

Article

Labour Migration and Human Trafficking in Andhra Pradesh, India: A 'Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability' Perspective

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Abstract: Labour migration, other than being a key driver of economic growth and development, is also associated with inconsistent human rights practices. This paper furthers the understanding of links between migration and human trafficking in Andhra Pradesh, India. It applies IOM's Determinants of Vulnerability Framework to assess and analyse the various ways in which vulnerabilities of the migrant unorganised and casual labourers are constructed as they are forced to migrate for livelihood security. The study employed a mixed-methods approach which included a survey of 5888 individuals, seven case studies, five focus group discussions and 121 key informant interviews. The paper confirms that migration, by itself, does not lead to trafficking. A number of intersecting, inter-related factors at individual, household, community, and structural levels add to risks or provide protection against trafficking to a migrant before, during or after the process of migration. Relatedly, the paper argues that the process of migration is a continuum between vulnerability, unsafe migration, and trafficking.

Keywords: migration; vulnerabilities; migrant vulnerability; human trafficking



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1. Introduction

Human trafficking is a major socio-legal issue in India, and it is estimated that the country has the highest estimated number of people living in modern slavery (GSI 2023). Traffickers control and exploit victims for a number of reasons—commercial sexual exploitation, forced marriages, labour exploitation, illegal organ trade, and others. While there are overlaps between the processes and forms of trafficking for different kinds of exploitation, trafficking for forced labour is the most common form of trafficking in India (NCRB 2021).

Considering the vastly informal nature of the Indian economy, the majority of India's labour force works in the informal sector, which is characterised by labour migration, lack of formal contracts, fair wages, social protection, dependency on loan sharks, and greater risks of bonded and forced labour (Oxfam India 2022; Kim and Olsen 2023).

Relatedly, labour migration, other than being a key driver of economic growth and development, is also associated with inconsistent human rights practices (IOM 2019). Necessitated and driven by economic and labour market differentials, rural–urban migration in India often leads to a lack of work options, underpayment, overtime, non-payment, lack of social security measures, and status as unregistered workers for migrants. The link between migration and human trafficking has been widely explored and adequately established (Rao and Presenti 2012; Cho 2015; David et al. 2019).

This paper investigates the relationship between migration and trafficking in the state of Andhra Pradesh in India. Applying the International Organization for Migration (IOM's) Determinants of Vulnerability (DoV) Framework (IOM 2019), it assesses and analyses the various vulnerability factors that construct and are constructed by migration for livelihood security.

The broad objective of this paper is to supplement the understanding of the linkages and relationship between migrant vulnerability, labour migration, and various forms of human trafficking. In particular, it aims to answer the following research question: What are the vulnerability factors at the individual, household, community, and structural levels which add to the vulnerability of a migrant to trafficking before, during, or after the process of migration?

2. Conceptual Frameworks

2.1. Migration and Vulnerability to Trafficking

Migration and trafficking are separate but inter-related issues ([Anti-Slavery International 2003](#); [Duong 2020](#)). Radhika Coomaraswamy, former UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, famously said, “traffickers fish in the stream of migration” ([Coomaraswamy 2001](#)).

The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, 2022 ([United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2022](#)), reported that certain trafficking flows resemble migration flows. Like migrants, trafficking victims are trafficked from regions with poor economic activity to regions with higher rates of economic activity. When the economy and state are unable to provide people facing the desperate need for livelihoods with resources and information, they willingly and unwillingly rely on migration and trafficking agents scouring villages to trap people into cheap and exploitative labour conditions. Such ‘help’ gives the agents control over the decisions and fate of these migrants upon reaching their destinations. Having left with a promise of a well-paying job, many of them find themselves forced into jobs and labour conditions they did not agree to. Thus, many labour migrants are forced to work long hours for much less than minimum wages as they work with inadequate protection afforded to them during recruitment as well as during work ([Harkins et al. 2017](#); [Jain and Sharma 2018](#); [Jayaram and Varma 2020](#)).

2.2. Who Are Vulnerable Migrants: Understanding Vulnerability Using IOM-DOV Framework

A comprehensive understanding of vulnerability leads to prevention ([Clark 2008](#)). To reduce people’s vulnerability to being trafficked, it is imperative to understand what vulnerability is in the context of migration. This paper draws from two globally accepted definitions of migrant vulnerability. According to the IOM Handbook on Protection and Assistance to Migrants Vulnerable to Violence, Exploitation and Abuse, “a migrant or group of migrants exposed to or with experience of violence, exploitation, or abuse within a migration context and with limited capability to avoid, resist, cope, or recover, as a result of the unique interaction of individual, household/family, community, and structural characteristics and conditions” is considered vulnerable migrant/s” ([IOM 2019](#)). This paper also draws from the definition provided by Michele A Clark in a background paper for UNODC, according to which vulnerability refers to “a condition resulting from how individuals negatively experience the complex interaction of social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors that create the context for their communities” ([Clark 2008](#)).

2.3. Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability

Developed in 2016, IOM’s DOV Framework provides a model to understand migrant vulnerability and addresses the protection and assistance needs of people vulnerable to abuse of their rights during and after migration ([Hynes et al. 2018](#)). Importantly, the model considers a comprehensive range of factors at the individual, household, community, and structural levels ([Figure 1](#)), which might add to risks or provide protection against the exploitation of a migrant. The framework encompasses vulnerability as well as resilience and therefore considers both risk factors and protective factors and the way that the two interact. Risk factors contribute to vulnerability, while protective factors improve capacities to avoid, cope with, or recover from harm ([IOM 2019](#)). The analysis in this paper focuses primarily on the risk factors.



Figure 1. IOM determinants of vulnerability model.¹

3. Methodology

This paper builds upon the data and findings of the report examining the state of human trafficking in vulnerable districts of the state of Andhra Pradesh in India.² The report was written as a constituent report of the national ‘Study on Human Trafficking in Vulnerable Districts of India’ conducted by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Tata Institute of Social Sciences 2019). The study on trafficking in Andhra Pradesh employed a mixed methods approach and included both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Thirty-two parameters and sub-parameters (Appendix A) were used to identify the districts that were likely to be most vulnerable to migration and human trafficking. Apart from this, interviews with key informants (KIs) and stakeholders, and contingencies on the field were also taken into account to identify the most vulnerable districts. The final selection included the districts of West Godavari, East Godavari, and Guntur, where a variety of research methods were used to collect data, including semi-structured interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and Household Surveys. Additionally, in the NTR district (Vijaywada), Kadapa, and Anantapur, KI interviews and case studies were conducted.

Overall, a survey of 5888 individuals in 1363 households in the three vulnerable districts was conducted to help understand the scale and nature of migration in general and its link with human trafficking in particular. This was supplemented with 7 case studies, 5 FGDs, and 121 KI interviews across stakeholders.

4. Results

4.1. Migration and Vulnerabilities

4.1.1. Extent of Migration

Andhra Pradesh emerged as primarily a source area for migration. Of the 5888 individuals in the surveyed households, a total of 839 persons (14%) migrated during the period of 2014–16. People migrated within the state, outside the state, as well as internationally, especially to Gulf countries, namely Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. Within the state, people migrated from rural areas to urban towns, and with increasing infrastructure development and available work in the fishing industry, people were also migrating into the state from states like Odisha, Bihar, etc. For

people migrating from the state, finding a 'job' emerged as the top purpose, with about 72 per cent of migrants moving for jobs.

4.1.2. Vulnerabilities

Migration, by itself, does not lead to trafficking. The study found a number of intersecting, interrelated factors at the individual, household, community, and structural levels, which added to risks for trafficking to a migrant before, during or after the process of migration. The way these socio-economic, political, and cultural factors interact decides if a migrant is vulnerable to trafficking and for which form of trafficking. It is important to highlight that the form of trafficking, as well as the severity of exploitation, is not only dependent on the vulnerabilities of migrants at the source but also on arrival at the destination.

The details of the four factors are given below. Although the four factors are not clearly distinct categories and often overlap, for the purpose of convenient discussion and following the IOM-DOV framework, these are discussed under four different heads.

- Individual Factors;

Factors related to individuals assess their demographic and ascribed characteristics like age, sex, caste, religion, racial/ethnic identity, access to productive resources, literacy, health status (disability), etc.

The most significant individual vulnerability and resilience factors emerging from the state relate to characteristics like gender, age, caste, tribe, access to education, occupation, income, marital status, age at first marriage, and access to housing, drinking water, a place to rest at work, toilet/bathroom, doctors, and workplace hygiene and cleanliness.

The status of the total surveyed population vis-a-vis these factors is discussed below, along with the data for the migrant population as the characteristics of the base population construct and influence the characteristics of the migrant population.

1. Gender

As indicated in Table 1, of the 5888 individuals surveyed, 49 per cent were females, 50 per cent males and 21 transgender persons. Of the total 839 migrants, 423 (50 per cent) migrants were males while 415 (50 per cent) were females, and there was only 1 transgender person.³

Table 1. Gender distribution.⁴

Gender	Total Population (N = 5888)	Migrant Population (n = 839)
	%	%
Male	50	50
Female	49	50
Transgender	0	0

2. Age Distribution

As indicated in Table 2, the majority of the surveyed population consisted of adults (29 per cent) and children (20 per cent). Middle-aged people (between 41 and 60 years) and young adults (19–25 years) each constituted 18 per cent of the sample. Of the migrants, about 23 per cent were young adults within the age group 19–25 years, while 50 per cent were adults aged between 26 and 40 years, a working-age group. Approximately 16 per cent of the individuals were middle-aged people of age varying between 41 and 60 years. The in-depth interviews with KIs revealed that it is mostly people in the age group of 15–40 years that migrate for work, and after a few years, once they find work and some stability of job, they often take their families with them.

Table 2. Age distribution.

Age Groups	Total Population (N = 5888)	Migrant Population (n = 839)
	%	%
Children (0–12)	20	5
Adolescent (13–18)	11	6
Young Adult (19–25)	18	23
Adulthood (26–40)	29	50
Middle Aged Person (41–60)	18	16
Older Person (60+)	5	1

3. Social Categories

Members of historically marginalised castes and tribes, particularly members of Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), and Other Backward Classes (OBC), are vulnerable to trafficking in Southern Asia (David et al. 2019). The study confirmed this and found that (Table 3) in the surveyed vulnerable districts, SC constituted the highest percentage (40%), followed by ST (31%) and OBC (7%). Merely 8 per cent of the population falls within the general category. If we look at the migrant population, 45 per cent, 31 per cent and 8 per cent of the migrants belonged to SC, ST, and OBC, respectively. Only 5 per cent belonged to the general category.

Table 3. Social categories.

Social Categories	Total Population (N = 5888)	Migrant Population (n = 839)
	%	%
General	8	5
Scheduled Caste	40	45
Scheduled Tribe	31	31
Other Backward Classes	7	8
Others	13	9
Do not Know	0	1
No Response	2	1

4. Marital Status and Age at Marriage

Data from the total surveyed population (Table 4) indicated that 52 per cent of males and 53 per cent of females had ever been married. Of those who were married, 47 per cent of the women had married before turning 18 years old, and a comparable percentage of the men had married before turning 21, indicating a high prevalence of child marriage in the state. An intricate web of interconnected elements perpetuates exploitation (Schwarz et al. 2019); and women and girls who married at an early age are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. Amongst the migrant population of both male and female migrants, approximately 68 per cent were married at the time of the survey.

Table 4. Marital status.

Marital Status	Total Male (n = 2964)	Migrant Male (n = 423)	Total Female (n = 2903)	Migrant Female (n = 415)
	%	%	%	%
Married	52	69	53	68
Unmarried	44	30	41	25
Widow/Widower	0	0	3	4
Divorced	0	0	0	0
Separated	0	0	0	1
No Response	3	1	2	2

Among the 575 currently married migrants, 346 (60 per cent) were adults aged between 26 and 40 years, but 18 (3 per cent) were aged below 18 years.

5. Educational Status

Education is a crucial tool for mitigating vulnerability, fostering social awareness, enhancing understanding among people, and acting as a protective factor by shielding individuals from all the risks associated with exploitation and trafficking. Data in Table 5 reveal that about 5 per cent and 12 per cent of persons in the age group of 6–14 years and 15–25 years, respectively, did not attend school and were not enrolled in school at the time the survey was conducted, indicating a continued lack of access to formal education.

Table 5. Educational status.

Never Went to School	Educational Status
	%
6–14 Years (n = 881)	5
15–25 Years (n = 1527)	12

The data (Table 6) also revealed barriers to preventing children and young adults from attending school. Transportation inaccessibility, lack of perceived need for further education, household responsibilities, and economic necessity emerged as some of the reasons for not attending school. A very large percentage of children between the ages of 6 and 14 years did not know why they were not going to school, indicating potential gaps in communication and awareness.

Table 6. Causes of not attending school.

Causes of Not Attending School	6–14 Years (n = 116)	15–25 Years (n = 765)
	%	%
School/College too Far Away or Transport not Available	10	4
Further Education not Considered Necessary	5	5
Required for Household Work/Family Business/Care of Siblings	3	23
Not Interested in Studies	3	19
Culturally not Acceptable	1	1
Required to Earn in Cash or Kind by Working Outside	3	8
Cost too Much	1	2
Lack of Proper Facilities for Girls in the School	1	3
Not Safe to Send Girls/Boys to School	0	1
Repeated Failures	0	1
Got Married	2	6
Did not Obtain Admission	3	0
Others	12	9
Do not Know	28	11
No Response	28	9

In the age group of 15–25 years, responsibilities like caring for younger siblings, household chores, and family business obligations were cited as reasons for not pursuing education. Additionally, a notable proportion expressed a lack of interest in studying or the belief that further education is unnecessary. About eight per cent indicated that they had to work outside and earn money or in-kind in order to provide for their families and underlined the economic challenges faced by marginalised communities. Together, this highlights the complex interplay between social, economic, and educational factors contributing to the vulnerability of these individuals, emphasising the pivotal role of education in breaking the cycle of vulnerability.

6. Income and Occupation of Migrants

Unemployment, marginalised work, and poverty lead to financial instability. Due to this, people are more likely to take risks when seeking work. Hence, there is a high likelihood of experiencing exploitation (Schwarz et al. 2019). The study reveals a diverse landscape of work for migrants, encompassing cultivation, agricultural and non-agricultural wage labour, and regular/salaried positions. The most common forms of occupation included (Table 7) regular salaried/wage employment (28%) and non-agricultural wage labourers (12%). Significantly, another twelve per cent of migrants were not working at the time of the survey and had not worked since migration. The distribution of average monthly income reveals poor incomes and income disparity since a sizeable section of the population either earns very little or nothing at all.

Table 7. Income and occupation of migrants.

Occupation (n = 839)	Average Monthly Income	
	%	INR
Farmer/Cultivator	10	3875
Agricultural Wage Labourer	7	4810
Non-agricultural Wage Labourer	12	4005
Self-Employed	9	6525
Regular Salaried/Wage Employees	28	7520
Rentier, Pensioners and Others	1	6430
Domestic Work	6	7625
Did not Work	12	1090
Others	10	11,910
No Response	5	6000

In terms of gender (Table 8), the average monthly income reported by men was INR 6340, and women reported a relatively lower average of INR 5800. Children in the age group 0–12 years reported a monthly average income of INR 495, while 13–18 years old adolescents were quoted as having a monthly income of INR 2070. For young adults, adults, and middle-aged persons, the income reported is a little higher at INR 5150, INR 7510, and INR 5460, respectively. Persons aged 60 and above reported an average of INR 2890 per month. The income reported is generally reported to rise with higher age groups before gradually diminishing.

Table 8. Average income of the migrants.

Gender	Average Income	
	(n = 839) %	INR
Male	50	6340
Female	49	5800
Transgender	0	0

Table 8. Cont.

Age Group of the Migrants	(n = 839)	Average Income
	%	INR
Children (0–12)	5	495
Adolescent (13–18)	5	2070
Young Adult (19–25)	23	5150
Adulthood (26–40)	50	7510
Middle Aged Person (41–60)	16	5460
Older Person (60+)	1	2890

7. Individual Factors after Migration

Respondents were also asked what vulnerabilities migrants faced at their workplace upon migration. It was reported that migrants (Table 9) did not have access to housing (42%); drinking water (43%); a place to rest at work (43%); a toilet and bathroom (47%); the availability of doctors (43%); and their workplace lacked hygiene and cleanliness (57%). This indicated the informal and unorganised nature of their work and workplaces and their enhanced vulnerability as a migrant worker.

Table 9. Challenges faced by migrants after migration.

Challenges Faced by the Migrants (n = 839)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
Housing	25	42	32
Drinking Water	25	43	32
Place to Rest at Work	25	43	32
Toilet/Bathroom	21	47	32
Availability of Doctors	25	43	32
Work Place Hygiene and Cleanliness	11	57	32

• Household Factors

Factors related to the family or household of an individual that have an impact on the likelihood of an individual experiencing exploitation before, during, or after migration are considered household vulnerability factors for migrants. Characteristics like family circumstances, household income, household location, history of migration, networks, family size, religion, and the individual's role and position in the family of an individual have an impact on what risks and protections a person has against trafficking in case of migration (IOM 2019).

Household-level factors that affect the vulnerability of international and domestic migrants in Andhra Pradesh include the location of their household, access to basic services and social security schemes, type of dwelling (and ownership status), and type of ration card. Access to and ownership of productive resources like the availability of land, the status of participation in state livelihood options (e.g., Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme-MGNREGS),⁵ and household class status are other significant factors that determine a migrant's vulnerability to trafficking.

1. Location

More than 90 per cent of the surveyed population lived in rural areas, depicting predominantly rural demographics with relatively less access to basic services easily accessible to urban citizens.

2. Poverty and Living Standards

Poverty is a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon. The study understood poverty not only in terms of income but also other factors like living standards, healthcare, and education in order to provide a thorough picture of poverty in a particular setting.

Poverty metrics for the study were analysed based on the standards set by the Rangarajan Committee in 2014 ([Government of India Planning Commission 2014](#))⁶ and the World Bank's definition of poverty.⁷ According to the Rangarajan Committee's 2014 standards, approximately 18 per cent of the 1363 households examined could be considered poor; however, using the World Bank's definition of poverty, 53 per cent of the surveyed households were found to be poor.

Further, the housing conditions varied, reflecting the diverse living standards within the community, with about 22 per cent living in *kutcha* (made of mud/bamboo/thatch and unburnt bricks) houses, 30 per cent in *semi-pucca* (neither *pucca* nor *kutcha*) houses, and only 48 per cent living in *pucca* (made of durable materials like cement, burnt bricks, etc.) houses.

3. Land: Ownership and Productivity

A significant 79 per cent of households reported ownership of the houses they inhabited; this is often associated with greater economic stability and security, as homeownership provides a tangible asset.

For a largely rural and agriculture-dependent region, ownership and productivity of land are important for understanding and resolving the myriad socioeconomic challenges and policies that drive mass migration ([Obeng-Odoom 2017](#)). The study found that 45 per cent of households had no land ownership, while 50 per cent indicated ownership of agricultural or community land. Among those who owned land, 67 per cent reported holdings of less than 1 acre, and 10 per cent reported land falling within the size range of 1 to 1.99 acres.

The difficulties are exacerbated by insufficient agricultural production since low yields and returns could not be sufficient to support livelihoods. As many as 675 households were asked about incomes from agricultural land. The average annual household income from cultivation was reported to be INR 13,586, with a notable variation among households. About 8 per cent of households earned less than INR 10,000, with four per cent of these households having landholdings sized below 1 acre, suggesting smaller landholdings may result in lower income. In contrast, 28 per cent of households earned above INR 20,000, indicating a group with comparatively higher agricultural income. Additionally, four per cent of households reported no earnings from farming. This could be attributed to various factors such as crop failures, lack of suitable farming practices, or diversification of livelihoods.

Landlessness and insufficient agricultural productivity emerged as key factors driving stress migration in rural Andhra Pradesh. Attempting to understand the relation between land ownership and migration, it was found that, of the 612 households which did not own land, migration occurred in 317 (52%). A chi-square test was run to determine interdependence between the two variables, and it showed a significant association between lack of land holding and migration. It was clearly indicated by the results that lack of land ownership forces people to migrate, possibly for better livelihood opportunities, as compared to the ones who own cultivable or community land. Additionally, there are fewer perks for people with larger landholdings to migrate outside.

4. Access to Social Security Schemes

Access to and awareness and use of a number of social security schemes were studied. Around 91 per cent of households possessed a BPL (below the poverty line)⁸ ration card, indicating that most of the surveyed households were eligible for various socio-economic support programs and subsidies aimed at alleviating poverty. Despite the high possession of BPL ration cards, there was a significant lack of awareness regarding key government schemes ([Table 10](#)). For instance, approximately 37 per cent of the surveyed population

reported ignorance about the *Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana*⁹ financial services scheme, 32 per cent were unaware of the National Health Insurance Scheme,¹⁰ and a substantial 67 per cent lacked awareness of the Janani Suraksha Yojana¹¹ for cash assistance during delivery and post-delivery care.

Table 10. Knowledge about government schemes.

Government Schemes (n = 1363)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
<i>Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana</i>	63	37	1
National Pension Scheme	48	51	1
National Health Insurance Scheme	68	32	1
<i>Janani Suraksha Yojana</i>	32	67	1
<i>Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana- Gramin</i>	38	61	1
Others	15	79	6

The findings also revealed low awareness levels about other critical government programs. Approximately 51 per cent were unaware of the Pension Scheme, and 61 per cent lacked information about the housing scheme for rural poor, *Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana-Gramin*.¹²

In the state, the MGNREG scheme for job creation demonstrated promising results in the study. Approximately 75 per cent of the families surveyed had job cards, and 59 per cent of them had worked actively under the initiative in the year preceding the survey.

Other than the factors mentioned above, the qualitative responses highlighted that family history of migration makes the household members not only vulnerable to seeking work outside but also vulnerable to trafficking on migration.

5. Household Factors after Migration

Responses to vulnerability at the workplace after migration also led to respondents highlighting their concerns about migrants' inaccessibility of a safe space to keep their children (49%) and to school (57%) them while the migrants are at work.

- Community¹³ Factors

A community's social, economic, cultural, and political structures and individuals' position within them have a direct bearing on their vulnerabilities as well as coping mechanisms. Community-level factors refer to the immediate physical and social surroundings of individuals and households/families that either increase or decrease an individual's likelihood of experiencing violence, exploitation or abuse before, during or after migrating (IOM 2020).

Community vulnerability can have a significant impact on the process of migration patterns of a particular migrant/s. To cope with the community's vulnerability, individuals often tend to migrate in search of better opportunities. The study captured various community-level vulnerabilities vis-a-vis access to fundamental services and amenities, e.g., markets, schools and colleges, railway stations, police stations, ration shops, local self-governance offices, banks, and other utilities. The extent of vulnerability at the community level is also visible via prejudice, discrimination, and marginalisation that is reflected in different forms like child or forced marriages, domestic violence, dowry disputes, local gender relations, caste-related discrimination, communal/caste riots and child labour.

1. Access to Basic Services and Benefits

The quantum of vulnerability in the community can be captured by looking at the community's access to elemental services and benefits such as educational institutions, government offices, transportation places, police stations, fair-price shops, banks, etc. Below, Table 11 represents the data from three surveyed districts of Andhra Pradesh that

were collected to understand the village characteristics. It was found that a large number of households reported that their villages lacked the means to access vital and basic services.

Table 11. Access to basic services.

Accessibility to Basic Services (n = 1363)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
College	43	54	3
Market	39	58	3
Tehsil Headquarters	39	58	3
Railway Station	32	65	3
Interstate Bus Stop	30	67	3
Roads/Highway	58	40	2
Police Station	40	59	2
Local Self-Governance Office	68	30	2
Ration Shop	90	8	2
Block Development Officer	32	66	2
Post Office	72	26	2
Banks	54	44	2
Local Financiers	59	39	2
Local Leader	60	38	2
Skill Development Centre	12	86	2

As many as 54 per cent and 58 per cent of households reported a lack of access to a college and a market, respectively. The majority of households revealed no access to Railway Stations (65%) and Interstate Bus Stops (67%). As many as 58 per cent (Tehsil headquarters) and 66 per cent (Block Development Officer) were not able to access local government officials. Similarly, 59 per cent reported that the police station was not within their reach. About 68 per cent and 90 per cent of households reported good accessibility to local self-governance offices and ration shops, but 86 per cent of households reported not having access to local skill development centres. Local financiers can be exploitative for their own gains. They may engage in predatory lending, charging excessive interest rates that trap the households in debt cycles. In the surveyed districts, 59 per cent of households depended upon local financiers even though about as many (54%) had access to banks.

Lesser accessibility to basic services and benefits shows a lack of awareness about development programs and services that forbid households from accessing benefits from welfare schemes and programmes, diminishing their coping capacity against socio-economic vulnerabilities.

2. Occurrences of Social Issues in the Community

The occurrence of social issues like child or forced marriages, domestic violence, class/caste-based violence, dowry disputes, communal/caste riots, bonded labour, child labour, etc., influences a community's resilience against various forms of challenges. The presence of a certain kind of social issue in a community affects its members' desire to continue being associated with the community or to leave. Table 12 shows various social issues that were found to be prevalent in different villages of Andhra Pradesh.

A very high occurrence of alcoholism in their communities was reported by households (77%). Child marriage (i.e., the marriage of boys below the age of 21 and girls below the age of 18) in India is another major social issue that violates human rights and puts children at risk of violence, exploitation and abuse (UNICEF India). Despite the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act of 2006, child marriage came out as the second most reported (60%) social issue in Andhra Pradesh. Child labour continues to exist on a massive scale and was reported by 52 per cent of households in the surveyed districts despite the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986. Apart from the above social issues, forced marriage (15%), dowry disputes (15%), class/caste-based violence (10%), domestic violence

(32%), eve-teasing and sexual harassment (5%), female foeticide and infanticide (3%), and bonded labour (10%) were also prominent issues reported by households.

Table 12. Forms of discrimination and exploitation.

Social Forms of Discrimination and Exploitation (n = 1363)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
Child Marriage	60	39	1
Forced Marriage	15	84	1
Class/Caste based Violence (Honour killing)	10	89	1
Domestic Violence	32	67	1
Dowry Disputes	15	84	1
Eve Teasing/Sexual Harassment	5	93	2
Female Feticide/Female Infanticide	3	95	2
Child Labour	52	46	2
• Working in field	26	53	22
• Local shop	25	52	23
• Factories	25	51	24
• Construction	25	51	24
Missing People	3	95	2
Kidnapping/Abduction	1	97	2
Communal Riots	4	94	2
Caste Riots Rivalry	4	94	2
Ethnic Rivalry	2	96	1
Drug Abuse	5	93	1
Alcoholism	75	24	1
Violence by Other Authority	6	92	2
Bonded Labour	10	89	2
Fear of Local Leader	2	95	3

In-depth interviews with KIs found a correlation between these issues and the probability of forced migration of persons. A number of cases were highlighted where a victim had to leave the village owing to caste/class-based discrimination, forced marriage or labour exploitation/child labour and ended up at the mercy of deceptive migration and trafficking agents.

3. Gender Discrimination and Inequality

The conditions listed above interplay with the local gender norms and relations and construct particular consequences for women as migrants. The qualitative interviews found that women are commonly seen as a burden and experience a greater number of crimes. Being 'disposable' members of the families, they are the first ones to be pulled out of school or be married off. Gender-based institutionalised cultural practices and local social relations put women at greater risk of trafficking in the context of migration. Along with poverty, caste, and religion, a number of experiences serve as related events for the trafficking of women: gender-based discrimination, increased family size due to desire for a male child, limited access to educational opportunities, desertion by husbands and other similar gender-based experiences exacerbate the vulnerabilities of women in the migration context (Vindhya and Dev 2010; Ray 2015).

4. Vulnerabilities of Specific Caste and Tribal Communities

The vulnerability of traditionally disadvantaged caste and tribe groups to trafficking has been established well. Lacking social capital and overwhelmingly comprising the poor in the country, the SCs and STs are the primary targets of trafficking agents looking for cheap labour. As mentioned in the section above (Table 3), more SCs and STs comprise the migrant populations in vulnerable villages. The study also revealed that when it comes

to the choice of quitting jobs after migration, more SCs (64%) and STs (56%) than General category migrants (51%) reported that they did not have the choice to quit their jobs (please see Table 19).

KI interviews, case studies and group discussions highlighted an exacerbated vulnerability of women from certain caste and tribe groups due to their historical position and occupation in society. Women from the *Sugali Tanda* tribe in the Kadapa district, for example, were reported to have a higher migration and trafficking rate than other tribes. As per the KIs, *Sugali* women and girls are preferred for trafficking to Gulf Countries. Girls and women were taken outside of the country on the pretext of work by trafficking agents, and this practice was socially accepted by the community. In many cases, it is known to the community that the girl is being taken to be forced into commercial sexual exploitation (CSE), but the social acceptance is high because of the economic returns.

- Structural Factors

Structural factors refer to border political, economic, social, and environmental conditions at the community level that increase or decrease an individual's likelihood of experiencing violence, exploitation or abuse before, during or after migration (IOM). In the case of Andhra Pradesh, the bifurcation of the state in 2014 created broader socio-economic and infrastructural processes and challenges that created and/or exacerbated some group's vulnerability to unsafe migration and trafficking.

1. Globalisation and Urbanisation

While the whole world is experiencing globalisation and its positive and negative consequences, the state itself has been focussed on high-paced urbanisation and industrialisation after re-organisation. On one hand, while globalisation has created desirable opportunities and conditions for women to migrate internationally, on the other hand, it has also escalated poverty and gender inequalities. Despite a growth in migration for women, such migration is characterised by gendered labour and feminisation of low-paid labour (Vindhya and Dev 2010).

The race towards privatisation and urbanisation for the 'development' of the newly bifurcated state displaced many people from their lands and livelihoods, resulting in increased migration for them. The then newly created state was witnessing the development of infrastructural projects which has been creating informal jobs. This comes at the cost of forced displacement of traditionally agriculture-dependent households and erosion of traditional rural livelihoods in various parts of the state. This created new livelihood vulnerabilities for the already marginalised, especially women, landless SCs and STs. According to KIs, such displacement and loss of livelihoods with limited skills and knowledge have forced these communities into unsafe migration into cities within the state via migration agents. Further, urbanisation projects are led by the private sector and have led to the creation of contractual and unprotected labour jobs, resulting in the feminisation of these low-paying, unsafe jobs. With little social support and unattractive jobs available locally, women are easily being lured and forced into the promised jobs in cities in India and outside.

2. Vulnerability Caused by Natural Disasters

Natural disasters not only cause devastating impacts in terms of the loss of human life but can also cause severe destruction with social and economic costs (Ritchie and Rosado 2022). Natural disasters can be influenced by various factors, including the social, economic, and environmental conditions of a community. Severe natural disasters, especially in low-income communities, push people to migrate to safer places and have better livelihoods. There is enough evidence from the research that there exists a relationship between climatic factors, natural calamities, and migration (United Nations 1992). The study tried to capture the occurrence of a natural disaster in their village, and Table 13 shows that 25 per cent of households out of a total of 1363 mentioned its occurrence in the past three years.

Table 13. Incidence of natural disaster.

Incidence of Natural Disaster (n = 1363)	
	%
Yes	25
No	58
No response	17

Of these (Table 14), as many as 28 per cent of households reported the occurrence of drought in the past three years, whereas 26 per cent mentioned cyclones and 24 per cent reported floods. Loss of livelihood and hampering of agriculture were reported to be the biggest outcomes of these disasters in their community.

Table 14. Forms of natural disaster.

Forms of Natural Disaster (n = 341)	
	%
Flood	24
Earthquake	4
Cyclone	26
Forest fire	10
Drought	28
Landslide	1
Human-made	1
Others, specify	2
No response	3

Table 15 shows the results of whether people migrated after disasters to cope with the situation. Around 30 per cent of households replied that many families migrated due to natural calamity as a coping strategy and for alternative livelihood strategies.

Table 15. Disaster-induced migration.

Migration Happened Due to Disasters (n = 341)	
	%
Yes	30
No	62
No Response	8

Table 16 further reveals if the migrated family or person is in touch with the family or anyone they know, and it was revealed that 46 per cent of households said that the migrated family or individuals are not in contact with the family or anyone back home, pointing towards a possibility of unsafe migration or trafficking.

Table 16. In touch with family or anyone.

In Touch with the Family or Anyone (n = 102)	
	%
Yes	37
No	46
No Response	17

4.2. Construction of Trafficking via Migration

As mentioned earlier, despite the existence of different vulnerability factors, not all migrants are vulnerable to being trafficked. While it is difficult to certainly say which migrant was trafficked, to understand if a migrant fell into conditions similar to trafficking, this paper presents indicators depicting the possibility of trafficking while considering three factors: modus operandi of migration, the presence of a facilitator, and the presence of any monetary transaction; and the form of exploitation experienced like the status of payment for work carried out (after migration).

4.2.1. Modus Operandi

1. Involvement of a Facilitator

As seen in Table 17, about 72 per cent of migrants reported that someone facilitated their migration process. Several different kinds of people were involved in reaching out to migrants and included contractors (13%); friends and relatives (16%); village acquaintances (8%); placement agents (3%); co-workers (2%); migration agents (27%); and others (3%). KI interviews added that it is mostly known persons who lure migrants with promises of better jobs, income, and lifestyle in cities. On being asked if any such promise was made by a facilitator, about half of the migrants provided positive replies. As many as 33 respondents reported that the facilitator did not meet the promise.

Table 17. Involvement of a facilitator of migration.

Facilitators with Whom People Migrated (n = 839)	
	%
Contractor	13
Agent	27
Known Person from the Village	8
Friends or Relatives	16
Placement Agency	3
Co-worker	2
Self	12
Others	3
No Response	16

2. Monetary Transaction during Migration Process

Of the 605 people mentioning the type of facilitator involved, 384 (63%) had either given or taken money for migrating (Table 18). Almost 63 per cent had given money for facilitating the migration process while 38 per cent had taken money.

Table 18. Financial transaction throughout the migration process.

Monetary Transaction Involved (n= 384)	
	%
People who gave money	63
People who took money	38

4.2.2. Exploitation

The study explored the various kinds of exploitations and challenges faced by migrants at the workplace after migration.

1. Lack of Freedom to Quit the Job

Being forced to continue work is a clear marker of trafficking for labour. When the households were asked if the migrants from their families had the freedom to quit their jobs, it was found that (Table 19) as many as 58 per cent did not have such freedom while another 32 per cent did not respond to this question. Only 10 per cent shared that the migrants had the freedom to quit their jobs.

Table 19. Freedom to quit work.

Freedom to Quit Work (n = 839)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
Freedom to Quit Work	10	58	32
Age-Groups			
Children (0–12)	7	12	81
Adolescent (13–18)	4	46	50
Young Adult (19–25)	9	46	45
Adulthood (26–40)	8	68	24
Middle aged person (41–60)	15	63	22
Older person (60+)	64	36	0
Social Categories			
General	10	51	39
Scheduled Caste	9	64	27
Scheduled Tribe	12	56	33
Other Backward Classes	12	35	54
Other	9	60	31
Do not Know	0	75	25
No Response	17	25	58

The segregation of the responses to freedom to quit the job for different age groups furthers the understanding of the extent of bonded labour. We found that 58 per cent of children did not have the freedom to quit their jobs, with 12 per cent of them aged below 12 years and 46 per cent of those aged between 13 and 18 years reporting a lack of freedom to terminate their services.

2. Financial Exploitation: Underpayment, Delayed Payment, and Non-Payment after Work;

The financial exploitation of labour on migration is another indicator of the possibility of trafficking. Table 20 details the manner of payment received by migrants after work. While 68 per cent were fully paid, 6 per cent were partially paid, and 5 per cent were not paid at all. It is important to highlight that as many as 21 per cent did not respond to this question. In the context of the subject of the study and related safety concerns, the degree of non-response is considered to be indicative of the unwillingness of respondents to testify possibly due to a fear of retribution by traffickers. Further, it is possible that the respondent does not fully know or remember the status of payment and work of their family member.

Table 20. Manner of payment to migrants.

Manner of Payment (n = 839)	
	%
Full	68
Partial	6
Not Paid	5
No Response	21

3. Other Forms of Exploitation at Work

Migrant workers face a number of challenges and exploitation at their workplaces. Table 21 lists such challenges faced at work at destination, including discrimination (6%); sexual harassment at the workplace (15%); long working hours without overtime payment (beyond eight hours) (26%); no break for lunch (20%); lack of workplace safety (19%); and incidence of theft and loot (5%).

Table 21. Other challenges faced at work.

Challenges Faced by the Migrants (n = 839)	Yes	No	No Response
	%	%	%
Discrimination	6	62	32
Sexual Harassment at Work	15	53	32
Working Hours (Beyond 8 h)	26	42	32
Breaks for Lunch and Breakfast	20	47	32
Work Place Safety	19	49	32
Theft and Loot	5	63	32

As reported by 15 per cent of the respondents, sexual harassment emerges as a dominant form of exploitation in the workplace. The gender and age-based distribution of responses suggest that 18 per cent of males and 12 per cent of females were victims of sexual harassment at their workplace. It is especially important to note that 15 per cent of the migrants aged below 18 years and 17 per cent of the adults aged between 26 and 40 years were victims of sexual harassment.

4.2.3. Estimated Number of Migrants Trafficked

The estimation of migrants that were possibly trafficked was made via the consideration of three parameters: the involvement of a facilitator, financial transaction, and the presence of at least one form of exploitation (migrant not in contact with family or no freedom to quit their job or migrant given partial or no payment). On the basis of these parameters, the study estimated the possibility to trafficking by the severity or degree of vulnerability. Taking into account the modus operandi of migration, the estimated number of total migrants vulnerable to trafficking was divided into two groups. Of the migrants who took someone's help and gave money for facilitating migration, about 18 per cent were estimated to be possibly trafficked. In addition, among migrants who took someone's help and took money while being facilitated in migration, about 8 per cent were estimated to be possibly trafficked.

4.3. Human Trafficking in Andhra Pradesh

As seen above, the study of migrants found a number of them vulnerable to trafficking. A further qualitative inquiry and study of crime records in Andhra Pradesh revealed a high incidence of human trafficking- domestic as well as international (to Gulf countries, namely Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Yemen, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq).

The most prevalent forms of trafficking of migrants were reported to be trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, bride trafficking, labour trafficking (including domestic work), child trafficking for labour exploitation and begging, and trafficking for entertainment. Other less prevalent but emerging forms were found to be trafficking via illegal adoption and organ trafficking. Among the largely poor study population, caste and tribe identity emerged as the most significant factor forcing people to migrate in the state.

An insight into these forms of trafficking established that trafficking is constructed by an interplay between the four vulnerability factors. This is discussed below, taking the example of three major forms of human trafficking found in the state.

4.3.1. Labour Trafficking

Considering the extent of poverty and other vulnerabilities faced by people in the most vulnerable districts of the state, forced migration for labour is found to be a common livelihood strategy. In many cases, labour migration converts into trafficking for labour. An exploration of the cases of labour trafficking revealed that the victims include women and men in the working age group of 18–40 years and are from families belonging to SC and OBCs. Sudden loss of livelihoods (for example, due to a disaster) for the families emerged as a key point when victims were recruited by trafficking agents for labour exploitation. Ownership of little to no land is another key criterion which made people most vulnerable to being targeted by traffickers. People looking for work were lured by agents scouring villages with false offers of jobs for cheap and exploitative labour via the payment of advance money. On migration, migrants found themselves in job conditions they did not agree to and often experienced a lack of freedom to quit their jobs. Physical confinement, non-payment, underpayment, sexual harassment, and lack of safety measures and protective mechanisms were common experiences at work.

4.3.2. Trafficking for Commercial Sexual Exploitation¹⁴

A study of trafficking for CSE and its victims in the state found that women and girls trapped in sex trafficking belonged to poor families from SCs, STs, OBCs, and Muslim communities.

Among women, their marital status as single or deserted or widowed or separated women made them more vulnerable to being targeted by traffickers as they faced additional economic distress to manage their households and were easy to be lured with false offers of jobs.

Besides women and girls, the victims also included males aged between 11 and 30 years as well. Qualitative data revealed that transgender persons were also a targeted group for trafficking for CSE. Organised groups of traffickers traffic transgender persons from the state to the big cities of India. A further study of victims' profiles revealed that almost all the victims were either illiterate or had very little education.

Family history of migration and trafficking emerged as another crucial factor adding to the vulnerability of children to trafficking as children of migrant labourers and trafficked persons were a targeted group for traffickers, thus leading to a circle of trafficking. Within this group, children of women in CSE suffering from human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) positive status were another focused target of traffickers as the mothers had limited capacities to provide for their children and against the traffickers.

Migrant labourers who found themselves without work upon migration and in extreme economic distress were also lured with a payment by traffickers to trap victims in their villages. Overall, the vulnerabilities of different groups were exploited by agents and traffickers who falsely offered to assist them in migrating for different opportunities with offers of jobs, payment of advance money, promise of better lifestyles, opportunities in cinema, etc.

4.3.3. Gulf Trafficking

Unsafe migration of local children, women, and men from the state, often via illegal channels, to different countries of the Gulf region was found to be on the rise and showed more than one element of human trafficking. People were being trafficked for more than one form of exploitation and often experienced a compounded experience of labour, sexual, physical and psychological exploitation.

Similar to other forms, the study of Gulf trafficking victims' profiles found that they majorly included women from STs (*Sugalis* and *Lambadas*), SCs, OBCs and the Muslim community. They were often poor, and, in many cases, they were trapped by local financiers they were indebted to, who formed a part of a chain of traffickers. These women had to depend on local financiers because they lacked social capital as they belonged to communities where most people were poor and they could not seek help within the community.

Additionally, they also lacked the capital to seek loans from formal systems of banking. Most victims were aged between 14 and 40 years.

In addition, young and conventionally 'good-looking', strong boys and men were also sent through unsafe channels for various kinds of work. The agents targeted people with no or little education so that their ability to converse and seek help in a foreign country could be minimised.

In terms of the *modus operandi* used, the traffickers exploited all interconnected vulnerability factors. Trafficking to the gulf was found to be managed by a network of fairly organised agents and agencies, which assisted people's aspirations to go to foreign lands for work on payment of a fee. Local financiers linked poor people, especially those in their debt, to traffickers. Recruiters made false promises of attractive jobs, and women were also paid an advance during recruitment while men had to pay the agent some fees to be sent. Victims' limited educational capacities were exploited to make them sign an illegal contract, which put various restrictions on them. The officially banned *Kafala*¹⁵ system was also used to recruit, sponsor, and manage immigrant labourers in Gulf countries by traffickers to deny labourers any control over their migration or choice and tenure of jobs. Sometimes, female victims were also forced into CSE when their valid visas expired. Legal implications made many victims further suffer as they were not aware of local laws and ended up being victimised for crimes they did not understand.

5. Discussion

India has extensive protective mechanisms to address human trafficking in the country. Andhra Pradesh, in particular, has witnessed a significant rise in law enforcement measures to protect the victims of trafficking. The state is one of the first in the country to have created a State Plan of Action to combat trafficking. Various governmental and non-governmental departments and agencies are working towards protecting and rehabilitating the victims and persecuting the traffickers. Despite all the efforts, the cases of forced migration and trafficking continue to be on the rise.

The weakest link in the state's efforts to address trafficking is found in the lack of adequate efforts towards acknowledging and centring the multiple, intersecting vulnerabilities of individuals. The findings suggest a dynamic interplay between the local socio-structural context, globalised labour and social relations and specificities of the livelihood context of the state. Formulating and implementing effective anti-trafficking policies and actions requires careful consideration of various vulnerabilities arising due to these contexts.

The results present a comprehensive picture of what demographics and social indicators are important to consider in order to inform effective responses at the four levels of vulnerability. At the same time, it is crucial to understand that the different factors and related indicators of individual and social vulnerabilities are not siloed, interact with each other, and do not lead to or protect from trafficking on their own.

The various factors revealed in the study align with existing studies highlighting certain specific risk factors among different migrant populations (Keshri and Bhagat 2010; Sengupta 2013; Ray 2015; Sharmin and Rahman 2017).

The rurality of the study population and related findings confirm that place of residence becomes an important vulnerability factor as migration is a significant livelihood strategy among rural people who have to move as labourers (Keshri and Bhagat 2010). With a lack of alternate livelihood options, inadequate production from land pushes rural workers to migrate (Sengupta 2013). However, not all rural people migrate or are equally unsafe in their migration. Individual characteristics like age, gender, education, caste, and income are significant predictors of migration (Keshri and Bhagat 2010). Indicators such as disadvantaged position in social strata like caste, poor income status, and lack of educational attainment are found to be associated with social insecurities that push rural people to migrate for better livelihood options (Keshri and Bhagat 2010; Sengupta 2013; Sharmin and Rahman 2017). Further, the existence of local discriminatory socio-cultural practices like early marriages, gender inequality, maltreatment of women and girls, and dowry

are commonly found to contribute to the infrastructure of trafficking. Risks are further compounded by broader situations of unemployment and rapid urbanisation (Sharmin and Rahman 2017). With people already living with such micro- and macro-level vulnerabilities, the occurrence of natural disasters accelerates the risks taken by them to escape the sudden loss of livelihoods (Ray 2015).

Considering the evidence establishing forced migration being a product of interaction between factors across levels of vulnerability, this paper looks at the process of migration as a continuum between vulnerability, unsafe migration, trafficking, and subsequent exploitation. Efforts into reducing vulnerabilities, thus, have to be continuous and across levels. Once people move out of their villages and towns because of the absence of livelihood options and an aspiration for better livelihood outcomes to work in the informal sector without legal protection in unfamiliar cities and countries, they are not only dislocated from their family and community support; they also face challenges of the absence of legal status and socio-economic protection. Starting from a vulnerable context at source and continuing into varied vulnerabilities during transit and at destination, migrant vulnerability is a dynamic state and changes according to the persons' capacities as well as their contexts. Each group of migrants may have different indicators and degrees of vulnerability at different phases of time and in different spaces during migration.

6. Conclusions

To conclude, applying IoM's DoV Framework to understand how migrant vulnerability to trafficking is constructed and enhanced by issues such as disempowerment, social exclusion and economic vulnerability in the state of Andhra Pradesh, this paper furthers the knowledge on vulnerability factors linking migration with trafficking. Importantly, it also allows uniformity and comparability for interventionists while trying to address human trafficking across the globe, especially in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh.

Future research may focus on one or more of the risk and protective factors to track the trajectory from vulnerabilities to forced migration to trafficking in other parts of the country and the world. There is also scope to study preventive mechanisms against trafficking and if and how they address the socio-cultural and structural components of migrants' lives and experiences.

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Appendix A

List of Parameters and Sub-Parameters

(Source: A Study on Human Trafficking in Vulnerable Districts of India (Tata Institute of Social Sciences 2019) Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Sciences)

Child Labour:

Age Group: 5–9 Years Old

1. Work Participation Rate—Main Workers
2. Work Participation Rate—Marginal Workers (Seeking/available for work)
3. Work Participation Rate—Non-Workers (Seeking/available for work)

Age Group: 10–14 Years Old

4. Work Participation Rate—Main Workers
5. Work Participation Rate—Marginal Workers (Seeking/available for work)
6. Work Participation Rate—Non-Workers (Seeking/available for work)
7. Communal Riots (Affected Districts)
8. Infant Mortality Rate
9. BPL Populated Districts
10. Less Electricity Facility Districts
11. Living in Pukka Houses (Vulnerable Districts)
12. Toilet Facility (Vulnerable Districts)
13. Using LPG (Vulnerable Districts)
14. Kidnapping and Abduction of children
15. Kidnapping and Abduction of women
16. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA): good districts
17. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA): Bad Districts
18. Literacy Rate (age 7+) of Total Population at district level
19. Literacy Rate (age 7+) of Female Population at district level
20. Literacy Rate (age 7+) of Male Population at district level
21. Literacy Rate (age 7+) of SC Population at district level
22. Literacy Rate (age 7+) of ST Population at district level
23. Good Performance: Work Completion Rate; Average days per Household
24. Bad Performance: Work Completion Rate; Average days per Household
25. National Highways: Districts
26. Cruelty by Husband/Relatives: Cases Registered (Vulnerable Districts)
27. Female-Headed Households
28. Sex Ratio: Vulnerable Districts
29. Major Tourist Districts
30. Left Wing Extremism: Vulnerable Districts
31. Proportion of ST population
32. Proportion of SC population

Notes

- ¹ This figure was adopted from the IOM Handbook On Protection And Assistance For Migrants Vulnerable To Violence, Exploitation And Abuse, 2019. Available online: <https://publications.iom.int/books/iom-handbook-migrants-vulnerable-violence-exploitation-and-abuse> (accessed on 1 October 2023).
- ² The report was written as a constituent report of the national ‘Study on Human Trafficking in Vulnerable Districts of India (Tata Institute of Social Sciences 2019)’ The authors of the paper were part of the research and writing team for the study.
- ³ It is important to note that these numbers relate to only the people surveyed in source districts. In-depth interviews and case studies reveal a higher vulnerability of transgender persons to migrate. More details are found in Section 14.
- ⁴ All the tables presented in this paper are sourced from the state report ‘Human Trafficking in Vulnerable Districts of the State of Andhra Pradesh in India, 2019’.
- ⁵ MGNREGS is a scheme that guarantees a rural household whose adult members volunteer to perform unskilled manual labour for 100 days of pay per financial year in an effort to increase the livelihood security of those living in rural areas of the nation.
- ⁶ The criteria recommended by the C Rangarajan committee were followed in creating the estimates of the impoverished in Andhra Pradesh. The committee outlines precise normative guidelines for the consumption of food and non-food items, in addition to behavioural characteristics of the classes that are related to the consumption of other goods. The monthly per capita consumption expenditure of Rs. 32 in rural areas and Rs. 47 in urban areas on a daily per capita basis is the basis for the new poverty line.
- ⁷ Purchasing power parity (PPP) is the basis on which the World Bank defines poverty. The World Bank established a poverty line with a daily barrier of \$1.25.
- ⁸ A Below Poverty Line Ration Card entitles cardholders and families to subsidies on essential food items distributed by India’s Public Distribution System.
- ⁹ Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana is a National Mission on Financial Inclusion and provides banking services like access to need-based credit, remittance options, insurance, and pension to all households in the country.

- ¹⁰ The National Health Insurance Scheme is a government-run health insurance programme for the poor which aims to provide insurance coverage to the unrecognised sector workers belonging to the BPL category.
- ¹¹ Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) is a national scheme that aims to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality by promoting institutional delivery among poor pregnant women. It provides cash assistance for delivery and post-delivery care.
- ¹² *Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana—Rural* (PMAY-G) is a housing scheme which aims to provide affordable and safe housing to families living below the poverty line in rural areas.
- ¹³ Depending on the context, this paper understands a community as a social group (caste groups, religious group, etc.) and an administrative unit (for example, a village).
- ¹⁴ Trafficking for Commercial Sexual Exploitation is a form of trafficking of persons where the primary goal is to sexually exploit the victims for financial gains to traffickers.
- ¹⁵ *Kafala system*: Gulf countries use the *kafala* system to recruit, sponsor and manage immigrant labourers. A local resident or company must sponsor foreign labourers for their visas and residency to be legal in their country. This gives the sponsor absolute power over the labourers and their conditions of stay and work.

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