values-and-awareness Model is typically situated in formal education and concerns providing information about human rights theory, history, and content. The Accountability Model focuses on both formal and nonformal professional development of law enforcement officials, judges, and social workers, among others. And the Activism Model is found primarily in the nonformal education sector, carried out by NGOs and civil society organizations. The Activism Model is focused on personal transformation, human rights activism, and social change (Bajaj, 2017).

According to Bajaj (2011), “while there are many variants of HRE, there is a broad agreement about certain core components” (p. 482). One such component is an emphasis on content and processes related to teaching human rights. This means that for different settings and

different learners, HRE is customized, or localized. Tibbitts (2018) posited that “it is this adjustment to content and methodologies in programming that allows the message of human rights to be brought closer to people in their daily lives” (p. 3).

Of the models discussed above, those focused on transformation are the most relevant for this study, given that initial pilot discussions with the organization indicated that Prerana is engaged in HRE that facilitates social change and personal transformation. As a scholarly outgrowth of the original Activism Model, THRED is a human rights- and community-based approach to HRE, where a “contextualized and relevant curriculum is paired with participatory pedagogical activities to bring human rights to life and to foster in learners an awareness of global citizenship and a respect for human rights” (Bajaj, Cislighi, & Mackie, 2016, p. 3). The goal of THRED is to activate “individual agency and collective transformation at a societal level” (Bajaj et al., 2016, p. 15). Six key principles govern this participatory paradigm pertaining to the goal of THRED, the pedagogy employed, the educational context, the approach to localizing human rights, the process of empowerment, and the outcomes related to social change. In the current study, these six principles provide a mechanism to assess the anti-trafficking education interventions of the community-based NGO under examination.

Confluence of SEM and THRED

For this study, SEM and THRED together facilitated a multidimensional analysis of a community-based NGO’s trafficking prevention and education efforts. Although hailing from different disciplines, the SEM and THRED employ a systems approach and share two fundamental tenets centered on the individual and individual empowerment. First, SEM and THRED recognize the interconnectedness of the individual to the social context. Although SEM asserts the individual is at the center of a complex interrelated system, THRED, influenced by

Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire's work on critical pedagogy, compels students to think critically and "recognize connections between their individual problems and the social contexts in which they live" (Tibbitts, 2017, p. 77).

Second, SEM and THRED emphasize the role of individual empowerment in affecting social change. For example, Barner et al. (2017) said, "in keeping with the tenets of social justice, the ecological perspective looks beyond the perpetrator/victim dichotomy to the qualities that empower individuals and groups as survivors and advocates" (p. 5). Similarly, as a participatory approach, HRE encourages "empowering adult learners to develop concrete actions for social change that are in accordance with human rights values and standards" (OHCHR, 2011, p. 11). Moreover, a human rights approach to human trafficking "recognizes that empowering individuals by guaranteeing their human rights will reduce their susceptibility to being trafficked and exploited" (OHCHR, 2014, p. 40).

An additional consideration is that human trafficking is a global and local phenomenon, manifested in global forces such as migration, global trade, and sex tourism, and rooted in local social, economic, and cultural contexts. According to Tibbitts (2017), "human rights education locates itself within struggle, beginning with the personal but often linking up to wider social change processes" (p. 5). Thus, to better understand prevention mechanisms to combat human trafficking of women and children, it is important to examine this phenomenon in its multilevel manifestations; SEM and THRED can assist in framing such a multilevel analysis.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This research study had several limitations. The first pertained to the use of a single-case study design, focused on one community-based anti-trafficking organization. Although a multicase study design would have allowed for comparing the prevention and education

programs of two or more organizations, the purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of one organization that has a 33-year history of operating in the anti-human trafficking space. A second limitation is that the sample of staff and child participants was limited in number to 18, selected by the organization's leadership. Thus, study findings are limited and may preclude the ability to make generalizations applicable to large populations.

Another limitation was that the organization is located in India. With a legal, cultural, economic, and social context unique to India, study findings may not pertain to anti-trafficking organizations outside of India. An additional limitation surrounds the highly sensitive nature of exploring the experiences of at-risk populations and victim-survivors of human trafficking. These factors compelled understanding of and sensitivity to such dynamics throughout the research process.

The amount of time available to spend in the field conducting interviews and observations was also a limitation. The researcher spent 2.5 weeks on site in Mumbai, India. The timeframe was dictated by the availability of the organization's founder and director to host the researcher. A final limitation was that the researcher was unable to conduct a focus-group interview with 6–10 Prerana staff members, as originally proposed. Once in the field, it became apparent that the varied roles and responsibilities held by staff members was not conducive to a focus-group discussion on the relationships staff members have with the children, their families, and communities. For example, a number of program and project staff do not always interact with the children's guardians or members of the community. Despite this adjustment, the researcher was able to conduct six separate interviews that yielded significant amounts of data.

To narrow its scope, this study had several delimitations. First, the study focused primarily on the *prevention* aspect of human trafficking rather than on *protection* of victims or

the *promotion* of cooperation, as set out in the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. Although education is critical to both the prevention of trafficking and the protection of victim-survivors, the academic literature calls for the need to prioritize research on human trafficking prevention.

Next, this study focused on women and girls rather than men and boys. It is important to acknowledge that although the dominant narrative in the human trafficking field places women and girls as the primary victims of trafficking, such a narrative overlooks the experiences of men and boys who represent a significant number of trafficking victims. According to the Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons (2017), “while women still represent the majority of trafficking victims, the proportion of identified male victims has increased from 16% in 2004 to 29% in 2014” (p. 1). Although the intention was not to discount the importance of men’s and boys’ experiences as victims of human trafficking, in the context of India, the victims of human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation are predominantly women and girls.

In addition, this study focused on sexual exploitation rather than forced labor. As the typical narrative of trafficking centers on sex trafficking, other narratives, such as labor exploitation, tend to be eclipsed. Obscuring this factor can be problematic, as it precludes a comprehensive picture of the human trafficking phenomenon from emerging. Again, this study did not dismiss the importance of human trafficking for forced labor, but the problem that Prerana addresses in its work is the sexual exploitation of women and children.

Another delimitation pertained to focusing on a local, community-based NGO rather than a national or international anti-trafficking NGO. This decision was based on an emerging recognition that human trafficking should be examined at the local level, grounded in local knowledge. Similarly, the choice to examine HRE in the nonformal sector, rather than the

formal-education sector, rests in the notion that governments often fail in their legal obligations to provide access to formal education. In practice, this responsibility often falls to local NGOs working with marginalized populations.

Significance of the Study

International institutions, national governments, and nongovernmental actors have concluded that education is one critical component of a multifaceted approach to suppress human trafficking. To that end, governmental and nongovernmental entities have developed and implemented various education interventions to aid in preventing human trafficking of at-risk populations and protecting victim-survivors. Such efforts are critical and have raised awareness and mitigated the problem to some extent. However, challenges persist that require additional efforts to address the problem of “fragmented knowledge” by gaining a better understanding of what works in practice (UNODC, 2009a, p. 7). Gaps exist in the literature with regard to the connection between education and human trafficking as well as the role that NGOs play in delivering interventions. By examining the work of a community-based, anti-trafficking NGO, as well as its educational programming, this study contributes to the current state of knowledge regarding NGO-led prevention efforts and HRE interventions.

Additionally, the practical significance of this study is twofold. First, this study serves to inform national and international anti-trafficking policy and practice. It is important that government entities—local, national, and international—gain a better understanding of how community-based, anti-trafficking NGOs work to meet the needs of the populations they serve. According to Goździak and Bump (2008), “increased attention needs to be paid to the expertise and practical knowledge of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children” (p.

10). Second, study findings contribute to more efficient and effective educational programming of NGOs working in the anti-trafficking space at the local level. According to the U.S.

Department of Health and Human Services (2009), and in reference to the work of NGOs,

more research is needed to document these evolving approaches and strategies, provide results that will inform and strengthen the response by sectors already involved in combatting trafficking, and serve as best practices for those communities wanting to replicate this work. (p. 41)

Definition of Terms

The following terms have been operationalized for this study:

Child: Refers to the U.N. guidelines stating that anyone under 18 is considered a child (U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989).

Commercial sexual exploitation of children: The sexual exploitation of a child for remuneration in cash or in kind, usually but not always organized by an intermediary (parent, family member, procurer, pimp, etc.), mainly for the purpose of prostitution and production of pornography (U.N. Children's Fund, 2006).

Community-based organization: Community organizations are most often nonprofit organizations, particularly service agencies, located in and providing services to neighborhoods and communities (Encyclopedia.com, 2019).

Education:

Formal education: Education provided by the system of schools, colleges, universities, and other formal educational institutions that normally constitutes a continuous "ladder" of full-time education for children and young people, generally

beginning at the age of 5 to 7 and continuing to 20 or 25 years old (U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, n.d., para. 4).

Nonformal education: Instruction organized and structured, but usually occurring outside the formal education system. Nonformal education is not obligatory and may have differing durations. Human-rights-training sessions and workshops are examples of nonformal education (U.N. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2011).

Informal education: The unintentional lifelong process whereby everyone acquires attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge from the educational influences and resources in their own environment and from daily experience (e.g., family, neighbors, library, mass media, work, and play; Flowers, 2007).

Human rights education: All educational, training, information, awareness-raising, and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, and thus contributing to, *inter alia*, the prevention of human rights violations and abuses by providing people with knowledge, skills, and understanding, and developing their attitudes and behaviors, to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights (U.N. Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, 2011, Article 2(1)).

Exploitation: Includes, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (U.N. Trafficking Protocol, Article 3(a), 2000).

Nongovernmental organization (NGO): A voluntary group of individuals or organizations, usually unaffiliated with any government, formed to provide services or advocate

for a public policy. Although some NGOs are for-profit corporations, the vast majority are nonprofit organizations (Britannica.com, 2019).

Prevention: Positive measures to stop future acts of trafficking from occurring, generally those considered to be addressing the causes of trafficking. These measures are generally agreed to be the factors that (a) decrease the vulnerability of victims and potential victims, (b) mitigate or eliminate the demand for the goods and services produced by trafficked persons, and (c) create or sustain an environment in which traffickers and their accomplices cannot operate with impunity (U.N. Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, 2014).

U.N. trafficking protocol: U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, linked to the U.N. Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (U.N. General Assembly, 2000).

Summary

It is evident that trafficking in persons is a complex issue with multifaceted dimensions. The statistics compiled by the U.N. and others are alarming and point to the widespread nature of this crime. Fortunately, international institutions, national governments, and nongovernmental actors have crafted legal frameworks, policy initiatives, and anti-human trafficking programs to combat this serious and extensive problem. However, despite laudable efforts, severe and persistent challenges remain. Such challenges require a better understanding of and more effective responses to human trafficking. One such response is education. Although significant anti-trafficking educational efforts have been developed and implemented, a lack of understanding persists about the effectiveness of education interventions in the prevention of human trafficking. The question remains, what works in practice? Through the examination of a

community-based, anti-trafficking NGO and its educational efforts, this study contributes to the body of practical knowledge that can assist in preventing and eradicating trafficking in persons.

Chapter 1 served to frame the problem; Chapter 2 provides a literature review of the key issues pertaining to this study. The review examines the global dimensions of the human trafficking phenomenon as well as human trafficking in the localized context of India. Turning to prevention as a central element of the U.N. Trafficking Protocol's anti-trafficking strategy, the literature review examines the role of education and HRE as mechanisms of prevention. The critical role of anti-human trafficking NGOs is also examined. Against the backdrop of persistent challenges at the global and local levels, the review turns to discussions in the field of human trafficking regarding how to address persistent challenges. The debates center on using human rights- and community-based approaches, on prioritizing prevention efforts, and on conducting empirical, microlevel research. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology employed in conducting the case study of a community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO that is working to prevent intergenerational human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women and children in Mumbai, India. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of the study. Chapter 5 provides a summary of the study along with conclusions and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review provides background on and gives context to the human trafficking phenomenon. The first section provides an overview of the global dimensions of human trafficking, whereas the second section offers a localized perspective of human trafficking in India. Global and local perspectives include overviews of the prevalence of trafficking in persons, the factors that increase vulnerability, government responses, and persistent challenges. The third section explores the role of education, and human rights education, in human trafficking prevention, whereas the fourth section examines the role of NGOs in combatting human trafficking. The fifth section centers on key scholarly debates in the field surrounding the need to use various approaches to address the persistent challenges impeding the eradication of this pervasive crime. Scholars argue for shifting from a criminal-justice framework to a human rights-based approach, for placing more emphasis on prevention measures, and for conducting more empirical research at the microlevel while focusing on the work of anti-trafficking NGOs. The last section summarizes the literature review and situates this study in the context of current research needs and ongoing debates.

Human Trafficking

What is Human Trafficking?

Emerging from a long history associated with slavery and considered by many to be modern-day slavery, trafficking in persons involves

the act of 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. (U.N. Trafficking Protocol, Art. 3(a), 2000)

Figure 3 illustrates the three constituent elements of human trafficking, as defined by the U.N.: an act, a means, and a purpose.

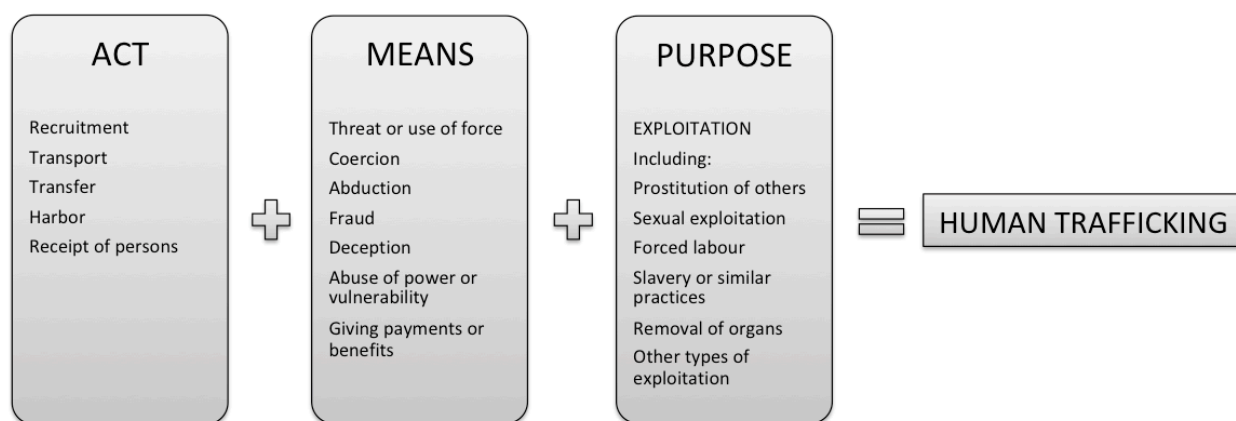


Figure 3. Key elements of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol, Article 3(a), 2000.

Note. Adapted from United Nations General Assembly. (2000). Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime. A/RES/55/25 Annex II. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_55_25.pdf

Exploitation takes many forms. The U.S. Department of State (2015) set forth the following categories: sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, forced labor, bonded labor or debt bondage, domestic servitude, forced child labor, and unlawful recruitment, and use of child soldiers. According to the UNODC (2018), sexual exploitation accounts for 59% of human trafficking, followed by 34% of forced labor. Only two of the three constituent elements are required when the victim is a child. According to the OHCHR (2010),

International law provides a different definition for trafficking in children. In the case of trafficking in children, it is unnecessary to show that force, deception or any other means were used. It is only necessary to show:

- (a) An “action” such as recruitment, buying and selling; and
- (b) That this action was for the specific purpose of exploitation. (p. 35)

In its many manifestations, human trafficking activities are a direct and blatant violation of fundamental human rights. The OHCHR (2014) identified numerous human rights associated with trafficking including the right to life; the right to liberty and security; the right not to be submitted to slavery, servitude, forced labor or bonded labor; and the right to be free from gendered violence. (See Appendix A for full OHCHR list.)

The victims of human trafficking are those that are the most vulnerable, typically considered to be women and children because of their economic status and low social standing in many societies. The ILO (2017) asserted that “women and girls are disproportionately affected by modern slavery” accounting for 84% of forced marriage, 58% of private forced labor, 40% of state-sponsored forced labor, and 99% of forced labor in the commercial sex industry. These estimates show that “the risk and typology of modern slavery are strongly influenced by gender” (ILO, 2017, p. 10). However, although a consensus exists that women and girls are “disproportionately affected,” men and boys are also significantly impacted by human trafficking (ILO, 2017, p. 8).

Specifically with regard to child victims, the U.N. Children’s Fund (UNICEF, Radford, Allnock, & Hynes, 2015) found that child sexual exploitation has “significant impact on the health and well-being of children worldwide” (p. 3). Severe consequences include drug and alcohol abuse, early pregnancy, contracting HIV/AIDS, experiencing depression and suicidal ideation, and psychological trauma. The devastating nature of child trafficking led the U.S. Department of State (2015) to conclude “sex trafficking has devastating consequences for children, including long-lasting physical and psychological trauma, disease (including

HIV/AIDS), drug addiction, unwanted pregnancy, malnutrition, social ostracism, and even death” (p. 7).

The perpetrators of human trafficking can be individuals, men and women, acting independently or as members of organized crime syndicates, operating regionally or transnationally (OHCHR, 2014). To develop a profile of traffickers, the UNODC (2014) obtained information from U.N. member-state court cases and estimated that 72% of convicted traffickers are men. The percentage of female convictions seems to be an anomaly in comparison to female conviction rates (10–15%) for other serious crimes. Although most were citizens of the countries in which they were convicted, approximately 35% of traffickers were foreigners. The UNODC (2014) found

the overall pattern is that trafficking operations in origin countries—such as recruitment and transportation—are carried out by local citizens, with the victims often being fellow citizens. In destination countries, traffickers can be local or foreign citizens; however, when they are foreigners, they often exploit their fellow citizens. (p. 46)

The U.S. Department of State’s TIP Report (2018) asserted that traffickers’ deep knowledge of local contexts allows them to exploit the vulnerabilities of potential victims. Specifically, traffickers may employ tactics that

prey on the hopes and dreams of parents searching for a way to give their children access to a good education; recognize a vulnerable community’s fear of engaging law enforcement officials with a reputation for corruption; or rely on bias and discrimination to keep victims hidden in plain sight. (U.S. Department of State, 2018, p. 3)

Typical recruiting scenarios involve luring victims with the promise of economic opportunity and employment. Loans are often attached for travel and become part of the agreement between

the victim and trafficker. Once arrangements are made, transport occurs and victims arrive at a foreign or domestic destination where their travel documents and personal effects are taken. They are then forced into servitude with the threat of harm, should they try to escape or alert the authorities.

Whether small or large operators, the promise of lucrative economic gains, low barriers to entry in financial investment, and the low risk of arrest, coupled with light sentencing, draw traffickers to these practices. Moreover, traffickers operate with impunity and agility, adapting to changing environments to maintain and increase their profit base while avoiding detection (Aronowitz, 2017). Bales (2011) asserted a cautionary note in observing that “as new forms of communication, new methods of transportation, and new ways of controlling and exploiting people emerge, traffickers will rapidly take them up and subvert them to criminal uses” (p. 279).

Underlying Causes and Factors That Increase Vulnerability

The U.N. Trafficking Protocol (2000) requires U.N. member states to “take or strengthen measures to alleviate the factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, such as poverty, underdevelopment, and lack of opportunity” (Article 9(4)). Based on information gathered since the U.N. Trafficking Protocol was adopted in 2000, an international consensus emerged recognizing the need for an expanded definition of underlying causes beyond poverty and underdevelopment. In 2010, the U.N. General Assembly created the Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons, recognizing additional factors that contribute to heightened vulnerability to trafficking. These factors include “poverty, unemployment, inequality, humanitarian emergencies, including armed conflicts and natural disasters, sexual violence, gender-based discrimination, social exclusion and marginalization, as well as a culture of tolerance towards violence against women, youth and children” (U.N. General Assembly,

2010b, Article 12). Importantly, “most experts agree that is it not poverty but vulnerability that places persons at risk of being trafficked” (Aronowitz, 2017, p. 88).

Cultural norms and practices also contribute to human trafficking, particularly of vulnerable women and children “that will accept dangerous migration arrangements in order to escape the consequences of entrenched discrimination against women, including unjust or unequal employment, gender-based violence, and the lack of access to basic resources for women” (Chuang, 2006, p. 141). Concerning gender-based violence, for example, a study by the European Commission (Voronova & Radjenovic, 2016) found that of 207 female victims of trafficking interviewed, 60% had experienced domestic violence before being trafficked.

Another way to conceptualize underlying causes is to consider them as emigration *push* factors and immigration *pull* factors (Bales, 2011; Chuang, 2006; UNODC, 2006). Factors that push victims into migration patterns and increase their vulnerability include lack of social or economic opportunity, lack of education, political instability, and displacement as a result of war or natural disasters. Immigration pull factors relate to labor demands in destination countries where victims are pulled by the desire to leave conditions of extreme poverty and unemployment for expectations of jobs typically held by migrant workers in wealthier countries. Other factors the UNODC (2006) identified as contributing factors are “porous borders, corrupt Government officials, the involvement of international organized criminal groups or networks and limited capacity of or commitment by immigration and law enforcement officers to control borders” (p. 455).

With special attention to the trafficking of children into commercial sexual exploitation, the ILO (n.d.) International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor identified child-specific risk factors, family-related risk factors, socioeconomic-related risk factors, and

environmental-related risk factors. Child-specific risk factors include, among others, lack of education, lack of citizenship, need to earn money to survive, and being a victim of domestic violence. Family-related risk factors include poverty, social exclusion, lack of education, and gender discrimination. Socioeconomic-related factors relate to working or living in or near risk environments, while environmental-related factors, for example, can be grounded in the existence of child labor or sex tourism. (See Appendix B for a full ILO list of vulnerability factors.)

Government Responses to Human Trafficking

International Responses

In response to the global and pervasive problem of trafficking in persons, the U.N. and U.N. member states have developed numerous legal instruments, policy initiatives, and programs to combat trafficking and coordinate international efforts to that end. The 1949 U.N. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffick in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others was the first U.N. instrument to address the issue of human trafficking, but focused primarily on prostitution. Other U.N. instruments have addressed slavery and servitude and two U.N. human rights treaties directly reference human trafficking—CEDAW, adopted in 1979, and the 1989 CRC. Article 6 of CEDAW requires states to take all appropriate measures to suppress all forms of trafficking in women, and Article 35 of the CRC compels states to prevent the abduction, sale, and trafficking of children. Additionally, the ILO enacted the Forced Labor Protocol in 2014 and adopted several Conventions that govern its efforts to combat forced labor. (See Appendix C for full list of ILO Conventions.)

In the year 2000, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. In 2004, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights appointed a Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in

Persons, Especially Women and Children “to focus on the human rights aspects of the victims of trafficking in persons” (OHCHR, 2019b, para. 1). To improve coordination and cooperation between U.N. agencies and other international organizations working on human trafficking, the U.N. General Assembly created the Inter-agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons in 2006. Directly following in 2007, the U.N. Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking was launched “to create synergies among the anti-trafficking activities of UN agencies, international organizations and other stakeholders to develop the most efficient and cost-effective tools and good practices” (U.N. Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking, n.d., para. 7). In 2009, the UNODC (2009b) developed a Framework for Action to be used as a technical-assistance tool, aiding the effective implementation of the U.N. Trafficking Protocol. In 2010b, the U.N. General Assembly adopted the Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons to promote government coordination and to set up a voluntary trust fund for the victims of trafficking.

The international community has also committed to the U.N. 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, agreed on in 2012. To address critical environmental, economic, and political challenges, the Sustainable Development Goals are a “universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity” (U.N. Development Programme, n.d.a, para. 1). Three Sustainable Development Goals and their associated targets reference trafficking:

- Target 5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking, sexual, and other types of exploitation
- Target 8.7: Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and secure the prohibition and elimination of

the worst forms of child labor, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labor in all its forms

- Target 16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against and torture of children

Regional Responses

At the regional level, the U.N. and U.N. member states have made efforts to coordinate and work more efficiently to combat this transborder phenomenon. For example, the Council of Europe developed a major regional treaty in 2005—the Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings—to prevent human trafficking, protect the human rights of victims, and promote international cooperation. Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme established the U.N. Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons (n.d.) in 2014 to “ensure a coordinated approach to more strategically and effectively combat trafficking in persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) and beyond” (para. 1). Other regional responses have included bilateral agreements between nations and multilateral agreements such as the Regional Commitment and Action Plan of the East Asia and the Pacific Region against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

The abovementioned international and regional instruments serve to counter the severity and scale of the human trafficking problem and indicate the degree to which human trafficking has become a salient global issue. Key to any significant progress, however, is that U.N. member states adhere to the obligations set out in the U.N. Trafficking Protocol and other international and regional agreements. According to the UNODC (2014), more than 90% of nations have created legislation that criminalizes trafficking and have developed institutional implementation mechanisms. However, the UNODC (2014) also acknowledged that implementation of

legislation is often inadequate due to the varying capacity of member states to implement legislation effectively.

National Responses—U.S.

In response to its obligations under the U.N. Trafficking Protocol, the United States passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA). Based on a “3P” paradigm, the TVPA focuses on the *prevention* of trafficking, the *protection* of victims and survivors, and the *prosecution* of traffickers through the federal criminal-justice system, while “furthering the guarantees of freedom from slavery and involuntary servitude set forth in the U.S. Constitution and articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (U.S. Department of State, n.d., para. 1). The TVPA employs a prosecutor-based approach that criminalizes trafficking and a victim-based approach that focuses on victim rehabilitation. To assist in implementation, the TVPA created the President’s Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, a cabinet-level entity charged with coordinating federal efforts. Additionally, the TVPA established a U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking, comprised of 11 survivor leaders, to advise the Task Force.

The TVPA also established the U.S. Department of State’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons charged with engaging in foreign diplomacy, foreign assistance, and public engagement on trafficking in persons. The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons also publishes an annual TIP report that serves as “the world’s most comprehensive resource of governmental anti-human trafficking efforts and reflects the U.S. Government’s commitment to global leadership on this key human rights and law enforcement issue” (U.S. Department of State, n.d., para. 5). The TIP report contributes to global anti-trafficking efforts by identifying global trends and ranking foreign government’s efforts on prevention, prosecution,

and protection. Although the TIP has faced criticism for being politically biased in its tiered rating system, empirical researchers found that “countries are more likely to criminalize human trafficking when they are included in the U.S. annual TIP Report, and countries that are placed on a ‘watch list’ are also more likely to criminalize” (Kelley & Simmons, 2015, p. 55).

Persistent Challenges to Combatting Human Trafficking

Despite a robust international legal framework, regional responses, and U.S. commitment to global leadership on this issue, challenges persist and progress has been mixed. Since the adoption of the U.N. Trafficking Protocol in 2000, the international community has been improving how it responds to trafficking, but it is far from eradicating human trafficking. According to the UNODC (2014), although significant progress has been made in developing legislation on trafficking, “more than 2 billion people are not protected as required by the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol” (p. 12). This is considered a result of what the UNODC (2009) called “the crisis we face of fragmented knowledge and disjointed responses” (p. 7).

Echoing the UNODC, Gallagher and Ezeilo (2015) observed that “while the legal framework at every level is stronger than ever, and while awareness of trafficking and of relevant rights and obligations has improved significantly, it is difficult to be persuaded that substantial changes are happening on the ground” (p. 929). Gallagher and Ezeilo (a former Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, 2008–2014) further averred that men, women, and children continue to be exploited; that traffickers are rarely caught; and that prosecutions are very low. The authors point to several legal and policy challenges including definitional issues around what constitutes trafficking; state compliance with international legal rules; legal responsibility of nonstate actors, like corporations with labor exploitation in their supply chains; victims receiving proper remedies to which they are entitled; and problems with prevention.

Prevention, in particular, they argue is “plagued by conceptual and practical difficulties encompassing (as it does) the full range of measures aimed at preventing future acts of trafficking from occurring” (Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015, p. 938). Further, Gallagher and Ezeilo raised an important point about the use of the term *trafficking*, pointing out that “making all exploitation trafficking (and indeed, making all trafficking “slavery”) complicates the task of states enormously, presenting particular challenges in countries that lack specialist capacity and robust criminal justice systems” (2015, p. 931).

An additional and critical challenge is the difficulty in accurately counting and identifying victims. The UNODC (2014) asserted that “the global research community is still searching for a sound and practical method for estimating how many victims of trafficking in persons there are worldwide” (p. 47). This is a formidable task particularly because the crime is often hidden in plain sight and human trafficking victims are reluctant or unwilling to self-identify. The UNODC (2018) pointed out, “data on detected victims only refer to that visible part of human trafficking” (p. 33).

Summary

The previous section provided the broad contours of the human trafficking phenomenon. It is evident that trafficking in persons is a complex issue, with multifaceted dimensions and underlying causes, requiring a massive undertaking to combat. Fortunately, the U.N., regional bodies, and the United States, among others, have legally recognized and committed to combatting this serious and extensive crime. The widely agreed definition of human trafficking and exploitation found in the U.N. Trafficking Protocol serves as a starting point for international, regional, and national efforts to address the problem, emphasizing the need to focus on women and children as particularly vulnerable populations. Understanding the

contributing factors, the economic aspects, and the profiles of traffickers and victims helps international institutions, national and local governments, and nongovernmental actors formulate their strategies and responses. Significant efforts have been undertaken to understand the issue and develop effective responses. Progress has been mixed, however, and persistent challenges remain that require a better understanding of and more effective responses to human trafficking.

Human Trafficking in India

Overview of Human Trafficking in India

As one of the world's most populous countries, with a population of 1.3 billion, India serves as a country of origin, transit, and destination for labor and sex trafficking. The most dominant trafficking sectors are “commercial sex work; bonded labor in different industrial and agricultural sectors; domestic work; entertainment sector (circuses, camel jockeying); and begging & other cartel-like exploitative activities” (Hameed, Hlatshwayo, Tanner, Turker, & Yang, 2010, p. vi). An estimated 90% of human trafficking in India is domestic (U.S. Department of State, 2018).

The Walk Free Foundation's Global Slavery Index (2016) estimates that 18 million people in India are in conditions of modern-day slavery, ranking India 56th of 167 countries in prevalence (Walk Free Foundation, 2018a). The Government of India's Ministry of Women & Child Development (MWCD, 2016) estimates that the number of commercial sex workers in India is 3 million, 40% of whom are estimated to be children. Specifically, data from the Government of India's National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) shows that of 23,117 victims rescued in 2016, 10,509 were victims of forced labor, 4,980 were victims of sexual exploitation for prostitution, and 2,590 were victims of “other forms of sexual exploitation” (NCRB, 2017). Additionally, 60% of the 23,117 victims were children below the age of 18 (NCRB, 2017).

According to the U.S. Department of State (2018), children continue to be subjected to sex trafficking in religious pilgrimage centers and by foreign travelers in tourist destinations.

Based on extensive interviews with rescued victims in Kolkata, India, a report by the West Bengal Commission for the Protection of Child Rights & International Justice Mission (IJM, 2017) found that recruiting often involved promises of employment, followed by transport to distant locations, and subsequent exploitation. According to the West Bengal Commission and IJM (2017),

a key tactic emerged from women's stories: in nearly half of the survivor's experiences, there was a conditioning period involving threats, being raped by the first customer, debt bondage, and other physical violence that crippled the survivor's ability to refuse the manager. (p. 24)

In addition to being lured by promises of economic opportunities, other tactics include drugging and kidnapping, being "tricked" to accompany the trafficker, and being lured with promises of marriage made to the victim or the victim's family (Silverman et al., 2007). In many cases the trafficker is a stranger to the victim (43.2%) but equally likely, the trafficker is a friend or acquaintance (40.3%; Silverman et al., 2007). Moreover, according to the U.S. Department of State (2018), traffickers in India increasingly use websites, mobile applications, and online money transfers to facilitate commercial sex.

Although India is ranked the world's sixth largest economy (IMF, 2018), 21.9% of its population remains below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). Poverty is a key economic driver that increases the vulnerability of marginalized men, women, and children to human trafficking. This is particularly true in "low-income states" where poverty rates are higher, and where 62% of India's poorest citizens live (World Bank, 2016, p. 1). According to

the Global Slavery Index (Walk Free Foundation, 2018a), “a search for better economic and employment opportunities acts as a powerful incentive for people to migrate from low to high income states and internationally” (p. 4).

One of the “high income states” referenced by the Global Slavery Index (Walk Free Foundation, 2018a) is the State of Maharashtra in Western India. Maharashtra is India’s second most populous state and is the “commercial, financial and entertainment capital of India with an alluring metropolitan appeal, which attracts migrants from all over India” (MSCPCR & IJM, 2017, pp. 28–29). According to the World Bank (2017), however, although poverty levels in Maharashtra are lower than the national average, the state is still home to 20 million poor. Maharashtra is also considered one of the biggest “supply states” and “biggest buyers of minors” for commercial sexual exploitation (CSE; Joffres et al., 2008; Santhya, Jejeebhoy, & Basu, 2014).

The City of Mumbai, India’s second-most populous city and its financial and entertainment capital, is located in the State of Maharashtra. With approximately 20 million inhabitants, Mumbai is a place of origin, transit, and destination for Indian and foreign victims of human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Home to some of the oldest and largest RLAs, “Mumbai generates at least \$400 million/year in revenue from the estimated 100,000 women/girls serving an average of 6 customers per day” (Joffres et al., 2008, p. 6). A growing trend of children being trafficked in Mumbai in private networks makes the crime harder to detect. Compounding this problem is that “technological advancements have enabled perpetrators to conduct covert operations and magnify their outreach using social media. They are able to carry out their unlawful trade more clandestinely and profitably” (MSCPCR & IJM, 2017, p. 12).

Underlying Causes and Factors that Increase Vulnerability

Myriad factors contribute to women and children's vulnerability to being trafficked in India. Factors include the impacts of globalization on local communities, poverty and inequality, harmful social and cultural practices, gender discrimination, class and caste discrimination, governance issues, conflicts, and natural disasters. Globally, and in the context of India, poverty is a key predisposing economic factor that, in combination with other factors, heightens vulnerability to human trafficking. This fact has been characterized in the international literature as *poverty plus*.

Such plus factors can be seen at the community/society level and the family level. At the community/society level in India, social and cultural dynamics such as “social stratification based on birth and occupation of the parents leads to social exclusion of the low classes from mainstream society” (Heil & Nichols, 2017, p. 49). Discrimination and marginalization of members of “Scheduled Castes” (or Dalits) and indigenous communities/“Scheduled Tribes” (or Adivasis) leaves “culturally and socially excluded classes impoverished, uneducated, and illiterate” (Heil & Nichols, 2017, p. 50). Evidence of this emerges in the disparity in literacy rates between India's overall literacy rates and those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Table 2 illustrates this comparison as well as the gender gap that exists in literacy rates between men and women in each category.

Table 2

Literacy Rates in India, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, by Percentage

| | India | Scheduled Castes | Scheduled Tribes |
|---------|-------|------------------|------------------|
| Total | 72.98 | 66.07 | 58.95 |
| Males | 80.88 | 75.17 | 68.51 |
| Females | 64.63 | 56.46 | 49.36 |

Note. Adapted from *Women and Men in India-2016*, by Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, 2016, retrieved from <http://mospi.nic.in/publication/women-and-men-india-2016>

Caste-based stratification, in turn, leads to increased risk of human trafficking and exploitation, particularly of women and children. According to Heil and Nichols (2017), in India, “approximately 90% of the exploited and enslaved children come from the scheduled castes and minority groups” (p. 50). The U.S. Department of State (2012) similarly finds that “those from India’s most disadvantaged social strata, including the lowest castes, are most vulnerable” (p. 184).

In addition to caste-based factors, the status of women and girls in Indian society renders them vulnerable to exploitation. According to the Women, Peace and Security Index 2019/2020, published by the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (2019), India ranks 133 of 167 nations in women’s inclusion (education, financial, employment, cellphone use, and parliamentary representation); justice (legal, son bias, and discriminatory work norms); and security (intimate partner violence, community safety, and organized violence). Crime against women in India is a pervasive problem that, according to the Government of India’s Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (2016), constitutes a primary social obstacle to women’s empowerment. In addition, low prosecution and conviction rates are endemic. According to the Government of India’s Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (2016),

In 2015, 67% of the investigated cases of crime against women were disposed of by the police ... [and] 2.3% of cases of crime against women were convicted out of all the cases of crime against women taken up by the Courts in 2015. (p. 101)

At the family level, a study of rescued girls who were trafficked into CSE points to family violence (physical or sexual); marital conflict, separation or abandonment; and illness or death as contributing factors (Silverman et al., 2007). Additionally, females from indebted,

poverty-stricken families; single females; female migrants; females coerced into early marriage; children from families where abuse or neglect is prevalent; children of trafficked victims; and street children are particularly susceptible to CSE (Joffres et al., 2008). Moreover, in some communities, women and girls are initiated into commercial sex work as an intergenerational practice (Santhya et al., 2014).

Government Responses to Human Trafficking

In response to the pervasiveness of human trafficking throughout India, the Government of India has taken action at the international, regional, national, and state levels to combat trafficking. At the international level, the Government of India has ratified the U.N. Trafficking Protocol, CEDAW, and CRC. It has also committed to the Sustainable Development Goals, including Goal 8.7, which calls for the eradication of forced labor, modern slavery, and human trafficking, as well as the elimination of the “worst forms of child labour” (U.N. Development Programme, n.d.b, para. 7).

At the regional level, India is a signatory to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation Convention on Preventing and Combatting Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution (2002). The primary purpose of the Convention is to

promote cooperation amongst Member States so that they may effectively deal with the various aspects of prevention, interdiction and suppression of trafficking in women and children; the repatriation and rehabilitation of victims of trafficking and prevent the use of women and children in international prostitution networks, particularly where the countries of the [South Asian] region are the countries of origin, transit and destination. (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, 2002, Article 2)

At the national level, Article 23 of India's Constitution prohibits trafficking in persons. The Government of India has criminalized trafficking, slavery, forced labor, and child sexual exploitation while developing various schemes to assist victims. Significant legislative efforts include the Suppression of Immoral Trafficking Act (1956), renamed the Immoral Trafficking and Prevention Act of 1986; the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (2012); the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act (2015); and Penal Code Section 370, which criminalizes and penalizes Trafficking of Human Beings. Most recently, in 2018, the Government of India's lower house of Parliament passed the Trafficking in Persons Bill that focuses on prevention, protection, and rescue and rehabilitation of trafficked victims. Among its many provisions, the Bill calls for the appointment of state-level anti-trafficking officers, as well as state-appointed anti-trafficking police officers for each state district. The Bill also mandates the creation of district-level anti-trafficking units focused on prevention and rescue, along with designated district trafficking courts that are "time-bound" to complete trials within a year. As of this writing, the Bill has yet to be taken up by the upper chamber of Parliament and is therefore not yet enacted into law.

The MWCD, moreover, has adopted a comprehensive approach to prevent and combat trafficking that includes "legislative measures, programmes and schemes for prevention of trafficking and for rescue, rehabilitation, reintegration and repatriation of victims of trafficking; training, capacity building; awareness generation; and empowerment of vulnerable groups" (Ministry of Women & Child Development, 2016, p. 15). Examples of such policies and schemes include the National Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Women and Children (1998); the National Policy for Empowerment of Women (2001); the National Plan of Action for Children (2005); and the Protocol on Interstate Rescue

and Post Rescue Activities (2007). In addition, the MWCD has developed two primary schemes—*Swadhar* (A Scheme for Women in Difficult Circumstances; 2002) to prevent trafficking and *Ujjawala* (A Comprehensive Scheme for Prevention of Trafficking and Rescue, Rehabilitation and Re-Integration of Victims of Trafficking for Commercial Sexual Exploitation; 2016) to support victims of trafficking. The MWCD works with NGOs to implement many of its programs.

At the state level, the Government of Maharashtra, in compliance with national legislation and aligned with the Nation Plan of Action, has developed and implemented several anti-trafficking initiatives. For example, a State Action Plan for Anti-Human Trafficking Initiatives establishes a protocol for the prerescue, rescue, and rehabilitation stages of the anti-trafficking process. The Government of Maharashtra has also established Anti-Human Trafficking Units comprising an investigative officer, “special police officers,” an officer from the MWCD, and representatives from two NGOs (MSCPCR & IJM, 2017, p. 32). Each Unit is meant to facilitate faster and more efficient responses.

Persistent Challenges to Combatting Human Trafficking

Although the Government of India has taken measures to suppress trafficking at national and state levels, problems persist that impede the reduction and eradication of human trafficking. According to the U.S. Department of State’s 2018 TIP report, the government’s conviction rates are very low compared to the scale of trafficking in India; victim protection efforts are inadequate, including the arrest of victims for crimes committed as a result of their trafficking; and investigations into complicit government officials are not conducted, when, for example, border security officials collude with traffickers or security police warn brothel owners before raids (U.S. Department of State, 2018).

Hameed et al. (2010) attributed these problems to “mammoth levels of corruption, an overburdened judiciary/law enforcement sector, and poorly resourced protection services”

(p. vii). Additionally, the Global Slavery Index (Walk Free Foundation, 2018a) found that

a key challenge in implementing laws criminalizing trafficking or bonded labour is also the lack of integrated law enforcement systems for investigation and prosecution across different states in India, leading to a lack of robust investigation of trafficking networks across states. (p. 6)

Other problems are victims’ reluctance to come forward and the risk of victim-survivors being re trafficked, given that vulnerabilities still exist following rescue. For example, one study of 561 CSE survivors found that 17.5% of rescued victims had been rescued before, whereas 6.6% had been previously rescued three or more times (MSCPCR & IJM, 2017).

Against this backdrop, Ghosh (2012) provided suggestions for prevention strategies and measures that the Government of India should employ to combat the trafficking of women and girls. To address local socioeconomic root causes, for instance, Ghosh suggests “region-specific vulnerability mapping” to identify demand and transit areas as well as poverty alleviation programs, infrastructure development, and rural industrialization (p. 733). To effectively counter weak law enforcement and low prosecution rates, Ghosh proposed the creation of “trafficking police officers” as well as the formation of special trafficking courts and Anti-Human Trafficking Units trained to address the complexities of trafficking (p. 734). Proposed strategies to assist with rehabilitation and reintegration of victims included creating training modules to sensitize rural communities and law-enforcement officers, and providing education and professional training to survivors.

At the community level, Ghosh (2009) suggested setting up monitoring boards in vulnerable areas, in addition to community policing and neighborhood watch groups. For prevention, Ghosh emphasized the cultural practice of child marriage that constitutes a major front for the trafficking of minor girls. Ghosh asserted that “patriarchal institutions not only undermine the status of the girl child, they also create an environment to perpetuate gender inequality” (p. 735). Additionally, Ghosh contended it is critical to “challenge the structural inequality of a patriarchal society and the process may begin with any alternative scheme of holistic empowerment of women” (p. 735).

Summary

Human trafficking in India is widespread and pervasive. With an estimated 18 million men, women, and children in conditions of modern slavery, the Government of India has worked to eliminate human trafficking through legislative efforts and policy initiatives at the national, state, and local levels. The U.S. Department of State (2018), in its TIP report, wrote, “the Government of India does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so” (p. 221). Persistent challenges remain associated with underlying factors that contribute to human trafficking such as poverty, migration, economic inequality, caste-based stratification, gender-based violence, and discrimination. In addition, problems related to government corruption, implementation and enforcement of existing laws, and an overburdened judiciary, preclude human trafficking from being effectively addressed. As posited by Ghosh (2009), additional prevention strategies and measures must be developed and employed for the Government of India to meaningfully address the scourge of human trafficking.

Prevention, Education and Human Rights Education

Human-Trafficking Prevention

Prevention of human trafficking encompasses “positive measures to stop future acts of trafficking from occurring” (OHCHR, 2014, p. 38). The Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (SRTIP; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a) pointed out that the international legal framework compels U.N. member states to combat trafficking through prevention measures that address demand and supply side factors that contribute to trafficking. Guideline 7 of the *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking* categorizes primary prevention measures as follows:

- (a) Addressing the root causes of trafficking, including poverty, lack of education and discrimination against women and other traditionally disadvantaged groups, with a view to reducing their vulnerability;
- (b) Addressing the demand for exploitative commercial sexual services and exploitative labour;
- (c) Increasing opportunities for legal, gainful and non-exploitative labour migration;
- (d) Raising awareness about the risks associated with trafficking;
- (e) Strengthening the capacity of law enforcement agencies to arrest and prosecute traffickers. (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a, pp. 5–6)

Such measures comprise a wide range of prevention interventions in human trafficking source and destination countries. Such efforts include, for example, awareness-raising activities, vocational training, increasing access to formal education, campaigns targeting consumers, trafficking hotlines, and workplace inspections.

According to the SRTIP:

Despite its importance, the efforts to combat trafficking have been largely centered on a “symptom-specific” approach in that solutions are sought only after particular problems occur. It follows that resources and efforts are often concentrated on prosecuting traffickers or developing assistance programmes for survivors of trafficking but neglect the development and implementation of comprehensive and systematic prevention measures. (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a, p. 5)

To remedy this, SRTIP called for a “system-building” approach. Such an approach requires “packaging” interventions rather than focusing on addressing one underlying risk factor in isolation. SRTIP (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a) also emphasizes the importance of using accurate data in developing comprehensive prevention strategies, enlisting trafficked people in designing interventions, fostering public–private partnerships, and incorporating monitoring and evaluation to assess the impact and effectiveness of prevention programs.

Rafferty (2013b) concurred with the need for a comprehensive prevention strategy, one that “delineates a systems approach to prevention practice” (p. 148). To that end, Rafferty (2013b) called for using the spectrum-of-prevention framework to develop and support prevention measures on multiple levels. The six levels of spectrum of prevention include

1. strengthening individual knowledge and skills
2. promoting community education
3. educating providers
4. fostering coalitions and networks
5. changing organizational practices
6. influencing policy and legislation

Education interventions, formal and nonformal, factor heavily in this framework. For instance, strengthening individual knowledge and skills means promoting empowerment by expanding access to education and training, and engaging in family and community awareness-raising.

Aronowitz (2017) conceptualized prevention in terms of short- and long-term measures, both of which the U.N. Trafficking Protocol advocates. Short-term measures include awareness-raising programs to educate the general public, at-risk populations, and sectors that may come into contact with victims, such as healthcare professionals and personnel in the hotel and transportation industries. Longer-term efforts include measures that work toward addressing underlying causes and factors that increase vulnerability. Aronowitz called for risk-assessments to be conducted at the local level “to identify what factors promote trafficking in a particular community—whether it is lack of job or educational opportunities, discrimination against women, or an ethnic minority identity ... or life experience” (2017, p. 117). Aronowitz further argued for longer-term prevention activities that increase educational opportunities, provide job-training skills, and strengthen social-protection systems for high-risk children.

Education and Prevention

According to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (2017), “education has long been used in the prevention of human trafficking” (p 1). As one mechanism in a package of interventions, education is a critical and integral component of trafficking prevention. The U.N. Trafficking Protocol calls on signatories to “adopt or strengthen legislative or other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures...to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons” (U.N. General Assembly, 2000, Article 9 (5)). Additionally, Guideline 7 of the *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking* contains two provisions that pertain directly to education. Guideline 7.2 calls

for “developing programmes that offer livelihood options, including basic education, skills training and literacy, especially for women and other traditionally disadvantaged groups,” and Guideline 7.3 calls for “improving children’s access to educational opportunities and increasing the level of school attendance, in particular by girl children” (OHCHR, 2002, p. 10). Further, the United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons (U.N. General Assembly, 2010b) affirmed member states’ commitment to, among others, “stress the role of education in raising awareness about the prevention of trafficking in persons, and promote education, in particular human rights education, and human rights learning as a sustainable way of preventing trafficking in persons” (Annex 1 (19)).

Education in the context of human trafficking prevention takes various forms and targets a range of audiences. Education activities may include, for example, awareness-raising campaigns, victim-identification training, prevention education for at-risk populations, and life skills training for victim-survivors. Education interventions also work toward “risk-based prevention” (Walk Free Foundation, 2018b, p. 26). In a content analysis of anti-trafficking program evaluations, the Walk Free Foundation (2018b) created a *Promising Practices Database* of programmatic evaluations. The database is categorized by type of modern slavery, by sector, by country, by region, by activity, and by type of intervention. One intervention type is risk-based prevention that includes school-based education, community-led education, awareness raising campaigns, and predeparture orientation focused on migrant workers.

Recipients of education interventions may include the general public, criminal-justice practitioners, law-enforcement officials, health care workers, professionals working with children, victim-support professionals, at-risk populations, and the victims themselves.

The fora for education efforts can be formal, nonformal, or informal. According to the U.N. Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education (U.N. General Assembly, 2017),

Formal education is traditionally seen as the State-run system, organized and delivered by Governments, certified and recognized as official. Non-formal education is typically in contrast with that definition, and encompasses any institutionalized, organized learning that is outside of the formal system. (p. 4)

Informal education is “the unintentional lifelong process whereby everyone acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from the educational influences and resources in his or her own environment and from daily experience (e.g. family, neighbours, library, mass media, work, play)” (Flowers, 2007, p. 28).

Education providers include international and regional bodies, national government agencies, corporate entities, the media, and NGOs. The UNODC (2019b) created a series of 14 education modules on trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants to provide teachers and academics with a “practically oriented, though still theoretically grounded, tool to teach on these issues” (para. 2). At the national level in the United States, several agencies, including the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Department of Education, and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security are charged with and working toward preventing human trafficking. The U.S. Department of Education, for instance, develops youth campaigns to raise awareness and, in 2015, released a guide for school staff that includes information about risk factors, recruitment, and how to identify trafficking.

Corporate entities and associations also engage in anti-trafficking education efforts. As an example, the Global Business Coalition Against Trafficking was formed to “harness the power of business across sectors to prevent and reduce modern slavery, and support survivors” (Global

Business Coalition, n.d., para 1). With membership including large corporations such as Ford Motor Company, Microsoft, Delta Air Lines, and the Coca-Cola Company, one of the Coalition's primary tasks is training and education. Additionally, various business sectors, such as travel and tourism, technology, and financial services have taken significant measures to combat trafficking in persons, including anti-trafficking training and education programs (Shelley & Bain, 2015).

The media also works to educate the public and increase awareness about human trafficking. One endeavor that stands out is the CNN Freedom Project. The project uses documentaries, public-service announcements, and live events with viewer participation, "shining a spotlight on the horrors of modern-day slavery, amplifying the voices of the victims, highlighting success stories and helping unravel the complicated tangle of criminal enterprises trading humans" (CNN Freedom Project, n.d., para. 3).

Countless NGOs at the international, national, and local levels also dedicate significant resources to trafficking prevention education and public-awareness campaigns. In the United States, for example, the Polaris Project, a national NGO, works directly with victims of trafficking, runs national and global hotlines, directs strategic interventions, and provides victim and advisory services, including education. Since 2007, Polaris has operated the National Human Trafficking Hotline and has responded to over 45,000 cases of human trafficking. As a result, Polaris has a high level of expertise on human trafficking and works to disseminate that information through public awareness campaigns and trainings. For instance, Polaris has trained "77,000 service providers, law enforcement, corporate leaders, and more to identify and stop trafficking" (Polaris Project, n.d., para. 3).

A study of anti-trafficking NGOs in Thailand provided a clear example of the connection between education and human trafficking prevention at the local level. Spires (2015) examined the education efforts of two NGOs focused on trafficking prevention for at-risk children and prior victims. One NGO provides vocational training and nonformal elementary education in language, mathematics, and social skills for students in Grades K–6; the other works with street children, aged 6–18, providing permanent shelter, access to Thai government schools, and supplementary education, including life skills training. Spires discerned a correlation between the lack of education and the risk of susceptibility to human trafficking, and suggested that although the benefits (such as literacy, life skills, and care) conferred on the children in these programs protects them and postpones exploitation, underlying contextual and structural problems, such as poverty, statelessness, and migration, that push children toward exploitation, need to be more effectively addressed. Spires recommended that the Thai government commit additional resources to support the work of NGOs, engage more proactively in their work, and facilitate accreditation of NGO programs as nonformal education sites. According to Spires, such efforts would help support the effectiveness of education programs aimed at preventing trafficking and re trafficking. Importantly, Spires recognized that human trafficking is a complex phenomenon that requires complex responses. Although education is critical, it is only one component of a requisite multifaceted response to human trafficking that involves addressing the myriad political, social, economic, and cultural issues that lead to trafficking in persons.

Human Rights Education and Prevention

As a distinct form of education, and with an explicit focus on human rights, HRE has an important role to play in human trafficking prevention. According to the OHCHR (2019a),

human rights education constitutes an essential contribution to the long-term prevention of human rights abuses and represents an important investment in the endeavour to achieve a just society in which all human rights of all persons are valued and respected.

(para 2)

Article 2(1) of the U.N. Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training states:

Human rights education and training comprises all educational, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus contributing to, inter alia, the prevention of human rights violations and abuses by providing persons with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviours, to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights. (U.N. General Assembly, 2011)

According to Gerber (2011), Article 2(1) clearly recognizes that “HRE is a valuable tool for addressing the root causes of human rights violations” (p. 246), recognizing the “role of human rights education in protecting groups in situations of vulnerability” (U.N. General Assembly, 2017, p. 7). Thus, HRE can contribute to human trafficking prevention efforts geared toward addressing root causes that heighten vulnerabilities of at-risk populations including women and children. According to the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a), a

study conducted by UNICEF showed that the vast majority of trafficked children had very little information about the risks of abuse and exploitation. This demonstrates the importance of providing potential victims of trafficking with appropriate and adequate information about the risks of human trafficking. (p. 14)

Moreover, not only does the U.N. CRC establish a child's right to education, Articles 29 and 42 of the U.N. CRC require that children be educated about their rights.

As noted in Chapter 1, HRE can be implemented in formal and nonformal educational settings and incorporates the discourse of human rights in teaching and learning. HRE is also situated contextually "based on the needs, preferences, abilities and desires of the learners" (Flowers, 2007, p. 25). Although HRE is recognized as important to the prevention of human rights abuses, very little academic research places HRE in the context of human trafficking. Numerous case studies, for example, highlight the impact of HRE on the human rights of vulnerable populations (Bajaj, 2015; Cislighi, Gillespie, & Mackie, 2017; Gervais, 2011; Ilkkaracan & Amado, 2005; Tibbitts, 2015), but these studies do not center on human trafficking. A limited number of studies do highlight the intersection between human trafficking and HRE, focusing on NGO-led nonformal HRE in India. These studies center on child slavery (Shultz, 2008), on child labor (Shah, 2014), and on forced and bonded labor (Gausman, Chernoff, Duger, Bhabha, & Chu, 2016).

Starting from the premise that states, communities, and families in India have failed to protect children from the scourge of contemporary child slavery, Shultz (2008) pointed to the prevalence of, and increase in, child trafficking for commercial sex work, domestic servitude, manufacturing, agriculture, and mining, among others. It is problematic that children's rights are diluted, ignored, and often violated with impunity. Shultz observed that in India, "there is a tension between the social logics of children as property or projections of their parents or sociocultural communities and the logics of human rights of children as a universal principle affirming both human dignity and equality" (2008, p. 133).

Against this backdrop, and based on the prevalence of child slavery in most countries, Shultz (2008) advocated for employing a human rights-based approach, rooted in local communities, to prevent child slavery. Shultz offered a case study of one such approach in practice. Created in India in the year 2000 by Nobel Laureate Kailash Satyarthi, the Bal Mitra Gram (Child Friendly Village) program of the South Asia Coalition on Child Servitude in India emphasizes prevention through community-based interventions. The Child Friendly Village program is located in villages where child labor exploitation and conditions of child slavery are pronounced. Becoming a “child friendly village” involves a four-stage process that includes the elimination and withdrawal of child labor from the village; the enrollment of all children in school; the establishment of the Bal Panchayat (Children’s Assembly); and the inclusion of a Children’s Assembly in the formal governance structure of the community (Shultz, 2008, p. 135). Shultz found that the Child Friendly Village program provides a model of THRED where children are empowered, given the ability to have their voices heard, and provided the vehicle by which to be actively engaged in their communities on issues that impact them directly.

Shah (2014) similarly examined the widespread problem of child labor in India. Shah’s doctoral dissertation focused on the role of a local Indian NGO—the Learning Foundation—in providing nonformal education to working children through its New Beginning Project. Shah discussed the socioeconomic and cultural context that impedes children’s access to education and points to caste, class, religious association, education costs, and discrimination as factors that contribute to the lack of educational opportunities. In addition to access, quality education is problematic in public, government-run schools with inadequate facilities and poorly trained teachers. Although national and state legislation prioritizes education, the government does not provide the resources necessary for quality education in public schools attended by low-income

children and many girls. Moreover, gender discrimination and bias are of particular concern in a patriarchal society that favors the education of boys and allocates resources to that end over the girl child. Although government legislation and policies are in place to protect children's rights and address child labor, government corruption and enforcement in India preclude any meaningful efforts to address the issue.

In this context, Shah's (2014) case study focused on an NGO project designed "to ensure the receipt of basic education to the children and organize community discussions to educate their parents on the issues of child labor, begging, literacy, and children's rights" (p. 84). The NGO provides 2-hour evening classes at four centers for approximately 150 working children. Although the New Beginning Project provides an alternative form of schooling for children engaged in child labor, study findings pointed to several inherent problems in the NGO's approach. Shah described the lack of qualified teachers, for example, where teachers are not knowledgeable or well equipped to work with high-need, at-risk students. As a result, teachers and students tend to become angry and frustrated, hindering the learning process and compelling some students not to attend classes. To address this problem, Shah recommended a more vigorous teacher-interview process, with an emphasis on qualifications, and professional training and development for teachers.

Gausman et al. (2016) examined an NGO community-empowerment model that comprises a comprehensive strategy to address the rights of low-caste communities in conditions of forced and bonded labor in northern India. The 3-year intervention, developed and implemented by the Society for Human Development and Women's Empowerment, allows marginalized groups to identify and collectively demand their rights. The community-empowerment strategy includes income-generating activities, legal training, transitional schools,

and the creation of Community Vigilance Committees. The committees provide “a process through which groups of formerly bonded or forced laborers secure their freedom from oppressive employers or landlords by exercising collective power and by pressuring the local authority to enforce labor protection laws and socio-economic entitlements” (Gausman et al., 2016, p. 8). The impacts of the community-empowerment intervention on communities include reduced household debt, reduced threats of violence, wage growth, increased access to health care, and increased access to government-protection schemes. Interviews with community members also revealed a “sense of collective efficacy” (Gausman et al., 2016, p. 6).

The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations

Anti-human Trafficking NGOs

As the above case studies illustrate, anti-human trafficking NGOs have an important role to play in delivering education interventions that counter human trafficking. The U.N. Trafficking Protocol acknowledges the importance of NGOs in stipulating that “policies, programs and other measures established in accordance with this article shall, as appropriate, include cooperation with nongovernmental organisations” (U.N. General Assembly, 2000, Article 9(3)). In addition, the UNODC (2019a) defined the role of civil society, of which NGOs are a part, in anti-trafficking activities. These include

Awareness-raising, community economic development and capacity-building, identification and interviewing victims of trafficking, assisting and supporting victims of trafficking (including providing shelter and protection), providing legal assistance, medical care, counselling, education and vocational training, assisting with repatriation and reintegration support, helping law enforcement agencies to collate and analyze evidence, and undertaking advocacy and research. Civil society is a critical partner in

prevention, protection and prosecution efforts, particularly in less wealthy countries which depend on NGOs, in particular, to provide services beyond the funding capacity of the State. (para 3)

Considered in the context of the 4 “P” paradigm—prevention, protection, prosecution, partnerships—NGOs engage in a wide array of activities. For prevention, such activities typically include awareness-raising campaigns; outreach and victim identification; and research, reporting, and monitoring. In a global survey of 500 anti-trafficking NGOs working in 133 countries, Heiss and Kelley (2017), provided an overview of the types of trafficking NGOs address, the populations they serve, and the strategies they employ. The authors found, for example, that a majority of NGOs focus on sex trafficking (85%), followed by labor trafficking (61%), whereas a smaller percentage of NGOs (6%) work on other related issues such as forced begging, domestic servitude, human-organ trafficking, and brokered marriages. Of the NGOs surveyed, 70% serve children and 66% service adults. Concerning strategies employed, Heiss and Kelley found that 83% of NGOs work on “prevention and improved education about TIP issues” (p. 238), followed by victim assistance (70%), victim protection (51%), and prosecution and legal issues (39%). Victim assistance involves activities such as operating hotlines, running safe houses and shelters, providing health care, and helping start businesses. Victim protection includes “other forms of advocacy—including lobbying and legislative support” (p. 238).

Heiss and Kelley (2017) also showed that collaboration and partnerships between NGOs, international organizations, foreign embassies, and national governments are common. NGOs work with government entities, for example, to provide research and expertise to support government-led anti-trafficking efforts. In the case of the U.S. Department of State’s TIP reports, “NGOs furnish invaluable practical support for anti-TIP efforts as they interact with the victims

firsthand, raise awareness in the media, observe weaknesses in domestic anti-TIP policies and work closely with local authorities” (as cited in Heiss & Kelley, 2017, p. 232).

In another global study titled, *What in the world are anti-trafficking NGOs doing?*, Limoncelli (2016) examined the role of NGOs in the anti-trafficking field in an exploratory study of 1,861 organizations. Of the NGOs studied, 78% operate domestically and 22% operate internationally. Concerning the forms of human trafficking addressed, Limoncelli found that 70% of NGOs centered on sex trafficking, whether alone or in conjunction with other kinds of human trafficking, whereas 48% addressed labor trafficking. With regard to populations served, 72% of NGOs focused on children, whereas 64% focused on women. The top three activities in which NGOs engage include public education/awareness (43%), legislative or policy advocacy (38%), and legal services (29%). Although the percentages from the Heiss and Kelley (2017) survey differ slightly from those in the Limoncelli study, together, they point to NGOs focusing predominantly on sex trafficking and engaging in educational activities.

Anti-human Trafficking NGOs in India

Anti-human trafficking NGOs in India also engage in significant efforts to combat human trafficking. Although some organizations work on trafficking issues in tandem with women’s rights, human rights, economic empowerment, and public health, for example, many focus exclusively on human trafficking. To uncover successful NGO prevention, protection, and prosecution practices, the UNODC and the Government of India (2008) partnered to produce a Compendium of Best Practices. According to the UNODC and the Government of India (2008), NGOs have combined forces with the police, lawyers, the judiciary, media and the corporate sector and involved them in strategies and processes for prevention, protection,

rehabilitation, prosecution and advocacy, as this Compendium on ‘Best Practices against Human Trafficking’ aims to show. (p. vii)

The Compendium compiles best practices around NGO-corporate partnerships and NGO-stakeholder collaborations.

Researchers examining the role of anti-trafficking NGOs in India pointed out that NGOs work primarily on prevention of trafficking and protection of victim-survivors, rather than prosecution of perpetrators (Hameed et al., 2010; Santhya et al., 2014). Santhya et al. (2014), in examining the trafficking of girls in India, found that NGO *prevention* activities include “awareness raising and social mobilisation, community networking and surveillance, capacity building and training, and empowerment through formal and informal education, income generation and job training” (p. 9). Awareness-raising activities work to sensitize local communities through, for example, public rallies and events, seminars, street theater, peer education, community-support groups, and radio and television programming. NGOs also work to engage religious and tribal networks to denounce trafficking throughout local communities. Other community-level prevention efforts include the establishment of “community safety nets,” tracking children entering and leaving villages, and working with existing government institutions like government-run hostels and village-level government schools (UNODC and the Government of India, 2008, p. 97). Livelihood promotion and vocational training also prevent at-risk individuals from being forced to migrate and potentially trafficked. For children who are too young for such training, NGOs provide education interventions. In some cases, education interventions are “focused on the children of sex workers in order to prevent them from adopting such a life” (Hameed et al., 2010, p. 34).

NGO *protection* efforts center mostly on victim-survivor post rescue operations, NGO-run shelter homes, and rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives including counseling and health services. Activities to protect rescued women and children include vocational-skills training, often combined with an employment path, building peer networks, home-village reintegration, and self-confidence development. According to Hameed et al. (2010), “anti-trafficking NGOs play a unique and central role in rehabilitation of victims” (p. 28).

Many NGOs also work on capacity-building to support prevention and protection endeavors. Anti-trafficking NGO networks have formed to bring anti-trafficking stakeholders together to address the complexities of the trafficking phenomenon. The largest in India is Action Against Trafficking & Sexual Exploitation of Children with a membership of 500 NGOs representing 26 (of 29) states. Anti-trafficking NGOs also help build capacity by conducting research and documenting case studies, by strengthening law enforcement through police training, and by strengthening the judiciary through prosecutor training.

Challenges faced by anti-trafficking NGOs in India are similar to those faced by NGOs globally. Problems relate to the “implementation of the law, lack of cooperation/coordination between NGOs & with government, and lack of human resources” (Hameed et al., 2010, p. 31). Funding for NGO operations and programming is also problematic as is the lack of NGO program evaluations and assessments that improve understanding of what is working at the local level. One study, for example, centered on the problem of women and girls in Nepal being trafficked to India for sexual exploitation, highlights the problem of programmatic outcome assessment (Kaufman & Crawford, 2011). Without such assessments, the authors contend, it is difficult to determine program impact and cost-effectiveness. In addition, some anti-trafficking programs have unintended adverse effects (Kaufman & Crawford, 2011). For example, the

authors described intervention programs in rural villages that are fear based, conveying horrific and tragic stories. As a result, some village families have resorted to taking their daughters out of school to avoid the risk of abduction and trafficking. Additionally, Kaufman and Crawford (2011) pointed to the lack of reliable NGO databases and standardized approaches for tracking NGO activities, administrative costs, and expenditures.

Addressing Persistent Challenges

Against the backdrop of enduring challenges in local and global arenas, scholarly and policy discussions have emerged regarding more efficient ways to address human trafficking. These debates center on approaches to suppress human trafficking, the importance of prevention, and the need for additional empirical and microlevel research, coupled with a focus on anti-trafficking NGOs, to better understand the most effective solutions to eradicate this crime.

Human Rights-Based Approach

The U.N. Trafficking Protocol is a supplementary protocol to the U.N. Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) and is under the auspices of the UNODC. Thus, the human trafficking phenomenon has been framed and oriented toward criminalizing trafficking and facilitating prosecution. A criminal law-enforcement framework emphasizes state security and state-controlled borders, including migration control, and sees human trafficking as an underground transnational criminal enterprise. One critique of this approach is that it fails to address the root causes of trafficking and therefore fails to prevent it (Raigrodski, 2015). Another critique is that it places too much emphasis on the identification and prosecution of individual traffickers, rather than focusing on prevention, on reducing vulnerabilities, on supporting survivors, and on empowering women (Smith & Reed, 2018).

An alternative, yet complementary, approach is a human rights-based approach (HRBA) that situates the victim of trafficking at the center of anti-trafficking efforts. Advocating for a HRBA, Gallagher and Ezeilo (2015) maintained that “prioritizing other concerns such as crime prevention and migration control over human rights distorts the nature of the problem and obscures the most important and effective solutions” (p. 921). The U.N. General Assembly, as well as the U.N. Human Rights Council, also advocated for the adoption of an HRBA to human trafficking. According to a former U.N. Commissioner for Human Rights Navanethem Pillay,

A human rights approach to trafficking means that all those involved in anti-trafficking efforts should integrate human rights into their analysis of the problem and into their responses. This approach requires us to consider, at each and every stage, the impact that a law, policy, practice or measure may have on persons who have been trafficked and persons who are vulnerable to being trafficked. It means rejecting responses that compromise rights and freedoms. This is the only way to retain a focus on the trafficked persons: to ensure that trafficking is not simply reduced to a problem of migration, a problem of public order or a problem of organized crime. (OHCHR, 2010, pp. 3–4)

A human rights-based approach requires that responses to human trafficking be grounded in international human rights law. Recognizing individual-rights holders as well as duty-bearers, an HRBA considers the interrelatedness of human rights. An HRBA also recognizes that victims are not a homogenous group so those with special needs, like children, should receive additional status-based entitlements. Moreover, an HRBA takes a “holistic view of its environment, considering the family, the community, civil society, local and national authorities. It considers the social, political and legal framework that determines the relationship between those institutions, and the resulting claims, duties and accountabilities” (OHCHR, 2006, p. 17).

In addition to the U.N.'s endorsement, several scholars emphasized the importance of and need for a human rights-based approach to human trafficking (Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015; Jones, King, & Edwards, 2018; Rafferty, 2013a; Rijken, 2009; Smith & Reed, 2018). Rijken (2009), for example, argued that an HRBA to trafficking is required, based on the fundamental fact that human trafficking leads to numerous human rights violations. According to Rijken (2009), "the most expressive violations are the violation of a person's personal and physical dignity, the right to personal freedom and security, and the principle of non- discrimination" (p. 215). Rafferty (2013a), in examining child trafficking, posited that an HRBA is an effective response to trafficking, given that it "provides practical, rights-based policy guidance on both the prevention of trafficking and the protection of victims and highlights the need for law enforcement, protection, empowerment, and participation of affected and at-risk children, their families, and communities" (p. 565). Moreover, a 2017 report by the Equitas—International Centre for Human Rights Education connects the HRBA paradigm to HRE. According to Equitas (2017),

A human rights-based approach (HRBA) is a conceptual framework based on international human rights standards that sets the achievement of all human rights as the objective of social actions. Human rights education is a social action that has a fundamental role to play in the realization of human rights. Therefore it needs to be guided by HRBA, which emphasizes participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment and link to human rights. HRBA provides an internationally recognized common standard of achievement for social actions. (p. 6)

One critique of the HRBA approach comes from Raigrodski (2015) arguing that the human rights framework is likely to remain very limited in its ability to push governments and private sector stakeholders to action because it continues to evoke the

early discourse focusing on the protection of women and children and fails to recognize the global economic impetus of trafficking. (p. 80)

Given that human trafficking is a crime and a violation of human rights, some argue that the criminal-law-enforcement and human rights approaches should be employed in tandem.

Community-Based Approaches

In addition to the call for using an HRBA to human trafficking, recognition grows of the importance of and value in community-based approaches rooted in local knowledge. The U.S. Department of State (2018) found that “local communities face the realities and consequences of modern slavery, including weakened rule of law, strained public health systems, and decreased economic development, while traffickers profit from the exploitation of others” (p. 2). Thus, the U.S. Department of State (2018) called on national governments to work more closely with local authorities, local NGOs, survivors, and individual community members to better understand the local context and support local solutions.

Similarly, NGOs recognize the benefits of community-level, anti-trafficking efforts. The Freedom Fund, for example, is an international NGO that partners with and invests in community-based frontline anti-human trafficking organizations in India, Nepal, Thailand, and Ethiopia. Recognizing that certain strategies and interventions are more effective than others, the Freedom Fund (2017) conducted a study to highlight promising approaches and lessons learned from community-based interventions. The resulting lessons learned center on strengthening agency, developing resilient communities, supporting the recovery and reintegration of survivors, and building a collective movement for change. Lessons learned from attempts to strengthen agency, for example, include grounding awareness-raising activities in the local context and coupling such activities with life skills training to increase confidence and resist

exploitation. Other lessons learned relate to engaging returning female migrants as change agents, and creating peer groups of adolescent girls to challenge social and cultural norms. These insights point to the rich knowledge and unique solutions to be acquired from employing a community-based approach to trafficking prevention.

Prioritizing Prevention

In addition to the literature advocating for human rights and community-based approaches to combat human trafficking, scholars and policymakers are calling for more emphasis on prevention efforts to help address persistent challenges and eradicate trafficking in persons. For instance, the U.S. Department of State (2016) argued that, in addition to critical protection and prosecution efforts, “human trafficking prevention strategies deserve commensurate attention and resources” (p. 7). The U.S. Department of State (2016) contended that significant gaps in knowledge exist regarding how to prevent human trafficking and called for additional efforts and resources to better understand effective prevention strategies. Otherwise, “governments are left to respond to the consequences of human trafficking without coming any nearer to seeing its end” (U.S. Department of States, 2016, p. 7). Additionally, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a) suggested that for prevention measures to be effective, they need to be comprehensive and holistic, grounded in accurate assessments of contextual factors that increase vulnerability, and geared toward protecting the rights of those who are vulnerable.

Further, a joint study by the U.N. Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking and the Asia Development Bank (2011) found that of the prevention efforts implemented, there is a limited understanding of how such efforts impact human trafficking. This, according to the study is due to the “limited evidence on which many interventions are based; insufficiently clear

objectives; limited evaluation of outcomes and impacts; and the fact that many prevention activities have been isolated rather than part of a strategic package of interventions” (U.N. Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking & Asia Development Bank, 2011, p. 6).

Human trafficking scholars also emphasized the need for increased attention on prevention efforts. Chuang (2006), for example, found evidence in the annual U.S. State Department TIP reports that, in practice, most countries focus primarily on a criminal-justice response to trafficking. Chuang argued that “if protection of the victims is of secondary concern to states, then prevention of trafficking (at least, in the long term) is practically an afterthought” (p. 154). To remedy this lack, Chuang called for assessing existing measures to ensure they are not working at cross purposes, and for addressing root causes through a human rights lens.

Focusing more narrowly on child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, Todres (2011) also argued for prioritizing prevention while developing comprehensive and systematic prevention strategies to address the root causes of the child-trafficking problem. Todres contended that “instead of choosing prevention as the starting point for developing an effective response to child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, to date most governments have paid the least attention to what is actually the end goal” (p. 4). To address the exploitation of children before harm occurs, Todres’ suggested (re)focusing attention on research and data, on program design, on the dominant principle guiding state responses (e.g., law enforcement and victim-centered), on stakeholder coordination, and on the interrelationship among rights. Todres also called for employing a child-centered approach to combat trafficking that recognizes child rights as set forth in the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Research Needed

Central to many of the debates surrounding how best to address persistent challenges is the need for additional research to better understand this complex phenomenon. Related to the previous discussion on prevention, for example, Todres (2011) argued “the first step in reorienting anti-trafficking and anti-child exploitation strategies toward prevention is to engage in the research necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of both the problems and resources available (and those needed) to respond” (p. 12). Specifically, a steady call in the academic literature, over the past decade, advocated additional empirical research, microlevel research, and research on the work of anti-trafficking NGOs.

Empirical Studies

In 2008 and again in 2015, Goździak, the Director of Research at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University, and colleagues compiled extensive bibliographies of research-based literature on human trafficking. The 2008 compilation included 741 citations, 58% of which were reports; 29% journal articles; and 13% books (Goździak & Bump, 2008). The analysis of the 2008 bibliography found that “despite the increased interest in human trafficking, relatively little systematic, empirically grounded, and based on solid theoretical underpinnings research has been done on this issue” (p. 9). Then, again in 2015, in a bibliography that built on the previous efforts and added citations from 2008–2014, Goździak, Graveline, Skippings, and Song (2015) found,

Human trafficking continues to capture the imagination of the global public. Popular books about trafficking, especially books on sex trafficking sell well in commercial and university bookstores alike. Gut wrenching narratives about women kept as sexual slaves and children sold into domestic servitude appear on front pages of major international

newspapers and in academic journals. There are a lot of writings about human trafficking, but there is significantly less literature based on empirical research. (p. 5)

Other scholars also pointed to the need for empirical studies in human trafficking research. For example, in a research synthesis on human trafficking literature in academic journals from 2000 to 2014, Russell (2018) found that of 1,231 articles, 67% were not empirical. Russell categorized the scholarly articles based on discipline, type of research, type of trafficking, and primary purpose of the article, among others. Interesting for the current study is that when viewing article purpose, “awareness/education” ranked fourth of 14, behind “overview,” “legal framework,” and “policy.” Moreover, of the various academic disciplines, education yielded the least number of articles (seven), compared to the disciplines of law (319) and international relations/human rights (226). Additionally, and more specific to the topic of child trafficking, Rafferty (2013b) discerned that

Despite the growing body of evidence regarding the effects of trafficking and CSE on children, there is only a limited amount of systematic, empirical, and methodologically rigorous research on human trafficking as well as a notable absence of research in academic journals. Furthermore, few programs have been evaluated for effectiveness. Consequently, the scope of the problem has not been well documented, and significant knowledge gaps exist. (p. 571)

Microlevel Research

A number of scholars also called for microlevel research on human trafficking. In examining theoretical perspectives on sex trafficking, for example, Gerassi (2015) suggested,

In sharp contrast to the wealth of scholarship with regard to macro level theoretical perspectives, as well as the contentious debates and divisions among them, there is a dearth of academic theories at the micro or individual and relationship level. (para. 25)

Similarly, in reviewing 100 academic articles, Weitzer (2014) asserted that microlevel research has

advantages over grand, macrolevel claims—advantages that are both quantitative (i.e., identifying the magnitude of trafficking within a measurable context) and qualitative (i.e., documenting complexities in lived experiences)—and is better suited to formulating contextually appropriate policy and enforcement responses. (p. 6)

Further, Spires (2015), in an examination of anti-trafficking NGO education efforts, found that “exploratory and descriptive work on micro-level actors in the field is necessary in order to begin to understand the complexities of their work” (p. 6).

Research on Anti-human Trafficking NGOs

In addition to the *type* of research called for to advance anti-human trafficking efforts, the academic literature pointed to the need for more research on anti-trafficking NGOs, including evaluations of their work. The rationale for this lies in the notion that “NGOs are the frontline warriors in the fight against human trafficking, yet little research has been done on their functions and effectiveness” (Heiss & Kelley, 2017, p. 251). Jones et al. (2018) argued that “more empirical research into the success of sustainable and holistic [human trafficking] prevention methods ... is required in addition to longitudinal qualitative and quantitative research that focuses on current anti-trafficking programs NGOs employ” (p. 251).

Likewise, Limoncelli (2016) surveyed the human trafficking scholarship and pointed to the lack of research focused specifically on anti-trafficking NGOs. Limoncelli argued that such

baseline information is necessary to identify and analyze anti-trafficking responses and critically assess the role of NGOs in national and transnational advocacy. Spires (2015), too, opined that “effective implementation of NGO programs targeting at-risk children and human trafficking victims is just beginning to be explored” (p. 109). Thus, research is needed on effective implementation of NGO interventions, on collaboration between governments and NGOs, and on the complex realities found at the local level that preclude national and international anti-trafficking efforts from being successful.

With a focus on the need for rigorous evaluations of NGO anti-human trafficking interventions, Davy (2016) claimed that given the criminal nature of human trafficking, and the increased financial investments in anti-trafficking programs, such interventions must produce results and positive impacts. Davy contended, however, that it is difficult to understand “what works” because many NGO anti-trafficking interventions operate in an “evaluation vacuum” where programs have not been evaluated rigorously, if at all (2016, p. 487). According to Davy (2016),

to ensure the success of anti-trafficking initiatives, programs need to be based on evidence of what has been successful in other settings. Without this evidence base, programs may be designed that are ineffective or, worse, have a negative effect on the potential and actual victims of human trafficking. (p. 502)

Literature Review Summary

A review of the literature provided the broad contours of the human trafficking phenomenon from a global and a localized perspective. The estimates of prevalence compiled by various international entities are alarming and point to the pervasive and persistent nature of the problem, with 40.3 million people in conditions of modern slavery globally, and 18 million in

India. Clearly, trafficking in persons is a complex issue, with multifaceted dimensions and underlying causes, requiring a massive undertaking to combat. As discussed above, the international community and local entities, including NGOs, have engaged in significant efforts to understand human trafficking and develop effective responses. Severe and persistent challenges remain, however, that require additional efforts to address the problem of “fragmented knowledge and disjointed responses” (UNODC, 2009, p. 7)

Debates have ensued in the academic and policy literature on the need for a human rights-based approach to combatting human trafficking and a focus on community-based efforts to address persistent challenges. In addition, many argue that even though prevention is one of the key pillars in the 4 “P” paradigm (prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnerships), not enough emphasis has been placed on, or resources allocated to, the *prevention* of human trafficking.

This literature review also frames the need for the current study, based on several gaps in the literature. A need persists for empirical research conducted at the microlevel, research that focuses on prevention of human trafficking, and research on anti-trafficking NGOs. To focus more specifically on topics related to the current study, the researcher searched for the terms *prevention*, *NGOs*, and *education* in the Goździak bibliographies on human trafficking research (Goździak & Bump, 2008; Goździak et al., 2015). Table 3 shows that the number of studies focused on prevention, NGOs, and education increased slightly between 2008 and 2015, but were still minimal compared to the total number of citations.

Table 3

Comparison of Citations Referencing Research Terms in Goździak Bibliographies

| | 2008 (<i>n</i> = 741) | 2015 (<i>n</i> = 1006) |
|------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Prevention | 6 | 14 |
| NGOs* | 7 | 8 |
| Education | 0 | 4 |

* “NGOs” also includes the term “non-governmental.” The term “nonprofit” was not found.

Given the international emphasis on education as a key prevention mechanism, it is surprising that researchers have conducted so little research on education in the field of human trafficking. Moreover, although HRE is firmly established in international law and serves as a means to advance human rights, a solid connection is yet to be made in the academic or policy literature between HRE and human trafficking.

The anti-trafficking NGO, Prerana, serving as the case study in the current study, embodies many of the elements discussed above and, therefore, helps to fill existing gaps in the literature. Prerana is a community-based NGO that employs a human rights-based approach to its anti-trafficking efforts and centers its programming on long-term, comprehensive strategies. Prerana works to prevent exploitation of women and children by “protecting rights, creating choices, and restoring dignity” (2019, para. 1) Moreover, a key component of its anti-trafficking work is general education and HRE. Thus, this case study serves the dual purpose of contributing to fill the gaps in the academic and policy literature, and of bringing local knowledge to bear on what works in practice.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Restatement of the Purpose

The ILO (2017) estimates that 40.3 million men, women, and children around the globe are victims of contemporary slavery. While the ILO report educates the general public and galvanizes proponents of the anti-trafficking movement, it also confirms that, even with multiple efforts and laudable gains in the international arena since the adoption of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol in 2000, the international community is far from eradicating human trafficking. Given the high human cost associated with trafficking, an urgent need exists to better understand the effectiveness of interventions focused on the prevention of human trafficking. The question remains, what works in practice? Although the international literature points to the critical importance of prevention and education in combatting human trafficking, it lacks breadth and depth in clearly identifying and documenting the connection between education and human trafficking, as well as the role of community-based NGOs in delivering prevention and education interventions.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based NGOs in developing and delivering prevention interventions and nonformal education programs that work to end human trafficking of at-risk women and children. The community-based NGO, Prerana, located in Mumbai, India, highlights the intersection between human trafficking and education, and the critical role that NGOs play in trafficking prevention. Important to understanding this phenomenon was giving voice to the experiences of the children who are the recipients of such prevention and education interventions.

Research Design

This study used a case study approach to explore the research questions surrounding the work of a community-based anti-trafficking NGO. A case study is a research method that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2018, p. 15). Yin (2018) defined and distinguished the “phenomenon,” or “subject of your case study,” from the “context,” or “elements external to the case,” noting that considering such differences helps define the parameters of data collection. Ultimately, “the goal is to understand ‘the case’—what it is, how it works, and how it interacts with its real-world contextual environment” (Yin, 2018, p. xxiii).

The case study method was selected for this investigation because it allowed for an in-depth exploration of the highly complex issue of human trafficking and the role of NGOs in its prevention. Yin (2018) posited that the case study method has a distinct advantage when “a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which a researcher has little or no control” (p. 13). The current study met this selection criteria in that the research questions sought to uncover how and why education interventions contribute to human trafficking prevention. Moreover, although human trafficking has deep historical roots, it is very much a contemporary phenomenon, particularly with regard to emerging anti-human trafficking NGO responses. Yin also asserted that the advantage of using the case study method is that it allows the researcher to collect evidence from multiples data sources, such as documents, interviews, and observations, all of which were used in the current study.

For this investigation, a single-case study design was employed rather than a multiple-case study design. When selecting a case to be examined, Yin (2018) described the need to

define and bound the case, spatially and temporally to “stay within feasible limits” (p. 29). In this instance, given the geographic and time constraints of the researcher, a single-case design, focused on one NGO, was most feasible. With single-case study designs, Yin further distinguished between a “holistic,” or single unit of analysis, case study and an “embedded,” or multiple units of analysis, case study (p. 52). The current inquiry employed an embedded single-case design where the main unit of analysis was the organization, whereas subunits included the NGO’s educational programs, the organization’s leaders and staff, and teachers and students.

Research Setting

An international community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO—Prerana—served as the case study setting. Prerana is located in the city of Mumbai, India. With close to 20 million inhabitants, Mumbai is India’s second most populous city and its financial and entertainment capital (CIA, 2018). Located in the state of Maharashtra in Western India, Mumbai is a place of origin, transit, and destination for Indian and foreign female victims of human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2016). CSE of children is a pervasive problem in Mumbai. According to a report that examined the prevalence of CSE of children in Mumbai, the “trafficking of minors is rampant and criminally sophisticated in private networks” (MSCPCR & IJM, 2017, p. 12).

Against this backdrop, Prerana works in the RLAs of Mumbai “to end intergenerational prostitution and to protect women and children from the threats of human trafficking by defending their rights and dignity, providing a safe environment, supporting their education and health and leading major advocacy efforts” (Prerana, 2017g, para. 1). Established in 1986, Prerana first launched a Night Care Center to protect children of RLA prostitutes. This innovative intervention was the first of its kind globally and worked to address the safety needs of the children, guarding against the “influences and dangers of the red light district during the

critical night hours” (Prerana, 2017c, para. 1). With a current staff of 85, Prerana now operates three NCCs, an ATC focused on research, and a girls’ shelter home, as well as an ESP, a PRO, an IPP, and an After Care Project. The ESP, which was a focus of the current study, is based on Prerana’s commitment to supporting a child’s right to education. The ESP encompasses a wide array of activities such as outreach visits to families, study classes, teachers’ meetings, mothers’ meetings, children’s collective meetings, peer educators, life skills education, and dance therapy.

I first learned of Prerana when I met the founder, Priti Patkar, in San Francisco in 2014, and again in 2015, through my involvement with an international women’s rights NGO—Vital Voices Global Partnership. Priti Patkar was awarded the Vital Voices Global Leadership Award in Human Rights in 2014 for innovative work in establishing the first-night shelters for at-risk children of prostituted women in Mumbai. Prerana was chosen as the case study for this research because it has a rich 33-year history of developing and implementing education programs and HRE, and employs a community- and human rights-based approach to its prevention programming.

Participants

Direct observations and participant interviews took place in Mumbai, India, at Prerana’s ATC office, its Falkland Road NCC, and the Naunihal (meaning *childhood*) Girls’ Shelter Home over the course of a 2.5-week period in May 2019. The researcher engaged in convenience sampling to choose participants, working with Prerana leadership to identify potential interviewees. Participants fell into four categories—NGO leadership, NGO staff, ESP teachers, and Prerana children. The first set of interviews was conducted with two members of Prerana’s leadership team, including the organization’s co-founder and current director, and its assistant director. The next set of interviews included four teachers from the organization’s ESP. The third

set of interviews included five children in the organization's care, whereas the last set included five members of Prerana's staff. NGO representatives spoke to organizational leadership, structures, and processes that contribute to effective prevention and education programming, whereas students in the Prerana programs offered their perspectives on and experiences with Prerana and its education interventions.

Instrumentation

Interviews, observations, and document analysis were the primary instruments used in this investigation. According to Yin (2018),

a major rationale for using multiple sources of evidence in case study research relates to the basic motive for doing a case study in the first place: to do an in-depth study of a phenomenon in its real world context. (p. 127)

In the current study, each instrument built on and reinforced the others, providing the opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based NGOs in delivering prevention and education interventions.

Interviews

Semistructured, in-depth interviews with Prerana representatives and education recipients were conducted in person during a 2.5-week site visit to Prerana in May 2019. According to Yin (2018), "case study interviews will resemble guided conversations rather than structured queries" (p. 118). The interviews were based on interview protocols designed for Prerana staff and children. The interview guide included interview questions that aligned with the research questions of the study (see Appendix D). The interview questions were previewed and validated by a panel of subject-matter experts.

Observations

As a primary data-collection tool, observation is the “act of noting a phenomenon in the field setting through the five senses of the observer” (Angrosino, 2007, as cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 166). In this investigation, the researcher developed an observational protocol that included descriptive and reflective field notes. Through direct observations during the 2.5-week site visit in May 2019, the researcher gathered information about the NGO environment. Specifically, the researcher conducted direct observations at Prerana’s Falkland Road NCC, its ATC office, and the Naunihal Girls’ Shelter Home.

Documentation

Documentary information was also collected for analysis. Creswell and Poth (2018) highlighted three types of documents in data collection: personal documents, such as letters and e-mails; organizational documents, such as reports and websites; and public documents, such as official records and archival information. The researcher collected organizational and public documents related to Prerana’s 33-year history including organization publications, website information, social-media posts (from January 1—August 31, 2019), research and policy documents, and news reports. The objective was to collect evidence to assist in answering the study’s research questions pertaining to how Prerana conducts its human trafficking prevention work and how the ESP operates. In addition, the documents served “to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (Yin, 2018, p. 115), namely interview and observation data sources.

Validity and Reliability

To strengthen the validity and reliability of a case study, Yin (2018) proposed following four principles of data collection: use multiple sources of evidence, create a case study database,

maintain a chain of evidence, and exercise care when using data from social-media sources. Collecting multiple sources of evidence allows for data triangulation and “helps to strengthen the construct validity of your case study” (Yin, 2018, p. 128). Another approach to increasing the construct validity of a case study is to establish a chain of evidence during data collection that encompasses each aspect of the case study, from the research questions to the case study protocol, to evidence located in a case study database, to the study’s findings. This process allows the reader to trace evidentiary process backward from the findings. Figure 4 illustrates Yin’s approach to maintaining a chain of evidence that allows the researcher to connect and navigate between the various components of the evidence base of the case study. The researcher used a chain-of-evidence strategy to allow for increased transparency of the case study data-collection and data-analysis processes.

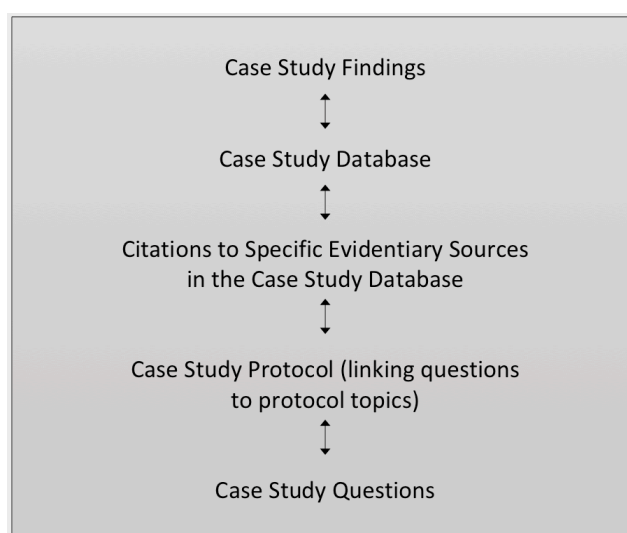


Figure 4. Maintaining a chain of evidence.

Note. From *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and methods*, by R. K. Yin, 2018, 6th ed., Los Angeles, CA, US: Sage, p. 135. Reprinted with permission.

In addition to Yin’s proposed strategy, the interview questions were previewed and validated by a panel of subject-matter experts. The panel comprised two experts in the human trafficking field and one expert from the field of education. The first human trafficking expert is

an academic researcher at Stanford University. The second expert is the executive director of an anti-human trafficking NGO, located in the San Francisco Bay Area, that works with victim-survivors. The third panel member is a professor emeritus from the University of San Francisco. The panel received an invitation to participate, the interview guide, and an interview-validation rubric for assessing the questions and providing comments and suggestions (see Appendix E).

To increase reliability of a case study, Yin (2018) proposed the creation of a case study protocol and a case study database. The case study protocol includes an overview of the case study, field procedures, protocol questions directed to the researcher, and a draft outline of the case study report. Comprised of the narrative evidence collected, such as field notes, transcripts, and documents, the case study database is a mechanism for organizing, documenting, and retrieving data collected. To address issues of case study reliability in this instance, the researcher developed a well-organized case study database and a case study protocol to serve as an overarching guide for fieldwork preparation and data-collection procedures.

Data Collection

This case study was designed to gain an in-depth description of the role of a community-based NGO in developing and delivering education interventions that work to prevent human trafficking of at-risk women and children. To that end, data collection involved in-person interviews, site observations, and document analysis. Data collection took place over the course of a 2.5-week period in May 2019 in Mumbai, India.

A preliminary step in the data-collection process was to identify an anti-human trafficking NGO that used education in its trafficking prevention programming. The next step was to obtain site permission. During the fall of 2018, the researcher obtained site permission by e-mail from Prerana's co-founder, Priti Patkar. The e-mail request specified the purpose and

duration of the study, as well as the methodology to be employed. The researcher then worked with Prerana's co-founder to develop and finalize the logistics of the field study. All correspondence with Prerana's co-founder is in English. Hindi and English are both official languages in India, whereas the official language of the state of Maharashtra, where Mumbai is located, is Marathi. Thus, the researcher gave additional consideration to potential language barriers with child and staff participants.

Interviews

Interview participants were selected in cooperation with Prerana's leadership and based on willingness to participate and availability. The four categories of interviewees included Prerana leadership, staff, teachers, and adolescent children in Prerana's care. Once participants were selected and agreed to be interviewed, a consent letter and an informed-consent form were provided to adult participants (see Appendix F) and to the guardians of adolescent participants (see Appendix G). Adolescent participants received a letter of assent (see Appendix H). Meeting times and places were coordinated with Prerana staff. Prior to any interviews or interactions with the children, the researcher read and signed Prerana's Child Protection Policy, which governs how visitors and staff are allowed to interact with the children, ensuring that their rights are respected. The 16 interviews, as well the 2 program briefings with staff, each lasted approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour. Of the 16 interviews and 2 program briefings, 11 interviews were conducted with the use of two separate Prerana employees who translated between Hindi and English.

Prior to each interview, once written consent was provided, the researcher obtained verbal confirmation from participants that they were aware of and agreed to the interview being digitally recorded. The purpose of recording the interviews was to accurately capture details of

the interviews. After each interview, the researcher took notes on the interview that included potential follow-up questions. All notes and recordings remained in the researcher's possession at all times. Once all interviews were completed, the audio recordings were transcribed and follow-up questions were sent by e-mail.

Observations

Direct observations were conducted at three separate locations—Prerana's Falkland Road NCC, the Naunihal Girls' Shelter Home, the office of the organization's ATC. Prerana operates three NCCs, serving approximately 350 children, in three RLAs in and around Mumbai: Kamathipura, Falkland Road, and Vashi-Turbhe. One set of observations took place on multiple days at the Falkland Road NCC. During one observation, the researcher accompanied the Outreach team to a daily visit into the RLA. During another observation, the researcher participated in summer-camp activities with the children. Prerana also operates the Naunihal Girls' Shelter Home, located east of Mumbai proper. The Naunihal Girls' Shelter houses approximately 30 girls and is the site of Prerana's vocational training project. The researcher spent 2 days at the shelter observing educational and recreational activities and conducting interviews. Observations were documented through detailed field notes. Field notes and researcher memoranda served to record the researcher's observations as well as related thoughts, questions, and personal reactions. Field notes and memoranda were date and time stamped.

Documentation

According to Bhattacharya (2017), "in qualitative research, documents are used regularly to offer contextual and deep understanding of the topic being studied" (p. 146). In the current study, a variety of documents were collected and analyzed to gain a solid understanding of Prerana's anti-human trafficking work, and to gain augmenting evidence from other data sources.

The researcher commenced the document-collection process by creating a data-collection plan. Phases of the plan included collecting a wide array of relevant documents prior to conducting the fieldwork and while in the field.

Prior to conducting the fieldwork, the researcher gathered documentation to provide background and orientation materials. One source for background information was Prerana's ATC. The ATC is one of Prerana's key programs and a "knowledge hub focusing on verticals like research, publications, advocacy and policy in context with the broad Anti-Human Trafficking issue" (Prerana, 2019i, para. 1). The ATC has published several reports about the RLAs of Mumbai as well as various assessments of Prerana's anti-trafficking work. During the fieldwork phase, the researcher requested documents from Prerana that were not on the organization's website or the ATC website, but proved useful in better understanding how the organization operates. Throughout document collection and document analysis, the researcher heeded Yin's (2018) warning that "documents must be carefully used and should not be accepted as literal recordings of events that have taken place" (p. 115). Moreover, Yin (2018) asserted that "essential in reviewing any document is to understand that it was written for some specific purpose and some specific audience *other than* those of the case study being done" (p. 116).

Data Sources and Research Questions

Figure 5 illustrates the various data sources used to analyze the study's research questions. Document analysis and interviews with Prerana's leadership and staff helped establish how the organization approaches its trafficking prevention work (Research Question 1). Narrowing the focus to examine the ESP in Research Question 2, interviews with teachers, site observations, and document analysis uncovered elements of the ESP that resemble HRE. Interviews with children lent voice to the experiences of the children who are the recipients of

Prerana’s programs and education interventions (Research Question 3). Staff interviews served to capture perceptions about the relationships that Prerana’s staff have with the children they serve, the children’s families, and the communities where they reside (Research Question 4).

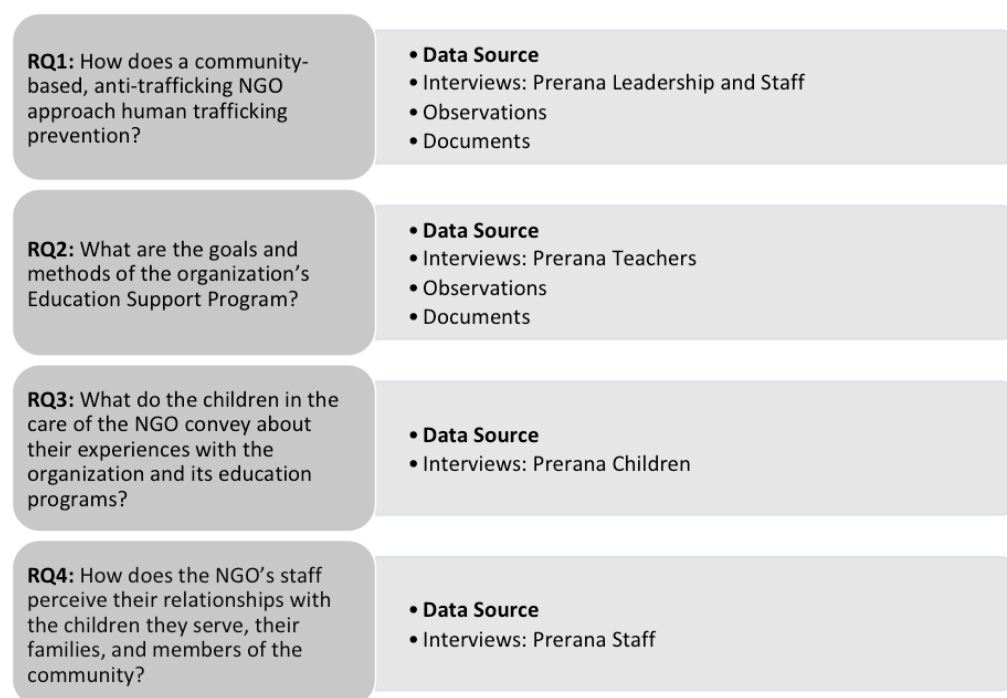


Figure 5. Data sources aligned with research questions.

Data Analysis

Following the data-collection process, the researcher used Creswell’s (2014) six-step process for data analysis as a general guide—organize and prepare data for analysis, read all the data, code the data, use the coding process to generate categories or themes for analysis, determine how themes will be represented, and interpret findings—and turned to Yin’s (2018) suggestions for case study data analysis. First, the researcher organized and prepared data for analysis. This included transcribing all interviews, typing observation field notes and memoranda, and organizing collected documents as they related to each research question. The transcripts were read and reviewed for accuracy and syntax. This was a requisite step due to the

interviews conducted with a translator. This collection of data formed the case study database described above.

The second step involved listening to the interview recordings two times and reading through all transcripts, field notes, and documents with an eye to general ideas. After the first pass with each interview, the researcher read the accompanying postinterview memoranda that captured researcher impressions, thoughts, and follow-up questions. The second round of readings involved taking margin notes.

As the researcher read through the interview transcripts, the third step began: coding the data. The researcher started with line-by-line coding, noting preliminary codes in the margins. The fourth step involved generating a description, based on the coding process, of the “setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis” (Creswell, 2014, p. 199). The codes were represented by creating a code list and color-coding. Word clouds were used to visually gauge the frequency of word usage. The researcher then divided and categorized the codes by themes, with consideration of the theoretical framework. This process involved arranging and rearranging codes by theme. Themes were then assessed to ensure they related to each research question. Numerous memoranda and diagrams helped crystalize researcher ideas. The sixth step involved interpreting the themes through the lens of SEM and THRED. Creswell referred to this step as “What were the lessons learned?” (2014, p. 200).

In addition to establishing a general strategic approach to analysis, Creswell and Poth (2018) pointed to the need to use more advanced analytic procedures that pertain to the research approach one is employing. In the case study approach, Yin (2018) presented five analytical techniques for case studies: pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic modeling, and cross-case synthesis. Explanation building helps researchers “analyze your case

study data by building an explanation about the case” (Yin, 2018, p.179). In the current study, where the objective was to better understand how community-based NGOs use education interventions to prevent human trafficking, finding causal sequences through explanation building served as a useful analytical technique.

Yin (2018) also suggested developing an analytic strategy that could include using theoretical propositions, assessing rival explanations, developing case descriptions, or “working your data from the ground up” (p. 169). The researcher used theoretical propositions and the strategy of working data from the ground up. Certain deductions in data analysis employed various theoretical lenses. At the same time, the researcher used an inductive strategy whereby the coded data itself revealed certain patterns that contributed to the findings and conclusions.

For this study, theoretical propositions from the SEM and THRED assisted in analyzing the data collected. SEM helped to assess data related to Research Question 1 (how Prerana approaches its trafficking prevention work) by providing a framework to examine how the organization works to identify the social and economic needs of at-risk children, and to develop corresponding interventions to support those needs. Similarly, THRED provided a framework to more closely examine the ESP in content and processes (Research Question 2). THRED also helped discern elements of HRE identified by child participants (Research Question 3). SEM helped to assess data related to Research Question 4 pertaining to the perceptions Prerana staff members have about the relationships they have with the children, with families and with the communities in which they work.

Ethical Considerations

The researcher considered a number of ethical issues in conducting this qualitative research. As Creswell (2014) pointed out, “attention needs to be directed toward ethical issues

prior to conducting the study; beginning a study; during data collection and data analysis; and in reporting, sharing and storing the data” (p. 95).

Protection of Human Subjects

Before conducting the study, the researcher obtained permission from the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of San Francisco to ensure the protection of the rights of study participants. Because adolescents were being asked to participate in interviews, parental/guardian permissions were obtained prior to conducting the interviews. The consent form letters included the researcher’s name and contact information, the purpose of the study, the duration and location of the study, procedures, potential risks, benefits of the study, confidentiality and anonymity, compensation for participation, the right to refuse or withdraw, an offer to answer questions, and a statement of consent to be signed. The researcher included a copy of the University of San Francisco’s Experimental Subject’s Bill of Rights.

During the data-collection phase, the child participants’ anonymity was protected and the principle of confidentiality was strictly adhered to. The researcher conducted recorded one-to-one interviews at various Prerana-run sites. Minimum disruption to participants’ activities was planned for, and the locations of the sites remained confidential. The recordings of the interviews were transcribed and remained in the researcher’s possession at all times. Pseudonyms were used in place of child participants’ names when labeling transcripts and reporting findings, and are known only to the researcher.

Given the highly sensitive nature of interviewing children at risk of human trafficking, special attention was given to ensuring that before each interview, the participants understood the purpose of the study, the questions being asked, how the information was to be used, and their ability to opt out at any time during the interview process. Providing this information was meant

to make participants feel comfortable and to address the potential power imbalance that exists between them and the researcher. Additionally, the international nature of this study required that the researcher pay particular attention to cultural norms and practices, gender-specific issues, and the researcher's positionality as a cultural outsider and Western researcher, to be respectful and cognizant of participants' rights.

Iterative Process

Finally, data analysis required an understanding on the part of the researcher that the research process is an iterative one that can affect the researcher's perspective on the topic at hand. The researcher was aware of the potential for bias and avoided reporting only positive findings that exclusively served the needs of participants. To that end, the researcher attempted to mitigate bias by maintaining awareness of this possibility while being open to "both supporting and challenging data," as suggested by Yin (2018, p. 246).

Background of the Researcher

From an early age, I acquired a global perspective from my family, who emigrated from Nicaragua to San Francisco in the 1950s. The politics of Central America were a recurring theme in family discussions, with my grandparents lamenting the suppression of human rights experienced under a dictator and how fortunate we were to live in a country where those rights were respected and upheld. My family cultivated in me a deep respect for human rights and a sense of responsibility to protect and defend those rights. Carrying those ideals and focus, my academic and professional pursuits have centered on international relations, human rights, and environmental protection.

My professional background as a nonprofit executive positioned me to address the myriad challenges that NGOs face in implementing a mission centered on affecting positive

social change. My work in facilitating the creation, development, and implementation of comprehensive strategies to address critical environmental concerns called for dissecting complex issues and finding practical and actionable solutions. This work involved creating programs to educate government officials, business executives, and nonprofit leaders about salient environmental issues while advocating for increased collaboration to address those concerns effectively.

I have also worked with various women's rights and human rights organizations and have encountered many women who have been subjected to egregious human rights violations, including gender-based violence exercised with impunity, and rape as a weapon of war. Although such abuses leave profound scars, many of these women, mothers like myself, have rebuilt their lives and found ways to provide for their families. I have also met several courageous women who work at the forefront of combatting human trafficking in Cambodia, Uganda, Kenya, and India. All these women embody great strength and determination and have helped strengthen my resolve to educate people about and find practical solutions to the unspeakable trauma and violence perpetrated against women and children.

The resolve with which I have pursued advocating on behalf of women's rights is what I brought to this research endeavor. Given the magnitude of the human trafficking problem, I selected this research topic to gain a deeper understanding of its many underlying causes, of the international responses to this pervasive issue, of the persistent challenges that remain, and of practical and effective solutions for addressing such problems.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This case study examined a community-based NGO—Prerana—that works to end the cycle of intergenerational sexual exploitation and prevent the human trafficking of at-risk women and children in Mumbai, India. Its purpose was to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of Prerana in developing and delivering prevention and nonformal education interventions. Additionally, the study sought to incorporate the perspectives of the children Prerana serves with regard to their experiences with the organization in general, and its education programs in particular. Data from interviews, observations, briefings, and document analysis yielded the study's findings. These findings were interpreted through the lenses of the SEM and THRED. The following chapter includes a brief overview of the study participants, the organization's programs, and Prerana's primary education program. The four research questions, listed in Chapter 1, are then presented with the associated findings derived from data collection and analysis.

Overview of the Participants

Study findings were based on the researcher's analysis of 16 interviews and 2 program briefings with Prerana staff. Interview participants included two members of the organization's leadership team; four ESP teachers; five staff members working in different program areas; and five children in the care of the organization. In addition, two program briefings were held with the researcher and two staff members. Of the 18 total participants, 15 were female. Table 4 provides an overview of participants, their respective roles in the organization, their gender, and the number of years they have been involved with Prerana.

Table 4

Participant Data

| Participant | Position | # of years with Prerana | Gender |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------|--------|
| Leadership | | | |
| Priti Patkar | Cofounder & Director | 33 | Female |
| Kashina Kareem | Assistant Director | 3 | Female |
| Teachers | | | |
| Mahesh Billu | Educational Support Program (ESP) Teacher | 3 | Male |
| Balmani Billawar | ESP Teacher | 12 | Female |
| Mansi Kadam | ESP Teacher | 5 | Female |
| Jyoti Jangir | Life Skills Teacher | 1 | Female |
| Staff | | | |
| Madhuri Shinde | Naunihal Shelter Home Superintendent | 6 | Female |
| Reehan Mirza | ESP Outreach Coordinator | 11 | Male |
| Vaishali Karande | ESP Outreach Coordinator | 15 | Female |
| Prachi Naik | Project Coordinator, Institutional Placement Program | 12 | Female |
| Aaheli Gupta | Project Coordinator, Post Rescue Operation | 2 | Female |
| Rashmi Chouhan | Communications Director, Anti-Trafficking Center | 1 | Female |
| Aruna Katkar | Project Manager, Night Care Centre | 15 | Female |
| Prerana Children* | | | |
| Neena (age 17) | Child/Adolescent | 15 | Female |
| Raya (age 18) | Child/Adolescent | 12 | Female |
| Visha (age 17) | Child/Adolescent | 10 | Female |
| Aarav (age 17) | Child/Adolescent | 6 | Male |
| Preshti (age 12) | Child/Adolescent | 6 | Female |

Note. *Children's names have been changed to provide confidentiality.

Prerana Overview

Prerana was cofounded in 1986 by Priti and Pravin Patkar to eliminate intergenerational sexual exploitation and prevent the human trafficking of women and children in the RLAs of Mumbai, India. While working to “ensure optimum protection of children,” the organization’s

mission is “to end intergenerational prostitution and to protect women and children from the threats of human trafficking by defending their rights and dignity, providing a safe environment, supporting their education and health and leading major advocacy efforts” (Prerana, 2017g, para. 1). With a staff of 85, Prerana operates three NCCs, an ATC focused on research, and a girls’ shelter home, as well as an ESP, an IPP, a PRO, and an After Care Project. Although prevention of human trafficking is a primary focus, Prerana also engages in myriad anti-human trafficking activities related to

protection, prevention, vigilance, rescue, post-rescue operation, victim care services, prosecution, empowerment of victim women, advocacy and lobbying, legal, policy level and administrative reforms, rehabilitation and social reintegration, generating social awareness, research, documentation, sensitization and training of special functionaries, networking and capacity building of fellow organizations. (UNODC and the Government of India, 2008, p. 39)

The Nauniyal girls’ shelter home and the PRO are examples of Prerana efforts to protect and guide a child through rehabilitation and reintegration processes. At Prerana, efforts also center on preventing victims from being re trafficked. Figure 6 provides an overview of Prerana’s key programs.

According to Prerana’s website, the organization has provided protective and developmental inputs directly to 10,000 children and worked indirectly with 15,000 children born to women in the red light area; worked with 30,000 prostituted women; covered over 5,000 police officers and personnel through sensitization and training programmes; provided victim assistance services and post rescue operation inputs to 750 children rescued from brothels; [p]rovided legal aid to 2,250 children;

conducted training programs for over 300 civil society organizations. (Prerana, 2017d, para. 1)

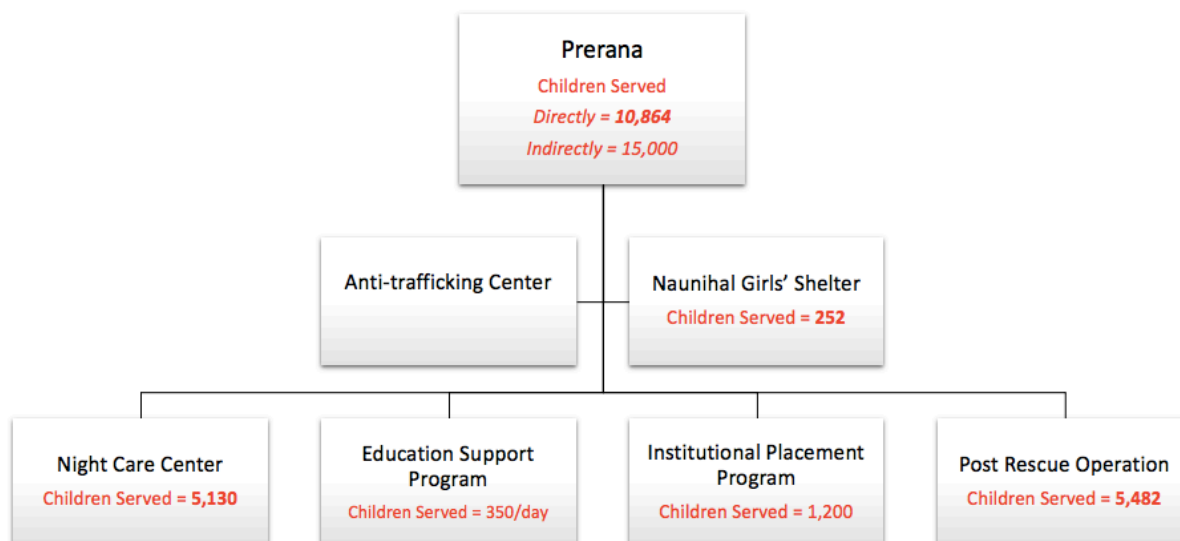


Figure 6. Prerana key program overview.

Education Support Program Overview

Prerana established the ESP as part of its commitment to supporting a child's right to education. The right to education is enshrined in the Government of India's 2009 Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act as well as Article 21-A in the 86th Amendment to the Constitution of India 2002. According to a 2018 report by Prerana, "education is an important tool in the contemporary world in order to lead a dignified life, ensure socio-economic development and open doors to opportunities for persons from all walks of life" (Prerana, 2018b, p. 1). This is particularly true for marginalized women and children who are vulnerable to human trafficking due to numerous factors, including the lack of education.

The ESP encompasses a wide array of activities. Figure 7 provides an overview of the various components of this comprehensive education program, which provides for academic and extracurricular programming. The ESP operates in each of Prerana's three NCCs and "aids 350

children every day with their academic aspirations and economic self-sufficiency goals”

(Prerana, 2017a, para. 1).

| Cocurricular | Extracurricular | Meetings | Others |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| School admissions | Professional dance classes | Open house meetings | Nutrition |
| Study class | Magic Bus sessions | Mothers’ meetings | Medical follow-up |
| National Institution of Open Schools -for students who have dropped out | Magic Club sessions | ESP teachers’ meetings | Psychosocial counselling |
| Stress management workshops | Puppet shows | | Daily home visits |
| Life skills education sessions | Behaviour Modification Incentives | | Daily school visits |
| | Monthly birthday celebrations | | Vocational training and placements |
| | Cultural festivals | | |
| | Month long summer camp | | |
| | Residential summer camp | | |
| | Career sessions | | |

Figure 7. Prerana’s Education Support Program.

Note. Reproduced from *Education Support Program*, by Prerana, 2017a, Retrieved from <http://www.preranaanti-trafficking.org/programs/esp.htm>, Table. Reprinted with permission.

Research Question 1: Approach to Human Trafficking Prevention

How does a community-based, anti-trafficking NGO approach human trafficking prevention?

Research Question 1 addressed how Prerana approaches its mission to prevent intergenerational sexual exploitation and human trafficking of at-risk women and children. Through interviews, observations, and briefings with leadership and staff, findings revealed that Prerana employs a comprehensive human trafficking prevention approach. Six central themes emerged pertaining to this approach: (a) use a child-centered approach, (b) involve mothers/families, (c) engage and educate community stakeholders, (d) work to shift societal attitudes, (e) overarching prevention strategies, and (f) education is central. Subthemes also

emerged through the data-analysis process. Figure 8 illustrates the major themes and associated subthemes that address Research Question 1.

Leadership participants began by emphasizing that Prerana’s approach is grounded foremost in prevention. According to Prerana’s Assistant Director, Kashina Kareem, “the entire model of Elimination of Second Generation Trafficking, the ESGT model that operates here from this place, is a prevention model.” Moreover, Kashina sees that prevention is “the first and foremost need.” Prerana’s co-founder, Priti Patkar, placed emphasis on the prevention of intergenerational trafficking as an often neglected area of research and practice. Priti said, “people talk about prevention, people have written about prevention, people have voted on prevention, but it is the first generation prevention where the recruitment happens at the source.”

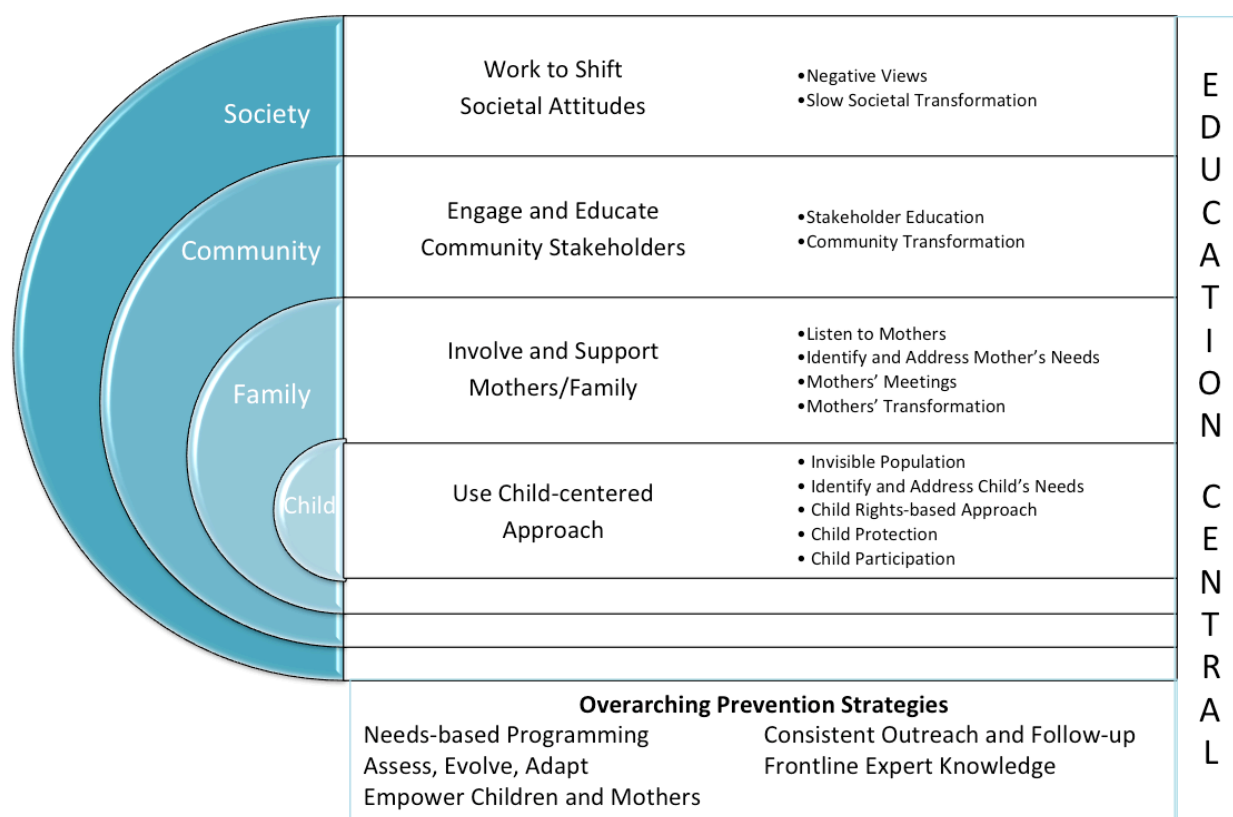


Figure 8. Research Question 1 Themes and subthemes.

Theme 1: Use a Child-Centered Approach

From Prerana's inception, the child has been at the center of all of Prerana's programs, projects, and activities. The goals are to protect children, ensure that the child's rights are acknowledged and respected, and create a safe and enabling environment where children can thrive and maximize their full potential. The need for this organization emerged from the founders' observations that children in the RLAs of Mumbai were extremely vulnerable and consistently exploited. Intergenerational sexual exploitation and human trafficking were prevalent. Prerana's co-founder Priti Patkar recalled,

We found that every child born in the brothels of the red light area that we started working in, then known as the largest red light area in Asia—Kamathipura—we found that every child born to a prostituted woman would end up into the sex trade or aligned activities of the sex trade.

Assistant Director, Kashina Kareem echoed this fact:

What we saw was that every child who was born in the red light area was being trafficked into the sex trade ... for commercial sexual exploitation or other related activities. So the idea of actually ensuring that a child who is born in the red light area should not ... or can have a different life altogether was very new for people to understand.

Invisible Population

Against this backdrop, the task was formidable, particularly since, according to Prerana's leadership, at that time, and in part still today, the children of sex workers in the RLAs of Mumbai were an *invisible population*. Locally, the assumption was that children born to prostitutes would automatically enter the sex trade. Internationally, this marginalized population

was being excluded from the child-rights discourse that was ongoing during the development of the 1989 U.N. CRC. Priti said,

That was the time when internationally, globally, there was a discussion on children's rights and why it's important that we separate children's rights from human rights. You know how children were becoming invisible in the entire discourse around human rights and their voices were not being heard at all. And we were in this largest red light area—Kamathipura—and we were listening to these discussions, we were reading papers around this issue, but we just saw total absence of any discussion (or any likelihood of any discussion) around intergenerational trafficking in the sex trade.

At present, Priti and Kashina believe that intergenerational human trafficking of women and children is still not a global or national priority. Although the international community is trained on eliminating human trafficking globally, little attention is paid to this most marginalized of communities. According to Priti,

There is very little that has been written, spoken even today, about the red light area being the source for second and third generation prostitution. And that the prevention work in the red light area is equally important, relevant, and meaningful to ensure that every child born in the brothels also has a right to choose his or her own path, and choose a life ... of dignity.

In discussing current cultural and customary practices in various parts of India, where daughters are trafficked into the sex trade, often by their families, Kashina asserted,

This is such a big issue and such a huge problem. When you talk about intergenerational trafficking, this is a huge chunk of population that ... the next generation might also end up being trafficked into the sex trade. There is a high possibility that something like that

might happen. And still, this population is absolutely no one's priority. The invisibility of this population is ridiculous.

Aaheli, a project coordinator for Prerana's PRO, contributed,

And the worst part is when our team went to this community [in the North West of India], we were talking to the neighbors over there, it's as if, "The mother did it, the child is in it, their child will do it." It's just normalized for them. They don't even know they have actually been exploited!

Finally, Priti shared her determination to give voice to these invisible children:

I always feel that [for] this community, which is the invisible community, my job is to give that visibility. ... I have to create that enabling environment where they speak for themselves, but in case they cannot, then we become the voice of these children.

Identify and Address the Child's Needs

The programs created by Prerana were conceived from identifying and addressing the needs of the children in the RLAs and their heightened vulnerability to exploitation. The first need recognized by Prerana was for the safety and security of the child. Priti offered,

So if it was a newly born child then the infant very often ... would be mildly intoxicated or drugged and put to sleep below the bed on which the mother or some other women from the brothel would be servicing the customers. In case of a little older child, we found them running errands for the mother or the mother's customers or other women in the brothel. By the time a girl was 12, 13 we found she would be groomed to be sold into the sex trade. And in case of a boy child, he would be groomed to do aligned activities of the sex trade. So it would start with running errands, then pimping, and eventually, as he grows up ... he's part of that entire chain.

To address the need for safety and security of the child, particularly where no direct adult supervision was present at night in the RLA, Prerana created the world's first NCC to reduce children's vulnerability in the most dangerous times in the RLA. This intervention grew to include 24-hour care and a preschool for prostitutes' children and area street children.

Also evident was the need to address children's health and well-being. Prerana recognized the need to improve health conditions of the children and the mothers and began by launching a "lane-by-lane" health care program providing access to medical care. Subsequently, monthly medical check-ups and basic health provision became part of the NCC.

Next, the Prerana team worked to promote the children's right to education. Kashina discussed the need to secure access to education as well as ensure that children stayed in school:

Because once you realize that the children are safe and are living in a facility where they're safe and secure, and they're getting two meals a day, and are healthy and the basic health needs are being taken care of, then comes the education where we think that, okay, now, they need to go and get education, get access to education.

Moreover in the late 80s, Kashina acknowledged,

Kamathipura had a big municipal school and there, the total strength of the school was about 5,000 back then. And less than 1% of the children [in that school] actually came from the red light area — from the Kamathipura red light area. In spite of it being right in the midst of the red light area!

Prerana staff also recognized that the lifestyle of the mothers in the RLA was not conducive to supporting their children's education.

Considering the level of education of the mothers and their precarious existence, there was little scope to expect them to actively encourage the schooling of their children

through guidance, homework and overall monitoring. It was very clear that the obstacles in the way of the education of these children were too many, unfamiliar, unheard of, extreme and almost insurmountable. The children needed a special, comprehensive, path-breaking, creatively conceptualized intervention. (Prerana, 2018b, p. 2)

Subsequently, the ESP emerged to ensure RLA children gained access to education institutions, stayed in school, and received additional educational support. Initially, access to education was problematic for RLA children because school forms required the father's name, which RLA children typically cannot furnish. Prerana recognized the need to legitimize the children's identities and worked to that end. In addition, to ensure children attended school and did not drop out, the ESP devised an outreach program to visit the schools and communities daily, to ensure children are attending school. The ESP also recognized additional needs of the children and incorporated programming to address those needs. Kashina said,

Because these children come from communities where maybe the kind of education that they've seen ... or the understanding of education is bad, we also realized that it's important for us to ... provide them ... extra academic support. There's also a need for extracurricular activities ... looking at what extracurricular, co-curricular needs of the children, [and] devising programs around that.

As Prerana's work progressed, and in spite of the safe environment provided by the NCC, some children, girls especially, were still vulnerable to exploitation in the RLA. According to Kashina,

[There are] cases where the children have, where the mother is probably staying with her pimp or in situations where we think that there is a possibility that the child who is 14 or 13, and people around her, or the man, or brothel people, or someone is eyeing the child.

And in cases like that, we felt that even the Night Care Center is not enough to keep the child safe and secure because a child does get that access to go to the community.

To address this need, Prerana created its IPP where staff assist in placing a child in a child-care institution through the juvenile-justice system. Throughout this process, Prerana has two key goals: ensure that the mother and the child stay connected, and engage in constant follow-up with the child. Kashina stated that the process involves the following:

At every point in time ensuring that we don't de-link the child from the mother because that's not the idea of doing any of this anyway. So we actually take these children to these institutions, but also ensure that their mothers get access to meet the children.

Besides that, a very strong component of the Institution Placement Program is also to ensure that we, as people who actually place these children to these institutions, also follow up with them.

At yet another juncture, Prerana observed a trend in the RLAs whereby, even if the mothers were still soliciting in the RLA, the mothers would move away from the RLA due to RLA gentrification. This process would, in turn, impact the child's education, given that they were enrolled in the local school and also attending Prerana. To remedy this situation and address the child's needs, in addition to the NCC, Prerana developed and operationalized a Day Care Center.

Then we realized that if we do not provide a Day Care Center facility to these children, then these children don't get the education that they actually deserve ...[along with] access to all the other facilities that the other children are getting access to just because they stay here [in the RLA]. ... So currently, we have ... around 20 or 30 kids that stay

with us even during the day. ... But again, this has evolved only because we realized that there was that felt need because the mothers are moving away. (Kashina)

As a result of Prerana's presence in the RLAs, the organization learned of girls who had been rescued from trafficking and learned that many of the victims would be re trafficked, due, in part, to the "absence of any official mechanisms including policies, protocols, programmes, provisions, budgets, politico-administrative will, sensitivity, and capacity, on the part of the state" (Prerana, 2017e, para. 1). To address that need, Prerana created the PRO program.

According to Prerana documents,

The PRO begins immediately after rescue of a traffic victim and continues up to the stage of repatriation and/or social reintegration. For a PRO program to be effective many services are needed including but not limited to legal aid, emergency aid, property recovery, trainings for internal and external partners, and livelihood opportunities. A proper post rescue operation is often what will determine the success of a police investigation, as well as ultimately lead to a prosecution. More important in many ways is that the post rescue operation works to ensure that the victims are not victimized a second time within a system that is meant to bring justice to them. (Prerana, 2017e, para. 2)

Aaheli shared that once a rescued girl is referred from the government Child Welfare Committee to Prerana, an extensive intake process takes place and a comprehensive care plan is created for each girl. The individual care plan includes personal safety and security, emotional and psychological well-being, vocational and educational training support, health and nutrition, and strengthening family relations (field notes, 2019). In addition, Prerana asserted that "rescue cannot begin and end in mere physical shift of a captive person. It is complete only when the safety and self-reliance of a victim are ensured" (Prerana, 2019g, para. 3).

Yet another need recognized by Prerana was for children to be mainstreamed into society once they are finished with their studies and are ready to leave Prerana or other institutional care facilities. To assist in that transition, Prerana created an After Care program. Kashina described the following:

After Care, which is assisted living, [is] where we kind of handhold children who have been through the juvenile justice system, and who are exiting shelter homes or childcare institutions. Because we do realize that they have been so dependent on these institutions for such a long time, that mainstreaming them is not going to be easy. ... So that is something that we've been working on as well, where we think that it's important to handle them when they go back in the mainstream society. They need to be handhold over a period of at least a year or maybe two years, where we need to provide them a little bit of support, ensure that they know this is how things work.

Child Rights-Based Approach

When Prerana conceived its first intervention—the NCC—it was based on the notion that every child has the right to be protected. In addition to protection, and using the four central principles of the U.N. CRC as a guide (nondiscrimination, the best interests of the child as a primary consideration in all actions concerning children, the child's inherent right to life, and the child's right to express his or her views freely), the founders realized it was critical to protect and defend all rights of the child. Priti shared,

We also realized that while we are talking about protection rights and when we designed the Night Care Center, we'll also be protecting all the other rights: [child's] right to survival, right to health ... child's right to identity, child's right to development in which

recreation, livelihood, education comes in. And children's voices, so, right to participation.

Moreover, according to Priti, it was very important that

All of us involved in running the organization should be on the same page, and that it should not be just the organization that understands children's rights. The children, the mothers should also understand it, and the larger community should understand that this child also enjoys equal rights.

For the organization, this meant creating a Child Protection Policy that enshrined the child's rights and that all staff (and visitors to Prerana) must read and sign to interact with the children. Programmatically, this notion translates into children's rights being woven into Prerana's education curriculum and activities so the children know and can defend their rights. Vaishali, an Outreach Coordinator, opined, "this is very important to activities for children here. We teach them...tell them about their rights and they know it inside out, what are their rights. Their right to safety, their right to education and all these things." Kashina noted,

As an organization, we are very keen on ensuring that children at every stage [know their rights]. If you look at our lessons [and] education curriculum and all of that, we do a lesson at every point in time telling children that these are your rights. ... This is what your right is. So typically, if you see our children, and if you see that the other visitors coming in are taking their pictures, they'll be like, "No, you can't take our pictures. This is against our policy." So children are aware about their own rights.

In a social-media post, Reehan, an Outreach Coordinator, discussed child protection in the context of rights:

In Prerana we discuss with the children the issues related with personal safety. These include issues like threat from strangers and known persons. We tell them their right to say NO if anyone tries to impinge on their personal space. We also discuss with them the need to respect others' space. We talk about rights being universal. (Prerana, 2015b, December 5, para. 3)

Being aware of their own rights becomes increasingly critical for children who have been rescued from trafficking, where they often do not recognize that they have been victimized. Compounding that problem is the notion that segments of society, including those charged with protecting children, do not recognize these children as victims. Kashina works closely with children who have been victims of sex trafficking and said,

In the first few months, we realized that these children, when you speak to them, we realized that they don't even understand that they've been wronged. They don't understand that there is a choice, that there is something that they could have done beyond this.

Moreover, Kashina continued,

When they're kept in a government facility, a lot of times you hear someone from the government saying, "She wanted to do it. This was something that she was doing out of her will." And even then, the whole process of trying to make [government authorities] understand she doesn't know she has a will, she doesn't know that she has an option to do something beyond this. Try to give her that option and see if she still *chooses* to do something like this.

To ensure that the children are equipped with knowledge of their rights and how to defend them once they leave Prerana, staff shares various human rights topics through various

activities. As an example, a social-media post pointed to conducting a session on sexual harassment for the girls at Naunihal:

As our young girls leave our Naunihal Shelter Home, we try our best to equip them to be capable of being on their own. As many of our girls join the workforce after leaving, knowing about Sexual Harassment at the Workplace and related laws are a part of the right to safety at the workplace. On 14th July, we held a session on understanding sexual harassment at the workplace and related laws for the girls that have joined or would be joining the workplace. (Prerana, 2019e, para. 1)

Child Protection

One impetus for Prerana's creation was to protect vulnerable RLA children from violence and human trafficking. As a central pillar of Prerana's work, child protection takes many forms for a population of children that is at once stigmatized by society and vulnerable to exploitation. For instance, Prerana developed an *Organizational Policy on Child Protection* (Child Protection Policy) that includes the principles enshrined in the U.N. CRC and highlights Prerana's commitment to promoting the best interest of the child. According to Prerana, "various standard operating procedures (SOPs), specific protocols, checklists, and guidelines shall be referred to for detailed guidance on the above matters by all staff, visiting professional/experts, volunteers, and other visitors (including media)" (Prerana, 2015a, p. 2). Protecting a child's identity is a key tenet of Prerana's Child Protection Policy. A child's identity and circumstances are known only to Prerana staff. Even when the children speak in public, their identities are not revealed. The children themselves ask that their identities and circumstances not be disclosed. Priti shared,

Every time our children have gone and spoken outside, one of the things that they very clearly say is, "I'll go and speak. I want to go and speak. But I don't want my identity

disclosed. So you [can] introduce me as a child of a prostitute ... but I don't want, while I'm speaking, somebody makes a video of me and puts it out in the public domain. I don't want somebody clicking my pictures and putting it out there in the public domain."

Prerana realizes the potential for children to be (re)traumatized by having to discuss or reveal their circumstances publicly, so the staff works to protect the child and strongly adhere to the child's wishes. In addition, Prerana staff use discretion when describing children's circumstances if pressed by donors, potential donors, or service providers. There is a clear understanding that building trust is essential for a child to be open about their background, and they should not be pushed to do so too soon.

Child protection also takes the form of shielding the child from those people who seek to exploit the child. For example, if a mother is sick or if the child is orphaned, men involved in a mother's life in the RLA try to take control of a child, who is seen as an asset, claiming to be the child's father. Priti shared one story involving a Prerana child that illustrated this typical scenario:

When she was very small, her mother was in this red light area, and her mother was ill. She had co-infections to HIV and that was the time she told us, "Please take my daughter and keep her away. I don't know how long I'll live." She placed her daughter in the child-care institution, we placed the child in the child-care institution, and after we placed, this man came to our office, while the mother was alive, saying, "She's my daughter, how did you put her there?" So we asked the mother. I said, "See, you've never told us about him. Is he the father?" She said, "No. Leave him alone. I'll handle him. My daughter will have access to no one." We recorded it in our file. Two years later, this woman passed away. This man came to us and we said, "No."

Child Participation

Another pillar of Prerana's child-centered approach is child participation, "based on mutual respect and full consideration of children's views in the light of their age and maturity" (Prerana, n.d., p. 9). One of the core principles of the U.N. CRC is the right to participate by expressing personal views. The principle is adhered to throughout Prerana's work. Prerana describes its stance on child participation in a social-media post:

Child participation is one of the four categories of rights of the child enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which asserts that children and young people have the right to freely express their views. It further states that it is an obligation of the state and the society to listen to, and respect children's views, and to facilitate their participation in all matters affecting them. As a civil society organization, we ensure that child participation is at the heart of our programs. It is one of our cross-cutting themes. It's essential that we have conversations around the topic at regular intervals with our team. On the 29th of March, 2019 we got together to discuss child participation: it's impact, benefits, and importance. We discussed Roger Hart's Ladder of Participation and assessed the level at which we stand. We reflected on and examined the various ways in which we facilitate child participation, the challenges we have faced and explored the ways in which we can further strengthen our work to facilitate child participation. (Prerana, 2019c, para. 1)

Prerana provides ample opportunity for the children to be involved in decision making about their personal care and educational activities in Prerana. Aruna, an NCC project manager, said, "another aspect of child participation is that we ask children ... what is it that you suggest?"

What is it that you want?” Another manifestation of child participation is their involvement in educational activities in the community. As an example, Priti offered,

As part of our children’s participation, we have children’s groups. So they go out into the community ... the immediate neighborhood that they live and where they grow up. So they engage in a dialogue with that community ... be it HIV, be it stigma, be it discrimination, be it child marriage.

Importantly, the children have the choice to participate. They are never forced to speak in public, although they are gently encouraged to practice their public-speaking skills, as long as they feel comfortable in doing so.

Additionally, the children participate in cultural activities that often relate to salient issues that pertain to the children. For example, during one observation at the Falkland Road NCC, news came through about the Naunihal girls winning a dance competition. This caused a great deal of excitement at the NCC. The dance event was highlighted on Prerana’s social media:

On 1st May, our girls from Naunihal Shelter Home for Girls participated in the 37th edition of Our Children’s annual children’s Meet. Our Children, an organization working with child-care Institutions in Mumbai, had organized a cultural event where children could present their creativity through art, dance or music. Our girls participated in the dance competition and won the first prize. The theme of the competition was set around the forgotten games of India. The girls chose kite flying as the game, with the message “Suljha Denge Uljhe Rishton ka Manjha” (we will untangle the knotted threads). Their performance portrayed a young girl whose mother was not in favor of her choosing a career of her choice but the daughter tries convincing the mother and by the end, she is successful in doing so. (Prerana, 2019d, para. 2)

Theme 2: Involve and Support Mothers/Families

In conceptualizing how Prerana would work to eliminate intergenerational trafficking, it was evident from the start that it was critical to involve the mothers of the RLA children, particularly because, like the children, the mothers are marginalized and stigmatized in Indian society. In discussing Prerana's work in this sector, Kashina offered, "We're at the lowest rank of this marginalized sector. This community, these [women and children] are *anyway* so marginalized."

Listen to Mothers

To give voice and visibility to these marginalized mothers, Prerana began by listening to the mothers, asking them what it was that they wanted for their children. Priti recalled,

We also wanted to hear the voices of the women and what they thought about their children, their life in the sex trade. And that's when we heard one loud voice. And that was, "Well, we don't want our children to be here. We don't want our children to get into the sex trade. But we don't know the way out." They kept saying, "I want my child to lead a life of dignity." And then when we ask them, "What does dignity mean to you?" they said, "Anything other than the sex trade."

With this information in hand, Prerana's founders began to consider various options, including the idea of an NCC. They went back to the mothers for their input. Priti shared,

We went back to the community and said, "What is the protection intervention you think would be the best for the children?" And very interestingly, Night Care Center did not figure in their list of suggestions, initially. What figured in their list of suggestions was institutional care.

Ultimately, Prerana chose to follow both paths, opening the NCC and eventually assisting with institutional placement. Over time, Priti said,

Today if you see, women prefer the Night Care Center to institutional care. So our last five years or seven years data shows that women approach us more for Night Care Center and more for children's education, to get assistance to enroll them in school and institutions of higher learning, and very few women come forward to say, "Take my child away and take my child somewhere away from me."

It was also the mothers who made Prerana aware of the real need to protect adolescent girls who were increasingly vulnerable in the RLA as they aged. According to Kashina,

So when these interactions happened with the mothers over a period of time, the Institutional Placement Program was—the program itself was a result of the interactions and of understanding that there are vulnerabilities in the community that maybe the current programs are not able to meet.

Prachi, Prerana's project manager for the IPP, also made clear,

So the aim of IPP team is not to separate a child and her mother. But of course as we have discussed earlier, also a child should get a safer place. That's where they come to NCC. But in cases where the mother feels...the child should not have any connection to the red light area, so they should be put in a shelter home which is far removed from red light community.

Identify and Address Mothers' Needs

Through interaction and dialogue with the mothers, Prerana works to identify the needs of the mothers, help the mothers with those needs, and help empower them to address whatever issues arise. Daily interactions take place with the mothers through Prerana's Outreach Program

and Mothers' Meetings are held every other month. Both are part of the ESP. In discussing Prerana's outreach, Kashina asserted, "Our Outreach Program is very strong when we go into the communities once a day and talk to the mothers, talk to the children. ... just be in the community." In a social-media post, Reehan, one of Prerana's Outreach Coordinators, discussed the importance of being in the community to better understand the realities the mothers face:

While working in a red-light area, I have seen the plight of trafficked women very closely. I have seen the craving of the prostituted women for the safety of their children. The first thing they want is that their children are protected against trafficking. Next to that they want to see their children getting good education. I have also seen a sense of helplessness in them. These mothers are at the mercy of their brothel keepers, pimps, their customers and their fancyman (admi).¹ Very often this leaves them little time for their children. These mothers are not afraid of harm from strangers as much as they fear the people known to them since they know harm they can cause to their children. They fear that their children could be sexually exploited, harmed and also kidnapped by the people whom they know. (Prerana, 2015b, December 5, para. 1)

As mentioned above, some mothers move away from the RLA. To maintain a connection with the mothers, Prerana engages in "extended" outreach. Kashina elaborated:

So we would go meet them over there as well because we know that they've moved away from the red light area and maybe, at some point in time, would need some help, would need some assistance. They might not be in a situation to approach us, so why don't we make ourselves available to them like we make ourselves available to the community here?

¹ A "fancyman" is the man with whom a person is having a sexual relationship, but is not married to (Cambridge Dictionary, 2019). In the above context, this relationship involves exploitation.

Mothers' Meetings

In conjunction with outreach visits, Mothers' Meetings are held every other month at Prerana's NCCs. The purpose of the meetings is to:

Share information and facilitate discussion on various matters that concern the mothers with regard to their children's schooling. It covers issues like school routine, disciplining, mothers' interaction with the schools, issues of adjustment with the schools, effective parenting, information on activities conducted under the ESP.... (Prerana, 2018a, p. 3).

In addition to a focus on education, Mothers' Meetings work to strengthen the bond between mother and child and to address other salient issues. For example, education sessions have been held on the Juvenile Justice Act, on health and wellbeing, and on the importance of maintaining a child's legal identity. The child's identity is particularly challenging. Vaishali discussed the need to counsel mothers about such issues during Mothers' Meetings:

When a woman is trafficked to the red light area, she really is not carrying any documents. ... [In] most cases, they do not know when the child is born, so [outreach workers ask], "Do you remember the season in which the child was born? Which year was it?" Many of the women ... would say, "The year that Indira Gandhi died." ... So that's how [we] have to do guess work. ... And counseling mothers, through Mothers' Meeting, telling them [to] keep the identity of your child intact, as in give the child your name because pimps keep on changing, fancy man keeps on changing. ... So try and give the same surname to the child so that there is no problem later on for them, for the children.

Sessions are also held that involve educating mothers about their own rights and those of their child. Vaishali shared that when Prerana started, one challenge was getting permission from

the mothers' exploiters to place the children in school. Vaishali allowed that agreement was required "with pimp first, with fancy man first, with manager, brothel keeper; mother is nowhere in the picture. As if the child is their property, these people's property, exploiter's property. No mother's right." According to Vaishali, the idea is to provide mothers with

Awareness about their rights, giving them awareness about why their name should be after their child's name because fancy men will come and go, pimps will come and go. ... So it's giving them awareness about all these things. Giving them awareness about online child sexual abuse, about ... Information Technology Act, all these kinds of [things].

Mothers' Transformation

As a result of efforts to engage and involve mothers, Priti acknowledged a transformation has taken place over time. Whereas mothers initially wanted their children to be placed in institutional care, now, Priti opined,

She's happy there being a Night Care Center where she can be in touch with the child every day, she can meet the child, the child is going to school in the neighborhood. She can see the child growing in front of her eyes.

Priti also stated:

There was no trust initially, but the fact that we went every day to the community and we were not among those interventionists who came during a festival time, celebrated a festival, went back, and never showed up for the next six months.

Over time trust built and persisted. Moreover, Priti relayed a story that an external NGO who was assessing Prerana's work went into the community and surveyed the mothers. Priti said, "They asked them one question, 'How do you see Prerana [as] different from the other NGOs who work here?' ... They said, 'That's the only organization that cares for our children.'"

The same initial lack of trust applied to mothers not valuing the idea of education for their children. Priti shared, “The women did not believe education would bring pro-change because around them they are seeing people without education, through illegal means, making a lot of money.” Again, over time, Priti described that the mothers came to support Prerana’s efforts to ensure the children’s right to an education:

So yes, so it was difficult, but I’m telling you, subsequently when women saw children being in school, and again, they saw that we were doing everything possible to retain children in school; everything possible to remove all hurdles in their way to access education. It was women who supported us despite all the obstacles that they had faced... They were and continue to be our strong supporters.

Yet another example of the transformative effects of Prerana’s prevention work rests in that some mothers have left the sex trade. A number of Prerana’s staff are, in fact, former victims of commercial sexual exploitation that came to interact with Prerana when their children were enrolled in Prerana’s programs.

Theme 3: Engage and Educate Community Stakeholders

A key theme that emerged from the interviews regarding Prerana’s trafficking prevention work was the need to engage and educate community stakeholders. This need stems from a lack of understanding on the part of people who come into contact with RLA children about the particular needs of the children. Children and the mothers of the RLA are considered an invisible population. They suffer discrimination and exclusion as a result of societal stigma. Thus, recognizing that changing mindsets is a long-term process, Prerana engages with stakeholders and works to sensitize and educate them to create a shift in mindsets and actions.

Stakeholder Education

Educating community stakeholders takes various forms. For example, Prerana holds sensitization training for police officers, child-protection authorities, the judiciary, the media, service providers, and other NGOs working with children. The challenge lies first in raising awareness of human trafficking and ensuring various stakeholders understand that children have rights. Several participants described police sensitization as very important. Prachi asserted, “We need to sensitize police at how to approach the child. I mean a child gets intimidated when they see police.” She continued,

Whenever police come [to the brothel] it’s the mother who runs away first. Women. They are victims, first of all, but they still have to run for their own safety. So we try to sensitize. ... [We] had a meeting with a CPO, Chief Police Officer ... a good large scale training that was given to police officers. In fact, they invite us to give training to them. So sensitizing police is one of the aspects which [we] work at community level.²

To further illustrate this challenge, Kashina provided a story of a long-standing customary practice in the northwest belt of India whereby families force their daughters into the sex trade. While working in these communities, it became evident that many were not aware, or chose not to be aware, that this practice of intergenerational sexual exploitation was even happening. Kashina conveyed,

And we realized that child protection authorities, people working in the sector, people who actually came to be working on children’s rights had absolutely no idea about these communities. ... They didn’t even *know* that they exist. ... Child rights organizations ...

² Several interviews were conducted with the use of a translator. To capture the voice of the participant, the researcher reverted to the participant’s voice rather than that of the translator.

they've never witnessed a case on commercial sexual exploitation of children. They've never done anything against child trafficking: no awareness programs, no mass programs, no talking about this to the communities, nothing. They end up talking about something like child marriage and child sexual abuse, but they will never talk about trafficking of children.

Moreover, Kashina explained that in situations where stakeholders have some degree of awareness, the practice is to ignore the situation:

When you speak to the child protection authorities, people who are making authoritative decisions for these children, you realize that they end up saying, "Oh, this has been going on in their families for generations." So they don't want to particularly do something to put an end to something like this. "It's been going on since generations." That is all the reason that they will give you to say, "Okay. What else do we do with these children?"

Against this backdrop, Prerana develops and delivers training modules to help local stakeholders identify human trafficking cases and sensitize those working with trafficking victims. For instance, Prerana has conducted capacity building trainings with shelter home staff centered on trauma-informed victim care and protection. Even with training, this process takes time:

We're conducting trainings for them. And it takes a really long time for somebody to realize that they're children. They have gone through so much. They deserve respect. ... It takes a lot ... [to] train them to be sensitive towards the children because, otherwise, a child who is already traumatized is trying to ask for help ... trying to talk to somebody and if that's the way you talk to them, it's really difficult. (Aaheli)

Outreach staff also consistently work with school staff and teachers to reduce the stigma associated with RLA children, and to educate them about the child's rights and the backgrounds from which they come. Reehan shared that teachers need to understand:

These children are from different backgrounds, [these are] children who are coming from marginalized society. So these teachers keep on saying, "These children are hyper, they're problematic, they play around a lot." [We are] trying to explain [to the teachers] they are coming from a traumatized background, they are coming from a different background, you have to understand and respect them. And another thing the teachers complain is "Why do your kids sleep so much in school?"

Priti also shared the challenges that Prerana initially faced in educating school officials:

We constantly worked with schools as well to ensure that there is a shift in their understanding of looking at these children, their understanding of [the child's] rights. ... In our initial years [we] worked a lot with the Bombay municipal corporation schools. ... I remember there was a time when I would take the Juvenile Justice Act copy and sit with them and say, "Look at this section. If we do this, it's wrong under the law."

Additionally, the children themselves engage in community education efforts. Child participation is a cornerstone of Prerana's work, providing the children with the opportunity to voice their thoughts and also to share their learnings. Priti provided an example:

[The children] did an entire year-long campaign on the sale of tobacco in the community and educating the community that there is a law that you cannot sell tobacco or tobacco products within 100 [yards] of the school. All these lovely posters. They put up the posters. They went to the local police station and made a presentation at the police station.

Community Transformation

As a result of community engagement and education efforts, as well as progress that RLA children have made over the years, participants have witnessed change in various stakeholders. For instance, Priti said, “I’m a person who strongly believes in change. And today, I believe more in change because I’ve seen that happen. I’ve seen people change. ... I’m talking about the larger community.” Priti added, “So stigma and discrimination ... I’m telling you, almost 15 years to get the community to get out of that mindset of stigmatizing these children and indulging in discriminatory behavior.”

In the early days, participants described that Prerana would receive threats from various factions of the RLA, but now, the local community supports Prerana’s work and takes an interest in the children’s community performances and activities. Similarly, where it was challenging to convince people that educating RLA children was valuable, now local politicians attend the graduation celebrations that Prerana holds to honor the child and mother for the child passing the academic milestones of the 10th and 12th standards. Priti shared,

So the whole community sees that, and they feel so happy. And the last two years, we’ve also been calling the local politicians to be part of the ceremony. So they see it and the mothers say, “Oh, my child is being felicitated by the local politician.” So that also makes them happy.

Theme 4: Work to Shift Societal Attitudes

The fourth theme that emerged from the interviews with Prerana leadership and staff was the need to work to shift negative and deep-rooted societal views surrounding prostitution and the sexual exploitation of women and children. Participants agreed that they have seen, and

continue to see, shifts in societal attitudes, but that this process of shifting mindsets is a long-term endeavor.

Negative Views

Various responses from participants highlighted the apathetic attitudes and layers of deep-rooted social stigma. Not only are the children stigmatized and discriminated against, the larger society lacks genuine understanding of the plight of these children. Jyoti, Prerana's Life Skills teacher, recognized the challenges of working against such stigma:

I think it's a challenge for everyone to work against the taboo ... which has been very rooted in everyone's mind. ... And here, of course, a person who is not aware of the children [and] the struggles the child has to go [through].

According to Priti, and with regard to the children,

The understanding of society is that if you're born to a prostituted woman, your blood is impure. So, you have sex in your blood and therefore, well, no matter what we do with you, it will all the time be only sex.

Moreover, these beliefs contribute to increasing the child's vulnerability to exploitation.

Priti asserted,

One of the major problems that contributes to their vulnerability is the fact that their mothers are in the sex trade and society's understanding that prostitution is a necessary social evil. So, [there is] this entire apathetic attitude of society that it's better for the child born in that environment to be bought and sold [in order] to replenish the brothels rather than bringing somebody else from somewhere else [that has] never had an exposure to the sex trade.

Reehan conveyed an anecdote capturing the disregard for a child's peril based on false societal assumptions:

There was this girl who was raped ... a girl child from the red light area. So when [Prerana] had gone to the police station, the police said, "She's not raped, she's being groomed." Considering that because the mother is in this profession, the child is bound to be in this.

Stigma is associated with the RLA itself. According to Jyoti, "Even if a woman who's not a victim of commercial sexual exploitation ... if she's staying in that area she's being categorized." Reehan concurred, noting that

Suppose somebody in mainstream society, somebody has got this HIV. ... It must have come from that community. I mean that is not the reason, it could come from anywhere—from wrong transfusion of blood, or syringe, or anything like that. But the perception is that it must have come from that community.

The result is discrimination and exclusion, which translates into little, if any, value placed on the child's right to an education. When Prerana started working to advocate for RLA children to receive an education, mothers were initially skeptical, and so were the schools. The sentiment was, why educate the child who will follow in the mother's footsteps? Once the children did get access, they initially encountered discrimination. Reehan stated,

And when they used to go to school and others would say, "Why go to school when they have to do what their mother is doing? Why do you give them education? Why do you have that access to education and all these things?" ... Another thing is that even if they got admission, they were mistreated. They were ostracized. They were made to sit

separately. They were addressed in a very different, very derogatory manner. And despite getting admission, there used to be a huge number of dropouts.

Finally, stigma also surrounds the victims of sexual abuse and exploitation. Aaheli illustrated this point:

[A] case ... came to us and I was talking with the family and I said that this is a trafficking case, the child was sexually abused. And I'm talking to [the mother] about how the accused is in jail and now for the child's rehabilitation, we're doing so and so things. And the mother is telling me, "How will society look at the child when the child comes back home? Just hand me the child, get the accused out, I'll get them married."

Slow Societal Transformation

Against the backdrop of such entrenched negative societal views, the majority of participants believed change was taking place, albeit slowly, and that this would be a long-term endeavor. For instance, Aaheli posited, "I don't see this happening very fast. ... I think it'll take years," whereas Kashina described,

I just think that this is going to continue for the next three decades or so. People's mindsets of looking at this issue, of seeing that this is a social evil, and it has to be looked at in that sense, has to develop, and has to evolve. ... They cannot look at it as if it's a family business so let [the children] do it.

Madhuri, the Superintendent of the Prerana's Naunihal girls' shelter, characterized the shift in this way:

Long years back, when Priti Tai started, I think that must be a big challenge, but now, society is also improving. How I can say that? Because the way we get feedback from donors, visitors. There are donors. In a day, five to six donors come. They know in which

area we work. Still, they appreciate these girls. There are people who come and ask for marriages also. It means that society's thought processes have changed, because they think that these girls have a right to become a part of society where we live.

Madhuri has even noticed how her own perceptions have changed from working in this sector, living with the girls, and learning from them. Jyoti also acknowledged,

Prerana has been working in this thing for [the] last three decades and somewhere it has achieved a status, where people know that if the children are from red light area that doesn't mean that child will eventually land up into the same thing.

Similarly, in the shelter home setting, a shift took place in terms of allowing access to RLA children. According to Prachi:

So when Prerana started work in 1986... children were not taken in shelters because they're children from red light area; they're children of prostituted women. So either they were put up for adoption or for foster care. So this is one thing that Prerana really vigorously fought for. And eventually, we were able to [get] children [admitted into] shelter [homes].

Prachi continued, saying that once the children were admitted,

[Staff] used to talk to these children in a very derogatory manner, they didn't know how to talk to children ... they were rude and misbehaved ... Prerana intervened [and] told them ... followed up regularly so they came to know more our cause here [at Prerana] and more about these children and so their behavior towards these children [changed].

According to Prerana (n.d.), shifting societal attitudes and "breaking the culture of violence is a difficult task, but not impossible. The solution lies in collective action and sharing

best practices, methods and approaches that organizations in the anti-trafficking space employ” (p. 1).

Theme 5: Overarching Prevention Strategies

Another theme that emerged in the findings pertains to the overarching strategies that Prerana employs as part of its comprehensive prevention approach. Leadership and staff participants identified several strategies that drive Prerana’s work. Those strategies include needs-based programming; engaging in a process of assessing, evolving, and adapting as necessary; consistent outreach and follow-up; developing frontline expert knowledge; and empowering children and their mothers.

Needs-Based Programming

Prerana was founded based on the recognition that an invisible population of women and children were being exploited and their needs were not being served. Priti recalled that when their journey began 33 years ago, “the focus of our work was around preventing intergenerational trafficking in the sex trade. The reason for this intervention was that ... we started looking at the red light areas and what happens to the children there.” It became apparent to the founders that the first need was to prevent intergenerational sexual exploitation and trafficking. Working from that baseline, Prerana devised and implemented myriad programs based on the specific needs of the RLA children, as well as the needs of their mothers. For instance, Prerana created the NCC to provide the children with safety and security. From there, Prerana recognized the need for the child to receive an education, an inherent right of the child.

Various participants discussed the impetus behind Prerana’s many key programs, all of which stemmed from a recognized need that the organization then acted upon. Table 5 provides a

list of identified needs and corresponding interventions that Prerana developed to address those needs.

Table 5

Needs-Based Programming

| Needs | Interventions |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Safety, Security, Healthcare | Night Care Center |
| Boys (14+) Safety and Security | Boys Night Care Center |
| Education, cocurricular, extracurricular | Education Support Program |
| Academic support and nonformal education | Evening Study Class |
| Children in afternoon school, mornings free | Morning Study Class |
| Identify children in RLA, children into schools | Outreach Program |
| Daytime supervision away from RLA | Day Care Center |
| Mothers' education and empowerment | Mothers' Meetings |
| Child impacted when mother moves | Extended Outreach Program |
| Mother leaves sex trade and moves away | Migration Visits |
| Safety beyond NCC, away from RLA | Institutional Placement Program |
| Support for child after being rescued from trafficking | Post Rescue Operation |
| Accommodation for girl children from RLA | Naunihal Girls' Shelter Facility |
| Postgraduation societal mainstreaming | After Care Program |
| Evidence-based research, information dissemination | Anti-trafficking Center |

Note. RLA = red-light area, NCC = Night Care Center.

Importantly, Prerana children also contribute to needs identification. For example,

A group of youths from Prerana had also conducted a research study related to challenges faced by children living in the red light areas and one of the findings was lack of night time shelter options for boys over 14 years of age. (Prerana, 2012, para. 1).

As a result of the research, and in consultation with the children, Prerana addressed the need for night time safe shelter by starting a boys NCC.

In addition to addressing the acute needs of the children Prerana serves, staff clearly recognized that all these endeavors needed to be supported by improved policy and legislation to

help protect these vulnerable and marginalized children. To that end, Prerana has engaged in a wide array of advocacy activities, working to advance anti-trafficking measures at the state and national levels. These activities include providing input on the creation of various national acts, and, for example, serving as “a member on the Supreme Court panel appointed ... on discussing the problems faced by women in prostitution and the possibility of offering them rehabilitation” (Prerana, 2017f, para. 1).

Assess, Evolve, Adapt

Closely related to needs-based programming is the strategy of assessing, evolving and adapting to changing circumstances. Assessments of the children and programs take place on a regular basis at Prerana in weekly staff meetings, case-management meetings, and bimonthly teacher meetings to assess how the children are doing academically and otherwise. The majority of participants discussed ways Prerana’s programs have evolved over time, based on consideration of what is working and what needs to be adjusted to better serve the children and fulfill Prerana’s mission of preventing exploitation and trafficking.

On an organizational level, Priti welcomes critique and sees Prerana as a “work in progress” where the organization keeps “evolving every day.” Priti acknowledged that, at times, “maybe we get blinded,” but they engage in self-reflection, learn from mistakes, and adapt accordingly. Priti and Madhuri described how Prerana often learns from the children themselves. For example, Priti shared a story in which a new social worker to Prerana accidentally revealed the background circumstances of the children in the shelter home to a visitor, and one of the girls overheard. A group of girls met with Priti to discuss how upset they were and subsequently adjustments were made to preclude those types of mistakes from happening again.

On a programmatic level, the concept of learning and evolving extends to assessing and analyzing what is effective for the child and what is in the child's best interest. For instance, in discussing how the IPP has evolved over 20 years, Kashina shared that once children were placed in institutional care with the goal of providing them safety and security, at some point staff realized that perhaps keeping the children in institutions for extended periods was not in their best interest. Kashina described,

So initially it was very simple in that the children would come into the system, they would be placed into a [shelter] home. ...When they complete 18 years of age ... then they would be coming back to their mothers [or] would be going into other assisted living facilities. But again, over a period of time, [Prerana] also realized that maybe the situation back in the shelter facilities is also making them extremely vulnerable because eventually, mainstreaming [into society] is then becoming extremely difficult.

Consistent Outreach and Follow-up

Prerana staff make daily outreach visits into the community. Prerana's Outreach team checks that the children are in school, and if not, ascertains why, and also checks on the mothers. Outreach in the community helps to identify new children in the RLA and inform mothers of Prerana's work with the children. Prerana has also developed a Child Tracking System as a best practice to help locate children, who, often due to the circumstances of brothel life, may move to stay with friends or neighbors. Additionally, the Outreach team serves as an intermediary between the mother and school officials if any issues arise. Kashina said,

Visiting the schools regularly, ensuring that the children are going to school, visiting the communities regularly to see if ... the mothers are facing any issues of communicating

[with the school]. Whatever the school is asking to communicate back into the community. So that [outreach] is a very important component.

Follow-up with the children and mothers is another key aspect of Prerana's work. The idea is that Prerana will be available for the child wherever the child goes. If, for example, a child is no longer coming to the NCC, the Outreach team goes to find out why. If the mother moves from the RLA, the Outreach team does "extended" outreach to ensure the child is still going to school and check on any other needs the mother and child may have. Similarly, if the mother leaves the sex trade entirely, Prerana engages in Migration Visits. According to Reehan,

It becomes our duty to follow those mothers and those children, go and check how she is living? Are her living conditions fine? Has it improved in some way? Does she require our assistance in that case? [How] is the child doing, how safe is the child over there? So, that's why we call it Migration Visit.

In discussing the Naunihal girls' shelter home, the Superintendent, Madhuri, emphasized that once the child turns 18, Prerana does not abandon the child. Not only does Naunihal have a program in place whereby girls who are getting ready to live in the community live in a small apartment on site to get accustomed to cooking and cleaning for themselves, but once they move, Prerana staff follow their progress and assist with any needs that arise. An important point raised by Prachi is that the girls can still be vulnerable, once they turn 18 and leave the shelter facility, so follow up is important. Prachi continued,

Even if the child is not directly associated with Prerana, but has been a Prerana child, they'd go to ... other shelter homes, [we] keep on doing follow up...[even] after 18, we are [not] just kind of abandoning, the follow up continues even after that.

Frontline Expert Knowledge

As outreach was an integral part of Prerana's strategy from the beginning, over time Prerana developed frontline knowledge and expertise based on its presence in the community, as well as in providing direct service provision to victims of human trafficking. Leadership and staff participants acknowledged the importance of acquiring such knowledge by being on the frontlines of the fight against human trafficking. Kashina referred to the importance of such expert knowledge:

But one needs to realize that the development sector is such that you'll constantly have to put your feet into the field and see how it is because if you don't do that, then you're not going to be able to suggest to a government saying, "This is something that works," or, "This is something that doesn't work." ... And I think the success of the organization is in the fact that we've been able to do that. We've been able to go to that level of advocacy and go to that level of talking to people about what works and does not work.

As a result, Prerana has gained state, national, and international recognition for the interventions it has developed. For instance, the Government of India incorporated Prerana's Elimination of Second Generation Trafficking model into its National Plan of Action to combat trafficking and sexual exploitation in 1998.

Having such a reservoir of practical, frontline knowledge and expertise led to the creation of Prerana's ATC at the urging of the U.S. Department of State. The ATC is a "knowledge hub" that engages in research and documentation, information dissemination, legal mobilization, and network creation of anti-trafficking organizations in India and South Asia. The ATC has produced numerous reports, guides, and case studies on Prerana's methods and approaches and maintains an extensive social media presence.

Prerana also works extensively to share its learnings by engaging in collaborations and partnerships. For instance, Prerana founded the Network Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation & Trafficking, is involved in numerous anti-trafficking NGO networks, and facilitates and participates in multistakeholder convenings. Recently, for example, Prerana held a convening in Mumbai titled "Identifying Changing Trends, Consolidating Interventions in Anti Human Trafficking." As discussed on Prerana's social media:

The Consultation was attended by various experts of child rights, human trafficking, legal systems, juvenile justice systems, and mental health. Recent trends in trafficking were discussed at the consultation, along with innovations in anti-trafficking interventions. The event was attended by participants from various states including Maharashtra, Goa, Delhi, Meghalaya, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. The consultation was held to bring together various voices from the field and to further networking and collaboration among the various stakeholders for successfully protecting the rights of the victims. (Prerana, 2019h, para. 1).

Priti and other members of the leadership team have also been asked to share Prerana's experiences in a variety of international fora including the UNODC, U.N. World Congress, UNICEF, and U.S. Agency for International Development, among others.

Empower Children and Mothers

The processes of providing support to and empowering the children and mothers is key to Prerana's prevention work. For instance, Prerana strives to empower mothers through education, and fosters self-sufficiency by advising mothers on how to, for example, get a bank account or a ration card or voting card. Priti conveyed, "I think that constantly listening to your community

and empowering your community [mothers], so not making them dependent on you.

Empowering them ... I think that has worked very well for us.”

Madhuri thought that empowering the girls takes the form of the exploitation cycle being broken, where the girls are independent and safe. Prerana has knowledge of this through follow-up with the children. To Madhuri,

That is the biggest success for us if a particular girl is not going again in that [red light] area, and she's doing a job, she has completed her education, and she's meeting us. ... If she's empowered enough to face challenges of life, then that is the successful story. And we are seeing that in our children. When they go outside, they survive. They meet us. They tell us stories about the kind of challenges they're facing, and how they faced it.

Aaheli shared a compelling story that exemplified a child's trajectory when they are supported and empowered. The story begins with three girls who were rescued from an RLA in Mumbai, one of whom was a minor and came to be one of Prerana's PRO cases. According to Aaheli,

When we started working with her, she was reluctant to stay in the institution or to move to counseling or to attend any educational, vocational training. And it occurs three to four months when we actually can introduce that counseling session to her. She started counseling sessions, she started opening up to the counselors as well as the social worker about the community that she belonged to. ... She spoke about how her mother pushed her into the trade. ... And she spoke about how, at this point in time, she doesn't want to go back there. She doesn't want to go into the same. ... When she came to us, the parents, they approached a sessions court asking for the custody of the child. And we sent all these reports to the sessions court. We went to every court visit and we presented the case

in front of the sessions court. We told them about the family, about how it's not good to send the child back at this point in time. So all of these ... the legal process worked out and then a judgment came keeping the child in the institution over a year.

Aaheli continued,

And over a period of time, we tried to convince her to try going to the training. ... We made a Care Plan for her. We conducted a social investigation at her home, at her hometown over there as well as in Mumbai in the place that she was rescued from. We set a course for her education. [Three years later] she gave the 10th standard examination.

Aaheli concluded,

This child took a really long time to open up and talk about her family. We worked with her family. ... And now, the child, at present, she's telling us, "I'll see how my results go. Now, I'm studying for my 12th. Then I want to go for After Care facility. I want to earn money and stand on my own feet then take care of my family again. If my parents are doing this because of poverty because they don't have money enough, I will earn enough to take care of my entire family."

Theme 6: Education is Central

Central to all of Prerana's efforts to end intergenerational sexual exploitation and prevent human trafficking is education. Noted above, education in Prerana takes myriad forms. First, Prerana works to ensure the child has access to formal education, provides support in the form of nonformal education, and places emphasis on HRE. In addition to the extensive facets of the ESP, education efforts include infusing HRE through all of Prerana's programs, educating mothers, educating community stakeholders, and educating larger audiences about Prerana's best

practices and lessons learned. According to Priti, “we as an organization have always felt that education is one of the tools of change.”

From its inception, Prerana worked to guarantee the child’s right to education. Priti asserted, “we’ve always, from day one, believed that every child, no matter what, where he’s born, to whom he is born, should have access to formal education.” Priti relayed the challenges faced in its early days as Prerana worked to convince mothers and others that children had this right and they should be enrolled in school. Priti shared,

And so you can imagine the challenge that we had. We had no best practice ... to share with them. We couldn’t tell them, “Well, look that is a child here and his mother was prostitute, and look where he is today.” So yes, but I must tell you something very interesting. What came in our favor ... what worked was the perpetrators of the sex trade felt if we educated the children, they would be available to be sold to richer clients. So they were our biggest supporters. I mean, they could see how education can help them make more profits. Though the women were finding it difficult to see.

As noted, an initial challenge was gaining access for the children to English and Marathi “medium” schools. Kashina shared that when Prerana started, only 1% of RLA children were enrolled in the local school. Today, Kashina said, “85%, or maybe more—90% of the children in that school are coming from our Outreach Programs from this area.” Once children gained access, it was important to focus on retention. According to Kashina, Prerana worked to “ensure that their retention is possible in this education institutions because that’s been a constant challenge with marginalized communities.”

Although education access and retention were key focal points, it became apparent to Prerana that children also needed other types of education and support. Priti summarized that notion in this way:

It was 1990 when we formalized the Education Support Program. ... We said it needs to be very comprehensive. It can't be just enrollment and ensuring the weaker dropout and prevent stagnation. It needs to be beyond that. So, beyond that, what was it? So, we need to talk about careers to children. We need to give them soft skills. We need to give them life skills. We need to talk about livelihood training, because children kept growing up, right? And we also had to involve mothers. So, we needed to talk about parenting to the mothers.

Kashina and Priti talked about the impact of the ESP over time. To Priti, "over a period of time, you have to see the impact of the Education Support Program, and you have to see that you break the cycle of intergenerational trafficking." Priti shared,

So first, when we would go and pitch to people and talk about our goal, they would say, "Do you think these children will ever go to school?" We said, "Of course. I mean, you make it available. You create an enabling environment for them, of course, they'll go to school." So then, five years later when we said, "Oh, all the children go to school," then they started asking, "Do you think they'll ever complete 10th grade?" We said, "Of course. Create an enabling environment. Provide all the support system. They will reach up to 10th." So when our children reached the 10th, they started saying, "Do you think anybody will reach the 12th?" We said, "Of course. Give them..." After 12th they said, "Do you think anybody will ever do college education?" And we said, "Yes."

Summary for Research Question 1

For Research Question 1, this researcher hoped to provide an in-depth understanding of how Prerana works to prevent human trafficking. Through interviews with leadership participants and staff hailing from various programs in the organization, as well as observations in the field and document analysis, the researcher was able to discern that Prerana takes a comprehensive approach in its human trafficking prevention efforts. These efforts begin with focusing on the child foremost, working with and involving mothers at every juncture, engaging and educating the communities, and working to shift deep-rooted societal attitudes that discriminate and exclude the invisible population of women and children that Prerana serves. Moreover, findings captured overarching prevention strategies that include needs-based programming; a process of assessing, evolving, and adapting as required; consistent outreach and follow-up; developing frontline expert knowledge; and working to empower the children and their mothers/families. A final theme revealed that education is a central component of Prerana's prevention approach.

Research Question 2: Educational Programming

What are the goals and methods of Prerana's Education Support Program?

Prerana works toward ensuring that every child in its care—from the NCC child, to the Nauniha shelter home child, to the child placed in institutional care settings—receives the right to an education. Prerana has worked to that end by creating the ESP, as well as infusing educational components into each of its many programs. In narrowing the aperture from the wider organization to the ESP, Research Question 2 asked about the goals and methods of Prerana's ESP. From interviews with four ESP teachers, the following five themes emerged: (a) education goals and objectives of the ESP, (b) education methods of the ESP, (c) child-rights

education, (d) child sharing learnings, and (e) program challenges. Of the four teachers interviewed, three are teachers in ESP Study Classes—Balmani, Mahesh, and Mansi—and Jyoti is the Life Skills Education teacher. ESP study classes take place five times per week during the school year, whereas Life Skills sessions take place twice a month for ages 7–9 and 10–14. Responses varied depending on in which part of the ESP the teacher was involved.

Theme 1: Goals and Objectives of the ESP

When asked about the goals and objectives of the ESP, the three ESP teachers pointed to promoting and supporting the child’s education. For Mahesh, that translated into the notion that the child “should come in ESP, and study well, and do well in school also.” Mahesh allowed material support is often necessary, given the mother’s circumstances, so the ESP provides children with the school supplies they need. In addition, Mahesh believed that imparting general knowledge and emphasizing the importance of education were primary goals of the ESP:

[We] try and make them understand how can education actually support them in the future. So how can education help them come out of the situation they are already in. So we motivate them that way. We also try to increase their general knowledge. So when we do Study Classes, our focus is not entirely on the academic aspect of it, but to make them smarter in the sense that they have general knowledge, that they know everything beyond books and schools. The knowledge that they should possess.

Balmani, who has been with Prerana for 12 years, said the “goal is basically to kick start their education.” Given the backgrounds and circumstances of many of the children, who, for example, may not speak either Marathi or Hindi (official languages of Maharashtra State), or who have dropped out of school, Balmani emphasized the need to gauge where the child is academically and get started helping to fill in the gaps where necessary. For Jyoti, the Life Skills

teacher, the emphasis was slightly different with the goal being to focus on practical life skills such as emotional balance, communications skills, interpersonal relationship skills, creative thinking, critical thinking, problem-solving, and self-awareness. To Jyoti, “these are literally things which [are] useful in your daily life.”

In addition to the information provided by the teachers, Prerana lays out the goals and objectives of the ESP in a document published in 2018 assessing the ESP. Figure 9 lists the objectives that Prerana sets out for the ESP.

| Goals: |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing comprehensive supportive inputs for their sustained formal education • Supporting the education of the children and youth of the VOCSET [Victim of Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking] women who were staying in the RLA as well as those children and youth who were placed in outside shelter facilities for long term care and support • Providing complementary and remedial education, life skills education, soft skills and personality development inputs besides the routine formal education • Sponsoring children to suitable vocational training programs such as driving, computer programming, para-professional social work, para-medical work, catering and hospitality, for employability and eventual economic self-reliance etc. |
| Objectives: |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To instill amongst the children and their mothers from the RLA the critical importance of a formal education • To create smooth access to formal education for these children • To block and remove any hurdles in the way of formal education of these children • To ensure that all the facilities of formal education are made available to these children • To ensure that every child of the RLA-based prostituted woman is enrolled in formal schooling right from the primary level if he/she is of the right age • To offer the option of Open Schooling to the children who were ineligible to be admitted at the primary level because of over-age or other similar factors • To help these children in every way possible to successfully cross the important milestones in formal education • To provide need-based remedial education at different levels for these children • To provide complementary education to these children |

Figure 9. Education Support Program goals and objectives.

Note. Reproduced from *Assessment of Education Support Program*, by Prerana, 2018b, pp. 3–4. Retrieved from <https://www.fighttrafficking.org/research/assessment-of-education-support-program-june-2018-2/> Reproduced with permission.

Theme 2: Education Methods of the ESP

The ESP uses a variety of methods to achieve its goals of supporting children along their educational journeys including needs-based programming, issue- and values-based activities, child participation, and child protection. To begin, participants described that a good deal of planning takes place on a monthly, weekly, and daily basis. They plan age-appropriate lessons, sessions, and activities with consideration given to the length of time for each so as not to overtax the children. The teachers also report daily on their classes and the teachers attend bimonthly Teachers' Meetings to discuss various issues and review the children's progress, including any social or emotional issues that may arise.

Needs-Based Programming

Grounded in Prerana's strategy to focus on the needs of the children, the ESP considers the specific needs of the children and plans Study Class lessons and Life Skills sessions accordingly. Mansi described,

[We] looks at the need of the child. If the child doesn't know to read at all then we'll start with the special purpose for that child. If the child is poor in maths, then we start with the special purpose to that.

Mansi and Jyoti both acknowledged that when developing curricula, it is important to consider and factor the child's background into their work. Mansi stated,

In reference to the red light area ... you know children come from such community so [they see] abusers, some people are not normal. So we, as teachers, teach them that not to abuse, to be respectful towards other, abusing is wrong. And then, just in case you are agitated, then control yourself, sit down.

Issue- and Values-based Activities

In addition to the academic support the children receive in Study Classes, the ESP has developed numerous activities, many of which are issue- and values-based. Activities mentioned by the three teachers were puppet shows, newspaper reading, storytelling, craft activities, games, and general-knowledge sessions. According to Balmani,

As far as things like storytelling go, it's basically to give things to the imagination and all. So that's when these sessions are important, not just from an academic point of view, but to infuse all these things. And newspaper reading to have them grow their general knowledge on these things.

In the case of puppet shows, for example, the teacher and child consider an issue, make puppets, and perform the puppet show. Mansi gave the example of considering the topic of bullying: "we created the dialogue based on children bullying each other. I'm not talking about these children. In general, there's bullies. So [we] made the dialogue based on that and then [we] used it in puppet show."

Likewise, Mahesh shared,

So through that puppet show, we try to give moral lessons to children [like] how you are supposed to give respect to people, be respectful to others. So through puppet shows, we try to give all this kind of moral lessons to children.

Given that many of these types of educational activities take place during holidays and festivals, Balmani also mentioned teaching the children about different cultures and religions as well as the importance of being respectful of all traditions and religions. Adding to such efforts, Prerana works in collaboration with an organization called Clap Global where NCC children can learn about diversity and different cultures. According to Prerana,

Over the past few months, through ClapTalks, international travelers interact and engage in meaningful and often surprising conversations with students over a video call ... we believe that cultural exchanges like these are important for better growth and learning of young minds. (Prerana, 2019f, para. 1)

In developing and carrying out activities, Mahesh tries to focus on outcomes:

The outcome is necessary. Priti Tai once was mentioning ... always look for the outcome ... whatever we're doing look for the outcome of it. So even if you're playing a game, what is the outcome? [What does] the child learn? She is equal to me. The boy learns that the girl is equal to me. She's as good as I am. She's as physically strong as I am. So all these things.

Mansi discussed how the children take what they learn in values and behaviors with them into their daily lives. Mansi shared,

So when [we] teach the children here, they'll know how to treat others, how to behave with others, how to talk to others, and how not to behave with them. So they keep it in their mind and then they use it. Because they remember that, "You know, my teacher at Prerana told me not to behave like this with anyone, so I won't do it."

Child Participation

Various groups, based on age, have been developed to give children the opportunity to express their thoughts and opinions in Prerana and out in the larger community. Mahesh named several opportunities, starting with *Ekta* Group (meaning *unity*) that is a children's collective in Prerana meant to "involve the adolescent and youth in the functioning of the ESP. This process fosters a feeling of belongingness for the children. It also lets them know that they have a say and the power to transform their life and future" (Prerana, 2018b, p. 11). Another is Peer

Educators for children between the ages of 12 and 18. The purpose of the Peer Educators group is to “participate in creating awareness about social issues in the red-light areas and other slum communities. The means of creating awareness are dance and drama performances, performing flash mobs on the streets, street plays...” (Prerana, 2018b, p. 33). Mahesh gave an example of the types of activities in which Peer Group members engage:

[The] main festivals in Mumbai ... so those are the times when kids go and perform within the community to spread some kind of social message or awareness. ... During World’s AID Day we perform activities and we kind of pay homage to women who died due to HIV. ... So basically, we let children from the community give the message to the community. Again, child participation is that factor which comes in.

Mahesh shared that the Little Star group is for smaller children, aged 6–11. The Little Star group addresses issues such as health, hygiene, and nutrition. Mahesh conveyed the importance of encouraging and enabling children to speak for themselves during Little Star meetings: “the aim is that one, they know to voice their opinion and it kind of infuses leadership skills; also in that the children are able to speak for themselves.”

Also to that end, Jyoti encourages child participation by asking the children what types of Life Skills sessions they would like. Jyoti’s view is, “Not just, ‘I’m the adult so I’m the one who will decide the sessions.’ No. You have a right, as well. You should give me suggestions and I’ll work on it.” Jyoti then plans lessons that provide opportunities for participation. Jyoti stated, “I plan my session in such a way they have to learn to talk. ... If they don’t learn it now, it’s very difficult for us to share our thoughts and speak up.” Finally, Mansi said ESP teachers “do not force any kind of activity on the children if the children feel they do not want to participate.”

Child Protection

Given the environment in the RLA that is not conducive to studying, Prerana and the ESP provide both safety away from the RLA, and a quiet place to study. According to Mahesh,

There is lots of noise in the community also. Then, they can't study over there. ... If they study at home, some parents give them work ... 'Bring some rice. Bring some bag. Bring some coke.' ... They can't focus and study."

Additionally, Jyoti raised the importance of protecting the children's privacy. During Life Skills sessions, children often share personal stories and discuss sensitive subjects. One rule of Life Skills is that the children are allowed to share what they learned with others, but not share personal stories they have heard in Life Skills sessions. Given the sensitive nature of some of the sessions, visitors are not allowed to observe Life Skills sessions. In one session, called the "Tree of Rules," Jyoti involved the children in a conversation about rules and asked them why rules were important. She also asked them to help form rules for the Life Skills sessions. The children said, "We shouldn't tease anyone. Be a good listener. Be a good speaker. Respect each other's view." Interestingly, the conversation turned to how Prerana has rules to protect the children. Jyoti shared,

And the one thing which children said, "Prerana has a rule of no photos and no videos. For our security." The children are aware of that. "This rule is for our security. If our photos or videos are being circulated, anyone can misuse it." This was one thing which was a very positive thing for me, that they're aware.

Theme 3: Child-Rights Education

The third theme that emerged from interviews with the teachers was how they incorporate the subject of child rights into Study Class lessons and Life Skills sessions. Balmani

indicated that a central tenet of Prerana's programs is that the children have the right to education under the law. Further Balmani indicated,

[We] do incorporate [child rights] in [the] classes. For example ... telling children that they have [a] right to education. They're not supposed to be laborers. According to law, any child cannot be made to work, any child below the age of 14 cannot be made to work anywhere. The child has to go to school, all these things. If there are things like child sexual abuse, there also [we] tell them that this is child sexual abuse. What do you do when you see any kind of such things? Like how do you identify them?

In addition, and in efforts to reinforce that children have the right to an education, Balmani continued,

[We] motivate children to look for children who are in the red light area and who are not going to school because of children's right to go to school. So come and tell us. ... And the child should be brought under the umbrella of education. So [we] talk about [this and] incorporate it in the lessons.

Jyoti also discussed incorporating child rights into Life Skills sessions, making children aware that they have rights, and what to do if those rights are violated. Jyoti shared,

In one of our sessions, I also made them realize that even if you're a child, that doesn't mean you don't have any rights. ... Just because you're a child, that doesn't mean an adult can do whatever he or she wants. You have certain rights and you should be aware of those rights. And if there's anything which—if there's anyone who violates your right, you have the right to raise a voice for yourself, or for any person, or for any child who is your friend or your neighbor or your sibling, for that matter.

One method Jyoti employs is the use of film screenings. Jyoti shared a story about a documentary regarding voting rights:

So I showed them a documentary ... on the importance of voting. So there were two [Prerana] children who were talking about what they want from the government. What would they like to happen, the changes. So one child from Falkland Road Center, he said, "I would really want a leader who would come up and do something for the women in [the] red light area. Because I think these women are ignored. People don't consider it. People don't even give the consideration. People don't even give the consideration that these are humans which have to be taken care of." The child was only 14 years old! So I was like, "Wow. This is something really important." ... No one actually cares about those women. We just categorize them. We just generalize that these women maybe willingly have come. But we don't know the gruesome story which the woman has gone through which has landed her into this thing. The child has thought. There should be someone who does something for these women so that the new generation, the females, who are not into this trade are not pushed into it. They don't land up here.

This particular anecdote was meaningful to Jyoti because she thought it exemplified the importance of children having a voice. Jyoti said,

You're encouraging the child to talk, to share these thoughts. Because I think it's very, very difficult to talk about such things because the child has been living in this community for so many years. His mother might be a victim of commercial sexual exploitation. He must have seen his mother being beaten by the pimp or the fancy man. Right? And he knows that this thing has to be addressed. So I think the platform to let a child talk, to be himself, is very important. And Life Skills sessions definitely give them a

platform. And Prerana has various projects and every project, the bottom line is to encourage a child ... just talk. Express your views, which is very important.

Theme 4: Children Share What They Learn with Others

The fourth theme that emerged from the data was that Prerana children take what they learn and teach it to others, including their mothers and communities. They also take what they learn and apply it in their daily lives. Balmani provided examples of some of the practical information they teach the children, such as boiling water during the rainy season to avoid disease, conserving water during times of scarcity, practicing cleanliness to avoid TB in the RLA, and that tobacco causes cancer. Balmani said, “We are teaching our children and they are going and actually spreading this information within the community through their mothers.” According to Balmani, “When Mothers’ Meetings happens, mothers come and tell, ‘Oh, this is what is taught in Prerana to our children. This is what [the children] come and tell us.’”

Similarly, Jyoti shared an example of a movie screening that was followed by discussions regarding applicability to the children’s own lives. Jyoti shared,

I screened a movie called—you must have heard about that movie—Slumdog Millionaire. So in that movie, there’s a scene where the child actually collects the used water bottles, plastic bottles, and fills them with the tap water and seals the top of the bottle with the ... gum so that it can be reusable. It’s not a filtered water. It’s tap water that is being sold to the customers once again. ... One of the [Prerana] children said, “Okay, Didi, I’ll make sure that I crush the bottles and then I’ll throw them in the dustbin. What I used to do is, I used to just empty it and throw it.” ... Because in stations you’ll see that ... people who actually take these bottles and sell them. So the children are like, “Now we’re aware.”

The children also go into the community to hold rallies and marches twice a year during Republic Day and Independence Day to increase awareness and educate the community about topics such as child labor, a child's right to education, and HIV/AIDS. During these celebration days, Prerana also holds Open Houses at the NCCs for the children, the mothers, and former children of Prerana to engage in discussions about various topics of interest. These gatherings are also an opportunity for the children to teach their mothers what they have learned. For instance, Mahesh shared,

In last Open House, we talked to children about financial inclusion. The topic was around financial inclusion. We asked children, "You should talk to your mother about her savings, where to put her money. How to transfer money" Because these children know how banking system works. ... So they go and talk to their mothers about it. If we directly talk to [the mothers], they may not take it; it's easier to explain things to them through their children. So this is how we empower children, they go and then kind of tell these things in the community and all.

Theme 5: Program Challenges

Mahesh, Balmani, Jyoti, and Mansi all conveyed that in their respective roles they have experienced challenges pertaining to the impact RLA life has on the children and how RLA life can negatively impact the child personally, in addition to their studies. Some children have witnessed violence and abuse or have themselves experiences trauma. Also, in some cases, children have been uprooted from their villages, brought to Mumbai, and cannot speak the language. This migration can result in behavioral and academic challenges. Mahesh discussed that as a result of migration, children may be at different levels academically than same-age peers. Mahesh described,

Now, these challenges happen because either the child is a school dropout ... or the child has come from the village, a newcomer who has come to Mumbai. And I think language can be a problem ... because they are coming from different—they are brought here, not coming. They are brought from different states. So these are multiple challenges. And then these challenges are particular, I think, to the children from the red light area like school dropping out and ... bringing them from different states.

Another issue is that life in the RLA is quite unpredictable. A child may stop coming to Prerana because the mother goes back to her village during holidays and the child misses school and Prerana sessions. According to Jyoti,

This three-month gap affects a child's regularity ... the momentum is broken and the child, again, has to start from scratch. ... Sometimes a mother comes. Sometimes a mother doesn't. Sometimes she just shifts to some other place to work there. So it's something which we're not able to—in fact, I'm not able to get a perfect solution for it. It's something which is unpredictable.

Balmani added that she experiences the challenge of vicarious trauma as well.

Balmani shared,

Personally when [I] teach children. ... So [I] see that these are the children who are coming from red light areas and what kind of abuses they have gone through, what kind of challenges they have faced at that age. So, this is something that personally ... affects [me]. Now, how [do I] deal with it? Of course years down the line when we have an annual function called Balak Utsav [Children's Festival] so we call all the children who have been under Prerana's wing. It's a huge function that happens in December. And years down the line when [I see] that the child has grown up to be this, and another child

is stable, so that's when [I] get [my] happiness. A child has faced so much in his childhood and now the person is kind of settled, grown up, all these things.

Summary for Research Question 2

The second research question served to establish the goals and methods of the ESP through the lens of ESP teachers. The primary goal of the ESP is to ensure that children realize their right to education. The ESP works to promote and support the child's education by first ensuring the child has access to formal schooling, and then by providing academic support in the child's education endeavors. In addition, providing life skills is central to the ESP, particularly given the unique circumstances and backgrounds of RLA children. Prerana employs several methods to achieve goals: the ESP includes needs-based programming, issue- and values-based education, child participation, and child protection. Other themes that emerged from the teacher interviews included an emphasis on child rights in the ESP curricula and that children share what they have learned with their mothers and the community. A final theme centered on challenges teachers address that often stem from the circumstances and backgrounds of the RLA children.

Research Question 3: Children's Voices

What do the children in the care of the NGO convey about their experiences with the organization and its education programs?

Research Question 3 sought to understand the experiences of Prerana children with the organization and its educational programming. The five participants interviewed for Research Question 3 were adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18. The number of years the children had been under Prerana's care ranged between 6 and 15 years. Three participants were adolescent girls living in Prerana's Naunihal shelter for girls. The other two children were from Prerana's Falkland Road NCC and Kamathipura NCC. Interview findings yielded two

categories: the children's experiences with Prerana, and the children's experiences with Prerana's educational programming.

Experiences with Prerana

The children conveyed their thoughts about and experiences with Prerana's programs and activities, what they considered to be unique about Prerana, and whether they faced any challenges during their time at Prerana. Several concepts emerged from the interviews including (a) how Prerana takes care of and commits to the child over the long-term, (b) how child rights are central, (c) how Prerana staff encourage child participation, (d) how Prerana interacts with the children's mothers/families, and (e) how each child had in some way changed in the course of their time with Prerana.

Care of and Long-Term Commitment to Child

Children from Naunihal and the NCCs conveyed that Prerana gave the children safety and security. Aarav plainly stated, "[I] feel very safe in Prerana. And given the fact that there's no space in [my] home, there's too much of a space crunch, so [I] come to Prerana and [I] like it here." Neena observed the same: "Prerana gives many children ... shelter, security, good nutrition, care about health, and education."

Neena and Raya both pointed to the notion that Prerana works to ensure that when girls arrive at Naunihal, they do not feel alone. To Neena, it was important that

Prerana has systems in place. ... They are not confused about their work plan. There are systems, when a child gets admitted to the institution right from that day until her 18 years of age. (After 18 years of age they are going to work.) [Prerana has] clarity on that. They don't just get admitted. There are systems that [Prerana] orients the child,

welcome[s] the child, provide[s] a welcome kit to the child, and then [Prerana] show[s] the facility to the child, then prepare[s] the particular child-care plan.

Raya echoed Neena's observations:

The unique thing about Prerana is that when the child gets admitted, it is seen that the child is not sitting without doing anything. Immediately, she is involved in something. Immediately, she is referred to the counselor. Immediately, staff takes care of her interests and accordingly her care plan is taken forward, looking at her interests. So the child doesn't get time to—she should not feel like she is alone.

Children from Naunihal and the NCCs conveyed that counseling sessions were important and appreciated that counselors and staff were always available for the children. According to Visha,

[We] can meet counselor. There are two counselors so whichever counselor [we] like [we] can go and share whatever [we] feel. And ... staff is available for [us] at any point of time so [we] can go to the staff and share any trouble [we] are facing or any ideas [we] want to share.

A number of the children also spoke of Prerana being committed to the children over time. For instance, Neena shared,

When the child turns 18 years old, the plan is made for them. It's not like at 18 [Prerana] says, "Oh, you are not our child ... we are not responsible." After 18 years of age, [Prerana] does follow up visits and check[s] if the child is doing well, even if she is married: how is her husband, how is her in-laws, does she need any kind of support.

The emphasis on long-term care also applies to helping the children think about and plan for their futures. Aarav says that once he is finished with 12th standard, he is "looking forward to

guidance from one of the persons which [Prerana] has suggested and ... see ... what he's going to study further." Similarly, Neena and Raya talked about the help Prerana provides with career planning. Neena explained that girls 17 and older take part in career counseling sessions where "they give career orientation and insight. They make available various options for career and reality check also." Raya observed,

If any child is confused, and she has no clarity of what career she should choose ... that problem isn't only the child's, it becomes social worker's and they don't let it go until the child gets clarity of what they want to do. It's not like ... "It's not my problem." The social workers and counselors both come together and help the child get more clarity about her career.

Child Rights are Central

Each participant, when asked, agreed that child rights are central to Prerana's work. Moreover, each displayed a keen awareness of their own rights as children. Preshti, the youngest of the participants, emphatically stated, "Prerana stands for children's rights, for safety of children, for safety of girls especially." Preshti continued,

And another one is life of dignity. ... [And] all children should get education because in some cases, instances in a child, girl child is married too early for life. And she's not able to complete her education. So she should get her education. That is one of her rights and another is right to healthy life. Everyone should have a healthy life.

Aarav stated,

Children should get all of their rights, especially their rights to food. Right that is a fundamental right, right to food, and then they should get their education. And everyone has right to dignity, live a life of dignity ... the safety of children. The children should

not be hit or abused in any way. ... So call 1098, as in when there is any kind of abuse that we see against children.

Raya mentioned the right to education as well as the fact that “no corporal punishment will be tolerated.” Neena began, “When I listen about child rights, the first words I listen—LIVE. Then shelter, nutrition, education, right to information.” Neena also placed child rights in the context of the Indian caste system, noting, “a child is a child, no matter what level of society he/she comes from. That child should get equal rights.” Neena went on to talk about the importance of information:

You should not neglect our right to information. Like you teach us about [Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012], giving trainings about [that Act]. You should give us legal understanding of what is happening all around. As a child, I should know self-defense techniques.

Aarav and Raya also mentioned government campaigns to which they were exposed at Prerana in child-rights-education sessions. Aarav discussed a campaign called “Save Daughter, Educate Daughter” that addressed the traditional custom of son preference. Raya talked about the “Missing Girl Campaign” where she learned more about human trafficking. Raya shared,

It’s not that only girls get trafficked, boys also get trafficked, but the number of girls are more. The main reason children get trafficked is because of the lack of education, lack of jobs, lack of earning. They have less options. They are striving for food and basic things which forces them or the situation creates that they will get trafficked and even they don’t know how they get trafficked. Very easily, they are vulnerable because of these basic challenges.

Child Participation

Another aspect that each child touched on was child participation. For the Naunihal girls this came in the form of being involved in decision-making. According to Visha,

Nothing is happening here without [our] participation. [Prerana] conducts activities by involving [us], by asking [us], “What kind of activities would YOU like to have in summer vacation, in Devali vacation?” [We] share and then [Prerana] plans activities. [I] like that [we] are asked about those things. And [I] like that [we] have the space, freedom of choice and freedom of expression that [we] are having.

Neena described participation as “the specialty of Prerana. Everything, child participation and child involvement is great about Prerana because they don’t take any decision without involving the child.” Neena also discussed how at Naunihal, each girl has her own care plan that each child is involved with developing and revising on a monthly basis with Prerana staff.

At the NCCs, Preshti and Aarav shared the types of activities in which child participation takes place inside the NCC and in the larger community. For instance, the ESP has different groups like Peer Group and *Ekta* Group where children participate in deciding the activities in which they will engage. Children can anonymously recommend activities or bring issues about which they may not feel comfortable speaking about in a larger group in a locked suggestion box. Those suggestions are communicated once a month during *Ekta* Group meetings.

Child participation also involves children partaking in activities outside of the NCC. Aarav, for example, has participated in annual Balak Utsav dance performances, whereas Preshti is a part of the Song Bound singing group. When I met Preshti, she and her Song Bound Group were going to Canada on a cultural exchange organized by the NGO Yuva Arts Project. Understandably, Preshti was excited, and when I asked what she was looking forward to in

Canada, she replied she would make new friends, learn the local language, and, since it is a cultural exchange, she would represent India and Prerana in Canada. She was most excited, however, to go on an airplane, one of her “biggest dreams.”

Relations with Mothers/Families

The children described their perceptions of Prerana’s relationships with their mothers/families. Aarav and Preshti are involved with Prerana’s NCCs. They both expressed that the interaction with the mother in Preshti’s case, and the grandmother in Aarav’s case, takes place through Prerana’s daily outreach visits as well as Mothers’ Meetings. Preshti acknowledged that the outreach team asks if her mother is well, if she needs anything, and will help when needed. Aarav shared,

During outreach when they are there, so they keep on asking [my] grandmother about [me] ... [and], “How are you? How is your health? How are you doing?” Like the general conversation. ... They also ask her if she has an Aadhar Card [Indian identity document] ... Ration Card [grocery subsidies].

The Naunihal girls also described very good relationships between Prerana and their families. Neena noted how, in other shelter homes, family visits may be every 3 or 4 months, but at Naunihal the visits are once a month on Sunday for 3 hours, along with weekly phone calls on Sundays, and families are invited for festivals and birthdays. Neena described a very good rapport between staff and her mother: “My mom and Didi relations [are] very nice.” And Visha, who is an orphan, shared a story about when her brother came to visit and she was away taking an examination. Normally, she would be the one to attend to her brother, but instead a staff member postponed her break to assist. Visha shared, “It was a very good experience ... that [my] brother was attended nicely, politely.”

The Naunihal staff is involved in child protection, with weekly phone calls on speaker phone because the possibility exists that the mother is not on the phone; rather, someone else is trying to locate the child. Staff also wants to ensure the mother is not overburdening the child with her problems. In that event, staff counsels the mother that such discussions could be upsetting to the child.

Child Transformation—Vignettes

Aarav, Preshti, Visha, and Neena each shared stories of some of the challenges they have encountered since becoming involved with Prerana and how, through Prerana's support and encouragement, they overcame them. For example, without revealing anything about his background, Aarav shared that when he came to Prerana at the age of 11 he was unable to read or write in Hindi or English; he only knew Urdu. This was a big challenge for him because he went to school having to start in the 6th standard and had to follow along with the curriculum that was already set. Aarav said he was taught the basics by Prerana, which helped to fill the gaps. He also worked hard and eventually learned to read and write in Hindi. When I met Aarav, he was about to take the 12th standard examinations. Aarav also shared that once he finished the 12th standard, he would ask Prerana for guidance. He would like to become a banker.

The story Neena shared was that she was 9 years old when she moved to Naunihal. She was in a new school with new teachers and new friends, but she could not speak the local language. In those days, she cried a great deal. According to Neena, Prerana encouraged and helped her learn the local dialect, and also through hard work, she was able to speak the language well within 6 months. Her life improved from that point. Today, Neena has aspirations to be a librarian, as she loves books.

Visha explained her story this way:

[My] beginning phase at Prerana when [I] was very small and [my] mother just used to pick [me] up and drop [me] at Night Care Center of Prerana and forcing [me] to be with Prerana because [my] future was more secure with Prerana. And at that time [I] was very scared of the new environment; all the new girls and surroundings were totally different. So it was the staff who encouraged [me] gradually and more frequently they started giving [me] positive strokes, so that's how [my] confidence was built and then [I] was given leadership in many activities. That's how [I grew] up in that environment and [I] felt that [I] can do better. Leadership skills were enhanced in NCC. Eventually something happened in [my] personal life; that is the reason [I] got shifted to the shelter facility for more security. And here those skills that were imbibed in those times were very helpful when [I] came to Naunihal and [I] started taking leading [roles]. ... Leadership skills and confidence are something that Prerana has given to [me] throughout.

Preshti shared that she was very shy and reserved when her mother brought her to the NCC as a little girl. She said she was reluctant to participate in some activities, especially because she was not a good dancer and not a good singer. Another child at Prerana was a very good dancer and Preshti challenged herself to be better. She said Prerana staff encouraged her, helped her, and she worked hard such that now she is a good singer and dancer and has so much more confidence. In addition to participating in the cultural exchange to Canada, Preshti shared that she wants to be a “pro in dance and singing.” She also wants to “train children from India ... give them free training ... and train them so well that one day they should come on television.”

Experiences With Prerana's Education Programs

The child participants were asked to convey their thoughts about and experiences with Prerana's educational activities. Together, the children's responses pointed to a host of

educational sessions and activities they thought provided practical knowledge, values, and leadership skills. Despite some variations between NCC and Nauniha activities, the focus remained on the practical nature of the educational programming.

Practical Knowledge, Values, and Leadership Skills

Night-care centers. The NCCs provide basic Study Classes in the evenings focused on academics, as well as other sessions and activities. For instance, Aarav said his favorite sessions are the Life Skills sessions. He said that they are creative and teach about practical things like cleanliness in the RLA. He also really enjoys the “account” sessions; he is now studying commerce. Aarav and Preshti said “stage management” (public speaking) helped them improve their confidence. Preshti too enjoys Life Skills sessions because they “teach what is it that you ... how good a human being you can grow up to, like how to control your anger, all these things.”

Aarav and Preshti also highlighted Prerana’s “Day-to-Day” Summer Camp that runs for a month and a half during summer holidays, beginning in mid-April. Both children liked all the fun activities, games, and sports. Aarav “loves cricket” as well as the Bollywood movies they show at summer camp. Aarav was quick to point out that, “Because summer camp is a time to chill, so they show popular movies like popular Bollywood movies ... but otherwise also, they show movies throughout the year ... but those are very socially oriented or related to social issues.”

As an observer at the Falkland Road NCC, I was able to see the many activities the children engage in during Summer Camp. The children’s energy and enthusiasm was palpable and their laughter rang through the courtyard. I was also invited to participate in a word-game activity that involved a race to match words from one end of the courtyard to the next. Although my partner, a boy of about 9, was initially shy, as the game progressed, he was all smiles and we

shared many high fives as we took the lead in the game. Summer-camp activities were highlighted on Prerana's social media:

School is out and summer has begun. Our Night Care Centers are bustling with children running around, having fun and being children, because why not? After all Prerana's Day-to-Day Summer Camp is here. The Day-to-Day Summer Camp begins in the month of April, post the exams and concludes on the 31st of May. It gives the children an opportunity to leave their books aside, and enjoy themselves - all the while learning core values like leadership, team work, unity, determination, strength, kindness, loyalty among others. (Prerana, 2019a, para. 1)

When asked for examples of what the children learn that they apply to their daily lives, Aarav and Preshti pointed to Puppet Show and Newspaper Reading. The Puppet Show activity is one in which a topic is chosen about a certain value or a practical lesson and the teachers and children make their own puppets and perform the show. Preshti shared the example of being taught about what to do during the heavy rains, exploring what precautions should be taken. Aarav offered the following example:

In one of the [puppet] shows it was explained ... that you have to, especially during the exam time, have to be punctual, have to reach the examination hall on time, or the things to carry in [your] bag like rubber, pen, pencil, not to forget all these things.

Newspaper Reading takes place in Study Class after the daily prayer, followed by a discussion about selected articles. Aarav recalled one session about demonetization in India. Aarav shared, "There was demonetization. That all the old currencies, they were stopped. And this was mainly to check corruption, and the new currencies were issued that very night."

Other activities that Aarav and Preshti mentioned they enjoyed were general knowledge sessions, quiz sessions, storytelling, excursions, singing class, dance, science club, and kickboxing to “learn to care for [our] own safety.” And Preshti really liked the prayer session at the beginning of Study Class. She likes the prayer session because “whatever is there in [my] mind, whatever is bothering [me] comes down in the prayer session.” Preshti also mentioned birthday celebrations, noting that “whenever its [a] birthday, [children] can’t celebrate at home so they celebrate it here!”

Naunihal Shelter. The girls at Naunihal also emphasized the practical aspects of the education they were receiving from various Prerana activities. Topics ranged from computer skills to hygiene education, sex education, safety, and self-defense. Visha likes self-defense sessions and thinks they will help her in the future. According to Neena, “so any session doesn’t happen for the sake of attending; you should take something from that and show what is the output and into your life; that’s why [I] like to go.” Similarly, Raya shared,

In 2006 I enjoy only my playing ... and now activities teaching me what is the life. Some activities are fun; but some activities are most helpful in my life—what is the moral? ...

As the time passed [I] understood the importance of these type of activities and why they are conducted here and what is the purpose behind them.

All three Naunihal girls conveyed they liked the discussions that followed various activities, such as Newspaper Reading, documentary screening, and TED Talk screenings.

According to Raya:

Here movies are screened. [My] friends [from school] will go see movies, but here after every movie we conduct a small discussion—what did [we] learn from the movie? It’s

not like [we] just watch the movie and forget. So then [we] discuss with [our Naunihal] peer group, so [I] get something new from that.

One particular example that Raya shared was of watching documentaries and TED Talks about the environment and global warming. She shared that “the girls are passionate for the environment and think this is now the most important thing we all are supposed to do.” As a result, Raya has aspirations to be an environmentalist and said the girls now “bathe in half the water and we haven’t played Holi Festival [India’s festival of colors] since last 5 years and [we] appeal to everyone to not play Holi and save water.”

Visha says, “Newspaper Reading session is something which gives general knowledge and it really has a great impact on [my] life.” Raya also enjoys discussions after Newspaper Readings because they “give more ideas and thoughts.” Raya pointed to another Naunihal girl who she thinks expresses herself very well so Raya appreciates that this girl reads a great deal and shares her knowledge. Raya also appreciates “staff who shares their knowledge; all of them they have their own perspectives and [I] like to learn what she thinks about politics; what she thinks about economics.” From Raya,

Education is not something you get from the book ... Whatever [I have] learned in Naunihal is apart from the books. Study from the book [I do on my] own. But what [I have] learned in Prerana is through staff ... through [my] peer group.

Many of the activities also provide the girls with the opportunity to acquire leadership skills. For instance, Naunihal has a mentoring program whereby, “a senior resident child mentors and handholds the newly admitted resident through the core values, norms, rules and culture of Naunihal, along with the resources of the facility” (Prerana, n.d., p. 4). Further, the girls are able to lead discussions on documentaries, TED Talks, and Newspaper Readings. Naunihal also has

committees including child protection, health, nutrition, cleanliness, library, culture, and sports, where the girls have leadership responsibilities. For example, Visha is part of the Cultural Committee that plans festival activities, which is “something really creative,” and gives speeches to visitors and donors.

Two other members of the Cultural Committee gave me a tour of the facility during my first observation at Naunihal. The girls were articulate and friendly, enthusiastically showing me around and explaining what day-to-day life is like for Naunihal residents. They said Naunihal is an ecofriendly space and Naunihal girls really care about environmental issues. They also showed me the “transition flat” named “Flight” where girls who are preparing to leave Naunihal spend a period of time in the apartment living on their own or with roommates. The girls are given a budget to manage, while shopping, cooking, and cleaning for themselves.

During my second observation at Naunihal, the girls were hosting an NGO that works with marginalized populations in the slums of Mumbai that was working with the Naunihal girls on how to become agents of change. This gathering was highlighted on Prerana’s social media:

From self to society. Today, the girls at our Naunihal Shelter Home for Girls were visited by volunteers from Apnalaya India. The volunteers work in the community of Shivaji Nagar, Mumbai. The activities for the day were set around understanding how one can give back to one’s community and become an agent of change. We had discussions on community mobilization with active participation from both the volunteers and our girls. Through various activities, we also tried to unpack ideas of gender. The interaction proved to be a learning experience on how we could be the change that we would like to see in the world. (Prerana, 2019b, para. 1).

Summary for Research Question 3

Research Question 3 asked about the experiences of the children at Prerana. The five participants interviewed were poised and articulate. In sharing their experiences about Prerana in general, and with Prerana's educational programming, all participants indicated Prerana cared for them and would help them as they moved forward in life. Participants acknowledged that Prerana emphasizes child participation, which a number of them appreciated, and that Prerana had very good relations with their mothers/families. Each child also had a command of and was able to articulate what child rights are and how they are central to Prerana's work. When focusing more specifically on education, participants pointed to Prerana's education sessions and activities as having practical implications in their lives and providing them with the opportunity to develop leadership skills. Finally, four of the five participants, at some point in their interviews, shared their aspirations for the future. From professional singer to banker, environmentalist, and librarian, each had clear goals and aspirations they were working toward.

Research Question 4: Staff Relationships

How does the NGO's staff discuss their relationships with the children, their families, and members of the community?

The fourth research question considered the relationships Prerana's staff have with the children, with their mothers/families, and with the communities in which they work. As highlighted above, Prerana operates various programs that serve the needs of the children in its care. The nine staff members interviewed had different interactions with each of these groups based on the programs with which they were involved. For instance, although the Naunihal shelter staff has close ties and constant interaction with the girls, neither the girls nor staff interact with local communities. Similarly, ESP teachers have relationships with the children, but

have only minimal interaction with mothers/families and communities. The relationships are discussed below. In addition to discussing direct relationships, the concept of building trust and rapport emerged as contributing to the positive nature of the relationships Prerana has with the children and their families.

ESP Teachers

Relationship With Children

The four teacher participants—Mahesh, Mansi, Jyoti, and Balmani—when asked to describe their relationships with the children, all conveyed that the relationships were very positive. Mahesh reflected that the relationships were “not typical teacher–student, more like friends,” while Jyoti allowed they were “formal, but not too formal.” Balmani described them as “nice, professional” and Mansi described them as “very friendly,” acknowledging that the children call her *Bibi* (older sister).

The teachers acknowledged that they treat all of the children equally as a matter of practice. They also conveyed the importance of being sensitive to the children’s needs and backgrounds. Jyoti said,

Our children have been acquainted with violence, all kinds of violence, I would say, because they come from the red light area. They have seen physical violence, verbal violence. They have seen their mother working. And the fact is these children know.

They know the area. They know their mother. Their mothers are good mothers, right?

They are just entangled into circumstances which have made them land into such a place.

Given the children’s backgrounds, Jyoti is very careful not to interact with the children in any way that could negatively affect the child. With the same level of sensitivity, Balmani’s approach is to give the children care and support and prefers to “empathize rather than

sympathize” with them. At the same time, problems periodically arise where a child may be disturbed or upset as a result of some trauma. Balmani said that in these instances, the teachers take such matters to senior staff to address, including the counselors on staff. The understanding is that the teachers primarily address academics and will seek assistance if any issues arise with the children.

The situation is slightly different for Jyoti, who teaches Life Skills sessions where sensitive topics are commonly broached. Jyoti said that when she began teaching the children, she was acutely aware and concerned with saying or doing anything that might negatively affect them, given that they come from such incredibly difficult backgrounds and circumstances. She continued that it was the children who put her at ease. She shared, “these children made it easy for me. They were aware of the circumstances. They were aware of the area. They were self-aware.” Jyoti also said,

And if they come up to me with some problem—they want to talk—I’m free. I’m like, “Yes, you can talk to me.” And I’ll make sure that this thing should be reached to the designate person, whether it’s my supervisor or the counselor if there’s something which the child is bringing because sessions let children open up. I have seen this.

Relationship With Mothers/Families

ESP teachers have minimal interaction with the mothers/families. Balmani mentioned that ESP teachers will share the status of a child’s studies, but if the mother has any questions or if there are any issues, they will direct the mother to senior staff for help. Jyoti explained that occasionally mothers will ask about Life Skills sessions, but that interaction is limited.

Relationship With Community

Similarly, ESP teachers have minimum interaction with members of the community. That is the role of the Outreach team. Mahesh shared that they do accompany the children into the community during an education and awareness activity, such as through Peer Group, or on Independence Day and Republic Day celebrations.

ESP Outreach Staff

Relationship With Children

The Outreach Coordinators interviewed—Reehan and Vaishali—are both central figures at the Falkland Road NCC and are considered to be senior staff because of the long history they have at Prerana. Both interact with the children directly every day. During their interviews, Reehan and Vaishali said they have very strong bonds with the children; that they are very close. I witnessed this myself while spending several days observing at the Falkland Road NCC. The close relationships to the children was palpable as was the energy and enthusiasm Reehan and Vaishali have when they interact with them. To Vaishali, her role at Prerana is not that of a typical job; rather she conveyed, “It’s part of our lifestyle.” Vaishali gave an example of situations when a mother may be experiencing some problem. In that case, “so children actually go to their mother and say, ‘Go to Prerana and meet Vaishali Tai and she will help you out with that.’”

Similar to Prerana teachers, the Outreach team is sensitive to the children’s background so they are always mindful and respectful of the child. Contributing to the strong bond between the Outreach team and the children is that the Outreach team visits their homes and works to fully understand their family backgrounds. According to Reehan,

[We] go to their places so that's when children are able to relate. ... They are not hesitant in sharing any of their problems. ... The children know that [Outreach Coordinators] have come to our house, they see how we stay, how we live, what our circumstances are. The three-way connection between the child, the child's home, and Outreach staff fosters relationships based in mutual trust and understanding.

Relationship With Mothers/Families

Reehan and Vaishali said that typically male Outreach staff do not interact directly with the mothers. Female staff interact with mothers as mothers feel more comfortable discussing sensitive issues with female staff. If, however, a pimp or fancy man is involved, Reehan will be involved in any interactions.

Vaishali, in contrast, conveyed that she has a very strong relationships with the mothers. Because she is out in the community daily, she checks in with the mothers to see how they are and if they need anything, she counsels mothers about various topics, and she guides them in their roles of raising their children. If necessary, Vaishali will, for example, take a mother to the doctor or help her get medication. These relationships are very important to Vaishali, particularly because she realizes that the women in the RLA do not typically have people asking them how they are. Vaishali said, "So basically, there's nobody to actually take care of her or ask her for all these things. ... So sometimes they share their grief and anxiety."

Relationship With Community

Given Prerana's long history of working on the ground in the RLAs, the Outreach staff is well-known in and supported by the local community. According to Reehan, "they are accepting, they are supportive ... because of all these years Prerana has been working with the community on the ground." Over the years, Prerana has held many education and awareness activities in the

community as well as dance and drama performances by the students during annual festivals. As a result, Reehan shared that people in the community take interest in the RLA children:

So it's their children, children from the red light area. So they want to know what our children are doing. What are they performing? What are they raising awareness about? So that's how they are. ... We want to arrange for the space. So they actually help arrange the space and go ahead with all those things. If there is a person who is passing by who is crossing, then he is instructed to keep aside and just let children perform. All these things. They are receptive.

Vaishali shared a story of when she was relatively new to Prerana and went on her first Outreach visit alone into the RLA. In those days, according to Vaishali, the RLA seemed more dangerous to her as more women were openly working on the streets and more pimps were on the streets. Vaishali continued,

So [I] really was scared. And come to police person who stopped [me] and asked [me], "Who you are, where are you from?" [I] said, "Prerana." He said, "What's Prerana?" One of the children shouted, "Vaishali Tai." So then there were other children who followed [me] and then [the police] understood it, "Okay, she's come from Prerana school." ... And then mothers also said, "Yeah. She's from that organization. Don't create any problems for her." ... As such, [I] didn't face any challenge.

During one observation at the Falkland Road NCC, I participated in an Outreach visit into the RLA with Vaishali. Having driven through the RLA on my way to Prerana numerous times, and having the driver often mention what a bad neighborhood it was, I was not sure what to expect. However, walking through the area with Vaishali and other Prerana staff, it was

immediately apparent that they are well-known in the community and have many friendly relations with the people they encountered.

Naunihal Shelter Home Staff

Relationship With Children

Madhuri, the Superintendent of Prerana's Naunihal Girls' Shelter, lives in residence at the home and spends the majority of her time with the girls. In discussions about her work at Naunihal, Madhuri revealed that for her too, this is not just a job. Madhuri said, "I'm enjoying my job. I never felt that though I'm doing here 24 hours job, I never feel that it's a job." She enthusiastically described how the girls at Naunihal have so many admirable qualities. She shared,

But when I came here, I saw children who did not have parents and did not have anything. ... Still, they are so happy, every day they smile. And I learn a lot from them. ... I look at my children and I see what kind of patience they have and tolerance, though they are from a very traumatized background which I don't have. Still, they are happy. Still, they can make everything out of their world.

Madhuri continued by describing a typical day for her at Naunihal:

It's like a day has started and now let's go with the children. Let's look at every child. Observations are important. Like this particular child was very happy yesterday. What happened today? Then I ... take an individual session with that girl. I like to explore what kind of help she needs from me or from a counselor or from any of the social workers she needs any help. And when I achieve that for the day ... at end of the day, if I see that girl is happy, now she's talking and she comes out of that emotional zone, then I feel very happy.

One of the stories she shared illustrated the close relationship Madhuri has with the girls: I used to watch only certain movies. ... These girls taught me that you should watch this kind of movie or this kind. I started dancing with them. I never did that. But I started dancing, and they used to share. I mean, you should not be shy. They [did] tell me, “Dance the way you like. You don’t think about who is watching you and what he or she will think. Just dance. That’s how you grow.” And I started dancing with them. I never danced in my home. ... When my sister looked at me, she said, “Oh, you have changed a lot.”

During the 2 days spent observing at Naunihal, strong bonds were clear between Madhuri and many of the girls. Madhuri also served as the interview translator. Clearly the girls felt safe having her in the room and were not reluctant to speak as a result. Field notes indicated that the rapport between the girls and Madhuri was evident, noting they all laughed together frequently.

Like other Prerana staff, Madhuri is very sensitive to the backgrounds of the children. She believes that because the children have experienced trauma, at times, it may be difficult for them to regulate their emotions and they may lash out. In those instances, Madhuri thinks compassion and sensitivity are critical.

Relationship With Mothers/Families

The girls at Naunihal have monthly family visits and weekly family phone calls. During those times, Madhuri interacts with the mothers/families to see if any issues need to be addressed, any needs are to be met, and to give updates regarding the child. Madhuri shared,

I also meet their mother and every Sunday when they call, I also speak to them, “How are they? What’s going on?” If they’re not feeling well, suppose I came to know that they’re not feeling well, then I call them and just ask, “How are you? Your child was worried—

would you like to speak to your child?” And suppose any mother has not called since three Sundays, then also I call them, “And why are you not calling your child? She is disturbed. You should call.”

If issues or problems arise, Madhuri may facilitate counseling for the mother, or for the mother and child if necessary. Madhuri opined that although Naunihal staff is sensitive and responsive to the mothers’ situations, the children’s care is the priority of the staff. Madhuri also works to inform families about the importance of children’s rights. Madhuri said the Outreach staff is more connected to the families, in conducting home visits, but that staff shares information during case-management meetings.

Relationship With Community

Given the rules governing shelter homes, Madhuri said that neither Naunihal girls nor Naunihal staff interact directly with the community.

Post Rescue Operation Staff

Relationship With Children

As noted above, Prerana’s PRO works with children who have been trafficked and rescued from trafficking. Once rescue occurs, the child is placed in the care of the government Child Welfare Committee and is either repatriated to the family home or placed into a child-care institution based on the best interest of the child. Against this backdrop, Aaheli emphasized that the first step in developing a relationship with the child is to build trust and rapport:

So I think the first and most important thing to understand is when a child comes into an institution, the child is clueless about what’s going to happen next. So they come into the system, they come into the institution and they’re lost. They know that they’ve been rescued, they know that they’ve been through so much and they’re scared that “I don’t

know what's going to happen next. Are they going to keep me? Are they going to send me back home? Are they going to send me to jail? I don't know what's going to happen." And it's so important to keep the child updated about their case. ... And that's how I've seen a good rapport that we've built with our kids because we keep them updated about what's happening in the case, because we encourage them when to go for this, why don't you go for that?

Aaheli is also very sensitive to what the child has been through. She shared,

And it takes a really long time for a child also who has been through so much at that age. They've been traumatized at that age. So working with them at every step and then trusting you and opening up to you and then supporting them and encouraging them to do this to the next step...Building that trust is very important with a child. And that's something that I feel that we've established very well.

Relationship With Mothers/Families

As the PRO developed, Prerana recognized a need to work more closely with the families of the rescued children. In some cases the family may have been unaware of the circumstances, but other cases point to the families being involved in the trafficking. Aaheli said in some situations, initially families were reluctant to work with the organization or even fought Prerana because they wanted their child out of the child-care institution. Families may go into debt due to hiring lawyers and being exploited by the lawyers. To counter that situation, Prerana started working with the families. Aaheli said,

We start working with the families, making them aware that this is a court date, this is the date when the case is going to present. If you have things, write an application, send it to [Child Welfare Committee]. ... We work with the family. We talk with the family. We're

telling them that this is the process. ... So we explain this entire thing to the family. So we've started focusing after we realized that these are the gaps. And we've noticed that only when you work with the family, will they trust and support you enough.

In cases where the child is sent home, Aaheli said Prerana works to ensure counseling is available if needed, so the home environment is good for the child. The PRO team engages in consistent follow up.

Relationship With Community

Just as Prerana recognized the need to work more closely with the families of rescued victims, the PRO team realized the importance of working with people in the child's vicinity, like friends and neighbors who provide emotional or financial support to a child who is not being well cared for by the family. Aaheli explained:

So we really believe in working with, not only their family, but if there are relatives, if there are people in the area, their neighbours, we think that are still in touch with them. And making them aware about the rights, making them aware about, "If this happens, you can take the child to the police station. If this happens, you can call us and we can get you in touch with the child line or get in touch with [the police]." It is something that we work on.

In addition, Prerana works to train NGOs in communities where children are vulnerable to be able to identify cases of human trafficking. Aaheli shared that the PRO team has developed training modules for community members, social workers, and youth groups, among others, to be able to identify trafficking and learn how to report it to the police. Prerana also serves as a resource for NGOs and a liaison between NGOs and the Child Welfare Committees.

Build Trust and Rapport

An undercurrent of all the interviews was the critical importance of building trust and rapport with the children and with the families. Vaishali shared that building trust and rapport manifests in ways that assist in Prerana's work to ensure the children stay safe. For instance, one challenge Prerana faces is when the mother leaves the RLA and the child's education is interrupted, and perhaps the child's safety and security are compromised. Because the Outreach team has built trust and rapport with the mothers, oftentimes mothers will now alert Prerana ahead of time that they will be leaving the RLA so Prerana can stay in touch and follow up with the mother and child. In the event a mother leaves without letting Prerana know, other mothers or children in the RLA will share information with Prerana.

Vaishali shared a story that illustrates the level of trust built between the mothers and Prerana. In this instance, a mother was dying. Vaishali shared,

[The] mother was actually dying, she was on deathbed. She had her relatives around. Brother and father. But then she gave the child's hand to Prerana's people and she said that my child will be safe in Prerana. So, that trust basically is the factor because of which Prerana has been successful.

In other instances, when a mother falls sick and thinks she may not survive, she puts in writing that she wants her child to be with Prerana. Vaishali added that this is the time when a child is vulnerable. She explained,

[In my] experience, it is that point, that time when actually people crop up to take claim over the child. Even people [we] have not ever seen around the child. So they come and they try and stake claim but even under those circumstances, women and mother, they say that my child will be with Prerana.

Summary for Research Question 4

Research Question 4 aimed to question how Prerana staff members, in their varying capacities, perceived the relationships they have with the children they serve, with the children's families, and with the communities in which they work. A better understanding of these relationships allowed the researcher to have a better sense of how Prerana approaches its mission in a holistic and comprehensive manner. Using the SEM framework, findings were delineated with a focus on the children at the center, followed by the mothers/families, and communities. All participants, including the four teachers and five staff members, talked about having positive relationships with the children. Although the teachers maintained warm, professional relationships, the Outreach team and Naunihal staff were very close to the children, owing to daily interactions with them. The PRO staff had very close relationships with the children, with special care and sensitivity given to the rescued children. It was evident that all participants were myopically focused on caring for the child, ensuring they felt safe and secure, while showing the children respect.

Concerning the mothers/families, ESP teachers, with limited interaction, maintained cordial relationships with mothers, whereas Outreach staff and Naunihal staff seemed to have strong ties with the mothers. PRO staff relationships with families could be strained, due to the circumstances, but PRO staff worked to build trust to work with families rather than at odds. Findings concerning the relationships with the community varied, given that ESP teachers, Naunihal staff, and PRO staff did not interact directly with members of the community. For Outreach staff, however, having a daily presence in the community ensured that relationships with community members, including school teachers, were positive and strong.

Important to the success of the relationships between staff and children, their families, and community members is the process of building trust and rapport. Findings showed that trust was critical in developing relationships with the children, many of whom have experienced trauma or come from complicated backgrounds punctuated by violence and abuse. Trust is also important for relationships with the mothers/families, as Prerana partners with mothers/families to ensure the best interests of the child are met. Trust and rapport with the community came over time, as Prerana maintained a consistent presence in the RLAs of Mumbai.

Summary of Findings

Five observations, 16 interviews, 2 program briefings, and document analysis yielded a wealth of information about Prerana's comprehensive approach to human trafficking prevention; its emphasis on education through the ESP; and the relationships that staff members have with the children they serve, their families, and communities. Additionally, the five child participants conveyed their own sentiments and perceptions about Prerana and the educational programming the organization provides.

In answering Research Question 1, Prerana's comprehensive prevention approach focuses on the child foremost, working with and involving mothers at every juncture, engaging and educating the communities, and working to shift deep-rooted societal attitudes that discriminate and exclude the invisible population of women and children that Prerana serves. Findings also revealed that education is infused throughout all of Prerana's programs, and that key organization strategies include developing frontline expert knowledge; consistently engaging in outreach and follow-up; focusing on needs-based programming; empowering women and children; and assessing, evolving, and adapting as required.

Research Question 2 illuminated ESP goals and methods as well as a number of challenges traversed. The ESP works to ensure children's access to (and retention in) formal schooling; to create an enabling environment that supports the children's education endeavors; and to provide life skills training. The methods Prerana uses to achieve these goals include needs-based programming, issue- and values-based education, child participation, and child protection. Prerana places strong emphasis on teaching children about their rights as well as how to defend and exercise those rights. Children share what they have learned with their mothers and their communities.

To answer Research Question 3, interviews captured the voices of the children themselves. Important to the children was that they felt cared for and safe at Prerana. All were well-versed in children's rights and the importance of spreading that awareness to their families, communities, and beyond. Child participation was also a prevalent theme in that children are involved in decisions pertaining to their own care, and in group decision-making with other Prerana children. Participation extended to community awareness and education activities held at various times throughout the year. Several children said such activities helped build their confidence, public-speaking abilities, and leadership skills. The children recognized the importance of learning skills they could apply in their daily lives. Narratives also pointed to the children's appreciation that Prerana would not abandon them at age 18, when they were no longer children; rather, Prerana would help the children along their future paths. Four of the five children shared their aspirations for the future, two of which centered on giving back to society in the form of teaching children for free, how to sing, and working as an environmentalist to help save the planet.

Working to answer Research Question 4, interviews captured the perceptions of Prerana staff with respect to the relationships they have with the children they serve as well as their mothers/families and the communities in which they work. Overall, the relationships with the children were quite positive, strong, and based on mutual respect and sensitivity toward the children's unique backgrounds. For the Outreach staff, relationships with mothers in the RLA were very strong. Similarly, Naunihal staff described having good rapport with mothers while feeling comfortable enough to interject if the mother was upsetting the child. ESP teachers, Naunihal staff, and PRO staff do not interact with members of the RLA community, but PRO staff do have relationships with child-care authorities and other service providers. Building trust and rapport were key to all the relationships and critical with regard to the children.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The ILO (2017) estimates that 40.3 million men, women, and children around the globe are victims of contemporary slavery. While the ILO report educates the general public and galvanizes proponents of the anti-trafficking movement, it also confirms that, even with multiple efforts and laudable gains in the international arena since the adoption of the United Nations Trafficking Protocol in 2000, the international community is far from eradicating human trafficking. Moreover, while the international literature points to the critical importance of prevention and education in combatting human trafficking, it lacks breadth and depth in clearly identifying and documenting the connection between education and human trafficking, as well as the role of community-based NGOs in delivering prevention and education interventions.

Against this backdrop, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based NGOs in developing and delivering prevention interventions and nonformal education programs that work to end human trafficking of at-risk women and children. Specifically, the study explored the intersection between human trafficking and education, and the critical role NGOs play in human trafficking prevention. Important to understanding this phenomenon was giving voice to the experiences of the children who are the recipients of such prevention and education interventions.

The following questions were explored:

1. How does a community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO approach human trafficking prevention?
2. What are the goals and methods of the organization's Education Support Program?

3. What do the children in the care of the NGO convey about their experiences with the organization and its education programs?
4. How does the NGO's staff perceive their relationships with the children, their families, and members of the community?

To answer the research questions, a qualitative single-case study method was used because it allowed for an in-depth exploration of the highly complex issue of human trafficking and the role of NGOs in its prevention. An international community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO, Prerana, served as the case study setting. Direct observations and participant interviews took place in Mumbai, India, where Prerana is located. The 18 participants included the organization's leadership, teachers, and staff, as well as children in Prerana's care.

Participant narratives provided rich details surrounding the organization's efforts to prevent intergenerational human trafficking and to infuse education throughout its prevention efforts.

Chapter 5 begins with a discussion of the major findings of the study as they relate to theory, and prior studies described in Chapter 2. Next, conclusions are drawn from the findings. Finally, recommendations are put forward regarding the application of the findings and the need for further research.

Discussion

The following discussion captures the researcher's interpretation of the major research findings as they pertain to prior studies and the theoretical framework of this study. The discussion is organized around the four research questions that guided the current study. Table 6 provides an overview of the components of Prerana's trafficking prevention approach that align with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2.

Table 6

Components of Prerana's Approach Aligned With the Literature Review

| Prerana approach | Literature review |
|---|--|
| Comprehensive approach to prevention | Rafferty, 2013b; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a |
| Child-centered approach/HRBA | Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015; Jones et al., 2018; OHCHR, 2006; Rafferty, 2013a; Rijken, 2009; Smith & Reed, 2018; Todres, 2011 |
| Involve mothers/families | |
| Engage & educate community stakeholders | Freedom Fund, 2017; OHCHR, 2010; Shultz, 2008; U.S. Department of State, 2018 |
| Work to shift societal attitudes | |
| Overarching prevention strategies | Aronowitz, 2017; Chang, 2006; Rafferty, 2013b; Todres, 2011; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a; U.S. Department of State, 2016 |
| -needs-based programming | U.S. Department of State, 2018 |
| -assess, evolve, adapt | Davy, 2016; Jones et al., 2018; Kaufman & Crawford, 2011 |
| -consistent outreach and follow-up | |
| -empower children and mothers | Bajaj et al., 2016; Ghosh, 2009 |
| -frontline expert knowledge | Goździak & Bump, 2008 |
| Education as central | CSCE, 2017; ILO, n.d.; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a, 2010b; UNODC, 2006 |

Note. HRBA = human rights-based approach.

Research Question 1: Approach to Human Trafficking Prevention

The first research question sought to discern an in-depth understanding of how a community-based, anti-trafficking NGO approaches human trafficking prevention. Findings answered this query by showing that Prerana employs a comprehensive human rights-based prevention approach.

Six key themes emerged from observations and interviews with two leaders of the organization and five staff members:

1. Use a child-centered approach
2. Involve mothers/families

3. Engage and educate community stakeholders
4. Work to shift societal attitudes
5. Employ overarching prevention strategies
6. Education as central

Using such a comprehensive approach aligns with prior studies. For instance, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a) suggested that for prevention measures to be effective, they need to be comprehensive and holistic, grounded in accurate assessments of contextual factors that increase vulnerability, and geared toward protecting the rights of those who are vulnerable. Additionally, Rafferty (2013b) put forward a comprehensive prevention strategy that included strengthening individual knowledge and skills, promoting community education, educating providers, fostering coalitions and networks, changing organizational practices, and influencing policy and legislation. Each theme is discussed separately below, but all are interrelated components of Prerana's comprehensive human trafficking prevention approach.

The researcher used the SEM to frame the first four themes regarding the organization's comprehensive approach. The SEM framework proved useful in allowing the researcher to "identify and group intervention strategies on the basis of social ecological level, as each level can be thought of as both a level of influence and a key point of prevention" (Finigan-Carr, et al., 2018, p. 1). Prerana engages in identifying the social, educational, and economic needs of at-risk women and children and develops corresponding prevention and education interventions at the *individual* (child) level, the *microsystem* (mother/family) level, the *mesosystem* (community) level, and the *macrosystem* (societal) level. (See Figure 1 for Bronfenbrenner's model of human development.)

THRED also helped assess findings, given that it places an emphasis on activating “individual agency and collective transformation at a societal level” (Bajaj et al., 2016, p. 15). Prerana’s emphasis on child participation and children’s rights, including education about those rights, aligns with key THRED principles. Further, various participants discussed examples of transformation taking place with mothers/families, communities, and society, albeit with recognition that societal transformation was a long-term endeavor that could take decades. A number of participants touched on child transformation, but that was a more pronounced feature of discussions with the children themselves (see Research Question 3).

Child-Centered Approach

Using a child-centered approach, according to leadership participants, involves giving visibility to an invisible population of marginalized children, identifying and addressing the needs of the children, employing a child rights-based approach, and focusing on child protection and child participation. The use of a child-centered approach to combat trafficking was advocated in a study by Todres (2011), who called for such an approach to be based on child rights set forth in the world’s most ratified human rights treaty—the U.N. CRC. Article 35 of the CRC obliges states to prevent the abduction, sale, and trafficking of children. Participants said that Prerana’s use of a child-centered approach is guided by the “four pillars” of the U.N. CRC: “non-discrimination; the best interests of the child as a primary consideration in all actions concerning children; the child’s inherent right to life ...; and the child’s right to express his or her views freely” (U.N. Children’s Fund, 2006).

Findings that point to the importance of taking a child rights-based approach, a subtheme of the child-centered approach, align with a number of studies that endorsed an HRBA to human trafficking (Gallagher & Ezeilo, 2015; Jones et al., 2018; Rijken, 2009; Smith & Reed, 2018;

OHCHR, 2006, 2010). Specific to child trafficking, Rafferty (2013a) posited that an HRBA is an effective response to trafficking, given that it “provides practical, rights-based policy guidance on both the prevention of trafficking and the protection of victims and highlights the need for law enforcement, protection, empowerment, and participation of affected and at-risk children, their families, and communities” (p. 565). The U.N. has also called for adopting an HRBA because it takes a “holistic view of its environment, considering the family, the community, civil society, local and national authorities” (OHCHR, 2006, p. 17).

Inherent in a child rights approach is child participation. This is an integral component of Prerana’s approach and takes the form of decision-making that impacts the child personally, and of participating in public activities, with children sharing their knowledge about salient issues. In the case of this study, the researcher came to realize, after conducting the interviews with the children, that the same perspective about Prerana’s approach would not have been gained without the children’s astute observations. Along these lines, a study conducted about girls’ education asserted,

In examining “what works”, we need to look through the eyes of the most vulnerable girl and ask if it works for her; for it is her experience that will provide the deepest insight into the efficacy of support and the quality of education that is available. (Campaign for Female Education, 2012, p. 50)

The Prerana children were, in fact, teaching the researcher “what works.”

Involve and Support Mothers/Families

Participants pointed to the need to listen to mothers, another invisible and stigmatized population, and be sensitive to the fact that they too, in many cases, have been exploited and trafficked. Participants explained that many mothers, prostituted women, do not have people

asking them about their needs or hopes and desires for their children. Listening to the mothers, helping address their needs, and supporting them in their efforts to stay connected to and raise their children is an important aspect of Prerana's prevention work. Participants said that Prerana facilitates this through consistent outreach and follow up, as well as monthly Mothers' Meetings held at the NCCs.

In many cases, Prerana's efforts have had a transformative effect on the mothers. For instance, by engaging and educating the mothers, Prerana was able to convince them that their children had a legal right to an education and that Prerana was working in the best interest of the child. Participants said that although mothers were initially reluctant, they are now Prerana's staunchest supporters. Moreover, as a result of Prerana's efforts to support and empower them, some mothers have left the sex trade entirely. In fact, a number of Prerana's staff are former victims of commercial sexual exploitation who came to work at Prerana as a result of their child's involvement with the organization.

The set of findings pertaining to mothers is somewhat unique to this study in that it centered on involving and supporting the mothers of RLA children, most of whom are prostitutes, as part of its approach to eliminate intergenerational trafficking. Leadership participants pointed to the notion that few studies examine the nature of intergenerational trafficking in general, or the plight of the RLA mothers in particular. Although one study described in Chapter 2 referenced traditional Indian practices of intergenerational sexual exploitation (Santhya et al., 2014), during the course of data collection, the researcher was unable to find more than two studies that centered on RLA prostitutes and their children in India (Dolson, 2014; John-Fisk, 2013). Moreover, although a number of studies pointed to the necessity to use a comprehensive and holistic approach that involves consideration of family,

community, and society (OHCHR, 2006; Rafferty, 2013a; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a) those studies did not discuss specifically how to engage or interact with marginalized mothers.

Engage and Educate Community Stakeholders

In addition to involving mothers/families in Prerana's approach to prevent human trafficking, participants pointed to the work they do with stakeholders in the community, educating them about human trafficking and sensitizing them to the needs and rights of marginalized and vulnerable children. Stakeholders here include school teachers, police officers, child-protection authorities, the judiciary, the media, service providers, and other NGOs working with children. Prerana's recognition of the need to engage and educate community stakeholders was supported in previous studies that highlighted the need to take community-based approaches to combat human trafficking (Freedom Fund, 2017) and the exploitation of children (Shultz, 2008). The U.S. Department of State (2018) and the U.N. (OHCHR, 2010) have also pointed to the importance of educating and involving communities in human trafficking prevention.

As a result of extensive community engagement and education efforts, as well as progress that RLA children have made over the years, participants expressed that they have witnessed attitudinal changes in various stakeholder groups. For instance, participants reported they had seen a transformation in the attitudes of teachers, police officers, local politicians, and community members at large. Whereas members of the community consistently excluded and discriminated against the marginalized children of the RLA, and disregarded their right to education, participants pointed to shifts taking place wherein teachers are now more patient with RLA children, police officers are more apt to take assault and abuse cases seriously, and members of the community welcome the children during community education campaigns the

children are leading. Participants attributed such community transformation to Prerana's long-term presence in the community and its efforts to engage and educate community stakeholders.

Work to Shift Societal Attitudes

All participants lamented negative societal views as well as difficulties involved in trying to shift societal perceptions of the children they serve, both those of RLA sex workers and victims of trafficking. Many pointed to the entrenched social stigma associated with prostitutes and their children, rooted in cultural hierarchies of class and caste in India. Such caste-based stratification leads to heavy discrimination and exclusion, rendering children more vulnerable to exploitation. Moreover, participants conveyed that a primary societal assumption is that if a child is born to a prostitute, that child will automatically go into the sex trade, or related activities in the case of boys. Victims of sex trafficking are also stigmatized and rejected by many in mainstream society.

Against this challenging backdrop, participants held realistic expectations of the amount of time it takes to shift societal attitudes, but were compelled to carry on, nevertheless. Propelled by the shifts that have occurred during Prerana's 33-year history, all participants hold a strong belief that change is possible. According to Priti, "we believe that transformation is possible ... nothing like running in the blood. All we need is to come together, collaborate, don't look away, don't be silent" (Patkar, 2018, video segment).

Overarching Prevention Strategies

Long before the "4P" paradigm (prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnerships) was conceived and the U.N. Trafficking Protocol was adopted in 2000, Prerana was acutely aware of the need to focus on prevention of exploitation and trafficking of RLA children by providing safety and security, health care, and education to the children. The study findings

supported claims in the literature that prevention should be prioritized (Aronowitz, 2017; Chuang, 2006; Rafferty, 2013b; Todres, 2011; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a; U.S. Department of State, 2016). For instance, Todres (2011) contended that “instead of choosing prevention as the starting point for developing an effective response to child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, to date most governments have paid the least attention to what is actually the end goal” (p. 4). This assertion aligned with participants’ views that government entities have paid the least amount of attention to the invisible population of children in the RLAs and to preventing their exploitation.

Integral to Prerana’s comprehensive prevention approach are overarching strategies that various participants touched on. These strategies include needs-based programming; assessing, evolving, and adapting; developing frontline expert knowledge; engaging in consistent outreach and follow-up; and working to empower children and their mothers.

All participants discussed identifying the unique needs of the children and working to address those needs. As noted above, the organization itself was founded on the need to serve marginalized women and children at risk of being exploited and trafficked. Prerana works to fill the gap between the needs of RLA children and the lack of services and protections they are afforded. In support of a comprehensive and needs-based strategy, the U.S. Department of State (2018) asserted,

Across the world, in communities both large and small, individual stories of suffering and injustice make up the ugly mosaic of human trafficking. While many cases share similarities, each is as unique as those forced to endure it, meaning that responses to human trafficking must be both comprehensive and nuanced. (p. 15)

Findings show that Prerana engages in a consistent process of assessing the effectiveness of its programs, evolving as an organization, and adapting to meet changing needs and circumstances. This strategy aligns with studies that pointed to the need to assess and evaluate NGO trafficking prevention efforts to gauge outcomes and longer term impacts (Davy, 2016; Jones et al., 2018; Kaufman & Crawford, 2011). Evident in the findings was that leadership and staff work to learn from their mistakes while welcoming critique, particularly from the children.

Throughout its 33-year history, Prerana has acquired knowledge and expertise to combat human trafficking and break the cycle of intergenerational sexual exploitation. Several scholars supported the importance of local expert knowledge around human trafficking. For instance, Goździak and Bump (2008) found that, “increased attention needs to be paid to the expertise and practical knowledge of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children” (p. 10). Prerana’s rich history and extensive expertise now provide government policymakers, service providers, and anti-trafficking NGOs, among others, with valuable insights into what works and what does not in developing and implementing frontline approaches to combatting human trafficking.

The strategy of consistent outreach and follow-up, which all participants discussed, is a finding unique to this study insofar as the scholarly or policy literature reviewed for this study did not reveal that particular tactic. For example, Guideline 7 “Preventing Trafficking” of the *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking*, categorizes primary prevention measures and interventions, but does not reference consistent outreach and follow-up (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a). Similarly, Guideline 8, governing “Special measures

for the protection and support of child victims of trafficking” makes no mention of initial outreach or consistent follow up with the child (U.N. General Assembly, 2010a).

In other respects, however, Prerana employs several recommended practices from Guidelines 7 and 8 of the *Recommended Principles*. Figure 10 highlights the U.N. recommended actions that are part of Prerana’s prevention approach. (See U.N. General Assembly, 2010a for the full list of recommendations for Guideline 7 and 8.)

Another key prevention strategy is working to empower children and their mothers so that they are better able to meet their own needs. This finding aligns with one of the six principles of THRED relating to empowerment that “can help people living in culturally isolated settings develop expanded views of the self, others, and the world” (Bajaj et al., 2016, pp. 26–27). Moreover, according to Ghosh (2009), it is critical to “challenge the structural inequality of a patriarchal society and the process may begin with any alternative scheme of holistic empowerment of women” (p. 735).

| |
|-------------------------------------|
| Guideline 7: Preventing trafficking |
|-------------------------------------|

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing programmes that offer livelihood options, including basic education, skills training and literacy, especially for women and other traditionally disadvantaged groups. • Improving children's access to educational opportunities and increasing the level of school attendance, in particular by girl children. • Developing information campaigns for the general public aimed at promoting awareness of the dangers associated with trafficking. Such campaigns should be informed by an understanding of the complexities surrounding trafficking and of the reasons why individuals may make potentially dangerous migration decisions. • Examining ways of increasing opportunities for legal, gainful and non-exploitative labour migration. • Adopting measures to reduce vulnerability by ensuring that appropriate legal documentation for birth, citizenship and marriage is provided and made available to all persons. |
|---|

| |
|--|
| Guideline 8: Special measures for the protection and support of child victims of trafficking |
|--|

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In cases where children are not accompanied by relatives or guardians, taking steps to identify and locate family members. Following a risk assessment and consultation with the child, measures should be taken to facilitate the reunion of trafficked children with their families where this is deemed to be in their best interest. • In situations where the safe return of the child to his or her family is not possible, or where such return would not be in the child's best interests, establishing adequate care arrangements that respect the rights and dignity of the trafficked child. • In both the situations referred to in the two paragraphs above, ensuring that a child who is capable of forming his or her own views enjoys the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting him or her, in particular concerning decisions about his or her possible return to the family, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with his or her age and maturity. • Adopting specialized policies and programmes to protect and support children who have been victims of trafficking. Children should be provided with appropriate physical, psychosocial, legal, educational, housing and health-care assistance. • Protecting, as appropriate, the privacy and identity of child victims and taking measures to avoid the dissemination of information that could lead to their identification |
|---|

Figure 10. United Nations recommended actions incorporated in Prerana's prevention approach.

Prerana children, previously excluded and marginalized from society, have grown to have confidence, hopes, and aspirations. Prerana actively works to provide opportunities for the children to speak, teach, and perform in public. Along with life skills training, these efforts empower the children and make them comfortable in mainstream society. This approach is a key component of THRED wherein,

new beliefs about what participants are capable of emerge as they rehearse in class and enact in their community new social roles and ways of being; these roles include those of

advocates, leaders, decision- makers, teachers, or social change activists. (Bajaj et al., 2016, p. 27)

Similarly, the mothers, faced with the most difficult living circumstances, have developed hopes and dreams for their children's futures. In addition, findings pointed to Prerana and the children working to educate mothers to empower them to be able to meet their own needs. In some instances, this process has resulted in mothers leaving the sex trade entirely.

Education as Central

Findings showed that a central pillar of Prerana's human trafficking prevention approach is education: general educational programming and HRE emphasizing children's rights. Prerana's work rests on the premise that every child has the right to an education and participants see education as a critical and primary means of ending intergenerational sexual exploitation and trafficking, particularly for RLA children. Participants detailed how the organization works to secure a child's access to education and creates an enabling and supportive environment so the child can achieve educational goals.

In addition to promoting and supporting formal education, participants highlighted the many ways Prerana infuses education throughout its programming. This support can be seen in educating the children about their rights, about the values to which they should adhere, and by teaching them practical life skills. In addition to the child's personal education, findings showed that the children share what they learn with others, including their mothers/families and their communities. Prerana also engages in broader education activities at the community level and works to widely disseminate its research and expertise throughout society.

The U.N. and various scholars supported the notion that education should play a central role in human trafficking prevention. Those sources pointed to the lack of education as a key risk

factor contributing to increased vulnerability of women and children to human trafficking (CSCE, 2017; ILO, n.d.; U.N. General Assembly, 2010a, 2010b; UNODC, 2006). The ILO (n.d.), for example, pointed to the lack of education at the child and family levels as risk factors. As noted in Chapter 2, the U.N. Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons (U.N. General Assembly, 2010b) commits to “stress the role of education in raising awareness about the prevention of trafficking in persons, and promote education, in particular human rights education, and human rights learning as a sustainable way of preventing trafficking in persons” (Annex 1 (19)).

Research Question 2: Educational Programming

Research Question 2 centered on one of Prerana’s key programs—the ESP—to discern its key goals and methods. Here, five central themes emerged from observations, document analysis, and interviews with four ESP teachers. The central categories were (a) education goals and objectives, (b) education methods, (c) children’s rights education, (d) children sharing what they learn, and (e) program challenges.

These findings were examined through the lens of HRE for transformation. As noted in Chapter 1, THRED is a participatory paradigm governed by six key principles pertaining to the goal of THRED, the pedagogy employed, the educational context, the approach to localizing human rights, the process of empowerment, and the outcomes related to social change. Table 7 illustrates how the findings (themes and subthemes) yielded in answering this research question directly align with the six principles of THRED (Bajaj et al., 2016).

Table 7

Transformative Human Rights Education Principles and Prerana's Education Support Program

| THRED principles | Education Support Program |
|---|--|
| Goal: Awaken people's critical consciousness on human rights and promote their collaborative realization | Goal (selected)—Provide complementary and remedial education, life skills education, soft skills, and personality-development inputs |
| Pedagogy: Engage participants and educators in collaborative learning about their social reality through entertaining, experiential, and participatory methods | Pedagogy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needs-based programming • Children's rights curriculum • Values taught through activities • Child participation in decision-making • Children teaching others <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mothers/families - Community-based education (e.g. child labor, HIV/AIDS, right to education) • Fun activities (e.g., puppet show, games, singing, dance) |
| Educational context: Encompasses different educational settings | Educational context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nonformal and informal settings • Compassionate, trusting educators; sensitive to children's backgrounds |
| Approach to localizing human rights: Contextualize global ethics in local values and understandings of the world | Approach to localizing human rights <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human-rights teachings grounded in larger Indian social and cultural dynamics, and the RLA context • Child protection |
| Empowerment: Access to possible new ways of being | Empowerment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children encouraged to speak in public, educate others • Life skills education • Support children's aspirations |
| Outcomes: Related to social change | Outcomes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child participation in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual decision-making - Collective decision-making - Public decision-making |

Note. THRED = transformative human rights education.

As noted in the findings, the primary goal of ESP is to ensure a child's right to education is promoted and realized. The way Prerana goes about ensuring these rights is by first securing the child's access to formal schooling, and then by providing support based on the child's needs. Children's rights are woven into the ESP's curriculum as are values and life skills. Life skills

education, in particular, is central to the ESP to provide the children with practical knowledge that pertains to the realities of their lives in the RLA. According to Tibbitts (2017), HRE “recognizes that the process of human rights education is intended to be one that provides skills, knowledge and motivation for individuals to transform their own lives and realities” (p. 6). ESP content is taught through engaging activities and experiential learning. Findings point to the children having fun while they learn.

Child participation is also a central tenet of the ESP whereby children participate in decision-making about activities and topics for discussion. Children are also encouraged, but not forced, to speak in public and share what they have learned with their mothers/families and the wider community. Findings to answer this research question are also supported by a study that highlights THRED as a means of fostering children’s agency, the ability to have their voices heard, and the vehicle by which to actively engage in their communities on issues that impact them directly (Shultz, 2008).

Another set of findings pointed to ESP challenges centered on the difficulties many children experience because they live in the RLAs, where life is dangerous and unpredictable. Many have seen or directly experienced violence, and they understand the type of work their mothers do. The children are presented with many obstacles to their well-being and their educational pursuits. Against this backdrop, a critical need exists for children to not only learn about their rights, but be taught how to protect and defend those rights. These circumstances also reinforce the need for a transformative approach to HRE where children receive such knowledge and skills.

Research Question 3: Children's Voices

Research Question 3 sought to give the children under Prerana's care the opportunity to share their own experiences on the organization as a whole, and on Prerana's educational programs. Five children participated in interviews, three of whom were residents of the Naunihal girls' shelter home, and two were from Prerana's NCCs located in the Falkland Road and Kamathipura RLAs of Mumbai. The narratives of the children provided rich and unique perspectives from the vantage point of recipients of Prerana's programs. A common refrain among participants was how Prerana gives the children safety and security, and education, along with meeting many other needs. Three participants highlighted how Prerana ensures that the children do not feel alone, and four participants pointed to Prerana considering their long-term care, including helping plan for the future.

When asked to comment on the topic of child rights, all five participants stressed that children's rights are central to all of Prerana's work. Each exhibited an acute awareness of their rights, and gave examples of how Prerana works to protect those rights and teach children how to defend their own rights. One participant placed children's rights in a larger societal context by asserting that discrimination against children of lower castes was unacceptable, that every child has equal rights. Embedded in the concept of children's rights is the concept of children's participation. Each participant gave examples of the many opportunities children have to take part in decision-making involving their own care plans as well as collective decisions taken regarding group activities. The child interviewees had a genuine appreciation for being given the ability to have a say in their own lives, having agency.

In addition to participating in decision-making and being well-versed in children's rights, all participants pointed to the practical nature of the educational programs and activities in which

they engage at Prerana. The narratives centered on life skills sessions, being taught values, and being given opportunities to speak in public and to lead. Participants were particularly animated when talking about all the fun activities they participate in from puppet shows and dance class to summer camp and birthday celebrations. These findings were consistent with Flowers's (2007) assertion that HRE is situated contextually "based on the needs, preferences, abilities and desires of the learners" (p. 25).

Participants' narratives can be interpreted through the lens of THRED, recognizing "the need for action to rectify the often-wide gap between current realities and human rights guarantees" (Bajaj, 2011, p. 493). As seen in the findings, Prerana is working to ensure the children are granted their rights, are aware of their rights, and are empowered to exercise their rights, thereby attempting to close that gap between the children's precarious realities and their fundamental rights. The realization of this process appears in participants' narratives. Four participants relayed personal stories of how each had faced various challenges, but through Prerana's support and encouragement, were able to overcome those challenges and grow (transform) from them. Moreover, the enabling environment created by Prerana allowed the children to develop aspirations for their futures. The hope attached to those aspirations was palpable during the interviews, as was a sense of joy and happiness that each child exuded. These findings align with the idea that, through THRED, "possibilities that were once unthinkable—the fact that the poor and uneducated could have the ability and right to speak in public meetings, for instance—present themselves as viable models" (Bajaj et al., 2016, p. 27).

Research Question 4: Staff Relationships

The researcher once again used the SEM frame for Research Question 4 to better understand how Prerana's staff members perceived their relationships with the children they

serve, with the mothers/families, and with the communities in which they work. SEM was useful in that it allowed the researcher to examine the dynamic relationships between individuals and their environments that, in the case of Prerana, are an integral part of its human trafficking prevention approach. The eight participants were ESP teachers, ESP outreach staff, Naunihal shelter home staff, and PRO staff. An additional finding pertained to building trust and rapport as a contributing factor to the success of the relationships.

Relationships With the Children

Relationships between the children and staff were characterized as “not typical teacher–student,” “strong,” “warm,” and “very friendly.” The outreach workers and Naunihal staff were very close to the children, owing to daily interactions with them. PRO staff had very close relationships with the children, providing special care and sensitivity to the fact they have been trafficked. Evident was that all participants myopically focused on caring for the children, ensuring they felt safe and secure, and showing them respect.

Although not a major finding, an undercurrent of the participant interviews was the sense that some staff had themselves changed (transformed) by their relationships with the children. The Naunihal superintendent, for instance, shared changing perceptions and attitudes as a result of the children’s influence and impact on her life. Similarly, the Life Skills teacher said that, although she was initially unsure about how to interact with the children, the children made her job easier. She found that the children had a deep sense of self-awareness, for which she was grateful. Three staff participants conveyed the joy they had in their jobs. For instance, one Outreach staff member shared that this was a lifestyle, not a job. Naunihal staff echoed this sentiment in that the job, the children, are always with them. The idea that staff undergoes a type of transformation is consistent with a component of THRED where teachers are considered to be

“important *agents* of human rights education who themselves go through processes of transformation and themselves take action on matters in their own lives as well as in those of students and community members” (Bajaj et al., 2016, p. 40).

Relationships With the Mothers/Families

Participants who had regular interactions with mothers/families reported having largely positive relationships with them. This differed slightly between ESP Outreach staff who were reportedly very close to the mothers in the RLA, and Nauniha staff, who had only intermittent contact with mothers. In the case of Nauniha staff, an added layer of caution exists because the girls’ shelter home emphasizes protecting the children from people who may be trying to find a girl’s location to exploit her. Similar to relationships with the children, findings showed that participants are sensitive to the fact that the mothers live under difficult circumstances where they are not only stigmatized and marginalized, but often are subjected to violence and abuse. Findings showed that listening to mothers and respecting their thoughts in the course of these relationships was positive for the mothers and their children. Relationships between Prerana staff, the children, and the mothers also served to ensure mothers and the children stayed connected, even as difficult life circumstances unfold.

Relationships in the Community

Interaction with members of the community rests primarily with Outreach staff. An important finding centered on the relationships Outreach staff have with teachers in the formal settings where Prerana children attend school. Participants said that, initially, and to some extent today, teachers in formal school settings, are disrespectful of the RLA children, treating them poorly and excluding them. This treatment often resulted in children leaving school. Part of the mistreatment, according to participants, came from teachers’ lack of understanding of the

difficult circumstances children endure in the RLA. This maltreatment could also be due, in part, to the social stigma and caste discrimination endemic in Indian society. To address this, participants discussed spending significant amounts of time with school teachers, educating them about the children's rights and the need to accept and support them. Without naming it as such, Prerana Outreach staff are engaging in HRE teacher training.

Building Trust and Rapport

Participants realized that the success of the relationships among staff, the children, their families, and community members are based, in large part, on the process of building trust and rapport. Findings showed that particularly with the children, many of whom have experienced trauma, trust is a critical component of strong relationships. Trust is also important for relationships with mothers/families, as they are entrusting and placing their children in Prerana's care.

Conclusions

This research project began as an endeavor to uncover what works, in practice, when a community-based NGO uses education to prevent human trafficking. Such understanding is important, given the high human cost associated with trafficking and the persistent challenges that preclude the eradication of human trafficking on a global scale. The answer to the question "What works?" revealed itself in the findings of this study. A best-practice model with seven constituent elements can be drawn from those findings: (a) a human rights-based approach; (b) a comprehensive approach to prevention; (c) interventions based on need, strategies focused on empowerment, consistent outreach, and follow-up, and relationships build on trust; (d) child participation; (e) committed leadership and staff; (f) an emphasis on education—formal

education access, nonformal education support, and HRE ; and (g) community-based NGO expert knowledge. Figure 11 illustrates Prerana’s best-practice model.

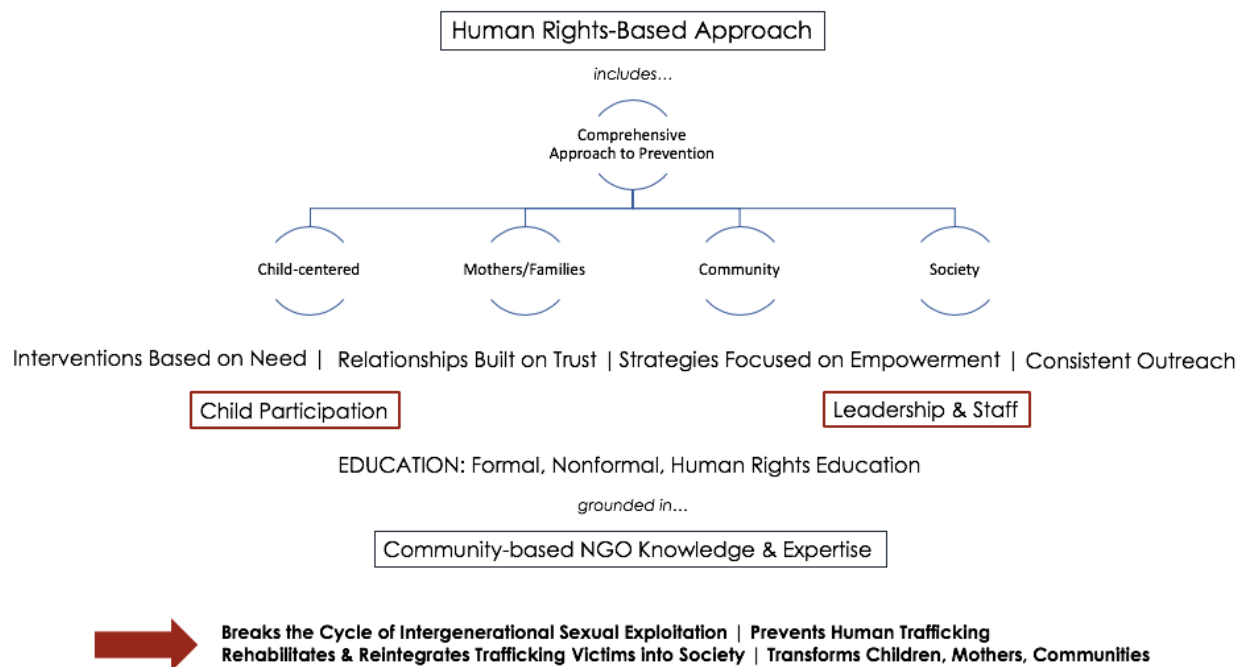


Figure 11. Constituent elements of Prerana’s best-practice model.

Central to Prerana’s model is an overarching human rights-based approach that situates the at-risk child and the child victim of trafficking at the center of anti-trafficking efforts and takes a “holistic view of its environment, considering the family, the community, civil society, local and national authorities (OHCHR, 2006, p. 17). Embedded in Prerana’s HRBA, is a comprehensive approach to human trafficking prevention that closely involves the mothers/families, that engages and educates community stakeholders, and that works to shift entrenched societal attitudes that lead to discrimination and exclusion of marginalized women and children. Strategies incorporated into this prevention model involve developing interventions based on needs, focusing on empowerment, conducting outreach and follow-up, and building relationships on trust.

Another central element of the model is giving voice to children who have been marginalized and victimized. Prerana places a strong emphasis on child participation and works to ensure children are heard and their views respected. Additionally, a key aspect derived from interviews and researcher observations is that critical to all of Prerana's endeavors is that leadership and staff members are at once caring, compassionate, and sensitive. During the field study, it became evident that Prerana's leadership and staff were dedicated, skilled, intelligent, and passionate about the work they do. Important to note is the low staff-turnover rate, which is remarkable, given the weight of the work they perform and the vicarious trauma they navigate in seeing what the children endure.

The findings also revealed that education is a central pillar of Prerana's prevention model. For the child, efforts involve promoting a child's right to education, ensuring the child has access to formal education, and supporting the child with nonformal education programs like the ESP. HRE is also central. Guided by the rights of the child in this case, HRE involves educating *about* human rights, *through* human rights, and *for* human rights. Life skills sessions, for instance, provide practical knowledge such as critical thinking, interpersonal skills, and problem-solving that the child can apply to everyday life. Children also receive the opportunity to educate others about what they learn. Findings provided evidence that education interventions are working to empower the children and protect them from exploitation.

Prerana also provides education, in a general sense, and HRE to mothers/families. These education endeavors center on the mother supporting her child, and practical information about her own rights. Prerana also works to educate community stakeholders about a variety of issues related to human rights and human trafficking. Prerana's ATC serves as a knowledge hub for

information dissemination of Prerana's expert frontline knowledge and best practices to larger segments of society.

A final aspect is that the entire Prerana process is grounded in local, frontline expert knowledge. The findings from this study clearly show that community-based organizations have a critical role to play in identifying and addressing the needs of trafficking victims and at-risk populations. Valuable local knowledge and expertise are used to develop myriad interventions that are instrumental in preventing human trafficking and protecting those who have been trafficked.

Although this qualitative case study was not an evaluation study, rather an effort to uncover promising practices, participants pointed to the fact that the model Prerana has developed works to break the cycle of intergenerational sexual exploitation and to prevent trafficking of marginalized, at-risk, invisible women and children. According to participants, this approach also works to ensure that trafficking victims are not re trafficked; rather, they are rehabilitated and reintegrated into society. Moreover, teaching children, mothers, community members, and society about human rights can have a transformative effect on those populations, as was revealed in the findings. Having served over 10,000 children, many of whom have pursued higher education and have acquired university degrees, Prerana's 33-year history points to the effectiveness of this model.

Implications and Recommendations

Connect Human Trafficking and Human-Rights Education

Findings clearly illustrated that education, in the traditional sense, coupled with HRE, is a critical element of effective human trafficking prevention. Consequently, more attention needs to be paid to forging connections between the domains of HRE and human trafficking. Both issue

areas are firmly established in international human rights discourse and enshrined in international law. Moreover, the human trafficking literature consistently points to the lack of education as a contributing factor to trafficking vulnerability, yet in listing human rights violations associated with human trafficking, the OHCHR (2014), for example, does not mention the right to education, which is firmly established in Article 28 of the U.N. CRC. (See Appendix A for the OHCHR list.) Similarly, the HRE literature, apart from the limited studies reviewed in Chapter 2, is not trained on human trafficking as a primary HRE issue. As an example, a report published by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2010) compiled a compendium of best HRE practices in the school systems of Europe, North America, and Central Asia as “a resource for practitioners and policymakers as well as a platform for exchange among institutions and individuals” (p. 7). Of 101 good practices collected, only one contained a minor reference to human trafficking. Given that human trafficking represents a host of human rights violations, and that education is a key mechanism for its prevention, as confirmed in this study, a higher level of coordination and cooperation should be undertaken in governmental and civil society arenas between the two domains.

Related to the call for more clearly connecting the two issue areas is a recommendation for Prerana to call what it does HRE. The organization does not use that terminology even though the findings from this study point to Prerana engaging in HRE. One benefit to the organization would be to reach new audiences and access the considerable resources produced by HRE communities of practice. As an example, Prerana’s Outreach staff, without naming it as such, engages in HRE teacher training with the teachers in the schools Prerana children attend. Prerana staff could benefit from HRE training manuals for teachers, along with other resources.

*Increase Collaboration and Coordination Between Government Entities and
Community-based Anti-trafficking NGOs*

The findings from this study have the potential to inform government anti-human trafficking policy and practice. For instance, in the context of India, where an estimated 18 million people live in conditions of modern day slavery, the Government of India faces enormous challenges at all levels in combatting human trafficking, 90% of which takes place within its borders (U.S. Department of State, 2018; Walk Free Foundation, 2018a). As noted in Chapter 2, the Government of India has taken extensive measures at the international, regional, national, and state levels to combat trafficking. Still, extensive challenges persist that preclude the government from effectively addressing this pervasive crime. Against this backdrop, the imperative becomes to understand which interventions are working in practice.

Various studies pointed to the need for governments to acknowledge and learn from the local knowledge NGOs possess. For example, Goździak and Bump (2008) asserted, “increased attention needs to be paid to the expertise and practical knowledge of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children” (p. 10). In addition, Hameed et al. (2010) identified the “lack of cooperation/coordination between NGOs and with government” as one of the serious problems the Government of India needs to contend with in its fight against human trafficking (p. 31). Moreover, Articles 6(3) and 9(3) of the U.N. Trafficking Protocol stipulate the obligation of member states to cooperate with anti-trafficking NGOs in countertrafficking efforts. According to the U.S. Department of State (2018), combining international and national resources with local knowledge and energy can help all stakeholders create a more comprehensive and focused strategy with a broader reach.

Increased coordination and cooperation with local NGOs should take place to help government entities better understand the local context of human trafficking and support local solutions while drawing on frontline knowledge of what works in practice. A salient point derived from participant interviews is that government child-protection authorities, without the benefit of local knowledge, are at times unaware that trafficking is even taking place in their jurisdictions. Two participants pointed to the fact that although trafficking is prevalent in certain areas, child-protection authorities do not conduct awareness programs or address trafficking directly; rather, they discuss issues of child marriage or child sexual abuse. In addition, some authorities are not sensitive to the plight of the mothers and children, or do not even recognize them as victims. This is one reason Prerana engages in extensive sensitization training of various stakeholders.

Although Prerana has done a laudable job of disseminating its expert knowledge in the state, national, and international arenas, and engaging in extensive advocacy efforts, increased coordination and cooperation could increase opportunities to inform government entities about its effective human trafficking prevention approach. Moreover, Prerana could conduct a study of its efforts to cooperate and coordinate with government entities to discern which efforts have yielded concrete results. This information would be valuable to other anti-trafficking NGOs who have also assumed the roles traditionally held by government in preventing human trafficking and protecting victims who have been trafficked.

Further Disseminate Best Practices to NGOs

Another implication of this study centers on NGO practice, where Prerana's comprehensive prevention approach can, and does, serve as a model for other anti-trafficking NGOs. National and local NGOs can benefit from the rich knowledge and programmatic

expertise Prerana has acquired over three decades. As noted in Chapter 1, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2009) pointed to the need for research to “document these evolving approaches and strategies, provide results that will inform and strengthen the response by sectors already involved in combatting trafficking, and serve as best practices for those communities wanting to replicate this work” (p. 41).

Prerana’s prevention model serves as a best practice that should be disseminated widely and systematically to help address the persistent challenge of “fragmented knowledge” in what works in the anti-human trafficking field. Prerana works extensively to document and share its learnings and best practices through various fora in India and South Asia, while engaging in collaborations and partnerships. Moreover, Prerana’s ATC was established for that purpose: to serve as a “knowledge hub.” The ATC has produced numerous reports, guides, and case studies on Prerana’s methods and approaches that could benefit NGOs worldwide. Prerana also has an extensive social-media presence, always sharing programmatic and advocacy efforts. To further enhance these efforts and extend its reach to global audiences, one recommendation is for Prerana to streamline its online presence by consolidating its two websites to more efficiently and effectively share its best practices and lessons learned. Further, Prerana could produce additional marketing collateral, impact reports, and a repository of children’s case study narratives.

Engage With the Philanthropic Sector

An additional implication of this study relates to NGO funding. Mirroring global trends, raising funds for NGO operations and programming in India is challenging with NGO resources taxed continuously in efforts to seek funding. As noted in *Inside Philanthropy*, generally, human rights nonprofit organizations are challenged with a shifting funding landscape and a “daunting,

hyper-competitive process when it comes to raising enough money to keep the lights on” (Fitzgerald, 2014, para. 1). In addition, the international funding community does not contribute significant funding to anti-trafficking NGOs specifically. For instance, in a report by the Foundation Center and the International Human Rights Funders Group (2017) listing 13 human rights issue areas that were being funded globally, not one category was explicitly allocated to human trafficking. Moreover, the Group—a network of 330 human rights grantmaking institutions and 1,200 individual members—focuses on several areas of human rights funding including children and youth, indigenous peoples, women, and environmental rights; however, human trafficking is not given a focal concentration. One reason for this could be that human trafficking is a cross cutting theme embedded in various issue areas. However, given the gravity and pervasiveness of this crime, it is this researcher’s view that the topic should be afforded its own concentration. This lack points to the need to engage and educate individual donors and foundation grantmakers about the critically important work in which anti-trafficking NGOs engage, should funding run out and vulnerable populations no longer be served.

One philanthropic initiative that does focus directly on human trafficking is the Freedom Fund, referenced in Chapter 2, which works with frontline organizations and brings funding into “the anti-slavery space, with the goal of mobilising the capital needed to work on the frontlines, drive systemic change and strengthen the anti-slavery infrastructure globally” (Freedom Fund, n.d., para. 4). A recommendation for Prerana would be to engage and collaborate with the International Human Rights Funders Group, the Freedom Fund, and others, to share anti-trafficking best practices with members of these funding networks.

An additional problem related to funding is the lack of NGO program evaluations and assessments that improve the understanding of what is working at the local level. Davy (2016)

asserted that many NGO interventions operate in an “evaluation vacuum,” whereas Kaufman and Crawford (2011) pointed out that without such assessments, it is difficult to determine program impact and cost-effectiveness: two aspects of NGO operations that are critical to funders. In the context of HRE, the U.N. has created a framework and training manuals to conduct educational evaluations in HRE to gather information about the “extent of changes at the level of the individual, organization/group and broader community/society leading to greater respect for human rights that can reasonably be connected with our HRE interventions” (OHCHR, 2011, p. 17). Another recommendation is for Prerana to conduct evaluation studies of all its programs to provide a comprehensive picture of the collective impact of its critically important work as well as doing an HRE-specific evaluation. Prerana produced an excellent evaluation report of its ESP that incorporated interviews with Prerana children (Prerana, 2018b). Prerana could follow suit with its other anti-trafficking programs and projects.

Recommendations for Future Research

Intergenerational Human Trafficking

Findings from this study illuminated a significant gap in the human trafficking literature on the study of intergenerational human trafficking. Participants pointed to the paucity of research on intergenerational trafficking, confirmed by the researcher in attempts to find studies during data collection that specifically addressed the subject matter. The few studies uncovered in a preliminary search included a book chapter on intergenerational prostitution in India (Dolson, 2014), a dissertation on prostitutes and their children in the United States and India (John-Fisk, 2013), and a journal article on sex worker parent–child relations referenced in John-Fisk (Dalla, 2003). Recommendations for future research, then, emphasize the need to focus on

intergenerational sexual exploitation and trafficking of marginalized women and children, both in India and internationally.

Anti-Human Trafficking NGOs

Part of the rationale for this research rested in the steady call in the academic literature, over the past decade, for additional empirical research, microlevel research, and research on the work of anti-trafficking NGOs to help address the persistent challenges in the global fight to end human trafficking. Although the findings from the current study contribute to the limited research on community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO-prevention efforts and HRE interventions, additional research is needed to gain an even deeper understanding of NGO anti-trafficking prevention models. For instance, to obtain a richer understanding of contextual dynamics, this study could be expanded by conducting interviews with mothers/families, with community stakeholders, with government agencies, and with Prerana's NGO partners. Researchers could also conduct comparative case studies to discern critical success factors and key challenges in different NGO settings. Additionally, a compendium of best practices of community-based anti-trafficking interventions could be compiled.

Further research on programmatic outcomes and impacts would also make a significant contribution to the academic and policy literature. Unfortunately, the limited amount of time to spend in the field precluded the researcher from engaging in a study that could have more clearly discerned the outcomes and impacts of Prerana's prevention approach. Finally, the researcher would have liked to spend more time with the children, capturing their perspectives on "what works." Their voices are critical.

Organization and Leadership

Future research could also examine anti-trafficking NGOs through the lens of organization theory, centering on organizational aspects that contribute to programmatic success. For instance, additional research could examine the organization's culture, organizational effectiveness, and organizational leadership. Leadership, in particular, plays a critical role in an organization's success and sustainability, and in ensuring that an organization's espoused values align with its enacted values. As Priti Patkar has been internationally recognized for leadership in creating innovative solutions to combatting human trafficking, the researcher would have liked to delve further into Priti's role as an effective female leader. Evident from several interviews was that Priti's leadership, kindness, and dedication to the staff and the children are leadership qualities much admired and appreciated by the staff.

Personal Reflections

I began this doctoral journey motivated by the strength and courage of the many women and children I came to know of, and meet personally, through my involvement with various human rights and women's rights NGOs. Against impossible odds, women and children, in circumstances of war or poverty or violence, would not allow themselves to be defined by tragedy; rather, they found ways to survive and eventually thrive. The driving force that initiated this journey evolved into a sense of urgency as I came to understand the pervasive nature and complexities of human trafficking. In the context of India, I came to learn of the disturbing statistics around the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children, about the "cage" brothels in the RLAs, and of the violence and abuse endemic to the RLAs.

My commitment was further amplified by my time in Mumbai at Prerana, with such determined leaders, dedicated staff, and remarkable children. The children, in particular, had a

considerable impact on my perceptions. Their thoughtful comments and astute observations, their determination to work hard to achieve their goals, and their desire to help others was at once admirable and inspiring. Despite the hardships and traumas many have endured, the difficult nature of life in the RLAs, and the social stigma that renders them an invisible population, these children are finding ways to thrive. I was also deeply moved by the dedication, the compassion, and the myopic focus of the staff and leadership of Prerana to prevent human trafficking and protect those victims who have suffered sexual exploitation. I was honored to have worked with the children and with Prerana's leadership and staff, who are all committed, thoughtful, and intelligent people, and who gifted me with a renewed sense of hope that solutions do exist.

The fight to eradicate this crime, this violation of human rights, this pervasive global problem requires widespread global commitment and intense focus. Addressing this complex issue, and its persistent challenges, also requires a better understanding of what is working, in practice, to prevent trafficking in persons. My humble and sincere hope is that this study helps mitigate the persistent challenge of fragmented knowledge by providing an understanding of pragmatic solutions that have been tested in practice, and with success, to better inform anti-human trafficking policies and practices.

REFERENCES

- Aronowitz, A. A. (2017). Problems, controversies, and solutions. In *Human trafficking: A reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA, US: ABC-CLIO.
- Bajaj, M. (2011). Human rights education: Ideology, location, and approaches. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 33, 481–508. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2011.0019>
- Bajaj, M. (2015). Human rights education: Imaginative possibilities for creating change. *Teachers College Record*, 117, 1–9. Available from ERIC database. (EJ1074699)
- Bajaj, M. (Ed.). (2017). *Human rights education: Theory, research, praxis*. Philadelphia, PA, US: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bajaj, M., Cislighi, B., & Mackie, G. (2016). *Advancing transformative human rights education: Appendix D to the report of the global citizenship commission*. Retrieved from <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/shopimages/The-UDHR-21st-C-AppendixD.pdf>
- Bales, K. (2011). What predicts human trafficking? *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 31, 269–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01924036.2007.9678771>
- Barner, J. R., Okech, D., & Camp, M.A. (2017). “One size does not fit all:” A proposed ecological model for human trafficking intervention. *Journal of Evidence-Based Social Work*, 15, 137–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23761407.2017.1420514>
- Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide*. New York, NY, US: Routledge.
- Birkenthal, S. (2011). Human trafficking: A human rights abuse with global dimensions. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights Law*, 6(1), 27–40. Retrieved from <https://home.heinonline.org>
- Boothby, N. (2008). Political violence and development: An ecologic approach to children in war zones. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 17, 497–514. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chc.2008.02.004>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32, 513–551. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.32.7.513>
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature–nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological Review*, 101, 568–586. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.101.4.568>
- Campaign for Female Education. (2012). *What works in girls’ education in Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Author. Retrieved from http://www.ungei.org/files/What_Works_in_Girls_Education_in_Ghana.pdf

- Cislaghi, B., Gillespie, D., & Mackie, G. (2017). Expanding the aspirational map: Interactive learning and human rights in Tostan's community empowerment program. In M. Bajaj (Ed.), *Human rights education: Theory, research, praxis* (pp. 251–266). Philadelphia, PA, US: University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812293890-012>
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2018). *South Asia: India*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/print_in.html
- Chuang, J. (2006). Beyond a snapshot: Preventing human trafficking in the global economy. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 13, 137–163. Retrieved from <https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1323&context=ijgls>
- CNN Freedom Project. (n.d.). *Homepage*. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/specials/world/freedom-project>
- Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (2017). *Preventing modern slavery through education of children*. Retrieved from <https://www.csce.gov/international-impact/preventing-modern-slavery-through-education-children>
- Community-based organization. (2019). *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved from [https://www.dhcs.ca.gov/services/medi-cal/eligibility/Pages/Community-Based-Organizations-\(CBOs\).aspx](https://www.dhcs.ca.gov/services/medi-cal/eligibility/Pages/Community-Based-Organizations-(CBOs).aspx)
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ, US: Pearson.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage.
- Dahlberg, L. L., & Krug, E. G. (2002). Violence—A global public health problem. In E. G. Krug, L. L. Dahlberg, J. A. Mercy, A. B. Zwi, & R. Lozano (Eds.). *World report on violence and health* (pp. 3–21). Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.
- Dalla, R. L. (2003). When the bough breaks ... : Examining intergenerational parent–child relational patterns among street-level sex workers and their parents and children. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7, 216–228. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0704_1
- Davy, D. (2016). Anti–human trafficking interventions: How do we know if they are working? *American Journal of Evaluation*, 37, 486–504. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214016630615>
- Dolson, A. (2014). Intergenerational prostitution in India: How a cultural practice constitutes sex trafficking. In M. Alston (Ed.), *Women, political struggles and gender equality in South Asia* (pp. 83–95). New York, NY, US: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137390578_6
- Equitas: International Centre for Human Rights Education. (2017). *International human rights training program: Evaluation report 2017*. Retrieved from https://equitas.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/IH RTP-Evaluation-Report-2017__EN.pdf

- Fancyman. (2019). *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/fancy-man>
- Finigan-Carr, N. M., Johnson, M. H., Pullmann, M. D., Stewart, C. J., & Fromknecht, A. E. (2019). A traumagenic social ecological framework for understanding and intervening with sex trafficked children and youth. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 36, 49–63. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-018-0588-7>
- Fitzgerald, A. (2014, August 15). Where is human rights funding headed? *Inside Philanthropy*. Retrieved from <http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/security/2014/8/15/where-is-human-rights-funding-headed.html?rq=Andrew%20Fitzgerald>
- Flowers, N. (Ed.). (2007). *Compasito: Manual on human rights education for children*. Budapest, Hungary: Directorate of Youth and Sports of the Council of Europe.
- Foundation Center and the International Human Rights Funders Group. (2017). *Advancing human rights: Update on global foundation grantmaking*. Retrieved from <https://humanrightsfunding.org/key-findings/>
- Freedom Fund. (n.d.). *Our approach*. Retrieved from <http://freedomfund.org/programs/our-approach/>
- Freedom Fund. (2017). *Her freedom, her voice: Insights from the Freedom Fund's work with women and girls*. Retrieved from <https://freedomfund.org/our-reports/her-freedom-her-voice-insights-from-the-freedom-funds-work-with-women-and-girls/>
- Gallagher, A. T., & Ezeilo, J. N. (2015). The UN special rapporteur on trafficking: A turbulent decade in review. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 37, 913–940. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2015.0063>
- Gausman, J., Chernoff, M., Duger, A., Bhabha, J., & Chu, H. (2016). *When we raise our voice: The challenge of eradicating labor exploitation*. Retrieved from Harvard FXB Center for Health and Human Rights: <https://cdn2.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2016/03/When-We-Raise-Our-Voice.pdf>
- Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. (2019). *Women, Peace and Security Index 2019/2020*. Retrieved from <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/WPS-Index-2019-20-Report.pdf>
- Gerassi, L. (2015). A heated debate: Theoretical perspectives of sexual exploitation and sex work. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 42(4), 79–100.
- Gerber, P. (2011). Education about human rights: Strengths and weaknesses of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training. *Alternative Law Journal*, 36(4), 245–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1037969X1103600406>

- Gervais, C. (2011). On their own and in their own words: Bolivian adolescent girls' empowerment through non-governmental human rights education. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14, 197–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2010.506528>
- Ghosh, B. (2009). Trafficking in women and children in India: Nature, dimensions and strategies for prevention. *International Journal of Human Rights*, 13, 716–738. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980802533109>
- Global Business Coalition Against Trafficking. (n.d.). *About*. Retrieved from <http://www.gbcat.org/#about>
- Goździak, E. M., & Bump, M. N. (2008). *Data and research on human trafficking: Bibliography of research-based literature*. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/224392.pdf>
- Goździak, E. M., Graveline, S., Skippings, W., & Song, M. (2015). *Bibliography of research-based literature on human trafficking: 2008–2014*. Retrieved from <https://isim.georgetown.edu/sites/isim/files/files/upload/2.23.2015%20Trafficking%20Bibliography.pdf>
- Hameed, S., Hlatshwayo, S., Tanner, E., Turker, M., & Yang, J. (2010). *Dynamics, current efforts and intervention opportunities for the Asia Foundation*. Retrieved from <https://asiafoundation.org/resources/pdfs/StanfordHumanTraffickingIndiaFinalReport.pdf>
- Heil, E. C., & Nichols, A. J. (Eds.). (2017). *Broadening the scope of human-trafficking research: A reader*. Durham, NC, US: Carolina Academic Press.
- Heiss, A., & Kelley, J. G. (2017). From the trenches: A global survey of anti-TIP NGOs and their views of U.S. efforts. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 3, 231–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2016.1199241>
- Houston, J. D., Odahl-Ruan, C., & Shattell, M. (2015). Exploring community-based advocacy work against human trafficking in the U.S. *Global Journal of Community Psychology Practice*, 6(2), 1–17. Retrieved from <https://www.gjcpp.org>
- Ilkcaracan, P., & Amado, L. E. (2005). Human rights education as a tool of grassroots organizing and social transformation: A case study from Turkey. *Intercultural Education*, 16, 115–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980500133481>
- The Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons. (2017). *Issue brief: The gender dimensions of human trafficking*. Retrieved from <http://icat.network/sites/default/files/publications/documents/ICAT-IB-04-V.1.pdf>
- International Labour Organization. (n.d.). *Commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents: The ILO's response*. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/ipe/WCMS_100740/lang--en/index.htm

- International Labour Organization. (2014). *Profits and poverty: The economics of forced labour*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/publications/profits-of-forced-labour-2014/lang--en/index.htm>
- International Labour Organization & Walk Free Foundation. (2017). *Global estimates of modern slavery: Forced labour and forced marriage*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf
- International Monetary Fund. (2018). *World economic outlook database*. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2018/01/weodata/index.aspx>
- Joffres, C., Mills, E., Joffres, M., Khanna, T., Walia, H., & Grund, D. (2008). Sexual slavery without borders: Trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation in India. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 7, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-9276-7-22>
- John-Fisk, H. (2013). *Uncovering the realities of prostitutes and their children in a cross national comparative study between India and the U.S.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT, US. Retrieved from <https://collections.lib.utah.edu/details?id=196123>
- Jones, S., King, J., & Edwards, N. (2018). Human-trafficking prevention is not “sexy”: Impact of the rescue industry on Thailand NGO programs and the need for a human rights approach. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 4, 231–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12222705.2017.1355161>
- Kaufman, M. R., & Crawford, M. (2011). Sex trafficking in Nepal: A review of intervention and prevention programs. *Violence Against Women*, 17, 651–665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801211407431>
- Kelley, J. G., & Simmons, B. A. (2015). Politics by number: Indicators as social pressure in international relations. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59, 55–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12119>
- Lichtenberger, D. (2012, August 2). Shaping influences–human development [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://drewlichtenberger.com/6-shaping-influences-humandevelopment/>
- Limoncelli, S. A. (2016). What in the world are anti-trafficking NGOs doing? Findings from a global study. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 2, 316–328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1135605>
- Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights & International Justice Mission. (2017). *Commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mumbai: Findings in public establishments, private networks and survivor perspectives*. Retrieved from <https://www.ijmindia.org/files/library/CSES%20Study%20Report%20Rev%20%28Final%20Prevalence%20Study%29.pdf>

- Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India. (2016) *Women and men in India—2016*. Retrieved from <http://mospi.nic.in/publication/women-and-men-india-2016>
- Ministry of Women & Child Development, Government of India. (2016). *Annual report 2014–15*. Retrieved from <http://www.wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/AR2014-15.pdf>
- National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. (2017). *Crime in India 2016 statistics*. Retrieved from <http://ncrb.gov.in/StatPublications/CII/CII2016/pdfs/NEWPDFs/Crime%20in%20India%20-%202016%20Complete%20PDF%20291117.pdf>
- Nongovernmental organization. (2019). *Britannica.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/search?query=Nongovernmental+organization+>
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (2010). *Human rights education in the school systems of Europe, Central Asia and North America: A compendium of good practice*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/CompendiumHRE.pdf>
- Patkar, P. (2018, March 26). Cultivating a culture of care. TEDxBangalore [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0T92oMj9l4>
- Polaris Project. (n.d.). *Successes*. Retrieved from <https://polarisproject.org/successes>
- Prerana. (n.d.). *Mainstreaming the marginalized*. Retrieved from https://www.fighttrafficking.org/case_studies/mainstreaming-the-marginalized/
- Prerana. (2012). *A night care centre for older boy*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/docs/preranapost/Prerana%20Post%20-%20December%202012.pdf>
- Prerana. (2013). *After-care: Intervention in a neglected post institutional domain*. Retrieved from <https://www.fighttrafficking.org/prerana-publications/#>
- Prerana. (2015a). *Organizational policy on child protection*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/docs/Prerana%27s%20Child%20%20Protection%20Policy.pdf>
- Prerana. (2015b). [Facebook post]. Retrieved September 9, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/posts/454863718030134:0>
- Prerana. (2017a). *Education support program*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/programs/esp.htm>
- Prerana. (2017b). *Mission*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/about/mission.htm>

- Prerana. (2017c). *Night care centers*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/programs/nightcare.htm>
- Prerana. (2017d). *Outreach*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/success/outreach.htm>
- Prerana. (2017e). *Post rescue operation*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/programs/pro.htm>
- Prerana. (2017f). *Supreme Court*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/advocacy/supremecourt.htm>
- Prerana. (2017g). *What we do*. Retrieved from <http://www.preranaantitrafficking.org/index.htm>
- Prerana. (2018a). *A bright soul: In the heart of darkness*. Retrieved from https://www.fighttrafficking.org/case_studies/a-bright-soul-in-the-heart-of-darkness-the-story-of-priya-mitra/
- Prerana. (2018b). *Assessment of Education Support Program*. Retrieved from <https://www.fighttrafficking.org/research/assessment-of-education-support-program-june-2018/>
- Prerana. (2019a). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>
- Prerana. (2019b). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>
- Prerana. (2019c). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>
- Prerana. (2019d). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/photos/a.164439113739264/1085814968268336/?type=3&theater>
- Prerana. (2019e). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>
- Prerana. (2019f). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>
- Prerana. (2019g). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Twitter Post]. Retrieved May 4, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/PreranaATC/status/1156127018762641408>
- Prerana. (2019h). *Prerana anti-human trafficking* [Facebook post]. Retrieved September 20, 2019, from <https://www.facebook.com/preranaantitrafficking/>

- Prerana. (2019i). *Prerana's anti-trafficking online resource center*. Retrieved from <http://fighttrafficking.org>
- Radford, L., Allnock, D., & Hynes, P. (2015). *Preventing and responding to child sexual abuse and exploitation: Evidence review*. Retrieved from [https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/Evidence_Review_SEA_\(Radford_et_al\).pdf](https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/Evidence_Review_SEA_(Radford_et_al).pdf)
- Rafferty, Y. (2008). The impact of trafficking on children: Psychological and social policy perspectives. *Child Development Perspectives*, 2, 13–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2008.00035.x>
- Rafferty, Y. (2013a). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 83(4), 559–575.
- Rafferty, Y. (2013b). Ending child trafficking as a human rights priority: Applying the spectrum of prevention as a conceptual framework. In J. A. Sigal & F. L. Denmark (Eds.), *Violence against girls and women: International perspectives* (pp. 133–174). Santa Barbara, CA, US: ABC-CLIO.
- Raigrodski, D. (2015). Economic migration gone wrong: Trafficking in persons through the lens of gender, labor and globalization. *Indiana International & Comparative Law Review*, 25(1), 79–114. <https://doi.org/10.18060/7909.0006>
- Rigby, P., & Whyte, B. (2015). Children's narrative within a multi-centered, dynamic ecological framework of assessment and planning for child trafficking. *British Journal of Social Work*, 45, 34–51. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct105>
- Rijken, C. (2009). A human rights based approach to trafficking in human beings. *Security and Human Rights*, 20(3), 212–222. <https://doi.org/10.1163/187502309789192513>
- Russell, A. (2018). Human trafficking: A research synthesis on human-trafficking literature in academic journals from 2000–2014. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 4, 114–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2017.1292377>
- Santhya, K. G., Jejeebhoy, S. J., & Basu, S. (2014). *Trafficking of minor girls for commercial sexual exploitation in India: A synthesis of available evidence*. New Delhi, India: Population Council.
- Shah, R. (2014). *The approach, methods and impact of a non-governmental organization in education of child workers in India: A case study* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, US. Retrieved from <https://repository.usfca.edu/diss/97/>
- Shelley, L., & Bain, C. (2015). Human trafficking: Fighting the illicit economy with the legitimate economy. *Social Inclusion*, 3(1), 140–144. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i1.215>

- Shultz, L. (2008). Human rights education and contemporary child slavery: Creating child-friendly villages when states, communities, and families fail to protect. In A. A. Abdi & L. Shultz (Eds.), *Educating for human rights and global citizenship* (pp. 129–142). Ithaca, NY, US: State University of New York Press.
- Silverman, J. G., Decker, M. R., Gupta, J., Maheshwari, A., Patel, V., Willis, B. M., & Raj, A. (2007). Experiences of sex trafficking victims in Mumbai, India. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 97, 221–226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgo.2006.12.003>
- Smith, R. B., & Reed, A. (2018). *Inherent dignity: An advocacy guidebook*. Retrieved from <https://www.mercyworld.org/f/45074/x/efa5f5c36c/trafficking-guide-web.pdf>
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. (2002). *Convention on preventing and combatting trafficking in women and children for prostitution*. Retrieved from <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/-/media/files/un%20women/vaw/full%20text/asia/south%20asian%20association%20for%20regional%20cooperation/saarc%20convention%20on%20preventing%20and%20combatting%20trafficking%20in%20women%20and%20children%20for%20prostitution.pdf?vs=3229>
- Spires, R. W. (2015). *Preventing human trafficking: Education and NGOs in Thailand*. Burlington, VT, US: Ashgate.
- Tibbitts, F. (2002). Understanding what we do: Emerging models for human rights education. *International Review of Education*, 48, 159–171. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020338300881>
- Tibbitts, F. (2015). Women’s human rights education trainers in Turkey: Situated empowerment for social change. *Journal of Peace Education*, 13, 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2015.1103722>
- Tibbitts, F. (2017). Evolution of human rights education models. In M. Bajaj (Ed.), *Human rights education: Theory, research, praxis* (pp. 69–95). Philadelphia, PA, US: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tibbitts, F. (2018). Human rights education: The good surf and reclaiming human rights. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 36, 64–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0924051917752419>
- Todres, J. (2011). Taking prevention seriously: Developing a comprehensive response to child trafficking and sexual exploitation. *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 43(1), 1–56. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1544301>
- United Nations Action for Cooperation against Trafficking in Persons. (n.d.). *What*. Retrieved from <http://un-act.org/what/>
- United Nations Children’s Fund. (2006). *Frequently asked questions on the Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved from <https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/frequently-asked-questions>

- United Nations Development Programme. (n.d.a). *Sustainable development goals*. Retrieved from <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>
- United Nations Development Programme. (n.d.b). *Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth*. Retrieved from <https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-8-decent-work-and-economic-growth.html#targets>
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (n.d.). *Formal education and training*. Retrieved from <https://unevoc.unesco.org/go.php?q=TVETipedia+glossary+A-Z&filt=all&id=222>
- United Nations General Assembly. (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/documents/professionalinterest/crc.pdf>
- United Nations General Assembly. (2000). Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime. A/RES/55/25 Annex II. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_55_25.pdf
- United Nations General Assembly. (2007). *International year of human rights learning*. A/RES/62/171. Retrieved from <http://www.un-documents.net/a62r171.htm>
- United Nations General Assembly. (2010a). *Report of the special rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children: Prevention of trafficking in persons*. Retrieved <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N10/483/11/PDF/N1048311.pdf?OpenElement>
- United Nations General Assembly Resolution 64/293. (2010b). *United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons*. A/RES/64/293. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/commissions/CCPCJ/Crime_Resolutions/2000-2009/2009/General_Assembly/A-RES-64-293.pdf
- United Nations General Assembly. (2011). *United Nations declaration on human rights education and training*. GA 66/137. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Pages/UNDHREducationTraining.aspx>
- United Nations General Assembly. (2017). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education: realizing the right to education through non-formal education*. A/HRC/35/24. Retrieved from <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N17/218/83/PDF/N1721883.pdf?OpenElement>
- United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking. (n.d.). *Homepage*. Retrieved from <http://www.ungift.org/knowledgehub/en/about/index.html>

- United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking & the Asia Development Bank. (2011). *Re-thinking trafficking prevention: A guide to applying behaviour theory*. Retrieved from <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29907/rethinking-trafficking-prevention.pdf>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2006). *Toolkit to combat trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/pdf/Trafficking_toolkit_Oct06.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2009a). *Global report on trafficking in persons: Executive summary*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/Executive_summary_english.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2009b). *International framework for action to implement the Trafficking in Persons Protocol*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/Framework_for_Action_TIP.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2014). *Global report on trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/GLOTIP_2014_full_report.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2018). *Global report on trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/2018/GLOTIP_2018_BOOK_web_small.pdf
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2019a). *Module 10: The role of civil society in countering trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from <https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/tip-and-som/module-10/introduction-and-learning-outcomes.html>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2019b). *University module series: Trafficking in persons/Smuggling of migrants*. Retrieved from <https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/tertiary/trafficking-in-persons-smuggling-of-migrants.html>
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime & Government of India. (2008). *Compendium of best practices on anti-human trafficking by non governmental organizations*. Retrieved from https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/India_Training_material/Compendium_of_Best_Practices_by_NGOs.pdf
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2002). *Recommended principles and guidelines on human rights and human trafficking*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Traffickingen.pdf>
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2006). *Frequently asked questions on a human rights-based approach to development cooperation*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf>

- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2010). *Recommended principles and guidelines on human rights and human trafficking: Commentary*. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Commentary_Human_Trafficking_en.pdf
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2011). *Evaluating human rights training activities: A handbook for human rights educators*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/EvaluationHandbookPT18.pdf>
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2014). *Human rights and human trafficking: Fact sheet no. 36*. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FS36_en.pdf
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2019a). *Human rights education and training*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/education/training/pages/hreducationtrainingindex.aspx>
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2019b). *Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children*. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Trafficking/Pages/TraffickingIndex.aspx>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2015). *U.S. Department of Education releases new guide on identifying and preventing child trafficking in schools* [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/us-department-education-releases-new-guide-identifying-and-preventing-child-trafficking-schools>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (2009). *Human trafficking into and within the United States: A review of the literature*. Retrieved from <https://aspe.hhs.gov/system/files/pdf/75891/index.pdf>
- U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *About us – Office to monitor and combat trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/about-us-office-to-monitor-and-combat-trafficking-in-persons/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2012). *Trafficking in persons report 2015*. Retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2012//index.htm>
- U.S. Department of State. (2015). *Trafficking in persons report 2015*. Retrieved from <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2015//index.htm>
- U.S. Department of State. (2016). *Trafficking in persons report July 2016*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2016/index.htm>
- U.S. Department of State. (2018). *Trafficking in persons report 2018*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2018/index.htm>
- U.S. Department of State (2019). *Office to monitor and combat trafficking in persons*. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/about/index.htm>

- Voronova, S., & Radjenovic, A. (2016). *Briefing: The gender dimension of human trafficking*. Retrieved from [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577950/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)577950_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577950/EPRS_BRI(2016)577950_EN.pdf)
- Walk Free Foundation. (2018a). *Global slavery index: India*. Retrieved from <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/country-studies/india/>
- Walk Free Foundation. (2018b). *Promising practices: What works? A review of interventions to combat modern day slavery*. Retrieved from <https://www.walkfreefoundation.org/news/resource/works-review-interventions-combat-modern-day-slavery/>
- Weitzer, R. (2014). Introduction: New directions in research on human trafficking. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653(1), 6–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716214521562>
- West Bengal Commission for the Protection of Child Rights and International Justice Mission. (2017). *Commercial sexual exploitation of children in Kolkata, India: Observations in public establishments and private networks of the sex trade and survivor perspectives*. Retrieved from <https://www.ijmindia.org/files/library/A-Stud-Commercial-Sexual-Exploitation-of-Children-in-Kolkata.pdf>
- White, J., & Simon, M. K. (n.d.). *Survey/Interview validation rubric for expert panel*. Retrieved from <http://dissertationrecipes.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Expert-Validation-v3.pdf>
- World Bank. (2016). *India's poverty profile*. Retrieved from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/infographic/2016/05/27/india-s-poverty-profile>
- World Bank. (2017). *Maharashtra, poverty, growth and inequality*. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/806671504171811149/pdf/119254-BRI-P157572-Maharashtra-Poverty.pdf>
- World Bank. (2018). *India states briefs*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/05/26/india-states-briefs>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA, US: Sage.

APPENDIX A

HUMAN RIGHTS MOST RELEVANT TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human Rights Most Relevant to Human Trafficking

- The prohibition of discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, or other status
- The right to life
- The right to liberty and security
- The right not to be submitted to slavery, servitude, forced labour or bonded labour
- The right not to be subjected to torture and/or cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment
- The right to be free from gendered violence
- The right to freedom of association
- The right to freedom of movement
- The right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health
- The right to just and favourable conditions of work
- The right to an adequate standard of living
- The right to social security
- The right of children to special protection

(United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014)

APPENDIX B

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION VULNERABILITY FACTORS

Vulnerability Factors

Family-related risk factors

- Poverty
- Social exclusion, including being from an ethnic minority
- Weakening of family and community networks
- Absence of parental figures
- History of sexual abuse within families
- Witnessing or being victims of domestic violence
- HIV/AIDS infection in the family
- Practices of prostitution among family members
- Gender inequalities and discrimination
- Low educational levels of caregivers and low value attached to education
- Prejudice against homosexuality

Child-specific risk factors

- Absence of legal identity or documentation, lack of citizenship
- Need to earn money to survive
- Homelessness, living on the street
- Expulsion or exclusion from school
- Child pregnancy and maternity
- Consumerism
- Low self-esteem
- History of drug and alcohol abuse
- Cultural obligation to help support the family
- Negative peer pressure
- Being a victim of domestic violence and/or sexual abuse
- Being a victim of other forms of child labour
- Having been trafficked for other forms of child labour

Socioeconomic related risk factors

- High population density
- Working or living in or near risk environments:
 - streets or slums
 - concentration of night entertainment (bars, discos, brothels)
- High poverty and unemployment levels
- Movements of people
- Access to highways, ports or borders

Environment-related risk factors

- Existence of child labour
- Tolerance of prostitution at community or national level
- Existence of sex tourism

- Consumerism
- Irresponsible exercise of sexuality, especially male sexuality
- Perpetrator preferences for young children and adolescents
- Perpetrator preferences for young children in the context of HIV/AIDS
- Proximity to military camps, large public works, mining camps
- Proximity to armed conflict zones
- Impunity caused by weak laws and law enforcement
- Corruption, organized crime

(International Labour Organization, n.d., p. 3.)

APPENDIX C

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION CONVENTIONS ON FORCED LABOUR

International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions on Forced Labour

- ILO Convention No. 29 - Forced Labour (1930)
- ILO Convention No. 105 - Abolition of Forced Labour (1957)
- ILO Convention No. 143 - Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers (1975)
- ILO Convention No. 182 - Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999)
- ILO Convention No. 189 - Domestic Workers (2011)

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide

Date:

Time:

Location:

Participant:

Position:

Opening

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. I have been researching the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in human trafficking prevention and am interested in gaining a better understanding of the perspectives and experiences of NGO professionals working in community-based organizations and of the children the organizations serve. This interview will take approximately one hour, and we will be discussing the anti-trafficking work of Prerana, with an emphasis on Prerana's education efforts. I will be taking notes and recording our conversation. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

Research Question 1: How does a community-based, anti-human trafficking NGO approach human trafficking prevention?

Interview Questions for Prerana Leadership:

Goal—establish what Prerana's prevention work is

1. Can you provide an overview of the work that Prerana does to prevent human trafficking of at-risk women and children in Mumbai?
2. Can you describe the factors that increase vulnerability of children to human trafficking and exploitation in Mumbai?
3. How do such risk factors inform Prerana's human trafficking prevention work?

Goal—establish the importance of education as a component of Prerana's prevention work

4. How does education, generally, help to reduce the vulnerability of children to human trafficking and exploitation?
5. What role does education play in Prerana's human trafficking prevention work?
6. Does Prerana place an emphasis on *human rights* education? If so, please describe how.

Goal—focus on Education Support Program and its incorporation into Prerana's prevention work

7. Can you describe the impetus behind the development of Prerana's Education Support Program? How has the Education Support Program evolved since its inception?
8. What factors do you see as contributing to the success of the Education Support Program?
9. Can you describe one or two key challenges that the Education Support Program currently faces or that you anticipate it will face in future?

Goal—focus on interaction with children, their families, and the community

10. Can you describe how the children Prerana serves come to take part in the Education Support Program?

11. How does Prerana interact with the children's families/guardians? What is the general perception of families/guardians about the children's involvement in the Education Support Program?
12. In addition to the Education Support Program, does Prerana engage in community anti-human trafficking education? If so, please describe.
13. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Research Question 2: What are the goals, methods, and outcomes of Prerana's Education Support Program?

Interview Questions for Prerana Teachers:

1. Can you describe your role(s) and responsibilities at Prerana? How long have you been working at Prerana? How did you first learn about the organization's work?

Goal—establish what Education Support Program is—goals and methods

2. Can you describe the key activities of the Education Support Program?
3. What are the teaching goals and objectives of the Education Support Program?
4. How does Prerana work to meet those goals and objectives?
5. Can you describe the teaching methods utilized in the Education Support Program?
6. How is your teaching methodology informed by the special needs of children you serve?
7. Does Prerana incorporate human rights content into the curriculum or extra-curricular activities of the Education Support Program? If so, how?

Goal—focus on ESP outcomes (successes and challenges)

8. What do you consider to be some of the most successful outcomes of Prerana's education efforts? How do you measure success?
9. Could you describe one or two current or anticipated future key challenges for the Education Support Program? How has Prerana worked to address those challenges?
10. Can you give one or two examples of how the children apply what they have learned through the Education Support Program in their daily lives?

Goal—focus on interaction with children, their families, and the community

11. How would you describe your relationship with the children?
12. To what extent do you interact with the children's families/guardians? What is your perception of these relationships?
13. Are you involved in Prerana-led community education activities with (or without) the children? If so, please describe.
14. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Research Question 3: What do the children in the care of the NGO convey about their experiences with the organization and its education programs?

Interview Questions for Prerana Children (age 12-18):

1. How long have you been involved with Prerana?
2. How would you describe your experience participating in Prerana's programs and activities?

Goal—uncover general perceptions of Prerana

3. What do you think is special or unique about Prerana?
4. Have you faced any challenges here at Prerana? How were those challenges resolved?

Goal—uncover thoughts about the Education Support Program

5. Can you describe the educational activities of the Education Support Program that you participate in? What are your favorite activities? Is there anything you don't like?

6. Have you learned about human rights through the Education Support Program? If so, what can you tell me about human rights?
7. Does the Education Support Program help you in your daily life? If so, how?
8. Is there anything you would change about the Education Support Program?

Goal—focus on Prerana’s interaction with and impact on the children, families, community

9. Can you tell me about the impact that Prerana has had on you?
10. How does Prerana interact with your family/guardian? Do you think that Prerana has had an impact on your family/guardian?
11. Can you describe community education activities that you take part in as a member of Prerana? Do you think those activities have an impact on the community?
12. Is there anything else you would like to share with me?

Research Question 4: How does the NGO’s staff discuss their relationships with the children, their families, and members of the community?

Interview Questions for Prerana Staff:

Goal—to understand the program in which they work

1. How long have you been working at Prerana? How did you first learn about the organization’s work?
2. Can you describe your role(s) and responsibilities at Prerana?
3. Can you give me an overview of Prerana’s...(Education Support Outreach Program; Institutional Place Program (IPP); Post Rescue Operation (PRO))
4. Can you describe one or two key challenges that (Outreach/IPP/PRO) faces/ How were those challenges resolved? What were the lessons learned?
5. What factors do you see as contributing to the success of (Outreach/IPP/PRO)?

Goal—uncover a general understanding of how staff relates to the children, their families, and the community

6. To what extent do you interact directly with the children Prerana serves? How would you describe your relationships with the children?
7. In your role, do you interact with the mothers/families/guardians of the children? If so, can you describe those relationships?
8. In your role, do you interact with the members of the community? If so, what are those relationships like?
9. Have you faced any challenges in your interactions with the children, their families or members of the community? If so, could you give me one or two examples?
10. In your view, do you think that Prerana is working against social norms in trying to break the intergenerational cycle of commercial sexual exploitation of women and children? If so, please explain.

APPENDIX E

VALIDATION PANEL INVITATION LETTER AND RUBRIC

(Date)

(Panel Participant)

Dear (Name),

I hope this finds you well. I am writing to see if you would be willing to serve on a Validation Panel that will assess the interview questions that I have crafted for my dissertation research. Attached is a description of the purpose of the study. I have also included the research questions that will guide the case study of a community-based, anti-human trafficking nongovernmental organization in Mumbai, India. The interview questions are attached along with an Interview Validation Rubric to use in your evaluation of the questions. Any comments or suggestions are greatly appreciated.

If time allows and you are able to assist me with this, I would be grateful if you could return the attached Interview Validation Rubric by (date). If you have any questions, please feel free to get in touch at any time.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. I greatly value your expertise and experience in the field of human trafficking, and I look forward to reading any input you may have.

With kind regards,

Danielle Kraaijvanger

Interview Validation Rubric for Expert Panel

| Criteria | Operational Definitions | Score | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|
| | | 1 - Not Acceptable (<i>major modifications needed</i>) 2 - Somewhat Effective (<i>some modifications needed</i>) 3 - Effective (<i>no modification needed but could be improved with minor changes</i>) 4 - Highly Effective (<i>no modifications needed</i>) | | | |
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Clarity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Questions are clear and specific There are no <i>double-barreled</i> questions (two questions in one) | | | | |
| Wording | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Questions are concise There are no unnecessary words Questions are asked using the affirmative | | | | |
| Balance | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Questions are unbiased Questions do not lead the participants to a response | | | | |
| Use of Technical Language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The use of technical language is minimal The use of technical language is appropriate | | | | |
| Use of Jargon | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The terms used are understandable by the target population There are no clichés or hyperbole in the wording of questions | | | | |
| Relationship to Problem | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The questions are sufficient to answer the research questions The questions are sufficient to obtain the purpose of the study | | | | |

Comments and Suggestions:

(Adapted from White & Simon (n.d.). Interview Validation Rubric for Expert Panel)

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE LETTER OF CONSENT FOR ADULT PARTICIPANT



(Current Date)
Participant Name
Organization Address

Dear (Participant Name),

My name is Danielle Kraaijvanger and I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco in the United States. I am writing to ask for your participation in my research study titled Education as a Response to Human Trafficking.

The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the role of community-based, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in developing and delivering education interventions that work to prevent the human trafficking of at-risk women and children. As the case study for the research, Prerana serves to highlight the intersection between human trafficking and education, and the critical role that NGOs play in trafficking prevention. Your experience as a member of the Prerana team offers a unique opportunity for me to learn more about the organization's goals, teaching methods, and outcomes.

I am asking you to participate in a one-hour recorded interview to learn about your experiences in Prerana's programs and activities. Additionally, you will be asked to participate in a follow-up discussion, via email or phone, lasting no longer than 15 minutes, to confirm the accuracy of my interview summary and ensure my understanding. The interview will take place between April 28 and May 9, 2019 at one of Prerana's Night Care Centers at a time that is most convenient for you. The digital recordings of the interview will be transcribed for further analysis and archived upon completion of the study.

Study records will be kept as confidential as possible and every effort will be made to protect your identity. I will use pseudonyms rather than real names and all records will be maintained by my faculty advisor, Dr. Patricia Mitchell, and me through password protected files.

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to participate in this study at any time.

While there will be no direct benefit to you from your participation in the study, the anticipated benefit is a contribution to the body of knowledge regarding the critical role that NGOs play in

human trafficking prevention. Further, there will be no direct costs to you as a participant of the study nor will you be reimbursed for your participation.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me. My email address is dgkraaijvanger@usfca.edu and my cell phone number is +1.415.306.1213. If you have any additional questions about this study, please contact Dr. Patricia Mitchell, the faculty sponsor of this study at mitchell@usfca.edu or by phone at +1.707.208.7726. You may also contact the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board by emailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu. Thank you for your consideration. If you agree to participate, please sign the attached Informed Consent Form.

My sincere hope is to contribute to a global understanding of the most effective measures for combatting human trafficking and I greatly appreciate your willingness to contribute your time to this endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Danielle Kraaijvanger
Doctoral Candidate
University of San Francisco

Voluntary Informed Consent Form

**Purpose and Background**

Danielle Kraaijvanger, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco, is doing a case study to examine the role of a community-based, nongovernmental organizations in developing and delivering education interventions that work toward preventing human trafficking of at-risk women and children.

You are being asked to participate because you are a member of the Prerana team, with knowledge of and experience in implementing the organization's anti-human trafficking programs, projects, and activities.

Procedures

If you agree to be a participant in this study, you will be asked to do the following:

1. Participate in one in-person interview with the researcher for the project during which you will be asked about the organization's human trafficking prevention work. The interview should take approximately 1 hour.
2. Participate in a follow-up discussion, via email or telephone, to confirm the accuracy of the interview summary. The follow-up meeting should take no more than 15 minutes.

Risks and/or Discomforts

1. The possibility exists that some of the interview questions may make you feel uncomfortable, but you are free to decline to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer. You are free to stop participation at any time.
2. Participation in research may mean a loss of confidentiality. Study records will be kept as confidential as is possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Study information will be coded and kept in locked files at all times.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefit to you from your participation in the study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of the critical role that community-based, nongovernmental organizations play in human trafficking prevention.

Costs/Financial Considerations

There will be no financial costs as a result of taking part in this study.

Payment/Reimbursement

There will be no reimbursement for participation in this study.

Questions and Concerns

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns, please feel free to contact the researcher at any time. Danielle Kraaijvanger may be contacted at dgkraaijvanger@usfca.edu or by cell phone at +1.415.306.1213. If you have any questions or comments about participation in this study, and for some reason do not wish to contact the researcher, you may contact the IRBPHS, which is

concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. You may reach the IRBPHS by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you are willing to participate in this study and that you have read and understand the information provided above. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

PARTICIPANT'S NAME

DATE

INVESTIGATOR'S SIGNATURE

DATE

APPENDIX G

SAMPLE LETTER OF CONSENT FOR PARENT OR GUARDIAN OF A MINOR



(Current Date)

Dear (Parent or Guardian),

My name is Danielle Kraaijvanger and I am a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco in the United States. I am asking for your permission to have your child participate in my research study titled Education as a Response to Human Trafficking. I am studying the work of Prerana as a community-based organization that is working to prevent human trafficking and exploitation of at-risk women and children. More specifically, I would like to understand how Prerana's education programs help to prevent human trafficking. As part of this study, I would like to learn about the experiences of the children that participate in Prerana's programs and activities.

With your permission, I will ask your child to participate in a one-hour interview that will be digitally recorded. The digital recordings will be transcribed for further analysis and archived upon completion of the study. The interviews will take place between April 28 and May 9, 2019 at one of Prerana's Night Care Centers at a time that is most convenient for your child so as not to disrupt their participation in Prerana activities.

This participation is completely voluntary, and your child may quit the interview at any time by simply telling me or a Prerana staff member. Your child can also skip any questions he/she does not want to answer. There are no known risks involved in this study and your child will not receive any compensation for their participation or other direct benefits. In order to protect your child's confidentiality, his/her responses and identity will be kept anonymous. All records will be maintained by my faculty advisor, Dr. Patricia Mitchell, and me through password protected files. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at dgkraaijvanger@usfca.edu or by phone at +1.415.306.1213.

This letter will serve as a consent form for your child's participation and will be kept in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco. If you have any additional questions about this study, please contact Dr. Patricia Mitchell, the faculty sponsor of this study, at mitchell@usfca.edu or by phone at +1.707.208.7726. If you have any questions or comments about your child's rights as a participant, you may contact the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board by emailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu.

Please have your child return this form to Prerana staff by (date).

Sincerely yours,

Danielle Kraaijvanger
Doctoral Candidate
University of San Francisco

Statement of Consent

I have read the above consent letter for the research project entitled Education as a Response to Human Trafficking conducted by Danielle Kraaijvanger of the University of San Francisco. The nature, demands, risks, and benefits of the research study have been explained to me. I understand that I have the opportunity to ask questions about the study at any time. I understand that I may withdraw my consent and discontinue my child's participation at any time. I have been provided with a copy of this form.

CHILD'S NAME

DATE

SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN

DATE

APPENDIX H

SAMPLE LETTER OF ASSENT FOR OLDER CHILD



(Current Date)
 Student Name
 Organization Address

Dear (Student Name),

My name is Danielle Kraaijvanger and I am a graduate student in the School of Education at the University of San Francisco in the United States. I am asking you to participate in my research study titled Education as a Response to Human Trafficking. I am studying the work of Prerana and how Prerana's education programs help to prevent human trafficking and exploitation of women and children.

I am asking you to participate in a one-hour interview to learn about your experiences in Prerana's programs and activities. Your parents or legal guardians have been asked to give their permission. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may quit the interview at any time by simply telling me or a Prerana staff member. You can skip any questions that you don't want to answer. By signing this letter, you also acknowledge that your interview responses will be digitally recorded and transcribed for further analysis.

There are no known risks involved in this study and you will not receive anything for your participation. In order to protect your confidentiality, your personal responses will be kept anonymous. Your responses will be kept by me and my professor Dr. Patricia Mitchell. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me any time at dgkraiivanger@usfca.edu or by phone at +1.415.306.1213.
 Sincerely yours,

Danielle Kraaijvanger
 University of San Francisco

Agreement

I agree to participate in this research study, and I have received a copy of this form.

 STUDENT'S NAME (Please Print)

 DATE

 STUDENT'S SIGNATURE

 DATE

I have explained to the above-named individual the nature, purpose, risks, and benefits associated with participation in this research study. I have answered all questions that have been raised and I have provided the participant with a copy of this form.

RESEARCHER

DATE