
An Analysis of Police Approaches Towards Human Trafficking in India

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I. Introduction

Human trafficking continues to pose an immense threat to India's people and its borders. The past two decades have seen a continuous increase in trafficking, with spikes during natural calamities, economic recessions, and the recent COVID-19 pandemic. Economic incentives and globalization bely this rise: the black market, which often necessitates illicit bonded labour and organ sales, nets an estimated RS 93 lakh crore of revenue (i.e. 62% of GDP)¹, while the Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) of women and children in Mumbai generates 400 million USD alone.² The latter statistic points to a disturbing fact -- human trafficking in South Asia disproportionately affects women and girls. Altogether, "trafficking in persons (TIP) is a 9 billion dollar industry and is estimated to be the fastest growing enterprise in the 21st century."³ Despite the persisting salience of TIP, the state and law enforcement have taken an increasingly rigorous approach to combat trafficking. The Indian government's primary approach has been done through delegating the task of recognizing instances of trafficking to localities and encouraging non-profits to participate in the rehabilitation of trafficked victims. However, the current approach hinders effective and humanitarian action by law enforcement in at least three ways. Firstly, the plethora of statutes pertaining to trafficking are not exhaustive (*see section II(A)*). Secondly, nebulous and competing definitions of trafficking contribute to the officers' difficulties in distinguishing between pimps, consensual sex workers and those forcefully trafficked, which may result in

excessive and unjust arrests. Lastly, the confusion generated by the vast number of statutes pertaining to trafficking, along with cultural norms and the reality of corruption, may cause officers to de-prioritize trafficking as a criminal concern and further exert brutality towards vulnerable populations. Officers' pre-existing biases is an important factor to consider when understanding the relationship between the survivor, the perpetrator, and the bureaucratic arm; 70% of trafficked women and children belong to Scheduled Castes or Tribes.⁴ Likewise, a significant portion of trafficked persons identify as trans or belong to the LGBTQ+ community. A history of state violence towards these groups makes it more difficult for them to seek help and precludes effective enforcement of anti-trafficking statutes. The trafficking of women is an especially violent assault on women and their rights and goes vastly unreported. This report, while commenting on police attitudes and approaches towards trafficking broadly, attempts to centre policing approaches to trafficked women and vulnerable populations.

The first half of this report will analyse existing policy, and the second half proposes additional schemes and reforms to policing approaches.

II. Policy Analysis: Addressing Legal and Statutory Approaches to Trafficking

To understand and propose schemes for policing approaches towards trafficking, it is important to understand laws and policies that undergird prevention, rescue, and rehabilitation

¹ "The Scourge of the Black Economy in India."

² "IJM."

³ Human Trafficking in India: Dynamics, Current Efforts, and Intervention Opportunities for The Asia Foundation", Asia Foundation, p. 1

⁴ "Human Trafficking in India."

initiatives. This section includes a brief overview of legally recognized forms of trafficking and proceeds to highlight some shortcomings in the law which hinder the effectiveness of law enforcement.

A. *Complexities of Trafficking*

The multiple dimensions of trafficking, especially in regards to trafficking of vulnerable persons like women and girls, make the development and implementation of comprehensive rescue efforts by law enforcement difficult. The following cases illustrate various and complex forms of trafficking that law enforcement may have trouble acknowledging and addressing:

- a. Trafficking which occurs in government shelters and spaces designated to help trafficking survivors or vulnerable peoples
- b. Sex trafficking which is coordinated online through websites and occurs in a private home rather than in a brothel or in the red-light districts
- c. Areas where trafficking is widely accepted as a legitimate form of labour or there is a strong political favour towards the underground trafficking industry
- d. Trafficking of women in non-sex industries such as domestic labour or garment work⁵
- e. Trafficking of men (especially youth) in sex work

While these are just a few examples, they illustrate how trafficking of persons is a pervasive and constantly evolving crime that often does not fit an established mould. This complicates law enforcement efforts, and the difficulties local police face – the inability to recognize some forms of trafficking (e.g. bride selling) due to the lack of laws, confusion with

trafficking policies and unclarity about procedures and *how* to target instances of trafficking, the conflation of legitimate and illegitimate forms of labour, and cultural and political biases – can all be addressed through initiatives that bring various stakeholders together to address these gaps in the law, and schemes that facilitate the humane integration of law enforcement in prevention, rescue, and rehabilitation efforts (*Refer to section III*).

B. *Existing Anti-Trafficking Statues*

Section 370 of the Indian Penal Code 1860 defines trafficking as a situation where:

“Whoever for the purpose of exploitation (a) recruits, (b) transports, (c) harbors, (d) transfers, or (e) receives, a person or persons by – First – using threats, or Secondly – using force, or any other form of coercion, or Thirdly – by abduction, or Fourthly – by practicing fraud, or deception, or Fifthly – by abuse of power, or Sixthly – by inducement, including the giving or receiving of payments or benefits, in order to achieve the consent of any person having control over the person recruited, transported, harboured, transferred, or received, commits the offence of trafficking.”⁶

Within this broad definition, the Indian Constitution encompasses the following acts as instances of human trafficking, either as a “means and/or ends to human trafficking, or trafficking itself”: bonded labour, forced labour, child labour, sexual exploitation in massage parlours, prostitution, sexual exploitation for pornography or similar purposes, trafficking for child marriage, child soldiers, and forced removal of organs.⁷ Each of these are associated with their own criminal and constitutional codes. Child labour, for instance, is specifically dealt with in section 370 (4), which entails “rigorous imprisonment of 10 years which may also be

⁵ Much of the initiatives that center trafficked women only regard women who have been sex trafficked, such as the Ujjwala Scheme.

⁶ Standard Operating Procedure for Trafficking, p. 1

⁷ Standard Operating Procedure for Trafficking, p. 1

extended to life and shall also be reliable to fine” for the “punishment for the offence involving the trafficking of a minor.” The aforementioned Constitutional provisions and the Indian Penal Code (IPC) is buttressed by the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act of 1956, Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of 1976, Child Labour Act of 2016, the Juvenile Justice Act of 2015, and the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act of 2006.

Online Abuse, Pornography	IT Act Sec 66, 67 POCSO Sec 14, 15 (in case of children)
Missing Child	IPC 370 and 370 A, 363 and related offences of kidnapping and abduction

Figure 1: every case of trafficking is associated with a piece of legislation which provides both a charge and a punishment.⁸

Type of Trafficking	Code
Child Labour	IPC Sec 370, 370A, 342, 343, 344, 363A, 374 JJ Act 2015 Sec 74-88, 80-85, 87, 42, 33-34 (in case of children) CLPRA 2016 Sec 14
Bonded Labour	IPC Sec 370, 370A, 342, 343, 344, 363A, 374 JJ Act 2015 Sec 74-88, 80-85, 87, 42, 33-34 (in case of children) CLPRA 2016 Sec 14 (in case of children) BLSA 1976 Sec 16-23 SC/ ST Act 1989 Sec 3 (h)
Sexual Exploitation	IPC Sec 370, 370A, 342, 343, 344, 346, 354A, 354B, 354C, 354 D, 366A, 366B, 367, 371, 372, 373, 376, 377, JJ Act 2015 Sec 74, 75, 81, (in case of children) ITPA 1956 Sec 3-7 POCSO 2012 Sec 3-18 (in case of children) SC/ ST Act 1989 Sec 3 (w)
Child Marriage	CM P Act 2006 Sec 9, 10, 11 JJ Act 2015 (CRUELTY TO CHILD) Sec 75, 81 IPC Sec 370, 370A
Child Soldiers and Children in Gangs	JJ Sec 83 (in case of children) IPC Sec 370, 370A
Forced Removal of Organs	THOA 1994 Sec 18, 19, 20 IPC Sec 370, 370A

C. Anti-Trafficking Law and Bride Selling: A Case Study on the Lack of Anti-Trafficking Laws, Narrow Subject Scopes, and Difficulties Among Police

Most evidently, national level anti-trafficking legislation is extremely limited in scope and does not adequately address the various forms of trafficking law enforcement officials notice on the ground. For instance, although sections 366(A) and (B) of the IPC speak “about the procurement of a minor girl below the age of eighteen years from any place and the importation of any girl below the age of 21”, none of the aforementioned codes explicitly highlight adult trafficked brides.⁹ While 23% of women from West Bengal, 17% from Assam, 11% from Andra Pradesh, and 8% from Orissa are trafficked brides, legislation that specifically addresses this is non-existent.¹⁰ Bride trafficking particularly flourishes in regions with larger gender disparities (e.g. Haryana, Rajasthan) and high levels of poverty, as families cannot often afford dowry. Furthermore, local authorities are not incentivized to address the bride market as a legitimate issue. As Dr. Navtikha Singh explains, “it would be terrible to take action against bride trafficking and be defeated by a vote bank.”¹¹ Victims have little recourse; a state of “legal vulnerability” prevents women from seeking help from local law enforcement and authorities. As such, the “function of this existing law may not

⁸ Standard Operating Procedure for Trafficking, p. 27

⁹ Kamble, R.. (2019). Human Trafficking of Women in India³ Issues and Perspectives.

10.15406/jhaas.2017.01.00027.. p.177

¹⁰ Kamble, R.. (2019). Human Trafficking of Women in India: Issues and Perspectives.

10.15406/jhaas.2017.01.00027.. p.162

¹¹ Navtika Singh, “Trafficked Bride: Whether a Dream From Hell to Heaven or a Reality of Sexual Exploitation: A Study”, p.286.

be largely prudent.”¹² While IPC sec.366 addresses the problem of forced marriage, it does not “have a provision for rehabilitating victims of trafficking.”¹³ Although the lack of attention given to forced adult brides goes beyond the jurisdiction of local law enforcement, it certainly does affect the police’s ability to curb trafficking and enforce existing anti-trafficking measures. With little support from local authorities to combat bride trafficking, and a lack of legal direction, law enforcement officials may be unable to efficiently spot and respond to situations of bride selling, despite it being a pervasive element of human trafficking in India.¹⁴

Of course, bride trafficking is only one of many underrecognized instances of trafficking. The trafficking of LGBTQ+ children and adults, particularly trans men and women, is not recognized in any legal statute. The lack of legislation illustrates why active police engagement with NGO’s and civil society is important – when given political authority and legitimacy to guide anti-trafficking initiatives, such groups may be able to better recognize cases and situations of exploitation than the law currently provides instructions for and can better advocate for these marginalized groups to law enforcement.

D. Plethora of Legal Codes: A Blessing or a Curse?

India has a large variety of anti-trafficking legislation, ranging from centralized codes (e.g. IPC), to regional agreements. However, “in spite of the robust legal basis for the prosecution of trafficking crimes, many of the Indian government’s acts do not effectively criminalize the clients and profiteers of the trade.” Along with the limited scope in which human trafficking is legally defined (see section I(A)),

¹² Navtika Singh, “Trafficked Bride: Whether a Dream From Hell to Heaven or a Reality of Sexual Exploitation: A Study”, p.287.

¹³ Ibid.,

¹⁴ Navtika Singh, “Trafficked Bride: Whether a Dream From Hell to Heaven or a Reality of Sexual Exploitation: A Study”, International Journal of Interdisciplinary

the multitude of anti-trafficking codes available complicates effective law enforcement. Such complications are seen with the following statement:

“Bonded labor was specifically criminalized in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act and the Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act (BLSA), which prescribed penalties of up to five years’ imprisonment and up to three years’ imprisonment, respectively. The penalties prescribed under the BLSA were not sufficiently stringent. Police continued to file trafficking cases under the Juvenile Justice Act and other sections of the IPC, which criminalized many forms of forced labor; however, these provisions were unevenly enforced, and some of their prescribed penalties were not sufficiently stringent, allowing for only fines or short prison sentences. Additionally, the government prosecuted sex trafficking crimes under other laws like the Protection of Children From Sexual Offenses Act (POCSO) and the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act (ITPA), which criminalized various offenses relating to commercial sexual exploitation. The recruitment of children younger than age 18 by non-state armed groups was not criminally prohibited.”¹⁵

Certainly, the plethora of statutes and initiatives make it “difficult for local law enforcement to master the framework.”¹⁶ The central government is focused on ratifying national and international laws as it pertains to protection, prosecution, and capacity building efforts (e.g. Ujjwala Scheme). In contrast, state governments are more engaged in protection and preventative measures. Altogether, neither body of government provides

Research in Arts and Humanities, Volume 2, Issue 1, Page Number 283-289, 2017, p.285

¹⁵ “India. United States Department of State.”

¹⁶ Human Trafficking in India: Dynamics, Current Efforts, and Intervention Opportunities for The Asia Foundation”, Asia Foundation, p. 25

clear direction to law enforcement officials on *how* to combat trafficking, and instead complicates their understanding of trafficking. This results in procedural errors. Most confusion seems to surround proper filing and reporting of trafficking cases, as seen below.

“The law required police to file an FIR upon receipt of information about the commission of a cognizable offense, such as forced labour or sex trafficking, which legally bound police to initiate a criminal investigation. Police did not always arrest suspected traffickers or file FIRs to officially register a complaint, and officials settled many other cases at the complaint stage. In the Delhi capital region, while the Delhi Commission for Women (DCW) identified multiple cases of child sex trafficking in unregistered spas during the reporting period, in some cases police reportedly did not file FIRs following arrests.”¹⁷

The filing of FIR’s is an important but underemphasized step in investigating trafficking cases. A lack of training and clear procedural guidelines may preclude fully understanding the implications of proper filing, as not filing an FIR within the designated time span prevents further investigation into a particular trafficking case. .

In addition to national laws, Regional agreements, such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), aim to fill in the gaps of existing efforts by coordinating an inter-regional response.¹⁸ Likewise, the UN has published directives that inform law enforcement of appropriate procedures. However, such initiatives continue to ignore many forms of trafficking, and in most cases are not enforceable. It is equally important that all policing units are briefed on these transnational agreements

E. Contentious Definition of Trafficking – “Where the Legitimate and Illegitimate Merge Imperceptibly”¹⁹

This definition of trafficking in persons itself is imprecise. Human rights workers and NGOs by and large view trafficking as a non-consensual, or coercive act (as indicated in section 370 of the IPC). However, the National Human Rights Commission of India, the body in charge of developing and administering the Standard Operating Procedure (SOP), contradicts this very statement. They note that “the consent of the victim is immaterial in determination of the offence of trafficking, and several do not define ‘trafficking’ per se in human beings.”²⁰ Despite the constitutional emphasis of trafficking as a coercive act, there exists no commonplace definition on what trafficking consists of. Bureaucratic agencies utilize different definitions to achieve their diverse goals, making it even more difficult for law enforcement to identify situations of trafficking.

The conflation and criminalization of consensual and coercive prostitution affects how law enforcement responds to women in sex work. While the question of whether there can be a “consensual” prostitution is debated, there is no doubt that many women involved in sex work do so knowingly, without direct coercion, and with agency. However, the reality is that many women who engage in prostitution and pornography are also victims of trafficking. Despite this difference between trafficked sex workers and those who engage consensually, section 8 of the Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act (IPTA) broadly criminalizes both, and is “used to primarily harass victims of trafficking.”²¹ Thus, the trafficking legislation which attempts to prevent instances of trafficking generally results in arrests and the infringement on the rights of women rather than arrests of perpetrators.

¹⁷ “India. United States Department of State.”

¹⁸ The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is a regional initiative that aims to protect and further the rights of women and children. Other organizations like the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the UN have

both also produced conventions relation to human trafficking in the South Asia region.

¹⁹ “Speaker-1, Sh. Ajay Bhatnagar.”

²⁰ Ibid.,

²¹ Human Trafficking in India: Dynamics, Current Efforts, and Intervention Opportunities for The Asia Foundation”, Asia Foundation, p. 40

F. Trafficking as a Criminal Concern

Lastly, it is important that anti- trafficking initiatives are prioritized by law enforcement agencies. Both procedural and cultural factors may prevent police officers from emphasizing trafficking as a criminal concern. Local law enforcement agencies and rehabilitation centres are limited in resources. While NGOs work with police to identify situations of trafficking and arrest perpetrators, police departments are often constrained by funds, overwhelmed by cases, and do not have the time or capacity to actively investigate and arrest perpetrators. Likewise, rehabilitation centres are under-staffed. Due to the organization of these centres and lack of basic resources, trafficked women and children who are targeted by officers and subsequently sent to shelters often believe they are sent to jail. Some of these shelters and government approved organizations have even been accused of trafficking and exploitation themselves, complicating law enforcement efforts. In Andhra Pradesh, In Andhra Pradesh state, “district child welfare officials discovered two government-funded Child Care Institutions (CCIs) run by the same organization forced some residents into labor and commercial sex, including adults, children, and persons with mental disabilities.”

²²Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh, a government funded shelter home “allegedly drugged 23 child residents and forced them into sex trafficking or a related administrative investigation of two police superintendents that had sent more than 405 children to the shelter in violation of the district government’s orders.”²³

While central government proposals are extremely ambitious and promising in writing, “state government interventions, which focus largely on prevention, are hindered by poor coordination, low awareness, lack of an integrated plan...and high levels of corruption and organized crime.”²⁴

Cultural factors may also play a role in preventing law enforcement officials from taking vigilant efforts to combat trafficking of women

and children. Women in sex work, prostitution, and pornography are often stigmatized. Furthermore, since approximately 70% of trafficked women belong to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, caste sentiments of police officers may preclude women from getting the help they need, and further disincentivize trafficked women to seek the aid of law enforcement. Many departments are reliant on local political leaders, who may have a vested interest in the trafficking black market. Gang lords and traffickers often have immense power in impoverished and rural communities, and corruption and fear may also prevent the police from being vigilant. Moreover, there have been alleged cases where law enforcement units also have ignored instances of trafficking in an effort to ensure trafficking statistics do not remain high. In the past few years, “West Bengal, Jharkhand, and Assam state authorities allegedly ordered police to register trafficking cases as kidnapping or missing persons to reduce the number of trafficking cases in official statistics.”

III. Proposed Schemes

A. Collated Schemes and Policies: The Lack of an Integrated Initiative and Proposals

Given the aforementioned existing statutory gaps in prevention, rescue, and rehabilitation efforts, it is most important to promote initiatives that (1) addresses and improves procedural knowledge and standards among police units on *how* to diligently and humanely approach cases of trafficking, especially in the case of extremely vulnerable populations like women and children and (2) shifts cultural attitudes towards trafficking among policing units in a manner that prioritizes human rights and proper rescue efforts and. It is extremely important that NGO’s, civil society, and police units work closely to identify risk areas, target cases of trafficking, engage in cultural dialogue, encourage the prioritization of

²² “India. United States Department of State.”

²³ *Ibid.*,—

²⁴ Human Trafficking in India: Dynamics, Current Efforts, and Intervention Opportunities for The Asia Foundation”, Asia Foundation, p. 40

trafficking as a criminal concern, and conduct investigations in a manner which is conducive to rehabilitation efforts. The government has attempted to bring stakeholders together through recent schemes and campaigns, although law enforcement has not been a significant focus of these initiatives. The Ministry of Women and Children implemented the Ujjwala Scheme April 1, 2016, which provides further funding, resources, and guidelines for NGO's and civil society organizations working on trafficking prevention. This scheme does not provide methodological guidance for police units, nor does it integrate the police with prevention and rehabilitation efforts; the scheme simply delineates the role of the police to information collection, when there is a necessity for police to be somewhat involved with prevention and rehabilitation initiatives

While recent schemes such as the Ujjwala have attempted to converge multiple stakeholders, those proposed by the government are also narrow in subject scope and do not comprehensively address all forms of trafficking. The Ujjwala scheme is primarily directed towards women who have been sex trafficked, and does not address other forms of trafficking that may target women (e.g. bonded labor, domestic labor). As seen in section 1a, the lack of widespread recognition of forms of trafficking limit rescue operations.

B. Suggested Initiatives

- a. A multi-organization and multi-agency initiative spanning across departments and agencies focused on the rights of women, children, and labor, which utilizes a human rights-based approach to trafficking. It is important to emphasize a comprehensive definition of trafficking grounded in the concepts of nonconsensual and exploitative labor and migration, and address the trafficking of women and children beyond sex work.
- b. A program spearheaded by the IPF that emphasizes educational awareness of trafficking and attempts to challenge

cultural stigma among law enforcement units and stakeholders

- c. Programs which include the police in prevention, rescue, and rehabilitation services. This is where the most advancements may be made.

C. Police in Trafficking Prevention

Police play an integral role in the prevention of trafficking, one that has not yet been recognized by various schemes or initiatives. Law enforcement is often the first government body that victims speak with and have a very important role in prosecuting and limiting instances of trafficking. The following initiatives are actions both the IPF and the police can take to better integrate themselves in prevention initiatives.

- a. Police play an important role in data collection, and law enforcement agencies can work more closely with NGO's and government agencies to better collect, store, and share data that can target instances of trafficking. This can happen at the interview/interrogation stage, or women who come forward may be given surveys. Police officers themselves may be surveyed and asked repeatedly on questionnaires on how they approached human trafficking cases.
- b. Investment in communications technology and inter-department coordination: Civil society organizations or the government can focus on creating a centralized database to monitor areas where the risk of trafficking is high. Police departments can work on fostering inter-departmental coordination to communicate alerts quickly and briefly. Only 2/3rds of Indian police departments have access to a functional computer – it is essential to equip as many agencies as possible.

- c. Police should be aware of socio-economic and gendered conditions in one's community and should establish a culture of diligently prosecuting violence against women. This is important in establishing vulnerable people's trust in police departments which will allow more people to come forward. This aim is better achieved when working closely with NGO's focused on poverty, illiteracy, adult unemployment, social exclusion, and early marriage. IPF and civil society organizations can facilitate such workshops that bring these groups together.
- d. Initiatives by the IPF and other civil society organizations should be focused on addressing cultural stigmas that may be present within police officers, and funding should be allocated as such. Such workshops should be routine and can be led by NGOs.

D. Police in Rescue Efforts

While police already play a significant role in the rescue of trafficking survivors, there is much room for improvement. Reforms to rescue initiatives should target the police's poor coordination, low awareness of trafficking, and the lack of an integrated plan. This can be achieved through the following:

- a. Comprehensive procedural guidelines based on officer ranks: existing procedures on addressing instances of trafficking are often convoluted and lead to a complicated understand of what a certain officer is responsible for. These duties should be clearly outlined so no officer is unsure of what their responsibility is, including knowing submission deadlines for the FIR, process to file claim, etc. Both the IPF and the police departments should work on improving intra-departmental efficiency and improving coordination amongst different police officers. Due to the backlog of trafficking cases, it is important that officers are trained to handle cases expeditiously and prioritize doing so.
- b. Up-to-date workshops with stakeholders: police officers must be trained on the different statutes and international laws that are in place for trafficking. They must

understand the significance of their work and the way they are bound to these laws.

Instructional workshops may also clear any confusions police units may have as statutes are constantly being passed which recognize various forms of trafficking that may not be common knowledge.

- c. Coordination between NGO's and Anti-Human Trafficking Units: As of July 2020, the Ministry of Home Affairs advised all states and Union Territories to establish Anti-Human Trafficking units or upgrade established ones. Despite this push for increased policing of trafficking, the recent MHA report points to largescale failure of units. A report of 16 states and UT's "suggest that 225 AHTU's existed only on paper, and only 27% were operational." This shows that simply establishing such units are not enough, and as Dr. Najjar argues, a human-rights based approach is necessary. If NGO's are given formal authority to aid ATHU's, these units may become more efficient in targeting and prosecuting instances of trafficking. These units may also not have any instructional guidelines or prior information to operate on, and making such information available through a national scheme or a set of workshops is important as well.

E. Police and Rehabilitation Efforts

Police are too often left out of rehabilitation efforts, although they are generally the point of contact to refer survivors and victims to safehouses and NGOs. Police play a crucial role in the rehabilitation of trafficking victims, especially women and children. This begins with utilizing a trauma-based approach in interrogation and interview processes.

- a. Utilize a trauma-based approach towards victims: police officers must truly understand the trauma victims may have gone through and sympathize with them. Officers must be sufficiently trained to engage with victims of trafficking, especially women. During investigations, it is important to let the victim speak, to avoid being overly aggressive, and to ask how they may be feeling. Victims should not be forced to answer any questions they feel uncomfortable doing, as that may retraumatize them. It is also most important for officers to avoid victim blaming language when speaking to a woman or trafficking survivor. Victim blaming is when the conditions that a survivor or victim had gone

through is seen as being their own fault. With trafficking, this is never the case.

- b. Police should not rely on their victims/survivors to be their sole source of information in an investigation. Oftentimes, individuals with trauma may be hostile, aggressive, or reluctant to divulge information – this is normal and simply an effect of abuse. Trust must be built slowly between an officer and a victim, and police departments should work on utilizing other sources. This is where partnerships with NGO's may be especially useful. NGO's would be able to send social workers for support, and can help with information collection.

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