

**Application
of
The Positive Deviance Approach
to
Anti-Trafficking Programming in Nepal –
A Trial in Nuwakot District**

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Development Committee**
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Name list of PDI Research Team

Research Team

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2. Shikharbesi Balaram Adhikari	Maya Gurung	Supervisor
	Mahesh poudel	Innumerator
	" "	" "
3. Talakhu	Ram Bahadur Tamang	Supervisor
	Raj Bahadur Tamang	Innumerator
	Gokarna Timilsinha	" "
4. Routbesi	Deepak Pathak	Supervisor
	Mahesowr Pandit	Innumerator
	Arjun Bhandari	" "
5. Gounkharka Rojlal Tamang	Udaya Rana Magar	Supervisor
	Binod pandit	Innumerator
	" "	" "

District Development Committee

1. Mr. Narayan P Khadiwada	DDC Chairman (the position is dissolved)
2. Mr Pallab Raj pathak	DDC Ilaka member – Ilaka 12
3. Mr Kailash Poudel	DDC Ilaka Mamber – Ilaka 8
4. Mr Surya P. Acharya	Local Development Officer of DDC Nuwakot
5. Mr Shiva P Pudasaini	Project Coordinator of Anti Girls Trafficking Project
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1. Mr Krishna B Gurung	District Program Manager, Nuwakot
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Nuwakot District Development Committee, with technical support provided by Save the Children – US, attempted to conduct a Positive Deviance Inquiry focusing on the trafficking of girls for commercial sexual exploitation in five community clusters in Nuwakot District in July 2002. Unfortunately, Maoist rebels interfered with the process, making it impossible to complete the PDI in four of the five communities.

Nonetheless, research team members did succeed in completing a small-scale situation analysis in all five target communities that had been conducted to lay the foundation for the actual Positive Deviance Inquiry. Some of the key findings from this research are as follows:

- The number of girls being trafficked from formerly high-trafficking communities has declined significantly within the last two or three years.
- The general level of awareness about trafficking among community members – including adolescent girls – is reasonably high.
- It is possible to discuss this issue somewhat openly with community members in traditionally high trafficking areas, suggesting that open community mobilization is possible.
- Community members are acutely aware of the risk trafficked girls face of acquiring "the disease" (presumably HIV/AIDS).
- Adolescent girls generally do not discuss trafficking with their family members, but rather with their peers.
- It appears that the most common method used by *dalals*, or brokers, in recent years is deception of girls rather than directly approaching family members.

In addition to the situation analysis, one of the five teams was able to complete the Positive Deviance Inquiry without interference. The team members, however, faced some difficulty in gathering specific information due to their lack of experience in interviewing techniques, particularly probing skills, as well as the short time allotted for the inquiry. These problems, together with the small sample size, made it impossible to draw specific conclusions from the process. Nonetheless some possible ideas for future anti-trafficking programming did emerge, such as:

- Promotion of gender equity.
- Promotion of specific parenting skills, such as restraint in arguing in front of children.
- Promotion of frank discussions between mother and daughter about trafficking and its risks.
- Promotion of economic coping strategies, such as reducing the size of traditional social gatherings to lessen the need to take out high interest loans.
- Provision of knitting and weaving skills to adolescent girls.

While sufficiently specific information was not successfully gathered from this particular inquiry to allow for final programming recommendations, the outcomes nonetheless indicate that this approach, if implemented by sufficiently trained and experienced team members with additional time, is likely to produce very useful information for future anti-trafficking programming. It is recommended that, should the security situation allow, the process be tried again in the future.

I. INTRODUCTION

In July 2002, the Nuwakot District Development Committee (DDC), with technical support from Save the Children – US (SC-US), attempted to conduct a Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI) to develop improved programming to combat the trafficking of girls for commercial sexual exploitation. This inquiry was to take place in five Village Development Committees (VDCs) in Nuwakot District: Rauthbesi, Sikharbesi, Ghyangphedi, Gaukharka and Talakhu. Unfortunately, midway through the process, Maoist rebels interfered and made it impossible to continue the PDI safely in four of the five VDCs, with the full process completed only in Talakhu VDC.

Nonetheless, extensive groundwork was completed for the PDI, including the development and implementation of a program to train researchers in the PD Approach and its application in the field of anti-trafficking. In addition, the DDC research team did manage to complete a small scale situation analysis in all VDCs, which had been meant to lay the foundation for the ensuing PDI. Finally, the technical team gained some valuable insights into the application of the PD Approach to the anti-trafficking field during the implementation of the PDI in Talakhu.

While the Nuwakot DDC and SC-US were disappointed at not being able to complete this promising process at this time, both groups felt it would be useful to record the process used to train and prepare for a PDI in the field of trafficking, to present the results of the situation analysis, and to present the results of the PDI for Talakhu, the one VDC where the process was completed. This report attempts to do all three of these.

II. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TRAFFICKING IN NUWAKOT DISTRICT

Much has been written in recent years about trafficking of girls and women from Nepal to India for commercial sexual exploitation. Estimates range widely as to the number of women and girls affected, with the most commonly cited statistics estimating that 5,000 to 7,000 Nepali girls are trafficked for prostitution each year, although these figures are unconfirmed.¹ In a recently published report, the ILO estimated, based upon new data, that approximately 12,000 girls are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation annually.²

Nuwakot District, located directly north of the Kathmandu Valley, has long been considered one of the most highly affected areas of the country. It, along with neighboring Sindhupalchowk District, are historical centers of girl trafficking, which grew out of the practice among ruling class Kathmandu families of keeping young Tamang concubines. While actual figures are not available, trafficking of girls, especially among the Tamang population, has been an on-going practice for generations, and most communities, particularly those in the eastern part of the district, have been highly affected.

Reported methodologies vary widely, with some girls and families being victims of *dalals*, or brokers, who lure them with false promises of good employment (“hard trafficking”), and others being sold with the complicity or coercion of family members, including parents, husbands, and other relatives (“soft trafficking”).³ The causes of this phenomenon have variously been identified as poverty, gender discrimination, lack of education and economic opportunities for

¹ The Asia Foundation, “Prevention of Trafficking and the Care and Support of Trafficked Persons,” February 2001, p. 19.

² ILO, “Trafficking in Girls with Special Reference to Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment,” November 2001, p. 15.

³ Id., at 18-19.

women, lack of information and awareness, domestic violence, and discrimination against certain ethnic groups and castes.

Efforts have been underway for several years to combat this relatively entrenched problem in Nuwakot. Active agencies have included SC-US, Maiti Nepal, WOREC, the Nepal Red Cross Society, JJUP and the DDC, among others. These agencies have worked on various awareness raising efforts, as well as surveillance and rehabilitation.

III. BACKGROUND TO THIS INITIATIVE

SC-US has been working to combat trafficking in Nepal since 1992. These efforts have included providing support to Maiti Nepal in the operation of a transit home for the reintegration of trafficking survivors in Kailali district and the operation of a Students Against Girl Trafficking Program in local schools. Since 2001, SC-US has been partnering directly with the Nuwakot DDC on this issue, providing the DDC with technical support on programming, which has included awareness raising of local people about the risks of trafficking. In preparation for the development of a new phase in this initiative, the DDC felt it was important to undertake some research to determine what new directions it ought to consider.

After discussions with SC-US, the DDC opted to try a new methodology for this research: the Positive Deviance Approach (PD Approach). This approach involves addressing a problem in a community by identifying and learning from community members who suffer from the same limitations as others in their community, such as poverty, yet who have managed to overcome the problem on their own with existing resources. (See "The Positive Deviance Approach & Its Application to Anti-Trafficking Programming" below). It had been applied to the field of anti-trafficking only once previously, in a small scale inquiry conducted by World Vision in Shan State in Burma in 2001. This was to be the first time the approach had been used for anti-trafficking programming in Nepal, and indeed the second time globally.

IV. THE POSITIVE DEVIANCE APPROACH & ITS APPLICATION TO ANTI-TRAFFICKING PROGRAMMING

A. AN OVERVIEW OF THE POSITIVE DEVIANCE APPROACH

The Positive Deviance Approach is a methodology, that while not new, has increasingly provided communities with an innovative way of identifying new solutions to old, persistent problems. Monique Sternin, an expert in the application of the PD Approach, has provided the following definitions:

Definition of the Positive Deviance Approach in Development:

It is a development approach which helps a community and its members find existing, sustainable solutions to a community problem TODAY through the presence of positive deviant individuals within the community.

Definition of a Positive Deviance Individual:

A Positive Deviant is someone whose special practices or behaviors enable him/her to OVERCOME A PROBLEM more successfully than his/her neighbors who have ACCESS TO THE SAME RESOURCES OR ARE AFFECTED BY THE SAME CONSTRAINTS.

Definition of the Positive Deviance Inquiry:

The Positive Deviance Inquiry is the tool used to discover the positive deviant's successful or desired practices.

The PD Approach has been used successfully to develop programs to address a range of community-identified problems, including malnutrition, female genital mutilation, and lack of consistent condom use among sex workers. It is, perhaps, most easily explained and understood in the context of malnutrition, in which it has enjoyed its most widespread use and successes. Most communities (and development professionals) assume that malnutrition in children is caused by poverty. Families simply do not have enough resources to provide their young children with healthy food, the thinking goes. This would suggest that the ultimate solution to addressing the problem of malnutrition is poverty alleviation, which is a highly complex, long-term process. And yet, in virtually every impoverished community with a high rate of malnutrition, it is possible to find children from poor households who are, in fact, well-nourished.

They are *positive deviant* children, and they live *in positive deviant families*. These families have developed culturally appropriate *positive deviant* practices that enable them to succeed in nourishing and caring for their children in spite of poverty and often in a high risk environment. These families are uniquely able to provide solutions to malnutrition to other poor families in their communities.⁴

Through conducting a Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI), which involves interviewing and observing PD families – families who *differ from the norm in a positive way* -- community members and any partners are able to learn from these families exactly what these practices are. They are then able to select from among them those practices that are accessible to all concerned members of the community today, with existing resources. In the case of malnutrition, these practices have often been found to include feeding children locally available food – often growing wild – that is highly nutritious but not normally fed to young children, or certain hygiene and child care practices that many families do not use. Once these practices and behaviors are identified, the community – usually with some outside facilitation – integrates these findings into a program to combat malnutrition that focuses on behavior change rather than only knowledge.

Part of what makes the PD Approach so powerful is that it "is based on the premise that solutions to community problems already exist within the community."⁵ When conducting a PDI, then, instead of starting with the causes of the problem, the starting point is the solutions that PD community members, who have managed to overcome the problem on their own, have already found. When these solutions are integrated into a program to address an identified problem, the likelihood of sustainability is much higher. Indeed, in the application of this approach to nutrition programs in Vietnam, SC-US has found that the benefits of the program continued to be enjoyed by younger siblings of children who were born *after* the program had ended.⁶

B. APPLYING OF THE APPROACH TO ANTI-TRAFFICKING PROGRAMMING

As noted above, the application of the PD Approach to anti-trafficking programming in Nepal is completely new. SC-US and other agencies have struggled over the years to develop new strategies for addressing this complex, sensitive issue. The PD Approach promised an

⁴ Monique Sternin, Jerry Sternin & David Marsh, Save the Children, "Designing a Community-Based Nutrition Program Using the Hearth Model and the Positive Deviance Approach – A Field Guide," December 1998, p. 3.

⁵ Id. at 13.

⁶ Id. at 11.

opportunity to look at the issue from a whole new angle, and thus perhaps lead to innovations in programming. Erin Abrams of SC-US outlined the purpose of this process in a Concept Paper written prior to the implementation of this process:

[Much is known about the causes of trafficking and how it takes place.] What is not well known is why some families, despite facing the same levels of poverty, discrimination and lack of opportunities as their neighbors do not sell their daughters, nor do their daughters fall prey to traffickers' schemes. What is it about these families that makes them unique and are there behaviors they utilize that might be accessible and replicable by other families like them? When so many girls in the same village go missing, why are the daughters in some families better protected, despite facing the same disadvantaged circumstances that place them at risk of being trafficked? These families deviate from the norm in a positive way.

In the context of trafficking then, positive deviant individuals are girls who share the same characteristics as girls who are trafficked, especially in terms of caste or ethnic group and socio-economic status, yet have managed to avoid being trafficked themselves. The hope was that, by identifying and interviewing these girls and their families, the DDC and SC-US – and the other community members – could identify different strategies to combat this difficult problem.

From the outset it was obvious that there would be some unique challenges in applying the PD Approach in the trafficking context, versus, for example, nutrition. In the case of nutrition, it is somewhat easy to assume the general categories of behavior that are likely to differ between PD and non-PD families: different foods, different hygiene practices, and different child-care practices. That makes designing a PDI relatively straightforward, in terms of preparing the questions to ask and checklists for observation. In the context of trafficking, however, the technical team found it hard to predict exactly what categories of behavior, knowledge or practice might distinguish PD girls and families from their non-PD neighbors. Some ideas included different family relationships, different gender attitudes, different levels of knowledge, and different strategies for coping with economic hardship, although this list was by no means exhaustive. Furthermore, the beauty of applying PD in the context of malnutrition is the reasonably high likelihood of finding strategies that could be implemented here and now, with existing resources, such as feeding children currently available food. In the case of trafficking, if differences were found in areas such as gender attitudes, family relationships or levels of knowledge, any ensuing programming would likely require extensive, long-term behavior-change campaigns in those communities to encourage other families to attain similar levels of knowledge and adopt similar attitudes and relationships.

Despite these limitations, however, the PD Approach still offered a very new way of looking at the problem and the opportunity to refine existing awareness raising and behavior change strategies in light of the experiences of PD families and daughters. If, for example, it were discovered that different gender attitudes were the key distinguishing feature between PD and non-PD families, the DDC, SC-US and other active agencies would know that this was the area where attention could best be focussed to lead to real behavior change. Given the intense sensitivity of the issue and the challenges all agencies face in addressing it, it seemed like a worthwhile effort to field-test this approach in hopes of identifying new, or refined, strategies to combat the problem.

V. THE PDI DESIGN

When conducting any PDI, it is necessary to complete the following steps:

1. Identification of the problem.
2. Identification of an objective.
3. Completion of a situation analysis to better understand the problem and the normative behavior in the community.
4. Definition of a PD individual/PD family.
5. Identification of PD individuals/PD families.
6. Completion of the PDI with those families.
7. Identification of those PD practices that are accessible to other community members.
8. Integration of these practices into suitable programming.

Generally, these steps are taken by members of the affected community themselves, with some facilitation by partner agencies. Indeed, this is a key part of what makes the PD Approach so successful and innovative. While “empowerment” is a hackneyed word, it is apt in this context; community involvement is the heart of the PD Approach. Rather than having outside experts come into a community and dictate the solutions to an identified problem, this approach empowers community members to identify solutions on their own – solutions that have been found by community members themselves – and, with existing resources, to integrate these solutions into a program to address the problem.

Unfortunately, the current security situation in Nepal (the Maoist insurgency and the government's State of Emergency), combined with the intense sensitivity of the trafficking issue, made it impossible to proceed through the above-mentioned eight steps hand-in-hand with community members from the five selected VDCs. In a community where people are hesitant to talk quietly to their closest neighbors about trafficking, it is not possible to gather a large group of people together to talk about this common problem and try to forge ahead to find a solution. More difficult still, the current Maoist insurgency made it impossible for outsiders to visit these affected communities without significant personal risk. Thus, it was not possible for the technical team, as would normally be done, to travel to these communities and work through the above eight steps together with community members.

Nonetheless, several strategies were developed to try to include as much local community involvement as possible. Specifically:

- The DDC recruited local people living in or nearby the selected VDCs to be formed into five research teams -- one for each VDC -- and trained as researchers to implement the PDI (and the accompanying situation analysis).
- During the first phase situation analysis (see below), the five research teams identified community members living in the exact community clusters ultimately selected for the PDI serve as local volunteers and assist with arranging and conducting home visits with PD families.
- These same community volunteers were invited to Trisuli to participate in a workshop to analyze the findings from the PDIs in all five communities, identifying and selecting those practices or behaviors that could be replicated by others and serve as the basis for program implementation.

While imperfect, it was felt that the above strategies would ensure an important degree of community involvement given the extreme constraints faced.

Below is a presentation of the methodology used (or planned, if not completed) during this PDI for each of the eight key steps.

1. Identification of the problem.

The trafficking of girls and women for purposes of commercial sexual exploitation has long been considered a problem by local government authorities in Nuwakot District. It was the DDC of Nuwakot who approached SC-US to work on this initiative. While DDC members do not necessarily come from villages in Nuwakot most highly affected by this problem, they are nonetheless local residents concerned about a problem with widespread impact in their community. Furthermore, during the situation analysis conducted as per step three, below, local respondents confirmed that this is a problem seen as important by at least some community members.

2. Identification of an objective.

The identified objective followed naturally from the identified problem: To reduce the number of girls from Nuwakot District who are trafficked for purposes of commercial sexual exploitation. This objective was identified by the DDC prior to the beginning of this process, but was re-articulated by the local people selected to conduct the PDI during a six-day training workshop in Trisuli.

3. Completion of a situation analysis to better understand the problem and the normative behavior in the community.

While it was widely known that trafficking of girls for commercial sexual exploitation is a serious problem in Nuwakot District, details about the nature of the practice – particularly in the five selected VDCs – were not. In order to conduct a PDI properly, it is essential to understand the extent of the problem, as well as those behaviors that are normative in the selected community. Only with an understanding of normative behaviors will it be possible to determine which practices are different – *deviant* – from the norm in a positive way.

Accordingly, the field work for this initiative was divided into two parts: a situation analysis, intended to be followed separately by the actual PDI. The situation analysis was conducted by the research teams whose members had participated in a six-day training focussing on data collection and the PD Approach held from July 8th to July 13th in Trisuli. (The schedule for this training is attached as Appendix A). The methodology and findings are presented below in the section entitled "The Situation Analysis," and proved to be quite interesting even on their own. During the course of this situation analysis, research teams identified local people to participate during the second phase: the actual PDI, as well as its analysis.

4. Definition of a PD individual

Once the situation analysis is complete, the actual criteria for girls most at risk of being trafficked is known, making it possible to define who is a PD individual (who must share this same risk criteria). In this particular case, the team was required to make a preliminary identification of PD individuals during the situation analysis, subject to finalization by the technical team during a monitoring trip in between the situation analysis and the PDI.⁷ Accordingly, it became necessary to provide the teams with draft criteria for selecting PD individuals prior to the completion of the situation analysis. This was done based upon the extensive information already gathered during

⁷ This was done because it was felt that the research teams would require guidance in the identification of the PD individuals. Since the technical team was not able to safely travel to the actual communities to oversee the selection of PDs, it was decided that the next best approach would be for the teams to make a preliminary selection during the situation analysis trip, to be reviewed by the technical team during the monitoring trip held back in Trisuli in between the situation analysis and the PDI.

previous studies, which highlighting certain criteria that seemed to make girls more vulnerable to being trafficked. This draft criteria was as follows:

- From a high prevalence community (30% or higher).
- From Tamang/Dalit/Sherpa family. *[If the community is mostly Tamang, the PD must be Tamang. If the community is mostly Sherpa, the PD must be Sherpa. A Sherpa living in a predominantly Tamang community is NOT a PD].*
- Age 17 – 20. *[This was based on the assumption that girls aged 14-16 were at most risk of being trafficked. In the context of trafficking, PD individuals should be a little bit older than the age of most risk, because it indicates she has likely managed to avoid being trafficked, whereas a girl of 14 or 15 could easily still be trafficked and thus may not, actually, be a PD.]*
- From a poor family.
- Illiterate.
- None of her sisters have been trafficked.

Teams were reminded that this was only *draft* criteria and could change depending on the actual, localized, information gathered during the situation analysis.⁸

5. Identification of PD individuals/PD families.

Research team members were asked to make a preliminary identification of PD families while in their assigned VDC conducting the situation analysis. This was done with the help of locally identified volunteers who were expected to work together with the teams during the actual PDI and ensuing analysis. Those volunteers were all provided a short introduction to the PD concept. Then, together with the team, they were asked to review all of the household information that had been gathered during the course of the situation analysis, including which households had daughters of which age, whether they had possibly or definitely been trafficked, and the economic status of the household. From this review, four to six tentative PD families were identified,⁹ and the local volunteers were asked to facilitate home visits by the research team on their trip back to conduct the PDI.

6. Completion of the PDI with those families.

Following a two-day monitoring trip and refresher training, held July 23rd and 24th in Trisuli, the five research teams were meant to return back to their assigned VDC and conduct the actual PDI. It had been determined by the technical teams that the PDI would consist of home visits during which team members would conduct individual interviews with the mother, father and PD daughter herself, as well as engage in a bit of structured observation. Draft question guides and an observation checklist that had been prepared by the technical team were reviewed by the research teams and finalized during the training workshop, and copies were provided to all teams. (These question guides and the observation checklist are attached here as Appendix B). The question guides were based on the best guess by the technical team that the broad areas where PD families might exhibit different knowledge, practices or behaviors from their non-PD neighbors were:

- Gender Roles & Attitudes
- Family Relationship
- Economic Coping Strategies
- Levels of Awareness About Trafficking
- The PD Individual's Peer Relationships

⁸ As is clear from the situation analysis findings below, several criteria required alteration. Specifically, the age of highest vulnerability was actually found to be 17 to 20, and girls from wealthy families were as likely to be trafficked as girls from poor families.

⁹ When PDIs have been conducted in the field of malnutrition, as few as four families have been sufficient to conduct a successful PDI, and this number of families was thus selected as the minimum for this PDI as well.

Research team members were strongly advised to probe further (and trained in probing techniques) and to thoroughly review any other areas that seemed as though they might offer insight into the differences between PD families and others.

Sadly, on July 24th, the day of their departure from the monitoring trip and refresher training, four of the five teams were met on the trail by Maoists who put a halt to the research, ordering the research teams to return to Trisuli. Only the team from Talakhu VDC, who traveled a different route, was able to complete the process. In the interest of safety, no additional attempt was made by the other teams to reach the village sites at this time.

7. Identification of those PD practices that are accessible to other community members.

Team members were asked to present the results of each home visit in the form of a matrix for purposes of analysis. This matrix, a sample of which is attached as Appendix C, was divided into six columns covering family background and the five areas listed above where different knowledge, practices or behaviors might be identified. Teams were asked to prepare these matrixes on large pieces of flipchart paper, and to be prepared to present them during the final analysis workshop in Trisuli that was to be attended by all research team members, their locally recruited volunteers, DDC members, and the technical team.

It was planned that as each PD family matrix was presented, participants would identify and then circle those items on the matrix that seemed to enable PD families to protect their daughters from being trafficked, paying particular attention to strategies or behaviors that seemed different from the norm. Following the presentation of all PD families from the five VDCs, it was then planned to create a master matrix, listing only the behaviors or strategies circled by the group. Finally, it was intended that the group select from among those strategies or behaviors those that appeared to be the most accessible, relevant and replicable by other community members for purposes of implementing anti-trafficking programming in those communities.

While the team from Talakhu did manage to complete the PDI, and did prepare their matrixes, it was not known until their return to Trisuli that they had been able to proceed with the PDI. By that time, the analysis workshop, scheduled for August 2nd – 4th, had been cancelled, and their matrixes were thus reviewed only by the technical team. (See "Talakhu PDI Findings" below).

Integration of these practices into suitable programming.

Following the completion of the above step, it was planned that the large group would develop specific recommendations for programming for submission to the DDC, based upon the findings of the PDI. The DDC would then use these findings in planning their next phase of anti-trafficking programming. Again, due to the inability of the teams to complete the PDI, this step never took place.

VI. THE SITUATION ANALYSIS

Although the PDI was not successfully completed as planned, the five separate teams successfully traveled to the five VDCs targeted for the PDI on July 14th and 15th and spent July 16th to 20th conducting a short situation analysis. This situation analysis was not intended to be quantitative in nature, nor exhaustive research. Rather, it was intended to lay the groundwork for the PDI to follow. Specifically, the key objectives were as follows:

1. To identify high prevalence areas for purposes of conducting the PDI.
2. To develop good community relationships and identify local volunteers to partner with team members during the PDI.
3. To gather basic normative information against which to compare PD families.

A. METHODOLOGY

The situation analysis was conducted by five separate teams of three researchers (in one case four) in five separate VDCs in Nuwakot District: Rauthbesi, Gaukharka, Sikharbesi, Ghyangphedi and Talakhu. (A map of the area is attached as Appendix D). These VDCs had been selected by the DDC for purposes of this study because of their reputation for having high rates of girl trafficking.

Step One: Identifying High Prevalence Area

The first task undertaken by each VDC team was to identify a ward, or series of housing clusters within a ward, to conduct the PDI. Teams were requested to identify wards or adjacent clusters comprised of 35 and 60 households – few enough to allow house to house analysis in a short period of time, but of sufficient number to ensure the identification of four to six PD households.

In order to properly conduct a PDI, it is important that a certain minimum number of households are affected by the problem to be addressed, in this case trafficking of girls for sexual exploitation. If there are not very many households affected by the identified problem, then the PD families are not, in fact, different from the norm – they are the norm. In the case of malnutrition, it is commonly recommended that a minimum rate of 30% malnourished children be identified in order to use the PD approach. The technical team for this research also chose a rate of 30% of households having a trafficked daughter. Specifically, it was determined that 30% of households with girls between the ages of 12 and 25¹⁰ in a selected community must have had a daughter definitely or possibly trafficked within the last five years. The relatively short, five-year timeframe was included to ensure that the problem was a continuing, current one, in the selected communities.

Each team was required to make an initial educated guess as to which ward in their respective VDC would be most likely to have a high prevalence rate. Since each team had at least one member who was from the VDC being studied, this was a relatively easy task. The next step was to identify two key informants, one man and one woman, who would be likely to know the composition of every household in the ward, as well as be willing to talk to the research team. The key informants were, in most cases, Female Community Health Volunteers, ward members or other community volunteers. These were the people most likely to be approachable and willing to talk about the sensitive topic of trafficking.

Team members met with each key informant individually, thus allowing for comparison of data. First, team members engaged in a household mapping exercise with each key informant to ensure that all households in the ward or identified clusters were accounted for. Second, team members filled out one blank card for each household, writing all occupants of the household on the card, their age and sex, and noting whether any members of the household had migrated elsewhere and whether, in the opinion of the key informant, they were definitely or possibly trafficked. Third, key informants were asked to rank each family as wealthy, medium, poor or very poor, using criteria for each category of the key informant's choosing. Based upon this information, team members were able to determine the approximate prevalence rate for each community. (A step-by-step guide for this process was provided to all teams, which is attached as Appendix E). If the prevalence rate was determined to be 30% or higher, then teams remained in that community to conduct the remainder of the situation analysis. Teams had been instructed that if the prevalence

¹⁰ This age range was selected on the assumption that nearly all trafficked girls fell into this age group, and that there would be no daughters above age 25 living with their parents, given the normally early age at which girls marry and move from their parental home. During the actual situation analysis, however, a handful of households were identified with daughters above the age of 25 living at home. Those households were counted as households with daughters for purposes of determining the prevalence rate.

rate was lower, to move onto another community. In the end, all five teams succeeded in identifying a community cluster with a prevalence rate of 30% or higher on their first try.

Step Two: Conduct Key Informant and Group Interviews

Given the short time frame and the intense sensitivity of this issue, the technical team determined that it would not be possible to conduct interviews with families who had one or more daughters trafficked. Instead, it was decided that the best methodologies to use under the circumstances would be key informant interviews and group interviews. In both cases, respondents would be asked to provide information about their community in general, not about their own or their family's own circumstances.

Each team was asked to conduct two key informant interviews (one with a man and one with a woman) and three group interviews: one women's group, one men's group, and one adolescent girls' group, each comprised of three to six people. Teams were provided with question guides for these interviews, which touched on nine different areas, dubbed "Need to Know" areas. These question guides are attached as Appendix F, but the nine areas and the reason for including them in the situation analysis follow below:

1. *Cooperation of local community members/presence of dalals or others with opportunity to capitalize on trafficking.* This information was necessary to allow teams (a) identify communities that seem willing to cooperate and therefore more likely to allow successful implementation of the PDI, and (b) allow field workers to learn whether or not there were any *dalals* or others in the community who could seek to interfere with the process.
2. *Actual risk criteria for trafficked girls.* While team members had some assumed risk factors for girls (Tamang/Dalit, poor family, illiterate, age 14 -16) it was important to confirm this in order to develop criteria for the PD individuals, who should share the same characteristics as trafficked girls.
3. *Key decision makers in families.* This information was needed to know precisely which family members should be respondents for the PDI. For example, if it was determined that the father ultimately makes the decision regarding trafficking/migration, teams would have to ensure that fathers were interviewed during the PDI.
4. *Level of knowledge among different community members of risk of trafficking.* This was important for a few reasons. First, teams needed to understand if community members actually understand about trafficking, as it affects how questions are asked. For example, "Why have you not sold your daughter when others have?" versus "Why do you think your daughter has not disappeared as others have?" Second, levels of knowledge had the potential to be a key distinction between PDs and others families.
5. *Impact having a trafficked daughter has on a family.* The teams assumed that families sell or allow their daughters to migrate because of improved economic opportunities provided to families. Teams needed to know what these opportunities are so they could ask PD families how they cope without them, thus learning from them important coping strategies others may be able to replicate.
6. *Basic economic circumstances of locals.* Basic information in this area was needed to understand the hardships people face that lead, perhaps, to trafficking.
7. *Gender roles/attitudes.* This is frequently mentioned as an underlying cause of trafficking. It was important to obtain a locally specific understanding of how these issues play out in order to probe PDs properly on these issues to identify possible differences between them and others in this area.
8. *How trafficking occurs.* By understanding this, teams could learn what processes/circumstances leave girls and families vulnerable to *dalals* and others.

9. *Family relationships and peer support.* One possible distinction between PD individuals and others could be more open relationships with their families and better peer support than others. Thus, teams needed to understand the usual nature of these relationships in order to compare the relationships to those of PD individuals.

Team members had been trained in interview techniques and note-taking during the six-day preparatory workshop. Interviewers were trained to introduce themselves, explain the purpose of the meeting and to obtain informed consent from all participants before proceeding. Given the sensitivity of the topic, as well as the amount of time required for transcription and translation, the technical team decided not to use tape recordings.

Instead in all cases, one team member was the primary interviewer, and the other two participants served as note-takers.

Step Three: Recruitment and Training of Individual Local Partners to Assist with the PDI

As noted above, in order to gain the maximum benefit from the PD Approach, it is important that local people from the targeted community be involved in and understand the process.

Under ideal circumstances, the technical team would have accompanied research team members to the targeted communities, met with community leaders, and facilitated a process there involving as many community members as possible. Given the Maoist insurgency, however, it was not safe for outsiders to visit these communities, nor for large gatherings to take place.

Accordingly, an alternative strategy was developed. All research team members were local to Nuwakot District, and most to the targeted VDCs, although not to the specific wards or household clusters targeted for the research. During the course of the situation analysis, teams identified two to four local people (a minimum of two women) who would be available and willing to assist during the actual PDI and to travel to Trisuli at the conclusion for the analysis of the PD results. This approach would allow for at least a handful of local people to actively participate in the process and assist in any ensuing initiatives. Furthermore, it would allow the team better access to PD families in the targeted communities.

Each team was thus tasked during the course of their interviews to identify individuals who appeared interested in the issue, open and committed to working towards improving it, and to invite these people to work with the team as volunteers during the PDI to follow. Following identification of these local volunteers, the team conducted a short meeting to introduce the PD concept to the group. This was done in a way to allow the participants themselves to “discover” that there are, in fact, at-risk girls from poor, illiterate, Tamang families in their community whose families had somehow managed to protect them from being trafficked, as this is a critical factor for community members to understand. To increase the likelihood that the concept be introduced using this “discovery” process, each team member was provided with a basic script to follow, attached as Appendix G.

Following this “discovery” process, team members then sat with the local partners to identify PD families to be approached for the PDI. This was done using the cards that had been prepared during the key informant interviews to gather prevalence rates. Each card contained the age and sex of all people living in each house, as well the wealth ranking of each household. From this information, teams were easily able to identify families with girls who fit into the high-risk category but who had not been trafficked who could be interviewed during the PDI.

B. LIMITATIONS & CONSTRAINTS

Given the sensitivity of this topic, as well as the poor security situation in Nuwakot related to the Maoist insurgency, the research team faced a number of limitations and constraints in implementing this research. Below is a list of many of these, as well as a description of strategies employed to try to minimize them.

- **Sensitivity of the topic.** The most obvious challenge for the team members was the extreme sensitivity of the topic of trafficking. In all cases, interviewers confirmed to respondents that their identities would be kept confidential. Still, in some cases respondents indicated an initial reluctance to discuss the issue. In one case, the interview had to be ended prematurely, in another, a mother called her daughter away from participating in a group interview, and in another group interview one respondent encouraged the others not to share openly. Nonetheless, in most cases research team members managed to employ techniques such as ice breakers and sporadic use of visual tool exercises to relax the atmosphere, build trust, and open up informants. In fact, generally speaking, team members were pleasantly surprised by the candor with which most respondents spoke and found that the topic sensitivity was less of a constraint than originally anticipated.
- **Security situation.** Nuwakot District has been highly affected by the Maoist insurgency, rendering it unsafe for outsiders to work there. Despite the situation, the DDC was committed to moving forward on their anti-trafficking initiatives, including the PDI. In order to minimize risks, all research team members chosen by the DDC to participate in this research were themselves native to the targeted VDCs or nearby areas. Unfortunately, as noted above, the Maoists ultimately disrupted the completion of the PDI. Nonetheless, team members did succeed in collecting information for the situation analysis with no serious disruption.
- **Limited research experience of team members.** As noted above, it was not safe at the time of data collection for outsiders to visit these communities. While all team members were well-educated, very few of them had previous experience conducting this type of research. During the preparatory workshop, extensive training was provided to team members in interviewing techniques and note taking, including many practical exercises. Special attention was paid to probing skills. All team members were also provided with guidelines in interviewing and note taking to take to the field with them. (See Appendix H). While team members made an excellent effort, their lack of experience did impact the quality of the data in some cases. In many interviews it is difficult to distinguish between what respondents had heard from others and what they had experienced themselves in their villages. For example, when asked how trafficking occurs, respondents listed many strategies used by *dalals*, such as deception, drugging and kidnapping, but it was not possible to tell from the interviews whether these were strategies that the respondents had heard about in general or that they had themselves seen used in their village. This made it impossible to determine what strategies were *in fact* the ones used in those communities.
- **Inherent bias in respondent selection.** Given the limited timeframe for the research (six days), as well as the sensitivity of the topic, research teams were necessarily required to use as key informants and other respondents people willing, at short notice and with limited time for “trust-building,” to discuss the issue of trafficking openly. This likely means that respondents for this study were more aware of the issue than the general population, and perhaps, also more likely to oppose the practice. This bias needs to be considered in reviewing the data.
- **Limited gender and ethnic balance of research teams.** The fifteen research team members for this study were selected by the DDC. Although DDC members were requested to form a team with as equal a balance of women and men as possible, as well as extensive representation of people of Tamang ethnicity, they found it very difficult to do so. This was in part due to the Maoist insurgency, which has led many educated people from the local area to flee to Kathmandu. The DDC said this was particularly true of women. While the technical

team did succeed in recruiting an additional woman at the last minute (leading to a total of sixteen research team members), in the end, only two women – neither of them Tamang – and three Tamang men were on the research team. As a result of this imbalance, many teams experienced difficulty in interviewing women, particularly the adolescent girl group who were uncomfortable talking to a group of men, as well as some language difficulties. In the case of one team, which had a woman member, the woman researcher conducted the adolescent girls group interview alone, which helped.

- **Rainy season and planting season.** This research was conducted during a very difficult time of year, coinciding with both the rainy season and the planting season. As a result teams faced difficulty in traveling to their target sites, as well as difficulty in arranging times to meet with the respondents. Team members did a valiant job putting up with leeches, mud, and in one case, a lightning strike. They also arranged most interviews to take place in the very early morning or the evening to work around respondents working schedule. In some cases, interviews were held over the course of two days to allow respondents to attend to their other responsibilities.

C. MAIN FINDINGS

Below are the key findings of the situation analysis. While the research was conducted over a very limited period of time, and for a specific purpose (namely to lay the groundwork for a PDI that was not able to take place) some of the findings are of interest on their own.

i. Prevalence Rates

Every team succeeded in identifying a community in their targeted area where a minimum of 30% of the households with girls between the ages of 12 and 25 had had one or more daughters definitely or possibly trafficked within the last five years. Of particular note, however, was that in each case, the number of girls trafficked over the last two years had declined sharply. It was also noteworthy that trafficked girls seemed to come from every type of household – from the wealthiest to the poorest.

Gaukharka VDC, Ward #4, Bepchoo Tol

- A total of 45 households in the selected cluster.
- 28 households with girls between ages 12 and 25.
- 10 of the above households had one or more daughter trafficked within the last five years, for a *prevalence rate of 36%*.

Trafficked Girls by Age and Years Ago Trafficked¹¹ - Gaukharka

<i>Age When Trafficked</i>	<i>Number of Years Ago</i>	<i>Other Comments</i>
19	1	
8	2	
21	4	
20	5	
18	4	
18	3	
17	2	
31	4	(Daughter-in-law)
16	4	(A second 30 year old 5 yrs. ago)
18	4	

¹¹ Reported ages of the girls, as well as the number of years ago they were trafficked, are based on the best estimates of the key informants and thus may not be precise.

Wealth Ranking of Households with Trafficked Girls - Gaukharka

Wealthy Family	1
Medium Family	3
Poor Family	3
Very Poor Family	3

Sikharbesi VDC, Ward #7, Bas Bhote Tol

- A total of 44 households in the selected cluster.
- 25 households with girls between ages 12 and 25.
- 17 of the above households had one or more daughter/daughter-in-law trafficked within the last five years, for a *prevalence rate of 68%*.

Trafficked Girls by Age and Years Ago Trafficked - Sikharbesi

<i>Age When Trafficked</i>	<i>Number of Years Ago</i>	<i>Other Comments</i>
17	1 ½	
20	5	
20	5	
17	4	
20	1	(Died in India)
23	3	(Daughter-in-law)
22	3	(Has returned home)
18	1	
20	4	(Returned home and died, probably AIDS)
20	3	(Step-daughter of father)
15	3	(Mother is a returnee)
19	4	
18	3	
18	4	(Daughter-in-law)
18	4	(Daughter-in-law)
21	Don't know	
30	2	(Daughter-in-law)

Wealth Ranking of Households with Trafficked Girls - Sikharbesi

Wealthy Family	5
Medium Family	8
Poor Family	2
Very Poor Family	2

Talakhu VDC, Ward #3, Talakhu Tol

- A total of 35 households in the selected cluster.
- 33 households with girls between ages 12 and 25.
- 12 of the above households had one or more daughter trafficked within the last five years, for a *prevalence rate of 36%*.

Trafficked Girls by Age and Years Ago Trafficked - Talakhu

<i>Age When Trafficked</i>	<i>Number of Years Ago</i>	<i>Other Comments</i>
18	2	(To Malaysia)
20	1	(Supposedly to KTM, but suspect Bombay)
19	4	
18	4	

14	2	(Supposedly to carpet, but suspect Bombay)
17	3	
16	4	(Supposedly to carpet, but suspect Bombay)
16	4	
15	5	
16	5	
18	5	
16	5	

Wealth Ranking of Households with Trafficked Girls - Talakhu

Wealthy Family	5
Medium Family	3
Poor Family	2
Very Poor Family	2

Rauthbesi VDC, Ward #s 1 & 5, Naya Chepar Tol

- A total of 32 households in the selected cluster.
- 26 households with girls between ages 12 and 25.
- 13 of the above households had one or more daughter/daughter-in-law trafficked within the last five years, for a *prevalence rate of 50%*.¹²

Trafficked Girls by Age and Years Ago Trafficked - Rauthbesi

<i>Age When Trafficked</i>	<i>Number of Years Ago</i>	<i>Other Comments</i>
18	6-7	
19	6-7	
16	5	
18	3	
17	5	
19	3	
20	6	
17	5	
20	6	
19	6	
19	4	
15	4	
18	7	

Wealth Ranking of Households with Trafficked Girls - Rauthbesi

Wealthy Family	2
Medium Family	5
Poor Family	2
Very Poor Family	4

Ghyangphedi VDC, Ward #6

- A total of 63 households in the selected ward.
- 23 households with girls between ages 12 and 25.
- 13 of the above households had one or more daughter trafficked within the last five years, for a *prevalence rate of 57%*.

¹² Six of the identified households actually had their daughters trafficked 6 or 7 years before, not within 5 years. Without inclusion of these families, the prevalence rate over the last five years would be only 27%.

Trafficked Girls by Age and Years Ago Trafficked - Ghyangphedi

Age When Trafficked	Number of Years Ago	Other Comments
21	5	
20	5	
19	3	
15	5	(17 yr. sister also sold 5 yr. ago)
20	5	
21	4	
20	4	(22 yr. Sister also sold 6 yr. ago)
20	4	
19	4	
20	4	
17	1	
14	4	
19	2	(20 yr. sister also sold 6 yr. ago)

Wealth Ranking of Households with Trafficked Girls - Ghyangphedi

Wealthy Family	1
Medium Family	4
Poor Family	4
Very Poor Family	4

Summary of All Five VDCs

The above data is presented below in summary for all VDCs.

Prevalence of Trafficking Over the Past Five Years

As is evident from the following table, the number of girls reported to be trafficked from these five communities has declined dramatically within the last five years. In one VDC, Rauthbesi, no girl has been reported trafficked within the last two years.

Summary of Number of Trafficking Cases within Last Five Years

	Gaukharka	Sikharbesi	Talakhu	Rauthbesi	Ghyangphedi	TOTAL
6-7 yrs. ¹³				6		6
5 yrs.	1	2	4	3	4	14
4 yrs.	5	5	4	2	6	22
3 yrs.	1	5	1	2	1	10
2 yrs.	2	2	2	0	1	7
1 yr.	1	2	1	0	1	5
TOTAL	10	16 ¹⁴	12	13	14	64

There may be a number of explanations for this dramatic decline in trafficking. Some possibilities may include as follows:

- *Increased awareness of the issue and the dangers involved.* As set forth below, the awareness level about the risks of trafficking among community members appears to be relatively high, suggesting awareness raising campaigns of different actors, including Maiti Nepal, Save the Children, WOREC and the government may be leading to real behavior change. Newfound awareness may have enabled parents to better protect their

¹³ Only the team from Rauthbesi collected information on girls trafficked 6-7 years ago. It is likely that several girls were trafficked from the other communities during this time period as well.

¹⁴ The team reported 17 households with trafficked girls in Sikharbesi, but in one case it was not known how long ago she went so only 16 cases are reported on this table.

daughters and daughters to protect themselves from *dalals* in the cases of “hard” trafficking. It may also have allowed parents, who may have sent their daughters in the past through “soft” trafficking, to be better informed of the real risks involved and thus decide not to send their daughters. There does now also appear to be, in some cases, a stigma attached to families who have trafficked their daughters that has resulted from these awareness raising campaigns, which may have led some families to decide against sending their daughters.

- *Increased law enforcement.* Community members reported increased awareness about existing laws against trafficking, and this may have led *dalals* to reduce their activities for fear of arrest.
- *Increased fear of HIV/AIDS.* Nearly every respondent indicated awareness of the risk of dying from disease – some based upon experience and others based on what they have learned from awareness campaigns. This may have resulted in fewer families sending their daughters and fewer daughters choosing to go. (It has also resulted in an unfortunate stigma being attached to returnees).
- *Maoist insurgency.* The Maoists have themselves targeted trafficking, along with gambling and absent school teachers, as one of the main problems to be addressed in Nuwakot. Fear of the Maoists may have led *dalals* to reduce their activities or leave the area entirely.
- *State of Emergency.* Since the State of Emergency has been in place (since November 2001) all vehicles traveling to and from Trisuli, and onward from Kathmandu to the border, have been subject to search by the military. This also may have led *dalals* to slow their trafficking activities.

Wealth Ranking of Families with Trafficked Girls

Summary of Wealth Ranking of Families with Trafficked Girls

	Gaukharka	Sikharbesi	Talakhu	Rauthbesi	Ghyangphedi	TOTAL
Wealthy	1	5	5	2	1	14 (21%)
Medium	3	8	3	5	4	23 (35%)
Poor	3	2	2	2	4	13 (20%)
Very Poor	3	2	2	4	4	15 (23%)
TOTAL	10	17	12	13	13	65

As with the sudden decline in reports of trafficking in recent years, the reported wealth status of the families with trafficked daughters is also very noteworthy, and counter to assumptions made by the research team prior to the study. Time and again it has been reported that poverty is a primary cause of trafficking. Yet, according to the limited data collected here, wealthy families were just as likely to have trafficked daughters as poor and very poor families, and the most vulnerable group of girls actually come from families ranked as being of “medium” economic status by key informants. As with the apparent drop in prevalence rate in recent years, there may be a number of explanations for this data.

- *Families may have previously improved economic status through selling daughters.* Because research teams were only seeking information about trafficking cases within the last five years, it is not possible to tell from the data whether these families had had daughters trafficked in the past, which may have enabled the family to accumulate wealth and thus change economic status. As reported below, in at least some cases, community members indicated that the economic status of families with trafficked daughters had improved, in some cases dramatically. If this is the case for at least some of the families included in this data, it makes sense that they would seek to maintain (or increase) their economic status by trafficking another daughter.

- *Disparity, not poverty, may be the driving cause.* As has been seen in the Southeast Asian context, it is not necessarily poverty that leads families to traffic their daughter (or tolerate their being trafficked), but rather a desire to improve their economic status, regardless of starting point. That the most vulnerable group of girls appears to come from families of medium economic status supports this theory. This group of families is not struggling for their daily survival as poor and very poor families are, but nor have they become wealthy. They may see and admire the lives led by their wealthy neighbors, many of whom own property in Kathmandu, are able to send their children to boarding school, and are loan providers in the community. A family of medium economic status would be more likely than a poor or very poor family to feel that such a lifestyle was in any way attainable – and may have learned by watching neighbors that trafficking a daughter may be the way to attain it.
- *Some minimal level of resources/information required to make deal with dalals.* It is possible that the families of trafficked daughters may, in some cases, be expected to provide something to the *dalals* in exchange for their services, as often is the case in the Southeast Asian context. If this is the case, poor and very poor families would be unlikely to be able to afford to make an arrangement with *dalals*. Unfortunately, not enough information was gathered regarding the exact nature of the relationship and the transaction between *dalals* and the families of trafficked girls to determine whether this may be the case. In at least one interview, however, a respondent did mention that families respected *dalals* and provided them with liquor and other luxury items, which lends some support to this theory.

Age at Which Girls Were Trafficked

Summary of the Age at which Girls were Trafficked

	Gaukharka	Sikharbesi	Talakh	Rauthbesi	Ghyangphei	TOTAL
8	1					1 (1.5%)
14			1		1	2 (3%)
15		1	1	1	1	4 (6%)
16	1		4	1		6 (9%)
17	1	2	1	2	1	7 (11%)
18	3	4	3	3		13 (20%)
19	1	1	1	4	3	10 (15%)
20	1	5	1	2	5	14 (22%)
21	1	1			2	4 (6%)
22		1				1 (1.5%)
23		1				1 (1.5%)
30		1				1 (1.5%)
31	1					1 (1.5%)
TOTAL	10	17	12	13	14	65

While in one case a girl as young as 8 was trafficked and a handful of women in their mid-twenties and early thirties were trafficked, the majority of trafficking victims (69%) were found to be between 17 and 20 years old at the time they are trafficked. This age range was slightly higher than what the research team had anticipated prior to the research, when girls between the ages of 14 and 16 were assumed to be at highest risk.

ii. Community Cooperation

Key informants and most groups were asked a series of questions about the very basic level of knowledge about trafficking among community members in general and the degree to which it was possible to talk openly about this issue in the community. The main findings from this series of questions are as follows:

- **Most community members are aware of trafficking.** Nearly all respondents agreed that most community members are aware that community girls are trafficked, and that they believe most have gone to brothels in India, although they may not be aware of the details of the circumstances girls may face there. It is not the case, then, that people are ignorant about what has happened to “disappeared” girls.
- **Girl trafficking was formerly a tradition, now in decline.** Many respondents reported that girl trafficking had been a culturally acceptable tradition in the past, but that in recent years it was going out of favor. (This is supported by the declining prevalence rates in these areas).
- **Girl trafficking is generally viewed as a problem that should be addressed.** Most, but not all, respondents said people see girl trafficking as a negative practice – something that adversely impacts the *ijat*, or honor and dignity, of the community. Respondents variously credited NGOs, INGOs, the government and politicians for raising awareness about the dangers of trafficking, and in many cases expressed the view that it was important for community members to band together to address this issue. It should be borne in mind, however, that all respondents were people who expressed a willingness to discuss this topic, and thus were likely people who had greater knowledge about this issue than average. Their level of knowledge is probably higher than many other community members.
- **Some respondents reported that trafficking is a continuing practice and that, for some, there is nothing wrong with it.** A few respondents reported that some community members still see it as an acceptable practice, particularly when it brings money to a family.

“Trafficking of girls has been going on for about 50 or 60 years and had become a tradition. . . . But it has decreased the last 5 to 10 years because some people are trying to take control over it.” *Woman from Ghyangphedi*

“To sell a daughter is like killing a cow.”
Woman from Gaukharka

“It is better to eat *sisno* (stinging nettles) rather than to sell a daughter.” *Woman from Sikharbesi*

“There are lots of people interested in controlling trafficking, but when they get money, they keep their mouth shut.” *Man from Talakhu.*

“Very few people in my village say that this is bad work. Many people think that it is good. They expect that the girls will return with gold ornaments and good dresses.” *Man from Sikharbesi*

- **Trafficking is most often facilitated by a dalal, or broker.** Respondents reported that most cases of trafficking are perpetrated by *dalals*. Most respondents said that in recent years *dalals* work by directly approaching girls and luring them with false promises rather than make direct deals with their family members. A few respondents reported that in some cases parents or relatives cooperated with *dalals*, and occasionally trafficked the daughters themselves.
- **It is possible to discuss trafficking relatively openly.** Most, but not all, respondents claimed that it was possible to discuss trafficking openly in their community. In a few

cases, however, respondents themselves were not open with the research team, indicating the issue is still a sensitive one. Nonetheless, research team members were able to find several people in each community willing to speak with them about this issue, indicating its sensitivity may in fact be declining.

- **Presence of local dalals has declined in all communities.** Respondents from all five VDCs reported that there are fewer (in some cases no) *dalals* living in their communities now, with many having ceased their practice or left the community. *Dalals* engaged in trafficking local girls now come from outside the community. In general, respondents indicated that they and other community members have a very negative impression of *dalals*.

“Most people recognize *dalals*. They wear 2,000 rupee shoes and bring cassette players. When someone like this comes to our community, we know he is not a proper man.” *Man from Rauthbesi*

“Previously parents sent daughters through *dalals* and approached them themselves, but nowadays the community people say that if they see a *dalal* they feel he should be punished and that they ‘would like to suck is blood and eat his meat.’” *Man from Gaukharka*

iii. Actual Risk Criteria for Trafficked Girls

While the research team had certain assumptions about which girls were most at risk for trafficking, the technical team felt it was important to gather locally specific information on this issue. This was especially important for purposes of conducting the PDI to ensure that identified PD individuals shared this risk criteria.

- **Illiterate Tamang and Dalit girls between the ages of 12 and 25 are considered the most vulnerable.** There was nearly universal agreement that girls who met this criteria were most at risk of being trafficking, particularly Tamang girls. (In Ghyangphedi it was also reported that Sherpa girls are at risk.)
- **In some cases, family conflict leads to increased risk.** Many respondents reported that family conflict – such as domestic violence or an unhappy early marriage – led girls to run away on their own and then be victimized by *dalals*.
- **There was no agreement about which economic status was most at risk.** There was striking disagreement among respondents about whether the wealthy or the poor were more at risk of being trafficked, even within the same community. Some reported the poor were most at risk, others that the wealthy were; some reported it used to be the wealthy but is now the poor, others that it used to be the poor but is now the wealthy. As demonstrated by the prevalence rate information presented above, it is not surprising that respondents are confused about this issue, as it appears girls from all different economic classes are victimized.

iv. Decision Making in the Household

Respondents were asked about who, typically, makes which decisions in the household in an effort to determine who may be responsible for making the decision to send a daughter outside. This information was initially gathered for purposes of ensuring the right respondents were included in the PDI, but may prove interesting in its own right.

- **Most household decisions are made by the household head, usually a man.** Decisions regarding division of labor, money transactions and whether or not to send children to school are made by the household head, who is usually the father. Many respondents, however, did indicate that in many families, older family members sat together to discuss various options first, allowing people to provide their input before the household head made the final decision. And in some cases, respondents reported that parents made decisions jointly about things that affect their children.

- **Children rarely or never participate in decisions made about them.** There was nearly universal agreement among all respondents that children, especially those not yet in their teenage years, are not involved in any decision-making, including those that affect them, such as school attendance.
- **Household heads, or fathers, generally make the decision about whether to send a daughter away for work.** In some cases, it was reported, the father will discuss the issue with his wife, though not always. In addition, many respondents stated that girls sometimes go off on their own, without any parental knowledge or decision.

“Children cannot decide anything. That’s why they do not participate in decision making.”
Man from Sikharbesi

v. Level of Knowledge of Risk of Trafficking

- **Most people are now aware that trafficked girls are likely to end up in Indian brothels.** While respondents did not offer any details – and may not know them – there did seem to be widespread knowledge among them that trafficked girls end up in Indian brothels, although this was frequently reported as relatively recently gained knowledge. They reported that most community members had the same information. Some respondents did claim, however, that some parents of trafficked daughters did not know where their daughters had gone, nor what work they are doing.

“In the past we did not know where girls went. Now we know a little. This is bad work. If we engage in trafficking we are committing a sin and it may cause disease. Our daughter will die. This much we know.”
Woman from Sikharbesi

- **Most people are very aware of the risk of HIV/AIDS.** Nearly every respondent mentioned the risk of “disease,” and many respondents indicated that returnees will die. It is noteworthy, however, that while people seemed to understand trafficked girls were at risk of an incurable, deadly disease, not one respondent used the actual phrases “AIDS” or “HIV,” perhaps because they are embarrassed, or because they do not know the terms. In addition,

“The two main problems with trafficking are loss of family honor and dignity and disease risk.” *Man from Ghyangphedi*

“Parents’ expectation after trafficking is that some girls will be rich and some girls will be dead.” *Man from Talakhu*

people did not display much knowledge about the disease, other than that trafficked girls catch it in Indian brothels. It also seemed to be a source of great stigma for the returned girl and her family, causing loss of *ijat* (honor or dignity).

- **Adolescent girls have at least some knowledge of the dangers of trafficking and are afraid of being trafficked.** Adolescent girls reported being very worried about being trafficked, with some of them stating they feared going to *jatras* (festivals) and other public gathering for fear they would become victims of *dalals*. Girls have heard that *dalals* lure girls, and in some cases drug and kidnap them, which has made them very worried, and perhaps, feel they have no power to protect themselves from such strategies. It was not possible to tell from the data whether girls have firsthand experience with friends from their community being trafficked in

“We see other girls in the community who are trafficked, and that makes us worried it can happen to us too.” *Adolescent Girl from Talakhu*

“We are afraid when going to *jatras* that *dalals* might contact us. . . . We know what happens after trafficking. Anything can happen. They can do what they want with you, and you can get a disease and die.” *Adolescent Girl from Rauthbesi*

“We feel bad when we see girls our age trafficked. We feel bad that they are involved in such bad things at such a young age.” *Adolescent Girl from Ghyangphedi*

“Girls should not be allowed to go out to festivals, but should stay at home where there is no risk of being lured by traffickers.” *Man from Ghyangphedi*

these ways, or whether their knowledge comes from awareness raising campaigns that have explained that *dalals* use these sorts of strategies. If it is the latter, and these recruitment techniques are not actually widespread in these VDCs, these campaigns may be having a negative impact, frightening adolescent girls and hindering their enjoyment of social gatherings, which are among the few sources of entertainment available to them. Indeed, at least one adult respondent expressed the view that girls should not be allowed to attend these gatherings lest they are trafficked. This could lead to further oppression of girls.

- ***Adolescent girls generally do not discuss this issue with their parents, and get their information from peers and others sources.*** Almost all respondents – adults and adolescent girls alike – reported that girls do not discuss this issue with their parents. A few adult respondents said they thought some girls might talk to their mothers about it, but almost none of the adolescent girls themselves reported this. To the contrary, a few even indicated that they would be “scolded” if they discussed this issue with their parents. Thus, the relatively high level of knowledge that adolescent girls seem to have acquired comes from other sources. In many cases, this information comes from their peers, although it is not clear where the original source is from. Most likely, they have been exposed to various awareness campaigns operated by different actors.

“Girls don’t talk openly about this. They think and talk with their friends about how their friends could be trafficked.” *Man from Rauthbesi*

“Girls can talk a little bit with their mothers about this, but not with their father. But they talk openly with their friends.” *Woman from Ghyangphedi*

“We never talk with our parents about this. We will be scolded by them if we do. But we share with our friends.” *Adolescent Girl from Sikharbesi*

- ***Many, but not all respondents, assume that trafficked girls do not know their true destination and the hardship they will face there.*** A majority of respondents said that trafficked girls do not know where they are going, but that they think only they are going to a big city, will eat good food, wear nice clothing and have a good job. Some respondents, however, indicated girls know they will have to “do bad things” and “face an incurable disease,” and others elaborated saying they know because they have met with returnees who have shared with them the situation. As already noted, adolescent girl respondents did, indeed, indicate some knowledge of where trafficked girls end up. It may be the case that while adolescent girls may know that trafficked girls may end up as sex workers in India, girls who are actually trafficked are lured and deceived by false promises of other sorts of jobs and do not realize that they have been trafficked until it is too late. It is now probably a fair assumption, however, that girls who are trafficked with the knowledge and/or cooperation of their family (versus those lured by *dalals*) know that they are likely to end up as sex workers in India and are likely worried about disease risk.
- ***Community members worry about girls who have been trafficked.*** Most respondents reported that neighbors and family members of trafficked girls worried about them. In particular, people expressed great worry about disease. There was no mention of other forms of abuse or the other hardships they might face there.

“Family members worry a lot about whether the girls will live or die.” *Man from Ghyangphedi*

“For one or two days family members pretend that they are suffering great worry and grief, but afterwards they don’t really care. When the girl earns money they show it off. But if the girl suffers from disease then the family members and the girls herself worry a lot.” *Woman from Sikharbesi*

“Most people are worried and feel sad when someone is trafficked – they feel like someone has died.”
Adolescent Girl from Rauthbesi

- ***Some people know that some trafficked girls never earn any money, but instead have it stolen by dalals and others.*** While this was not mentioned often, there is at least some awareness among some people that *dalals* dupe girls and their families and that the money promised does not materialize in many cases.
- ***People have gained this knowledge from various awareness raising efforts.*** Respondents reported that community members had gained this level of knowledge from a variety of different sources, including the radio, different trainings run by social organizations, papers, and in some cases television.¹⁵ It appears that the message that has had the most impact on people is the risk of disease – presumably HIV/AIDS, as people are aware it is an incurable and deadly disease, although it was never mentioned by name.

“We know that this job can cause us to lose our honor and dignity. Trafficked girls have to work in brothels and the *dalal* earns money but the girls earn very little and will be affected by disease.”
Adolescent Girl from Sikharbesi

“All trafficked girls do not send money. *Dalals* sell the girls to the brothel owner and then the girls have to pay back the loan to the *dalal* so they cannot send money home.” *Woman from Rauthbesi*

“Parents of trafficked girls know that she can get a disease and that her image will be bad in society. They get these messages from the radio, television, newspapers and different NGOs.” *Man from Gaukharka*

vi. Impact having a trafficked daughter has on a family.

It has been widely assumed that families arrange for, or tolerate, the trafficking of their daughters for economic reasons. Research team members wanted to understand the impact having a trafficked daughter has on a family in these communities in order to understand how or why PD families were able to make a different choice.

- ***Most families of trafficked girls experience some economic improvement, though not all, and sometimes the improvement is modest.*** While a few respondents did report that some families of trafficked girls had made dramatic improvements in their economic conditions, most felt that the economic gains were modest and not at all universal. There were some reports that families were able to buy a house in Kathmandu or lowland fields good for growing rice, could purchase new livestock, and were now able to provide loans to others in the community. And there were the ubiquitous reports that these families had tin roofs. More commonly, people reported that families were able to buy household goods such as quilts, pillows, plates, glasses, pots and pans, and cassette radios, and that they were able to spend more on traditional ceremonies like *ghewas* (death rituals), *chewars* (hair cutting ceremonies) and weddings. In some cases respondents reported that families were able to afford medical care and that they were able to buy goods on credit from stores who knew that a family member had gone “down there,” and that there was

¹⁵ There did not appear to be any televisions in the communities visited. The respondents who mentioned television must have seen it while visiting Trisuli or Kathmandu.

therefore income expected. Some respondents also indicated that these families had improved food security, and were able to eat two regular, complete meals a day.

- ***There was a common view that families were now earning less money because of the impact of disease.*** Several respondents indicated that they thought less money was being earned by the families these days because of AIDS – “the disease.” In some cases, a few reported, families ended up in far worse circumstances because their daughters died. As a result, these families ended up heavily in debt because they still had to perform the traditional *ghewa*, which can be very costly.
- ***People seem to have little idea of exactly how much money people earn.*** Estimates ranged wildly from 2,000 Indian rupees to 20 lakh Indian rupees, with the most common answers being in the 50,000 to 2 lakh range. Many reported that they simply did not know how much families earned.
- ***Most respondents reported that these families suffer social stigma as result.*** Consistent with earlier information about how people more commonly disapprove of trafficking girls because of the risk of disease and loss of social honor and dignity, many respondents reported that these families were not well respected in the community anymore. A few respondents, however, did indicate that those who did become wealthier continued to be respected because other community members also benefited from their wealth through social gatherings and the ability to obtain loans.

“Now many girls are dying and very few are sending money to their family.” *Man from Ghyangphedi*

“Instead of money, they bring back disease, and the family ends up having to take out a loan.” *Woman from Ghyangphedi*

“Previously, many years back, there was no disease and girls could send a lot of money back. But now a lot of girls with the disease come back with no money and they and their whole family are in a miserable state.” *Man from Gaukharka*

“They earn money, but society hates them.” *Man from Rauthbesi*

“Last years one girl sent lots of money and they invited the whole community for a feast.”
Adolescent Girl from Rauthbesi

“People treat these families well in front of them, but behind their backs they hate them.”
Woman from Talakhu

vii. Basic economic circumstances of locals

- ***The main sources of income in these communities are agriculture, livestock raising, wage labor and bamboo weaving.*** In general, the population of these five VDCs are poor, subsistence farmers. Respondents indicated that many families face food sufficiency problems due to a lack of productive land. Many families were only able to grow enough food for six months – or less – a year. As a result, many families rely heavily on wage labor. This can be both working in the fields of wealthier people for a wage and going to Kathmandu to work as a porter or perform other manual labor. In addition, some families earned extra income by weaving bamboo walls for construction or woolen fabric.
- ***The majority of families rely upon loans to help them survive.*** Respondents reported that the majority of families take out loans, at high interest rates. Although no actual quantitative data was collected on this, some suggested that about 2/3 of residents took loans, and 1/3 provided them. The purposes for these loans ranged from food supplies, to agricultural improvement, to medical care, to *chewars*, *ghewas* and weddings. In at least some cases, if debtors were unable to repay their loan, with the high interest rate, within the designated time frame, their collateral (usually livestock) was seized.

viii. Gender roles/attitudes.

Since trafficking is often blamed, in part, on gender attitudes and devaluing of girls, the research team wanted to understand a bit about the local perceptions of gender roles.

- **Nearly all respondents reported that community members loved and treated their sons and daughters equally.** With only a few exceptions, respondents were quick to explain that sons and daughters were loved equally and should be treated that way. Yet, often in

“People see sons and daughters as equal. But traditionally, people want their first child to be a son. Then they will be happy.” *Man from Rauthbesi*

“If a new daughter were livestock, people could kill them. But of course it is not right to kill a daughter.” *Woman from Rauthbesi*

the same breath, they further explained that sons, of course, would remain behind and look after their parents, whereas daughters would eventually leave their family home and serve others. While there can be little doubt that respondents replied truthfully when saying that parents love their daughters as much as their sons, it was clear from follow-up questions that, in fact, they are not *treated* equally, with sons more likely to be educated than daughters, as well as, in some cases, be fed better food

and be relieved of working too hard. The technical team suspects that in many cases, respondents provided the answers they knew, from various trainings, were expected of them – were the “correct” answers. If true, this indicates that awareness about gender equity has reached these villages, but that it has not been accompanied by behavior change.

- **Expectations for sons differ from expectations for daughters.** Given that sons, not daughters, were generally expected to look after their parents, it is not surprising that respondents reported that families had different expectations for their sons than their daughters. Sons were generally expected to be *tulo manches*, or respected people, to be educated, to work hard for their family, and not to be a drunkard or a gambler. Interestingly, several respondents also said people hope their sons would not be *dalals*. Daughters, by contrast, were expected to be honest, to work hard, and to maintain the *ijat*, or honor and dignity, of their marital home.
- **There was little indication that girls were more highly prized than sons because of their earning potential.** Interestingly, although some previous reports have suggested families in traditionally high-trafficking areas valued daughters over sons for their earning capacity, only one respondent (in Talakhu) indicated that this was the case. Again, this is possibly the result of respondents providing information that they thought the research team wanted to hear. But it could generally indicate that this is not a common view.

“Those girls who are trafficked and come back are loved, but those who remain in the house are not because they do not earn any money.” *Woman from Talakhu*

ix. How trafficking occurs

Respondents were asked to provide information on how trafficking actually occurs in their communities. As noted above, it was not always possible to distinguish between what community members had learned were methods used by *dalals* through various awareness-raising campaigns, and what they had witnessed themselves in their own communities.

- **The most common method reported was dalals luring girls on their own through false promises.** PROMISES OF WHAT – MARRIAGE OR EMPLOYMENT? Almost all respondents agreed that the most common way girls are trafficked these days is through *dalals* who approach girls directly, not through the girls’ parents. Many people indicated that *dalals* approach girls at large social gatherings like *ghewas* and various *jatras*, or festivals, to attract them with false promises of an exciting city life with a good job, an

opportunity to wear nice clothes and eat good food, and earn a decent wage. Several respondents said that girls were also approached when they were off on their own, collecting fodder or watching cattle, although it was not clear if this was based on their own experience or just what they had heard. Others said they had heard that girls are sometimes drugged with alcohol and kidnapped, but about half of the respondents said

“We heard that *dalals* feed girls alcohol and hypnotize them.” *Adolescent Girl from Sikharbesi*

“*Dalals* visit marketplaces and lure girls to the cinema and tell them ‘you are facing a difficult life,’ and then lure them with promises of good jobs, good food, and sometimes false marriage.”

they had not heard of this practice. A few reported that false marriage was an increasingly common strategy used by *dalals* but others had not heard of it.

- **Some respondents reported that, in some cases, parents knowingly participated in the trafficking of their daughters.** While many respondents stated that parents never knowingly traffic their daughters, a few respondents indicated that some parents do, on occasion, actively seek out a *dalal* to sell their daughter. In some of these cases, it was reported that *dalals* encouraged the families by suggesting they would become loan-free. Some respondents also indicated that other relatives, such as brothers, uncles or parents-in-law, knowingly trafficked some girls, either directly or through cooperation with *dalals*.

“In some cases parents decide to send the daughter themselves. In other cases the girls contact the *dalals* directly themselves. But either way, the girls go with a *dalal*.”
Man from Sikharbesi

- **There were discrepancies regarding whether *dalals* provide families of recruited girls with any advance lump sum.** About half of the respondents who indicated any knowledge of this stated that families are provided with some sort of advanced lump sum, although they did not know how much. A few said that money was not provided, but that *dalals* lured families with cigarettes and alcohol. Others replied that no lump sum payment was made, just a promise provided that money would be forthcoming. In some cases, it apparently was, with girls sending money back from time to time, either through the *dalals* themselves or other trusted people. Again, no specific information was provided to the team about how much this money amounts to or how frequently it comes. Additionally, some respondents said that often this money is stolen by the *dalal* or other courier before it reaches its destination.
- **There is some indication that some girls seek out *dalals* on their own.** A few respondents stated that some girls seek out *dalals* on their own, having seen the wealth of returnees and heard their stories about their exciting city lives. While no details were provided about this, it does seem logical that for some adolescent girls – even those who may be aware they will have to engage in sex work – the choice to migrate to India seems a much better one than staying in their village, especially if they face family conflict or an impending marriage that they do not want.

- ***Dalals* were reported to be outsiders these days.** Respondents indicated that these days, the vast majority of *dalals* were not from their village, but rather came from outside. This was a difference compared to the past, when many local people were reportedly *dalals*. This shift may be because of people’s increasingly negative view towards trafficking and the perceived increased risk that *dalals* face. In some cases, they indicated that *dalals*, while outsiders, were relatives of people in the village, which afforded them easy entry. In other cases, people reported that local people assisted the *dalals*, but that the “main *dalal*” came from outside the village, indicating that cooperation of several different people is necessary to arrange for the trafficking of girls.

“Previously, girls were trafficked by their own relatives. But nowadays the *dalals* are from outside our village. Some of them are socially recognizable people, some are village representatives, but none of them are from our village.” *Man from Sikharbesi*

x. Family relationships and peer support

- **Adolescent girls talk with their parents about basic problems and with their friends about more “sensitive” issues.** Most girls reported that they would go to their parents about problems related to work, clothing, food or illness. By contrast, they talked with their peers about issues such as their desire for an education, boys they like or boys who are teasing them, and their hopes for their own marriage.

“We talk to our friends about boys, boys who tease us. We talk about going to the market and going to *jatras*. We also sing with our friends. We talk about marriage. We can talk very closely with our friends. Sometimes we have really fun discussions.” *Adolescent Girl from Rauthbesi*

- **Adolescent girls talk most about trafficking with their friends, not with their family.** Every group of adolescent girls responded that they are able to talk about issues related to trafficking with their peers. They speak with them about their fears of being lured by *dalals* and ways they can protect themselves. Specifically, most girls said that if they were approached by a *dalal* they would tell their friends; a few girls also said they would tell their mothers, although others feared being scolded if they raised this issue with their parents.

“We don’t talk to our parents about our problems, but with our friends. Sometimes we do talk to our mothers. We talk with our friends about how we should not go to *jatras*, and also about our lack of education. If an outsider came and lured us, we would talk to our mothers and our friends.” *Adolescent Girl from Ghyangphedi*

“The things we cannot share with our families we share with our friends. Like about our own wedding, about our fear of *dalals*, about being teased by boys, and about how some girls are forced to marry even before they are twenty years old.” *Adolescent Girl from Gaukharka*

“If we share with our parents about a boy teasing us or about being deceived by a *dalal* we will be scolded, so that’s why we share this with our friends instead.” *Adolescent Girl from Sikharbesi*

- **Girls reported enjoying going to *jatras* and other social gatherings.** Although several girls expressed concern about attending *jatras*, *ghewas* and other traditional social functions, many girls indicated that they very much enjoyed these activities, and that they often talked with their friends about going to them and preparing for them.

D. SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE SITUATION ANALYSIS FINDINGS

Sadly, the inability of most teams to complete the PDI, which was expected to be the innovative part of this process, seriously limits the quality and quantity of recommendations. Nonetheless, some recommendations for future programming can be made based upon the findings presented above.

1. **General awareness-raising programs are having some impact and should be continued.** While the exact reasons for the recent decline in trafficking in these communities is not knowable at this time, there is little doubt that the various awareness raising campaigns undertaken by NGOs like Maiti Nepal and WOREC and INGOs like Save the Children – US have had some meaningful impact. That every team was able to quickly locate several people in each community to talk relatively openly about this topic is an excellent indicator that progress is being made. As with

any problem, it is not possible to start addressing it if people are not able to talk about it.

2. **If possible, additional research should be conducted into precisely which messages have had resonance with community members.** While the situation analysis provided sufficient evidence to indicate that awareness raising efforts are having impact, it is not possible to tell from the data *which* messages have worked and why. To the extent possible in the current security climate, it would be very valuable to conduct some sort of evaluation to examine which messages people have been exposed to, how, and from whom, and which messages they felt had the most impact on their decision to protect their daughters (or themselves, in the case of at-risk girls and women). This would allow for better targeting and better delivery of messages in the future.
3. **Include in awareness raising or BCC campaigns information about modes of transmission of HIV/AIDS and the need to show compassion for those suffering.** Although the data is not specific on this point, it appears that most community members know little about HIV/AIDS other than that it is an incurable, deadly disease that girls get working in brothels in India. Respondents demonstrated a palpable fear of this illness, which while appropriate, has also led to the stigmatization of all returnees for fear of the disease. It is critical that community members understand that they cannot get AIDS through casual contact and that its victims require their care and compassion, not rejection.
4. **Include more information about actual working conditions in Indian brothels as opposed to merely AIDS information.** Again, it appears that the primary reason people have begun to see trafficking as a bad thing is the risk girls have of contracting “the disease.” As noted above, this has some very negative consequences for returnees. Future information campaigns should include more detailed information about the actual working conditions girls will face in brothels, as well as the common practice of debt bondage, which was mentioned by only a handful of respondents.
5. **Reduce the use of scare tactics in IEC or BCC campaigns, and instead include self-efficacy messages.** An alarming finding of this study is that adolescent girls have begun to become afraid to attend social gatherings for fear of being victimized by *dalals*. It appears girls have heard from a variety of sources (not identified in this research) that girls are lured, kidnapped, drugged or otherwise deceived by *dalals* at social events such as *jatras*, *ghewas*, *chewars* and weddings. It is not at all clear that these are common practices, and even if they are, girls can protect themselves while still participating in these important cultural events. IEC and BCC campaigns should include not only information that *dalals* use these strategies, but also information about what specific strategies a girls can use if she is approached to prevent her from being trafficked. These might include running away, calling for help, telling her parents, or telling other community leaders. In addition, girls can be encouraged that, if approached by someone who seems honest and is offering her employment outside of her village, they should introduce this person to their family and/or other community members to ensure he is not a *dalal*. With such pro-active messages available to them, girls may realize they can still attend these gatherings while protecting themselves.
6. **Employ peer counseling as a key methodology for message dissemination.** One of the clearest findings of this study is that girls learn about trafficking and how to protect themselves from their friends, not their parents or other adults. Any BCC or IEC campaigns should be designed with peer counseling as a central component.

VII. THE TALAKHU PDI

The research team from Talakhu VDC was the one team able to complete the PDI process. Unfortunately, the team faced some difficulties in terms of the actual process of implementation, rendering the information somewhat incomplete and indecisive. Most particularly, in most cases team members failed to adequately probe during interviews, and the resulting information sorely lacks specifics. It is thus difficult to draw any major conclusions from the data collected. It is also impossible to tell whether the other four groups would have faced the same challenges had they been able to complete the PDI in their respective areas, or whether the difficulties were unique to the Talakhu team. Nonetheless the actual attempt at implementing the PDI by the Talakhu team has provided valuable insight for possible future use of the model in this context.

A. PROCESS

The research team assigned to Talakhu VDC was comprised of three men, two of whom were of Tamang ethnicity and from Talakhu VDC itself. Their ethnicity and Tamang language ability was a real asset in conducting the PDI, although the absence of women on the team hurt their ability to talk openly to women. The team had identified a cluster of 35 households in Ward #3 of the VDC, with a prevalence rate of 36%, as the targeted community for the PDI.

The team identified four PD families, and was able to conduct interviews with them all. Unfortunately, the PD daughter in one of the families was highly educated – having completed grade ten and sat for the SLC examination – and thus did not fit into the PD criteria, which required PD individuals to be illiterate, or at least relatively uneducated.¹⁶

B. FINDINGS

The remaining three families met the criteria for PD families. Matrixes presenting the main findings for each family are presented here. Possible PD behaviors and strategies are in italics.

Sriman Tamang's Family

Family Background	Gender Roles/Attitude	Family Relationship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Household #16 ▪ Father Aged 39, Mother Aged 41, PD Daughter Aged 18, Son Aged (?), but attends grade 4 ▪ Tamang ▪ Hindu/Buddhist ▪ Farmers ▪ Both parents illiterate ▪ Son in grade 4 ▪ Daughter NFE literate ▪ Small thatched roof home ▪ One buffalo, 2 goats, 4-5 chickens ▪ Fourth generation in this community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother sees daughter as helper for household chores ▪ Father sees son as potential breadwinner ▪ Mother says girls should not be seen as different from boys ▪ <i>Perceive that they treat their daughter differently from neighbors – they treat her "like the goddess Laxmi."</i> ▪ <i>Have restricted daughter's interaction with outsiders because they value her and are farsighted for her future.</i> ▪ They did not send daughter to school because at the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Parents consciously never argue in front of their children because they know it can have a negative effect, such as leading a child to leave home.</i> ▪ Daughter shares some of her problems, such as need for pocket money, with her mother and other things, like boys, she talks about with her friends. ▪ The father makes decisions regarding who goes to conduct wage labor.

¹⁶ This family was also classified as "wealthy" during the wealth ranking exercise. This categorization by itself, however, did not disqualify the family from being a PD family, because as learned during the situation analysis, many girls from relatively well-off families are at risk of trafficking as well.

	time not enough money. Now they have enough to send their son.	
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Economic Coping Strategies	Knowledge and Awareness	Peer Relationships
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To supplement subsistence agriculture through earning cash, father and mother help build houses locally and father and daughter do wage labor in the fields. ▪ Despite extra income from above work, they still face difficulties when it comes to paying for food, clothing, and social celebrations like <i>ghewa</i>, <i>chewars</i>, and weddings. ▪ <i>"We have seen other neighbors eat rice and meat. We survive on ghundruk and dhiro."</i> ▪ <i>"If others spend 2000 for one sari, we spend 200."</i> ▪ <i>For sons chewar invited only 2-4 people from uncle's home.</i> ▪ <i>When they see luxurious goods, they think "let's earn first and purchase later."</i> ▪ Sometimes they borrow loans, <i>but are always careful with the agreement and pay the loan back on time.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Know something about trafficking – that their neighbors' girls sometimes go missing – but where they have gone, what they do there, they don't know. ▪ They think it is better if neighbors' sisters and daughters do not go outside to work. Have a negative attitude towards those who have gone outside. ▪ They know some neighbors who have gone to Kathmandu to work, but they have not seen any drastic change in their economic circumstance, though maybe day-to-day a little easier. ▪ <i>Protect daughter by not allowing her to interact with girls who have returned from outside because they are affected by disease. "It is better to die doing hard agricultural work than die of the disease."</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Spends leisure time with friends talking about household work, where to go to collect fodder, fuel etc. ▪ Participates in social activities like <i>ghewas</i>, <i>chewars</i> and <i>jatras</i>. ▪ <i>I never involve in irrelevant talk and if someone talks about girls being lured I talk to my mother about it."</i> ▪ <i>"I never establish a relationship with returnees."</i>

Dhana Lama Tamang's Family

Family Background	Gender Roles/Attitude	Family Relationship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Household #14 ▪ Father Aged 59, Mother Aged 51, PD Daughter Aged 18, Son Aged (?), but old enough to be married, Daughter-in-Law Aged (?) ▪ Tamang ▪ Buddhist ▪ Farmers ▪ Both parents and children illiterate ▪ Small thatched roof home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Father sees son as potential breadwinner (he does wage labor in Kathmandu) and daughter as helpful with chores. ▪ <i>Perceive that they treat their daughter differently from neighbors – "I have seen my neighbors – they hate their daughters. I personally think that daughters are the dignity of</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Careful when scolding children "for their betterment" to explain the reason and convince them of the need for different behavior.</i> ▪ <i>Not going to force daughter to marry.</i> ▪ <i>Important to listen to daughters carefully – who are shy by nature – to try to fulfill their desires</i>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Few livestock ▪ Fourth generation in this community 	<p><i>the house. If they are ruined so is our home's honor and dignity."</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Saw neighbor's daughter, who was "hated," flee from home and work in carpet factory. Can see now the family is treating their second daughter differently. Mother, too, says a conscious decision to treat daughter well.</i> ▪ <i>Mother thinks many people now treat sons/daughters equally.</i> ▪ <i>Daughter says sons and daughters are treated differently – daughters have to work hard and cannot go to school but sons can waste time gossiping and still go to school.</i> ▪ <i>Daughter says compared to neighbors in her family son/daughter treated equally. For example, neither was sent to school and at jatras they are given an equal amount of pocket money.</i> 	<p><i>otherwise they will do what they want.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Daughter agrees she has good relationship – that her parents don't "hate" her.</i> ▪ <i>Daughter says she cannot talk to her parents about many things because she is too shy – like she has a desire to leave the village and get good clothes and eat good food, but she cannot share with her parents.</i>
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Economic Coping Strategies	Knowledge and Awareness	Peer Relationships
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To supplement subsistence agriculture through earning cash, father earns bamboo mats, son works as a mason, daughter and wife sell chickens and goats. ▪ <i>If face a medical problem, sell chickens or goats to pay for it.</i> ▪ <i>Tries to use income earned from weaving baskets for cash shortages.</i> ▪ <i>Determined to buy luxury goods like neighbors if they earn more.</i> ▪ <i>"We never spend money on irrelevant activities like gambling or drinking alcohol."</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Father aware that people go out of community to work in restaurants and factories and that some girls go to Mumbai. Mother says she has no idea about this, but does know from FCHV that daughters sent outside to work get disease. Daughter says she knows a bit about it – that they go to India and get disease, but no further details.</i> ▪ <i>Father knows that some have left on their own to find a job, some have been lured, some have left home because their families hate them, and some parents send their daughters.</i> ▪ <i>Usually men who leave discuss</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Spends leisure time with friends talking about household work, where to go to collect fodder, fuel etc.</i> ▪ <i>Participates in social activities like ghewas, chewars and jatras.</i> ▪ <i>If she faces a problem, she shares with her friends, not her parents.</i> ▪ <i>Sometimes she and friends talk about the returnees, their clothes and ornaments, and sometimes even meet them, but the returnees are not open with the girls.</i>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Planning to pay for daughter's wedding with existing money —they will not take a loan. For all other social obligations also try to spend what they have instead of taking loans.</i> ▪ <i>"In Lhasa there is gold, but my ears are empty." Thinks there is no point in looking at other people's assets – you must be happy with what you have.</i> 	<p>with their families and do wage labor and women who leave run away and go to factories or do "bad" work.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>"We have provided our daughter with skills so she can work at home and stay at home to protect her from being trafficked or lured." Mother says same, and skills are knitting sweaters and weaving rugs.</i> ▪ Father knows about AIDS – learned from "different organizations and from the FCHV." ▪ Daughter says "sometimes I feel if there is any trustworthy job I'd like to go." 	
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Chandra Maila Tamang's Family

Family Background	Gender Roles/Attitude	Family Relationship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Household #10 ▪ Father Aged 48, Mother Aged 45, PD Daughter Aged 19, Son Aged (?) but grown up, Second wife ▪ Tamang ▪ Buddhist ▪ Farmers ▪ Both parents and daughter illiterate ▪ Son literate ▪ Small thatched roof home ▪ Very little livestock ▪ No luxury items ▪ Many generation in this community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Says should be no difference between sons and daughters, but regretted she could not send son to school for longer, while making no mention of daughters lack of education. ▪ Says treat daughter differently because have not sent to Bombay. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Mother discusses the issue of trafficking openly with daughter. "I told her not to eat anything if it is given by a stranger, not to be lured and not to be deceived. If anyone asks her to go for a job, I tell her not to listen to them."</i> ▪ Two wives don't live together and don't talk much to each other, but household situation basically stable and daughter says relationship between parents is good.

Economic Coping Strategies	Knowledge and Awareness	Peer Relationships
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To supplement subsistence agriculture through earning cash, son does wage labor in Kathmandu, husband is a traditional healer and weaves baskets and he and wives and daughter do wage agricultural labor. ▪ Sometimes they need to borrow loans because not enough food, and use money son earns in Kathmandu to pay it back. ▪ This year father-in-law died and relied on brothers-in-law's pension to pay most of the <i>ghewa</i> cost. Their family paid only for the grain and managed to do so without a loan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "Some neighbors' daughters have gone to Bombay. That is a very bad thing. I have seen those neighbors who have sent their daughters and who have returned from Bombay and I have seen the hardship they face. When I see it, I feel I should not send my daughter to Bombay." ▪ Mother knows sex work takes place. ▪ "We are telling our daughter that our families' image will be ruined. <i>Money is not a big thing. That's why we don't send her and we tell her not to go.</i>" ▪ Daughter also knows something about trafficking, and that people say they have gone to Kathmandu but have actually gone to Bombay. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Spends leisure time with friends talking about household work, where to go to collect fodder, fuel etc. ▪ Participates in social activities like <i>ghewas</i>, <i>chewars</i> and <i>jatras</i>. ▪ Friends talk a lot about trafficking, wondering what happens to the girls who go, where they have gone, what they do, are they happy. ▪ Have met with one returnee. "While she talked to us, she behaved as a <i>tulo manche</i> and was showy with her wealth. That's why we don't like to talk to her. ▪ Returnees tease us, saying we are always left to spend our time only collecting fuel and fodder.

Below is a composite master matrix of the three families listing only a summary of the possible PD behaviors and strategies. Had the PDI been successfully completed in all five VDCs, this matrix would include all of the PD families.

Composite Master Matrix of Possible PD Behaviors

PD Family	Gender Role/Attitude	Family Relationship	Economic Coping Strategies	Knowledge & Awareness	Peer Relationship
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sriman Tamang ▪ 4 Family members (one son & one daughter) ▪ Poor ▪ Illiterate PD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perception they treat daughter differently from neighbors [BUT sent son, not daughter to school] ▪ Have restricted daughter's interaction with outsiders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parents never argue in front of children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Manage with simpler food and clothing. ▪ Keep traditional social practices like <i>chewars</i> small to keep price down. ▪ Very careful about loans and paying them back on time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Protect daughter by not allowing her to interact with returnees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Daughter tells her mother if friends talk about trafficking. ▪ Daughter does not interact with returnees.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dhana Lama Tamang ▪ 5 family members, one son & one daughter (including daughter-in-law) ▪ All family members illiterate ▪ Poor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perceive they treat their daughter differently – they "don't hate her." ▪ Daughter also perceives she is treated equally like her brother, and notes her parents "don't hate her." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parents take care when scolding children to explain reasons. ▪ Mother thinks important to listen to daughter. ▪ Mother says she will not force daughter to marry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Try to use supplemental income from weaving for cash shortages. ▪ Don't waste money on alcohol and gambling. ▪ Plan not to take loan for daughters wedding, but use existing money. ▪ Seem not to covet luxury goods of their neighbors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have tried to provide daughter with supplemental skills (knitting/weaving) so she can work at home and reduce the risk of being trafficked 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Chandra Maila Tamang ▪ 5 Family members, one son and one daughter (including second wife) ▪ Parents/daughter illiterate, son literate ▪ Very poor 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mother discusses issue of trafficking openly with daughter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Says "money is not a big thing." 		
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C. POTENTIAL CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the very small number of PD households in the sample and the general failure of the team to probe adequately, it is difficult to see patterns and draw definitive conclusions. Nonetheless, in reviewing the data some potential PD behaviors and strategies emerge. Should it become possible to complete the PDI in the other four VDCs in the future, clearer patterns might be identifiable and these potential conclusions might prove more definitive.

As will become evident upon review of this list, some of the possible findings are "true but useless," (TBU), because it is not possible to draw from these findings actual behaviors or strategies that other families can use. This is primarily because of lack of sufficient probing by the research team. Should it become possible to conduct the PDI in the future, teams from the other VDCs should be re-trained in probing techniques to render the information "true and USEFUL."

1. ***Parents consider their daughters to be of equal value to their sons.*** All of the PD families reported that they believed they treated their daughters equally with their sons, and that they differed from their neighbors in this regard. It is noteworthy that during the situation analysis, nearly all respondents also reported that it was important to treat sons and daughters equally, although there was other evidence to indicate this is not actually the case. This may be the same with the PD families, as evidenced by one family who sent their son, but not their daughter, to school. Unfortunately, even if accurate, this potential PD family characteristic is TBU because there is no detail on precisely how they treat their daughters differently compared to other families, why they do, or whether something specific happened to them that led them to do so. In any potential future PDI these areas should be probed thoroughly.
2. ***Parents do not argue in front of their children.*** One PD family (Sriman Tamang) demonstrated keen awareness of the risk that family discord presents to their daughter, backed up by actual behavior change. As noted in the situation analysis, family discord does seem to be a contributing factor to increasing the risk that a girl will be trafficked. Should this emerge as a pattern among other PD families, anti-trafficking programs should consider a component that promotes good child-rearing practices, domestic harmony, and advocates against public displays of animosity between parents.

3. ***Mothers discuss the issue of trafficking with their daughters.*** In two of the PD families (Sriman Tamang & Chandra Maila Tamang), mothers reported that they were able to discuss trafficking openly with their daughters, although once again little detail was provided as to how, what, where, when, and why. Still, as compared to the normative behavior uncovered during the situation analysis, this is true PD behavior. Virtually all situation analysis respondents indicated that girls rarely discuss this issue openly with their parents, even their mothers. This finding suggests that anti-trafficking programming should include efforts at promoting openness between mothers and daughters on this topic, which might take the form of joint trainings for mothers and daughters, and even just special social events for mothers and daughters to participate in together, promoting closeness in their relationship. Any future PDIs should make sure to focus on this area and learn as much detail as possible from PD families about the nature and content of these discussions to provide community members and programmers with sufficiently specific information to design effective interventions.
4. ***Mothers have close relationship with their daughters, respecting their wishes.*** In one PD family (Dhana Lama Tamang) the mother indicated she had respect for her daughter's views, noting it was important to listen to their daughter, and also that she did not intend to force her daughter to marry. This suggests that a close, open relationship between mother and daughter may be PD behavior. Still, triangulation presents some problems with this theory, as the daughter herself claimed there were some things she could not discuss with her family, including her desire to get out and see the world.
5. ***Ability to keep expenses low.*** All of the PD families reported that they were able to keep their expenses down for events like weddings and *chewars* by reducing their size, and for food and clothing by keeping their consumption simple. These families all claimed not to care too much about money or to envy the wealth of some of their neighbors. Once again, the information as it stands is essentially TBU due to the failure to probe about why they have this attitude and more specific information about their expenditures. In addition, it is not clear how different these families are from their neighbors, as two of the families said that they do occasionally take loans, which would render their behavior similar to their other neighbors, as found in the situation analysis. Still, those two families stated that they were very careful about ensuring they could pay their loans back on time, and one family asserted they do not take loans. If, upon further probing in a subsequent PDI, these behaviors prove themselves to be truly PD, they suggest that anti-trafficking programs should promote through BCC economic coping strategies such as holding smaller *chewars*, *ghewas* and weddings.
6. ***Teach daughters other skills for earning a livelihood.*** One family (Dhana Lama Tamang) stated that they had deliberately provided their daughters with other skills (weaving and knitting) so that she could earn income without having to leave home. It is not possible to tell from the thin data whether she has, in fact, used those skills to earn income, and if so how much. Should further probing prove this to be an effective PD strategy, such training programs could be included in an anti-trafficking campaign, although care would need to be taken to ensure that Nuwakot did not become saturated with scores of weaving and knitting adolescent girls with no market.
7. ***Restricting interaction of daughter with outsiders.*** One family (Sriman Tamang) indicated that they restrict their daughter's access to strangers. Once again, this information is TBU, as no detail is provided regarding methods used. Furthermore, while it may, with further probing, prove to be effective PD behavior, it may not be behavior that ought to be promoted, as it may restrict freedom of movement of adolescent girls.

One other interesting pattern to emerge, that cannot be classified as PD behavior per se, is that all three PD families had only two children – one son and one daughter. Because having many children did not emerge as a risk criterion during the situation analysis, the number of children in a household was not used as a PD criterion. Still, while the numbers are very few, the pattern is of interest. Perhaps families who have only one daughter – and have the necessary son to perform death rituals and look after the parents in old age – are more likely to seek to protect their daughter than families with more than one. Additional PDIs need to be carried out before drawing any conclusion from this, perhaps coincidental, pattern. Should it turn out that families with only one son and one daughter very rarely have trafficked daughters, these families may need to be excluded as PDs in the future.

D. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE PDI IN THE FUTURE

i. Specific Challenges with Applying PD to Anti-Trafficking

As noted at the beginning of this report, the application of the PD Approach to trafficking presents some specific challenges. Below are a few encountered by the Talakhu team, which may be of interest for future PDIs in this area.

- 1. *PD families are not necessarily open to talking about this issue.*** Unlike during the situation analysis, research team members did not have the luxury during the PDI to limit their interviews to people who were willing to talk openly about the issue of trafficking. They were required to interview the PD families, whether they were particularly open about this topic or not. In at least one case, Dhana Lama Tamang's family, it appeared that the mother in the family probably knew much more about trafficking than she was willing to share. This of course limits even the best interviewer, let alone a relatively inexperienced team such as that used for this PDI.
- 2. *Sensitive nature of questions.*** The questions that need to be asked of PD families are, in many cases, quite sensitive. For example, questions about economic coping strategies need to be quite detailed in order to yield useful, specific information; yet people are not always comfortable talking about their financial situation in detail, especially with relative strangers.
- 3. *Difficulty in developing question guides.*** In preparing the question guides, the technical team was required to use their best guess as to which particular question areas might be likely to demonstrate PD behaviors and strategies. It is possible that important areas were left out completely. Furthermore, the question guides are fairly long, and some of the question topics, such as gender attitudes fairly abstract, making it difficult to generate specific information.

II. Possible Strategies for Improving its Application

The implementation of the PDI in Talakhu, with all of its imperfections, presents a valuable opportunity for learning. Lessons learned from this field test, will allow for important improvements in any future applications of the PD Approach to anti-trafficking programming. Specific suggestions for future anti-trafficking PDIs include the following:

- 1. *Larger community size to increase likelihood of finding enough PD families.*** For purposes of this PDI, teams were told to identify clusters with a minimum of 35 households. The Talakhu team selected a community of the minimum required size, and it may have been too small, especially for purposes of identifying PD families who are accessible and easy to talk with. In the future, it may be better to have a minimum of approximately 45 households in a cluster.
- 2. *Ensure interviews take place in the PD home.*** For reasons that are not clear, the PD interviews were not conducted in the actual PD home, but rather in the home of the

local volunteers who were assisting with the PDI. As a result, PD respondents were likely less comfortable and therefore possibly less open than they would have been in their own homes. Furthermore, the interviews were probably more of a burden on the PD family than they were meant to be. In the future, all PD interviews should be conducted over the course of a home visit at a time convenient for the respondents.

3. ***Longer time period for conducting the PDI.*** Given the relatively short time allotted to complete the entire PDI – only one month for the training, situation analysis, actual PDI and the analysis workshop – only four days were allotted for the actual completion of home visits and interviews. In retrospect this was insufficient time. As learned through this experience, the home visits and interviews require extensive time and touch on very sensitive issues. In future, more time – perhaps double the amount – should be allotted. This would allow teams extra time to develop some level of trust with the PD families, which may lead to more open answers, as well as allow them to conduct the interviews over a series of days and thus eliminate a need to rush. Better probing would probably result as well with more time.
4. ***Inclusion of visual tools and possibly games as "ice breakers."*** As currently designed, the PDI includes only interviews and structured observation. During the situation analysis, teams also used some visual tools, such as wealth ranking exercises and daily timelines, for data collection. In addition to generating some useful information, the visual tools proved useful in keeping the interest of the respondents who enjoyed presenting their information in this way. In at least one case, a group who did not at first seem open to providing information, became much more relaxed and open following completion of a few visual tools. Such tools might also serve an important ice-breaking role during the PDI, and future applications of this methodology should consider including them.
5. ***Inclusion of a minimum of one woman of the locally predominant ethnic group on the PD team.*** From the very beginning of this process, the technical team strongly urged the DDC to recruit Tamang women – or at least several women of other ethnic groups – as members of the research team. Due to a variety of constraints, including the security situation, the DDC determined it was impossible to recruit more than two women. The Talakhu team did not include any women. Although the team was able to recruit a local woman as one of their volunteers for the PDI, the team still encountered difficulty in speaking openly to the PD girls in particular, and also the mothers of the household. The importance of including at least one woman on every research team in the future – preferably
6. of the locally predominant ethnic group – cannot be over-emphasized. Every possible effort should be made to successfully recruit such women in the future.
7. ***Include on the team an interviewer with probing experience.*** This recommendation may not always be possible to implement given the current security situation and the inability of outsiders to visit these localities. Nonetheless, to the extent possible, every PD team should include at least one person who is either very experienced at probing skills, or who demonstrated a particular gift for interviewing techniques during the training. While all research team members were trained in interviewing, and particularly probing, techniques, nearly everyone was completely inexperienced in this arena, which negatively impacted the quality of information that emerged.

E. OVERALL CONCLUSION ON USE OF THE PD APPROACH IN THIS CONTEXT

Despite the many obstacles faced and the premature end to this process, it appears that the PD Approach can, indeed, prove to be a useful tool in developing new strategies for anti-trafficking programming. The findings from Talakhu, limited though they are, suggest that with some adjustments made to the process – particularly improvement in probing skills of research teams -- valuable practices and behaviors may emerge from a PDI that

will allow programmers to develop innovative strategies for combating this entrenched, sensitive problem.

It must be emphasized that the PD Approach is unlikely to provide "quick fix" solutions to the problem. Rather, it promises to point community members and programmers in potentially new directions when planning prevention initiatives. For example, should a future PDI confirm that mothers speaking to openly to daughters about trafficking is, in fact, an important prevention strategy, community members and programmers will know to include activities that promote this interaction in prevention programming. Thus far prevention activities have not focussed on this as a strategy.

Accordingly, it is recommended that, if the above-listed alterations can be made to the process and the security situation allows it, the PD Approach be field-tested once again.

APPENDIX A
ANTI-TRAFFICKING POSITIVE DEVIANCE TRAINING WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

Trisuli, Nuwakot District
July 8 - 13, 2002
Day I - Monday, July 8

Sr#.	Session	Objective	Method	Materials	Time	Facilitator
1.	Opening	-Welcome all the participants - To introduce objectives of workshop, overall study and agenda.	Welcome Remarks	-	10:00- 10:20	DDC Representatives/Shova, Tory
2.	Introduction of the participants and facilitators	Introduce with one another	Game	-	10:20- 10: 30	Shova
3.	Initial exploration of local trafficking situation	To learn from participants what they know about local situation	Plenary discussion and groupwork	Newsprint/Markers	10:30 -11:00	Tory, Shova
4.	Initial exploration of local trafficking situation (continued)	- To learn from participants what they know about local situation	Group work, presentation summary lecture	Newsprint/Markers	11:00 - 11:15	
5.	Defining trafficking according to local situation and devising program objective	- To introduce "official" trafficking definition. - Adapt to local context. - Devise problem statement. - Devise program objective.	Groupwork and plenary discussion	Newsprint with official definitions Blank newsprint/markers	11:45 - 12:30	Tory
	LUNCH BREAK				12:30-1:30	
6.	Positive Deviance Discovery Process	- To introduce participants to the theory of PD	Plenary discussion, stories, games	Newsprint lists from morning's sessions	1:30-3:00	Tory
	TEA BREAK				3:00-3:15	
7.	Review of overall process planned.	-Introduce participants to overall plan and schedule for research - To allow for discussion & modification	Presentation and then plenary discussions/brainstorming	Copies of PD workplan & blank newsprint	3:15-5:00	Ratna

Day II, Tuesday, July 9

Sr #	Session	Objective	Method	Materials	Time	Facilitator Participants
8.	Recap and Review of Day's Agenda	- To review lessons learned previous day & prepare for new day	Presentation	Newsprint	8:30-8:50	
9.	Importance of understanding the norm in PD	- To ensure participants understand why we need to learn about NPDs	Lecture & plenary discussion	News print	8:50 -9:00	Tory
10.	Development of "Need to Know Lists"	- Understanding difference of KNOWN and ASSUMED - Development of "Need to Know" lists for situation analysis	Plenary discussion & groupwork	Newsprint	9:00 – 10: 30	Tory & Shova
	TEA BREAK				10:30 - 10: 45	
11.	How we find out "what we Need to Know"	- Allow participants to discover appropriate research methodology	Plenary discussion/ brainstorming	"Need to Know" NP & blank NP	10:45-11:00	Tory
12.	Determination of respondent groups	- Allow participants to develop respondent list	Groupwork	Newsprint	11:00-11:15	Tory
13.	Introduction of Interviewing Techniques	- Familiarize participants with good interviewing techniques	Game	Translated Interview Guidelines	11:15-12:00	Shova & Ratna
	LUNCH BREAK				12:00 - 1:00	
14.	Review "Need to Know" lists	- To familiarize all groups with draft situation analysis questions	Group Presentations & Plenary	Question guides	1: 00 - 3:00	Participants, Shova, Tory & Ratna
	TEA BREAK				3:00-3:15	
15.	Interview practice	- To allow participants to develop interview skills	Role plays, observation & group discussion	Prepared role play scenarios	3:15 - 5:00	Shova, Tory, Ratna

Day III, Wednesday, July 10

Sr #	session	Objective	Method	Materials	Time	Facilitator
16.	Recap and Review of Day's Agenda	- To review lessons learned previous day & prepare for new day	Presentation	Newsprint	8:30-8:50	Participants
17.	Introduction of Prevalence Rate Collection Methodology TEA BREAK	- To introduce participants to a method that will allow them to determine the prevalence rate	Presentation, role plays and questions	Newsprint	8:50 - 10: 00	Tory, Shova, Ratna
18.	Practical Session for Prevalence Rate	- To allow all participants to practice this methodology	- Role plays & group feedback	Newsprint, cards,	10:00 - 10:15	
19.	Finalization of "Need to Know" Questions LUNCH BREAK	- To come to group consensus on situation analysis questions	- Groupwork	Newsprint	10:15-11:30	Tory, Shova, Ratna
					11: 30 - 12:30	Shova
20.	Finalization of "Need to Know" Questions continued				12:30-1:30	
					1:30-5:00	Shova

Day IV, Thursday, July 11

Sr #	Sessions	Objectives	Methods	Material	Time	Facilitator Participants
21.	Recap and Review of Day's Agenda	- To review lessons learned previous day & prepare for new day	Presentation	Newsprint	8:30-8:50	
22.	Group Interview and Notetaking Guidelines TEA BREAK	- To familiarize participants with these two skills	Presentation & Discussion	Newsprint with guidelines	8:50-10:00 10:00-10:15	Ratna, Tory
23.	Presentation of Group Interview	- To demonstrate how to conduct a group interview & practice notetaking	Role play	Prepared role play scenario	10:15-11:00	Ratna, Shova, Ram Kumar
24.	Review notes from role play	- To look at notes taken by several participants and critique them	Presentation and discussion	Newsprint with notes	11:00-12:00	Tory
	LUNCH BREAK				12:00-1:00	
25.	Introduction of Visual Tools	- To familiarize participants with useful visual tools	Presentation & Role Play	NP with visual tools drawn	1: 00 - 2: 00	Tory, Shova, Ratna, Ram Kumar
26.	Visual Tool Practice	- To allow participants to develop skills using visual tools	Role plays & observation	NP/Markers	2:00-3:00	Shova
	TEA BREAK				3:00-3:15	
27.	Brief review of PD approach	- Refresh participants memory about PD approach	Presentation	NP with PD definitions	3:15-3:45	Tory
28.	Introduction to community coping strategies	- To see how people cope with limited resources & have fun	Game	NP	3:45-4:00	Tory
29.	Development of PD Criteria	- To develop PD criteria	Plenary discussion/brainstorming	NP	4:00 - 5:00	Tory
30.	Review Draft Question Guides	- To introduce PDI question guides	Groupwork	Draft question guides on NP and blank NP	HOMEWORK	

Day V, Friday, July 12

Sr #	Sessions	Objectives	Methods	Material	Time	Facilitator Participants
31.	Recap and Review of Day's Agenda	- To review lessons learned previous day & prepare for new day	Presentation	Newsprint	8:30-8:50	
32.	Finalization of PD Question Guides	- To agree to final version of question guides	Group Presentation and Plenary Discussion	Newsprint with PD Questions prepared by groups	8:50-10:00	Tory
33.	Matrix for Record Keeping	To introduce participants to the idea of a matrix for record keeping	Presentation	News print with matrix	10:00 - 10:30	Tory
34.	Family Visit Role Plays	- To allow participants to develop skills for conducting family PDI visits	Role play, observation	PDI Question guides	10:30-12:30	Shova, Ratna
	LUNCH BREAK				12:30-1:30	
35.	TOT in PD	- To introduce participants to the skills in facilitating PD "discovery" process in community	Presentation	NP with steps written out	1:30-2:15	Tory
36.	Role Play of PD facilitation	- To allow participants to develop their skills in leading the PD discovery process	Role play, observation		2:15-3:00	Tory, Shova, Ratna
	TEA BREAK				3:00-3:15	
37.	Role plays (continued)	- To allow participants to develop their skills in leading the PD discovery process	Role play, observation	NP	3:15-4:30	
38.	Review Role plays	- To review what went well and what did not	Plenary discussion/brainstorming	NP	4:30-5:00	Tory

Day VI, Saturday, July 13

Sr #	Sessions	Objectives	Methods	Material	Time	Facilitator
39.	Recap and Review of Day's Agenda	- To review lessons learned previous day & prepare for new day	Presentation	Newsprint	8:30-8:50	Participants
40.	Review steps needed for situation analysis	- To ensure all teams understand clearly how to conduct the situation analysis	Presentation & questions	Paper with step-by-step instructions	8:50-10:45	Shova, Tory
	TEA BREAK				10:45-11:00	
41.	Final PD TOT review	- To ensure participants understand how to present PD concept to community members	Role play presentations		11:00-12:00	Tory
	LUNCH BREAK				12:00-1:00	
42.	Announce final teams and review schedule and distribute supplies	- To introduce teams and plans - To introduce concepts like team work, different roles, etc.	Presentations	News print	1:00 - 2:00	Shova
43.	Initial team meeting	- To allow teams to get together and raise any issues of concern - To allow teams to make preliminary plans regarding their first destination	Groupwork	NP	2:00-3:00	Shova
	TEA BREAK				3:00-3:15	
44.	Review of concerns	- Allow groups to raise any concerns they have	Plenary discussion		3:15-4:00	Tory, Shova, Ratna
45.	Closing Session	- Final closing remarks	Presentation		4:00-5:00	DDC

APPENDIX B
PDI Question Guides and Observation Checklist

QUESTION GUIDELINES FOR PD FAMILY MEMBERS

Family Background

Demographics

- Caste/ethnic group/religion
- Family structure (# of people living in house, who they are)
- How long has family lived in this area

Educational Information

- Educational background of parents in the household
- Educational background of children, particularly PD child
- Family attitude toward education (good or bad, why or why not)

Family workload responsibility

- Who does what work in the family

Gender Attitudes

- Advantages/disadvantages of a girl child versus a boy child
- How do parents feel about their daughter(s)
- Attitude at birth? Changed now?
- Is their attitude different from those of their neighbors? If so how? If so, why do they think that is? Did something specific happen, or did they receive information from a certain source that made them change their attitude? What was it?
- If their attitude is different, does that mean they treat their daughter(s) differently from their neighbors? If so, how? Specifically?
- What do they hope for their daughter(s) in the future? To get married? To continue education? To get some kind of job?

Economic Issues

- Who earns income in the family and how?
- Does family face any specific economic hardship (e.g. food shortages, debt, inability to pay medical costs, etc.)
- If so, how does the family cope? Specifically?
- Does the family have more or less than other families around (specifically any "luxury items" like TVs, radios, nice furniture or clothes, etc.) If they have less, how do they feel about not having those items?
- How does family pay for large one time expenses, such as funeral or wedding?

Families' Knowledge of Trafficking

- Anyone in the family ever migrate for work? If so, who, where did they go, what did they do and did they come back? If no one migrated, why not?
- Do they know anyone in their community who has migrated for work?
 - If so, where did they go, how did they get there, what work did they do, did they come back?
 - Was the family of the migrant worker better off because of increased income?
 - How is women's migration different from men's?
 - Different work? What kind?
 - Different way of migrating? How?

- What is the family's attitude towards people who have migrated? Why?
- Do they know anything about girls who have gone missing from their community?
 - If so, do they know where they have gone? How? Why?
 - If so, what are they doing to protect their daughter from something similar?

Below are more sensitive questions

- Why have they not sent their daughter away to work when others have?
- Was this a specific decision made by the family? If so, by which members of the family?
- Do they know anything about the circumstances disappeared girls (sold girls?) may face?
 - What are they (e.g. HIV, abuse, etc.)
 - Where did they get this information from?
- Have they ever been approached by a dalal about sending their daughter away to work?
 - If so, how, specifically, have they reacted? How did they say "no"?
 - Why did they say no?
- Is there any disagreement between household decision makers on this point?
 - If so, who thinks what and why?
- Have they ever discussed this issue openly with their daughter(s)? If so, what, specifically, have they talked about?

DRAFT QUESTION GUIDELINES FOR PD GIRLS/WOMEN

Family Relationships

- What is relationship like with mother & father?
- If you have a problem, who do you talk to? Can you give specific example?
- Is your relationship with your parents different from those of other girls your age? If so how?
- Do you think that your parents rely on you to support the family?
- If so, in what way?

Education & Future Hopes

- What is your attitude toward education? If good and useful, why? If not useful, why not?
- What do you hope to do in the future?
- Get married?
- Continue school?
- Get some kind of job?
- Migrate somewhere? If so where and to do what?

Peer Relationship, Support, Social Activities

- How do you spend their leisure time?
- Do you participate in any social, cultural or religious activities? If so, what?
- Do you have friends from the village?
- What do you do together?
- Do you ever talk to your friends about problems you have? Examples?
- Do you ever talk about the future? If so, what do you talk about?
- Do you ever talk about girls who have left your community? What do you talk about?
- What do you and your friends think about the whole issue of girls leaving the community?

Knowledge of Trafficking/Migration

- Do you know of any girls who have migrated for work?
 - If so, where did they go and what did they go to do?

- Do you know of any girls who have disappeared/been sold?
 - What, if anything, do you know about their situation? Where did they go? To do what?
 - What, if anything, do you know about the risks and dangers these girls may face?
 - Where did you get this information from?
- Have you ever discussed this issue with your parents? If so, what did you talk about?
- Have you or your family ever been approached by a dalal? If so, what happened? What, specifically, did they say to each other?
- Why do you think that you are still here in your community and have not ended up where the other girls have?

PD FAMILY OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

- Basic household situation
- Kind of house (size, state of repair)
- Presence of livestock
- Presence of "luxury items" in the house
- Family relationships
- How do family members talk to one another, especially husband to wife, wife to husband and parents to PD child. For example, do they show respect? Do they shout at each other? Quick to anger? Do they appear good-humored and loving?
- How does household workload appear to be divided?
- Community relations
- Any opportunity to observe relationship of family members with others?

FAMILY BACKGROUND	ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES	GENDER ATTITUDES/ROLES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number in the family (age & sex) - Caste - Educational background of parents - Educational background of children - Family occupation - Description of household (house, land, livestock) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who earns income & how - What specific economic hardships do they face? (food, debt, medical costs, etc.) - How does family cope SPECIFICALLY in these circumstances? - What luxury items do they have, and how does it compare with other families in the community? - If they have fewer luxury items, why? How do they feel about not having them? - How does the family pay for large, one-time expenses like wedding, funeral, etc.? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Families' view on the advantages and disadvantages of boy children and girl children - Is attitude different from neighbors? - If so, how? - Why is it different? Did they receive any specific information or have a specific experience? If so, what? - Do they treat daughters differently from their neighbors? If so, how? Why? - What do parents hope for their daughters future? - What do daughters hope for themselves?

LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE	FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	PEER RELATIONSHIPS/SUPPORT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Familiar with problem of trafficking? - What do they know about circumstances of trafficked girls? (where they go, what they do, what risks they face) - Where/how did they get this information? - Why haven't they sold daughter when others have? - Any disagreement in family about decision? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, why? Who said what? How resolved? - Ever approached by dalal? If so EXACTLY what did you say and do? - Ever talked about this issue with daughter? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do parents treat children especially PD? - What sorts of things do they talk about together? - Is relationship of PD with family different from neighbors? If so, how? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What social activities does PD participate in? - Different from other girls? If so, how? - What do PD individuals talk about with their friends? - What problems do they talk about with friends that they don't with family? - Do PD & friends ever talk top one another about trafficking? If so, what do they talk about? What do they think? - Have any of the PD friends been trafficked? - If so, what does she know about circumstances? What does she think?

APPENDIX E

Step-by-Step Process for Determining Prevalence Rate

Begin talking to your key informant with something like this:

"Since you are so familiar with this community, I am hoping you can help us to learn about how many families and girls are affected by trafficking in your community."

Assuming they agree, go through the following exercise with the informant.

1. "Let's make draw a map of this community with every house on it, and assign every house a number.
2. Now let's make up one card, and on each card write down the following:
 - Who lives in this house, what are their approximate ages and relationships, and have any of them migrated? (It is not necessary to list names, but may be useful to list the name of the head of the household for identification purposes only.)

Sample cards may look like this:

Household #1 - Ram Bahadur Tamang

- Father, age 40
- Mother, age 36
- Son, age 18
- Daughter, age 16 – migrated, 2 years
- Daughter, age 12

Household #7 - Krishna Tamang

- Father, age 50
- Mother, age 48
- Son, age 28
- Daughter-in-law, age 26
- Grandson, age 3
 - Son, age 24
- Daughter, age 20
- Daughter, age 14
- Son, age 12

Household #10 - Ganesh Tamang

- Father, age 55
- Mother, age 50
- Son, age 32
- Daughter-in-law, age 30
- Granddaughter, age 13 – migrated, 1 year
- Grandson, age 11
 - Son, age 28
 - Daughter-in-law, age 26
 - Grandson, age 5

3. "Now let's sort the households into piles according to the economic status of each household. Households that are similar in their wealth (e.g. same kind of house, same amount of land/livestock, etc.) should go together in one pile. Maybe in the end there will be three piles -- wealthy, poor, very poor. Or maybe only two piles, poor and very poor, or even only one. Or

four. It doesn't matter. Once the piles are complete, let's write on the card "poor" or "very poor" or "wealthy," according to which pile each card was put into." Then allow the informant to pile up the cards, explaining to you as they do the different characteristics of each pile.

4. "Now let's make a list on one sheet of paper of all the people who have migrated from their homes and list what you know about where they may have gone, noting the economic status of their family. For example:

Household #1, poor, Daughter, Age 16, 2 years ago
▪ Went to Kathmandu to work in carpet factory
Household #6, very poor, Daughter, Age 15, 3 years ago
▪ To Mumbai
Household #8, poor, Son, Age 18, 1 year ago
▪ To Kathmandu to work in carpet factory
Household #10, wealthy, Granddaughter, Age 13, 1 year ago
▪ Don't know

5. *ONLY if you feel it is safe/comfortable to ask*, see if the key informant is willing to say whether those who have migrated were trafficked or not. If so, please ask the informant whether the migrant was:
- Definitely trafficked
 - Possibly trafficked
 - Don't know
 - No trafficked

It should be recorded as follows on the above list:

Household #1, Daughter, Age 16, 2 years ago
▪ Went to Kathmandu to work in carpet factory, <i>Possibly trafficked</i>
Household #6, Daughter, Age 15, 3 years ago
▪ To Mumbai, <i>Definitely trafficked</i>
Household #8, Son, Age 18, 1 year ago
▪ To Kathmandu to work in carpet factory, <i>Not trafficked</i>
Household #10, Granddaughter, Age 13, 1 year ago
▪ Don't know, <i>Don't know</i>

DATA COMPILATION

Once you have finished the rest of the interview (later, in the evening perhaps) please write a summary for each ward that includes the following information:

- Total number of households

- Total number households with girls between the ages of 12 and 25 *who remain in the community*, with economic status listed.
- Total number of households with girls between the ages of 12 and 25 *who have migrated*, with economic status listed.
- Total number of migrated girls between the ages of 12 and 25 *who were possibly or definitely trafficked*, with economic status listed.
- Total number of households with no girls between the ages of 12 and 25, either in the community or who have migrated.

For example:

Ward #6
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 10 households total ▪ 5 households with girls age 12-25 who remain in the community. 3 poor, 2 very poor ▪ 3 households with girls age 12-25 who have migrated. 1 poor, 2 very poor ▪ 2 of the migrated girls were possibly or definitely trafficked. 1 poor, 1 very poor ▪ 2 households with no girls age 12-25, either in the community or who have migrated.

The prevalence rate for this community is determined by doing the following:

1. Add the number of households with girls between the ages of 12-25 who were possibly or definitely trafficked to the number of households with girls between the ages of 12-25 who remain in the community. This becomes the total number of households with girls aged 12-25.
2. Divide the number of households with girls who were possibly or definitely trafficked by the total number of households with girls aged 12-25.
3. This resulting figure is the prevalence rate.

APPENDIX F

Situation Analysis Question Guides

Cooperation of local community members/presence of *dalals* or others with opportunity to capitalize on trafficking.

1. What is the general feeling/attitude in this community about trafficking of girls?
 - Do people even know what it is?
 - Do people feel that it is a necessary thing to sell their own daughters for economic survival of their families?
 - Do people feel it is a bad thing?
 - Do people feel it is fine and culturally acceptable?
 - Do people feel they are made victims by the dalals? Of others? If so, who?
 - Do people seek out dalals in order to earn money for their family?
 - Do girls themselves seek out dalals?
2. Are there some people in the community who are interested in working to stop this problem?
3. Are there some people in the community we should NOT talk to about this? If not, why not?

Key decision makers in families.

1. Who make what kinds of decisions in the family?
 - Who makes decisions about what crops to grow?
 - Who makes decisions about who does what chores in the house?
 - Who makes decisions about education?
 - Who makes decisions about financial expenses?
 - Who makes decisions about migration/whether to send a girl away?
2. Do family members ever discuss these decisions together, or does one person make each of the above decisions?
3. What role, if any, do children play in making these decisions, especially decisions that directly affect them, such as education or whether or not a girl will be sent away.

Actual risk criteria for trafficked girls

1. What are the characteristics typical of a family that has a trafficked girl?
 - Caste/ethnicity/religion
 - Economic Status
 - Landowner?
 - Kind of house?
 - Livestock?
 - Debt?
 - How to manage large one-time expenses like wedding or funeral?
 - Education levels of
 - Parents
 - Girl
 - Other siblings
 - Age at which most trafficked girls are trafficked

- Other characteristics? For example,
 - Family discord?
 - Many children?

Basic Economic Circumstances

1. How do most families earn their livelihood?
2. Do most families owe debt?
 - ◆ If so, what did they take the loan for?
3. What are the main economic difficulties families face?
 - ◆ Not enough land?
 - ◆ Not enough basics, like clothes, healthcare, etc.?
 - ◆ Others?

Gender Roles & Attitudes

1. How do parents of trafficked girls view daughters versus sons?
 - Attitude at birth
 - Hopes for their future
 - Characteristics a girl should have
 - Characteristics a boy should have

Level of knowledge of risks

1. Do people in this community view trafficking of girls as a problem?
 - How common is this in this community?
 - Do people see it as something to try to stop? Or they think it is okay?
2. How much do parents of trafficked girls understand about what has happened to their daughters?
 - Do they cooperate with dalals or others in arranging for the daughters, or are they victimized?
 - Are they aware of where girls are actually going?
 - If they know where girls are going (i.e. to Mumbai brothel) do they understand the true nature of the working situation there.
3. What do teenage girls in this community understand about trafficking?
 - Do they know anything at all about it? What?
 - Do they ever talk about it with their parents? Their friends?
 - Do girls who are trafficked know where they are going?
 - Do girls worry about being trafficked?

Impact having a trafficked daughter has on a family.

1. What is the immediate impact on a family when a girl from that household is trafficked/migrates/disappears?
 - Does their well-being level improve?
 - Is their house nicer?
 - Can they buy more livestock?
 - Does their nutrition level improve?
 - Do they pay off their debts?
 - Do they buy new goods?
 - How much do they earn?
 - If their well-being level does not improve, do they gain anything else from it?
 - One less mouth to feed, person to look after?
 - Don't need to worry about paying for a wedding?

How Does Trafficking Take Place?

1. What are the different ways a girl from this community can be trafficked?
 - ◆ Are some girls sold outright by their family members? If so, by whom?
 - ◆ False marriage?
 - ◆ Drugged?
 - ◆ Kidnapped?
 - ◆ Forced?
 - ◆ Tricked?
 - ◆ Other ways?
2. Which ways are most common?
3. What are different strategies that dalals use?
 - ◆ False promises of jobs? What kinds of jobs?
 - ◆ Attractions of the big city?
 - ◆ Other ways?
 - ◆ Do you know if there are dalals in this community?
 - ◆ What kind of people are they?
 - ◆ Relatives of the girls?
 - ◆ People from the community?
 - ◆ People from outside the community? If so from where?
4. How does payment work?
 - ◆ Do families receive one lump sum? If so, how much?
 - ◆ Do girls send money home? If so how? How much? From where? By whom?

Peer Support & Family Relationships

1. How do girls your age in this community spend their leisure time?
 - ◆ Talking to their friends? If so, what kinds of things do they talk about?
 - ◆ Participating in social, cultural or religious activities? If so, what?
2. If you or your friends have a problem, who do you talk to about it?

- ◆ Your parents? If so, what kind of problems?
 - ◆ Other family members? If so, what kind of problems?
 - ◆ Your friends? If so, what kind of problems?
 - ◆ Are there some things that you cannot talk to your parents about, but that you can talk to your friends about? What are they?
3. What do girls your age hope for the future?
- ◆ To marry?
 - ◆ To be educated?
 - ◆ To migrate somewhere for work? If so, where and to do what?
4. What sorts of things to girls your age worry about?

APPENDIX G

PD Discovery Process

Guidelines for Introducing Positive Deviance Approach to Community Members

Purpose

There are a few reasons it will be important to try to include some local people during the actual Positive Deviance Inquiry that will take place during the teams' second trip to their assigned VDCs from July 27th to 30th.

1. In order to maximize the value of the Positive Deviance Approach, it is important that actual community members see the value in using the approach -- that they actually "discover" the approach on their own.
2. Given the extreme sensitivity of this topic, local people will probably be more comfortable talking to people that they know, and especially people that are a little like them. For example, a Tamang woman may be more likely to talk openly to another Tamang woman versus a Brahmin man. Because the research teams are predominantly male, and thus less able to talk to women (though probably better able to talk to men) it will be very important to include some local women in the PD process. It will still be useful to have one or two local men recruited as well.

Inception Process

During the situation analysis conducted during the first field site visit, team members should identify between 2 and 4 local people (AT LEAST 2 women) who will be willing to help the team members to conduct the PDI.

Those invited to participate should meet the following criteria:

1. Knowledgeable about their community.
2. Confident in talking to the research team.
3. Preferably of local ethnicity (probably Tamang).
4. Known and trusted within the community.
5. Able to provide a few hours a day to this process on July 20th and from July 27th to July 30th.
[Some small remuneration will be provided]
6. Able to walk the distances between targeted wards.

It will probably be that the people invited to participate will have participated in your interviews during the situation analysis. In fact, following completion of interviews, it is recommended that the team get together and discuss who among the participants might be good candidates to play this role. Once the group has agreed, the team member should invite that person to participate, explaining that you would like to hold a meeting to get together to discuss possible ways to protect local girls from being trafficked. DO NOT explain anything positive deviance at this point. Just make immediate arrangements for them to join a meeting on July 20th (probably to be held in the morning or evening at a time and place that is convenient).

Steps for the Actual Training

Step 1: Introduce the overall purpose of the meeting.

1. First allow everyone in the group to introduce themselves to one another if they do not know one another already.
2. Thanks all the participants for coming.
3. Ask everyone why they are here.(They should respond according to what you told them before, that they are meeting to try to come up with ways to help prevent local girls from being trafficked).

Step 2: Allow for the "discovery" of the PD approach.

1. First present back to the group some of the key findings of the situation analysis. The **main area to focus on** is the risk criteria for teenage girls that seems to make them most vulnerable to being trafficked. For example, depending upon the actual findings, you might say, "After conducting several interviews, we have discovered that Tamang girls between the ages of 13 and 16 who are illiterate and come from very poor families are the girls most likely to be trafficked."
2. Ask the group if they agree with this overall finding, and briefly discuss it.
3. Then ask, "Are there any Tamang girls between the ages of 13 and 16 who are illiterate and come from very poor families but who are not trafficked?"
4. They will undoubtedly reply "Yes."
5. Then ask, with great surprise, "You mean it is possible for the family of a very poor, illiterate Tamang girl to manage to avoid having their daughter trafficked?"
6. They will reply "Yes."
7. Then suggest, "Well, why don't we try to talk with some of these families to find out how they manage to keep their daughters safe even though they are very poor and illiterate."

Step 3: Tentative identification of PD families.

1. Together with the participants, review the information gathered from the key informant interviews about prevalence in each ward. If you remember, this is very specific information about which families have daughters who have migrated or been trafficked and which don't, including their economic status.
2. Identify the families that have teenage girls who have not gone away. Choose the families that most closely fit the high-risk criteria. Make sure that they are of the same economic level as those in the high-risk criteria, and that they do not have access to special resources that other families do not.
3. Come up with a tentative list of PD families to visit. [In the end, you need visit only 4 to 6 families in each VDC, so it might also make sense to select as criteria families that are known well to the local partners and who they think would be most willing to talk about this sensitive subject].

Step 4: Review plans for home visits.

- 1.Explain to the local partners that the team will be leaving the VDC the next day, but coming back on July 27th and would like, if possible, to meet with some of these selected families from July 27th to July 30th.

2. Ask the participants again if they think this will be possible.
3. Explain to the participants that team members would like, with their help, to talk to various members of the household, including the mother and father and girl herself, and any other important family decision makers, and that it might be best to try to talk to these people individually if possible to arrange it. Also that it will probably take at least 3 hours to visit each family. Ask them what time of day they think might be best, according to local work schedules etc.
4. Explain that right before the first home visit actually takes place, team members will go over with participants the list of questions we will be asking, and that team members will start the discussions, but that participants should feel free to ask questions too. [It may turn out that local participants are better able to talk to some family members than the team members, in which case they can conduct the interviews on their own, and then team members can interview THE PARTICIPANT about what they learned in the interview later].
5. Ask participants if they are willing to approach families on the list and see if they are willing to meet with the team sometime from July 27th to July 30th and find out from those families what times might be best.

Step 5: Conclude

1. Conclude the meeting by thanking the participants.
2. Make a specific plan for meeting them again at a certain time and place on July 27th to begin the actual home visits.
3. Thank them for their time.

APPENDIX H

Interview and Notetaking Guidelines

Guidelines for Conducting Interviews

Individual Interviews:

1. Always introduce yourself and explain what it is you would like to talk with the person about and the purpose of the interview. [In this case, it is to learn from the community members about girl trafficking to work together with them to try to address the problem.]
2. Ask permission to speak with them, and proceed only if they agree. [If they do not want to talk to you, do not push them. Thank them and continue on your way.]
3. Assure the respondent that you will keep the information confidential -- that their name will not appear anywhere and that the information will be combined with that of other people to allow a broad understanding of the situation.
4. Introduce your partner(s) and explain that they will take notes.
5. Conduct the interview in a place that is comfortable for the respondent.
6. Ask less sensitive questions first, and more sensitive questions later.
7. Ask open-ended questions (questions that require more than a "yes" or "no" answer).
8. If a respondent gives a simple answer, remember to probe. This means follow up the question.
9. If the respondent provides information that you find interesting, and you want to ask more about it even though it is not on the question guide, ASK!
10. Remember to LISTEN. Don't just go through the list of questions, but listen to their answers and ask suitable follow-up questions.
11. Do not rush.
12. ALWAYS respect the respondent and be sensitive to their needs (if they need a break, or need to do a task) as well as whether they are not comfortable with a question.
13. Skip any question the respondent does not want to answer.

Additional Guidelines for Group Interviews

1. Do not go around the circle and ask everyone to answer the same question once and then go onto the next question. Instead, try to keep the flow of the discussion natural.
2. Try to encourage everyone to participate in the discussion. If someone remains quiet for a while, specifically ask him or her for her views on a certain question.
3. Be wary about one person dominating the discussion. If someone seems to have a lot that he or she wants to say, perhaps suggest that you meet separately to go over these questions and allow others to share their views now.
4. While you want to allow the discussion to move in a natural direction, if it gets too far off the track be sure to gently guide it back to the topic at hand.
5. Encourage people to be relaxed and even have fun and laugh. People will more easily share information if they are comfortable and having a good time.

Notetaking Guidelines

1. At the top of the page always note:
 - Date and time
 - Location

- Names, ages, sex and occupation of respondents and any other important information.

2. If this is a group interview, assign each respondent a number. For example:

1. Laxmi Tamang, 16, female, student
2. Meena Tamang, 35, female, farmer, Laxmi's mother
3. Gita Tamang, 30, female, farmer/mother
4. Sita Tamang, 25, female, farmer/mother
5. Ram Tamang, 30, male, farmer, VDC member

3. Always make sure you note down briefly the question asked.

4. If it is a group interview, write down the respondent's number in front of what s/he says. For example, in the following sample, the first answer was provided by Laxmi Tamang, the second by Gita Tamang and the third by Ram Tamang:

Q: Girls' characteristics versus boys' characteristics?

1. Girls should work hard, honest, simple. Boys smart.
3. Girls should work hard, pretty.
5. Boys should show respect. Girls should be obedient.

5. Write on one side of the paper only.

6. Use abbreviations that you understand yourself.

7. It can be useful to have more than one notetaker to compare notes and to relieve one another if someone has to leave the interview briefly.