

A Qualitative Analysis on the Child Trafficking Nexus in West Bengal

Anita Karmakar

State Aided College Teacher, Gandhi Centenary B.T. College Habra, North 24 Parganas,
743268.

Abstract:

The objective of the current study is to examine the context and processes of trafficking of children in West Bengal. The present paper is based on a qualitative design and thematic analysis of the primary data collected from the sex trafficked victims who have been rescued from the brothels. The study is based on the experiences of victims who share their views of their hardship times in the hand of traffickers. The paper discussed about major phases, present status, how the victims are trapped in the hand of traffickers and the preventive measures for fighting with the trafficking nexus were given. The paper gives a clear concept about the origin, transit and destination point about the trafficking, which help state stakeholders to adopt more rigorous step towards the problem.

Keywords: Child trafficking, transportation, harboring, recruitment, victimization.

1. Introduction:

Trafficking of human beings is not a new phenomenon. Trafficking is historically linked to slavery, which involves the sale and purchase of human beings as chattel, treating them as commodities that could be bought and sold. Human trafficking is one of the greatest violations of human rights and it prevents child victims from reaching their potential and denies them the opportunity to live in safety and dignity. Human trafficking based on the objectification of a human life and the treatment of that life as a commodity traded in the economic market. In general, terms, trafficking refers to an illicit trade in goods. Human trafficking is the illegal sale and purchase of human beings who often used for sexual exploitation, labor exploitation, and organ harvesting. It is a contemporary form of the slave trade, and, like the slave trade, human trafficking is marked and defined by deception, coercion, and exploitation. Child trafficking is defined as any person under 18 who is recruited, transferred, transported or received for the purpose of exploitation, either within or outside a country. According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), there have been many cases where children just disappear overnight, as many as one every eight minutes. In India, there is a large number of children trafficked for various reasons such as begging, forced

labour and sexual exploitation. In India, over the last decade, the volume of child trafficking has increased though the exact numbers are not known still. It is one of the most lucrative criminal trade, which is undertaken by highly organized criminals. The causes of child trafficking are poverty, lack of employment opportunities or education, breakdown of social structures etc. It causes physical and mental exploitation of the victims and there after they are not able to lead a healthy and stable life. Trafficking in human beings, especially in women and children has become a matter of serious national and international concern. The concept of trafficking The Oxford English Dictionary defines traffic as „trade, especially illegal (as in drugs). It has also been described as „the transportation of goods, the coming and going of people or goods by road, rail, air, sea, etc. The word trafficked or trafficking is described as „dealing in something, especially illegally (as in the case of trafficking narcotics)“. The most comprehensive definition of trafficking is the one adopted by the UN Office of Drugs and Crime in 2000, known as the “UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,” 2000 under the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC). This Convention has been signed by the government of India. Article 3 of the Convention says:

- a) Trafficking in persons mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force, or other forms of coercion of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power, or of a position of vulnerability, or of the giving or of receiving of payments, or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another persons, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
- b)) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation.
- c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered „trafficking in persons.
- d) d) Child shall mean any person less than eighteen years of age.

The definition of trafficking can be found in the various sections of ITPA. Section 5 speaks about procuring, taking and even inducing a person for the sake of prostitution. According to this section,

even attempt to procure and attempt to take or cause a person to carry on prostitution amounts to trafficking.

1.1. Concept of Child Trafficking

Child trafficking is defined as the “*recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt*” of a child for the purpose of exploitation. Child trafficking is about taking children out of their protective environment and preying on their vulnerability for the purpose of exploitation. Although no precise figures exist, the ILO (in 2005) estimated that 980,000 to 1,225,000 children - both boys and girls - are in a forced labour situation because of trafficking. Child trafficking is one form of modern day slavery. Children are enslaved by this practice to provide cheap labor, work in dangerous situations, do illegal activities, as domestic laborers, forced to smuggle drugs, be child soldiers, and prostitution just to name a few.

Child ‘Trafficked’ and ‘Trafficker’ Child trafficking is a combination or series of events that may take place in the child’s home community, at transit points and at final destinations. The recruitment and movement may appear voluntary initially but then take on aspects of coercion by a third person or a group. The relocation may be across borders or within a country. Exploitation may occur at the beginning, middle or end of the trafficking process or indeed at several points. Child trafficking is difficult to stop because of its clandestine and dynamic nature. Those who engage in it may operate independently or in networks, following trafficking routes that change to evade law enforcement. Sometimes corrupt law enforcement officials facilitate trafficking or may be involved themselves in many ways. Trafficked children frequently find themselves shifted from one form of work into another depending on the will of the traffickers. Children who are trafficked are exposed to many dangers such as working in hazardous environments. Many are also denied the chance to reach their full potential because they do not get an education or have the freedom to make their own choices. In disasters, conflicts and other humanitarian emergencies, children can become separated from their families. Left without protection, they are easy prey for traffickers to exploit either by force or with false promises. The ILO estimates that 21 million people are trapped in forced labour or slavery. Of those, it says one in four are under the age of 18. The estimated number of children trafficked around the world is 5.5 million. They suffer violence, exploitation and abuse - ending up in work, forced marriage, prostitution, begging and armed recruitment.



Figure 1: Showing the purposes of child trafficking

Source: Self-made by the researcher

In an article of “An Analysis on Feminized Migration and Trafficking Nexus in India” cited by Talukdar, D. (2021) there are three phases of trafficking which are as follows:

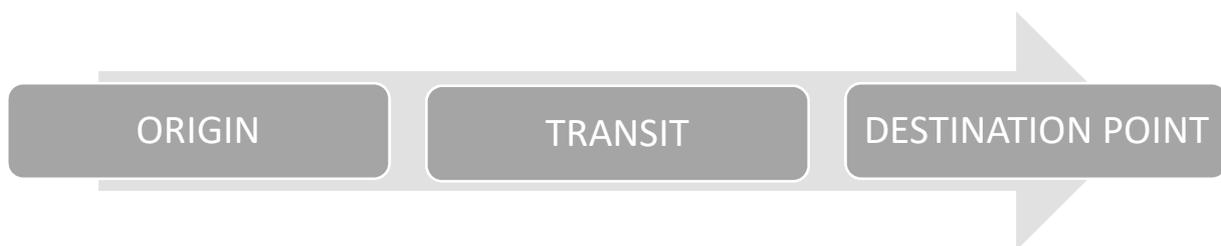


Figure 2: Showing the phases of child trafficking

Source: “An Analysis on Feminized Migration and Trafficking Nexus in India” cited by Talukdar, D. (2021)

There are three main phases of human trafficking namely, origin; transit and destination point. Origin is the place from where the victims were recruited and selected; transit denotes transportation and transfer, sometimes harboring also. Destination is the last point where the women are gotten and kept up for misuse. Even the victims may be exploited in origin and transit phase but it is for a short period. At destination, negotiation takes place for maximum profits. (Kamble, 2019). Among the technique for recruiting the trafficked women promised job accounts 75%-80% the highest strategies 78 women had been promised a job as a domestic help in cities like Delhi, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Pune and Mysore; 21 of them had been simply offered ‘work’ without any further details in distant places such as Kuwait, Dubai, Delhi and Mumbai. Thirteen

of them were promised specific work opportunities in places like a biscuit factory, a hotel, a textile shop, a tailoring establishment, and as construction labour in cities such as Chennai, Pune and Bangalore (Dev, June, 2011).

1.3. Review of Literature

- Pandey, S. (2014). Trafficking of children for prostitution in West Bengal: A Qualitative Study. The objective of the current study is to examine the context and processes of sex trafficking of children for brothel-based prostitution in West Bengal. The present paper is based on a qualitative design and thematic analysis of the primary data collected from the sex trafficked victims who have been rescued from the brothels. Four major pathways of trafficking have been identified for the children: employment induced trafficking lure of better opportunities in the urban areas, façade of romantic relations, and run away children who easily succumb to the bait of traffickers. Based on the findings of the study certain policy recommendations have been suggested.
- Deb, S., Srivastava, N., Chatterjee, P., & Chakraborty, T. (2005). Processes of child trafficking in West Bengal: A qualitative study. A study of 35 trafficked children and young women found that trafficking is usually conducted through offers of false marriages and jobs, or through outright abduction and sale. In almost all districts and even some villages, the traffickers, who have a strong network, engage agents, who include: another person who herself is a victim of trafficking, unemployed persons, drug addicts/alcoholics or aged women with no income. Sometimes, these agents work under compulsion and/or are blackmailed into abetment.
- Ghosh, B., & Kar, A. M. (2008). Trafficking in Women and Children in West Bengal. Human trafficking is one of the greatest violations of human rights and it prevents child victims from reaching their potential and denies them the opportunity to live in safety and dignity. There are several factors responsible for under-reporting of the phenomenon. Trafficking is very hard to measure because in many case the family members, relatives, and friends have consent about young girls going to distant places for lucrative earning. The study displayed the causes, number of cases, magnitude and prime routes of trafficking.

1.4. **Research Gap**

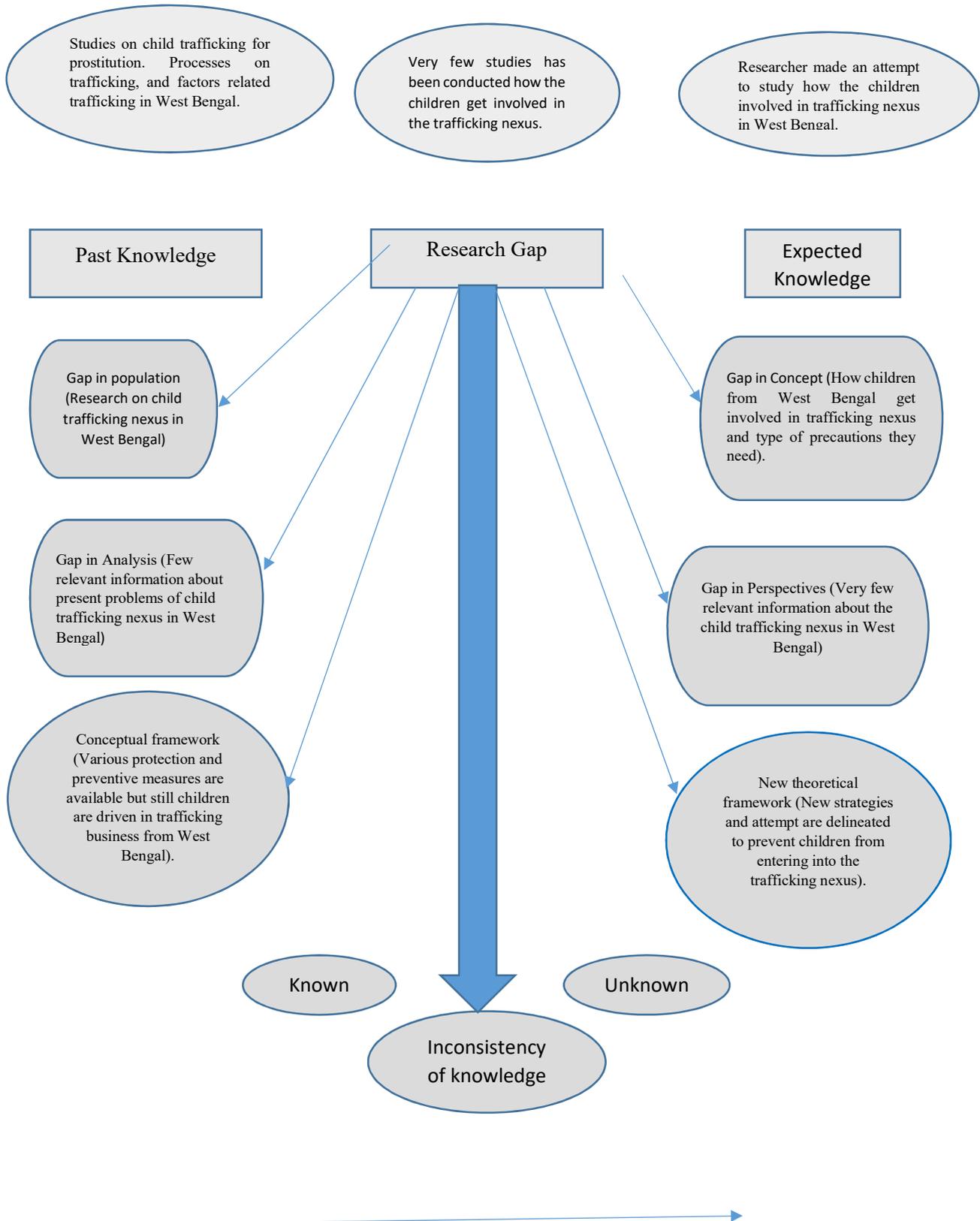


Figure 3: Showing the Research gap of previous study and the formation of new conceptual framework

Most of the study conducted on either the problem, processes, causes or factors of trafficking nexus of children from West Bengal. Very few studies have been conducted on child trafficking nexus and measures need to be adopted to prevent them to enter into the circle of trafficking in West Bengal. Therefore, the study aimed to highlight on “A Qualitative Analysis on the Child Trafficking Nexus in West Bengal”.

2. **Statement of Problem**

The statement of the problem entails on “A Qualitative Analysis on the Child Trafficking Nexus in West Bengal”.

2.1. **Objective of Study**

- To study the present status of child trafficking nexus of West Bengal.
- To know how the children get involved in the vicious circle of trafficking nexus in West Bengal.
- To suggest some possible measures for preventing trafficking nexus of children.

2.2. **Pertaining to Objective 1**

2.2.1. *To study the present status of child trafficking nexus of West Bengal.*

West Bengal is located in the Eastern part of India and serves as a link between the Northeastern States and the rest of India. The State has 18 districts and Kolkata serves as the State capital. There are over 23 towns with a population of over 100,000. Kolkata is one of the largest metropolitan regions in the world. West Bengal has emerged as focal point of activity for sex trafficking. Sonagachi, Kolkata’s infamous red light area, keeps growing even though it is monitored and is the work site of an internationally acclaimed NGO run by women who once worked in the sex trade, the Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee. Clearly, the trade in women and girls has not declined. The supply chain and the demand are clearly more robust than the capacity of Durbar to control the trade. West Bengal’s share the trade in humans is now about one-fifth or 20% of the detected cases in India. The geographical location of West Bengal therefore makes it a vulnerable location for trafficking. (Ghosh and Kar, 2008). West Bengal has 2,217 km of borders with Bangladesh. This porous border with Bangladesh with few official check posts is particularly a thorny problem. On the other side, West Bengal has 92 km of borders with Nepal and 175 km with

Bhutan. However, there are 14 entry points with Nepal. Hence it is often difficult for BSF to keep a close look and demarcate persons from other migrants and trespassers. An activist who has worked with the police in South 24 Parganas, where Sundarbans is located, revealed painful details of how poorly the anti-trafficking machinery in the state was equipped to deal with the magnitude of the problem. The main problems are lack of money, resource and the capacity to handle the rescue mission. The trafficking of children in brothel-based prostitution has assumed serious proportions in the state of West Bengal (India) at the interstate as well as intra state level and across the porous international borders. The districts of South and North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda, Darjeeling, Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri and Uttar Dinajpur, Howrah, Midnapore, and Birbhum have been identified as potential supply centers of in Bengal (Chakraborty 2006). A considerable portion of trafficking also occurs in guise of employment and marriage (Ghosh 2009). The latest National Family Health Survey 3 (NFHS) has reported that the percentage of under-18 marriages of women in West Bengal has increased from 45.9 per cent in 1998-99 to 53.3 per cent in 2005-6. More surprisingly, the recent survey has revealed that 21 per cent of women. West Bengal serves as a source, transit and destination for national and international trafficking in women and children. This is in spite of the fact that the state has evolved positive institutions to achieve gender justice during the last few decades (Bagchi 2005: 15). The state shares boundaries with northeastern states, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand and Sikkim. More importantly, it shares international boundaries with the neighboring countries of Bhutan, Nepal and Bangladesh. The geographical location of West Bengal therefore makes it vulnerable for trafficking. Again, the social composition of state's population having the highest density of population among the states (903 in 2001) deserves special attention. The UNICEF has already identified the districts like Murshidabad, Dinajpur (South and North), Nadia, Howrah, North 24 Parganas and Midnapore as „endemic areas of child and women trafficking “(UNICEF 2005). However, district wise official data on only two crime heads related to trafficking are available. They illustrate that districts like 24 Parganas (North and South), Nadia, Kolkata, and Murshidabad are mostly experiencing rise in kidnapping and abduction cases of women and girls. Again, in 2005 there were 61 cases of „importation of girls“ in the state out of which 60 were in Nadia alone and one in Howrah. West Bengal has reported the maximum number of cases relating to human trafficking (1,255 cases) accounting for 18.2%, followed by Assam (1,494 cases), Tamil Nadu (577 cases), Telangana (561

cases) and Karnataka (507 cases) accounting for 21.7%, 8.4%, 8.2% and 7.4% during 2015 respectively.

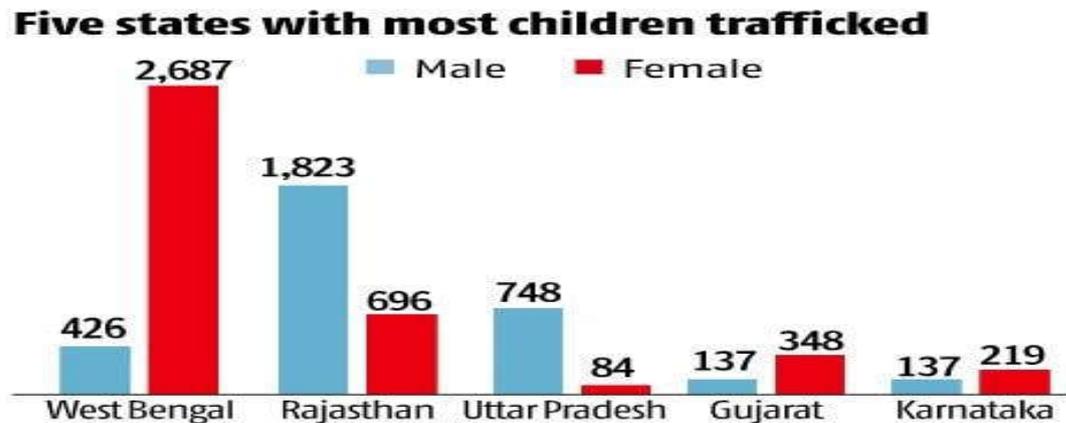


Figure 4: Showing the highest child trafficked states in India

Source: https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/child-trafficking-widespread-across-india-west-bengal-worst-affected-119071400685_1.html

West Bengal reported the most children trafficked (3,113), followed by Rajasthan (2,519), Uttar Pradesh (832), and Gujarat (485). West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Odisha are common source areas for trafficking to red-light areas across India, according to the India Country Assessment Report 2013 on anti-human trafficking, brought out by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. West Bengal is among India's most vulnerable states, with the highest number of children trafficked in India in 2016. The study found that individual factors such as chronic poverty, unemployment and the lure of a better life make children more vulnerable to child marriage, child labour and unsafe migration that could lead to child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. The report of Hindustan Times stated that in 2016, 20.64% of India's missing children were from West Bengal – the highest among all states in 2017.

2.2. Pertaining to Objective 2

2.2.2. *To know how the children get involved in the vicious circle of trafficking nexus in West Bengal.*

Traffickers tend to target mostly those children who are economically and socially backward such as children who are living in poverty, or on the streets, or experience physical or sexual abuse, or

addiction. They pose as a friend, offering to meals, gifts, or just a sympathetic ear. In some cases, traffickers may use another young person to befriend and recruit their victims. This recruitment can happen in public places such as malls or sporting events, as well as online, through social media sites, or through false advertisements or promises about job opportunities that might appeal to young people, such as modeling or acting. Traffickers target children mostly by four different ways that are given below:

Pimp Controlled Trafficking: Child is trafficked by an unrelated individual, male or female, who often develops an intentional relationship with the child, which is later used as leverage in the exploitation. Girls were taken away from Dinajpur to Bombay to work in a house as a domestic servant, and was sold to a brothel instead. There were 20- 30 other girls in a similar plight (Sibnath Deb, June 2005).

Gang-Controlled Trafficking: Child is trafficked by a member of a gang or trafficked by the gang. Gangs leverage their organizational structure, violence, and local, national and international networks to instill fear and loyalty in the child victim. In South 24 Parganas, was an agent of a trafficking gang transporting rural women and children belonging to poor families with the promise of better jobs in cities. The gang comprising criminals had trafficked many minor girls to Pune's sex industry.

Familial Trafficking: Child is trafficked by a relative or a person who is perceived by the child to be a family member such as individuals referred to as "auntie" or "uncle" but are not directly related to the child. An incident of a shawl seller from Kashmir every year used to come to Asansol in West Bengal to do his brisk business. Through such endeavour, he came to know of a physically challenged girl from OK Road. He proposed to marry the girl without any dowry. For the father this was an unimaginable reality. He immediately arranged the ceremony in a local Mosque and then the man left with the girl for his hometown. After reaching his hometown, he also reported about their safe journey. However, repeatedly he avoided giving the telephone to the girl and told that the girl was fine. Being suspicious, they went to Kashmir and found that he had sold his 'wife' to a man just after coming to hometown, who had again sold the girl to another seller (Ghosh, December 2009).

Buyer-Perpetrated Trafficking: Child is being trafficked but does not have an identified trafficker. Instead, the buyer is directly exploiting the child's vulnerabilities by offering money, food, and/or shelter in exchange for the sexual exploitation.

In January 2021 in an article of "Understanding child trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in West Bengal, India", it was cited that in Bankura and Bardhaman, fathers are aware that children should not get married before 18 but are willing to make a compromise if they find a suitable marriage prospect. This results in the family getting the daughter married to someone who is either able to provide for her financially or to someone who is willing to get married without any exchange of dowry. Due to the financial scarcity and other social pressures, parents may be less likely to seek out information about the person's background or family and are keener on whether he currently holds a job that can enable him to provide for the daughter financially. This limited/biased information seeking behaviour further intensifies the risk to child safety and even leads to unsafe migration in cases where children move to other villages after having gotten married. There are instances of mothers who want to prevent their daughters from getting married the age of 18 or 20, but they shared that they have limited influence over the decision (Malvika Dwivedi, January 2021).

The industrial belt of Burdwan District, namely Durgapur and Asansol including the inter-state border areas like Kulti serve both as destination as well as out flow centre of trafficking. Girls, brought from Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, are first kept here, while girls collected from the surrounding districts are trafficked from here to several destinations depending on demand and rates. Majority of the girls brought here from neighboring states finally find place at the red light localities of Burdwan District. b) In the Eastern part of Burdwan district, girls from poor Muslim and Scheduled Caste families of Katwa and Kalna are transported to Delhi and Uttar Pradesh via Bandel and Howrah. In West Midnapore, girls from villages in and around Kharagpur are transported to Delhi and Ahmedabad via Howrah, Ranchi or Orissa. Similarly dhabas (eatery on roadside) in and around Kolaghat are „safe“ destinations of many victims of sexual exploitation. There is also a trafficking chain from East Midnapore to Kolkata via Haldia and South 24Parganas. Many backward areas of both the districts serve as important trafficking hubs (Kar, 2008).

Traffickers frequently become involved with children and teens by offering attention and care. The specific processes used can vary depending upon the age of the child, the child's family situation,

and a number of other factors. Children are trafficked by peers, family members, romantic partners, acquaintances, and strangers. Traffickers target children and adolescents for grooming, often over an extended period. Traffickers target vulnerable children, secure their trust, fulfill their needs, isolate them from potential support, and eventually exert total control over them, all the while working to normalize the abuse. Recruitment can and does occur everywhere—in school; at home, malls, sporting events, and parties; and in shelters and detention facilities—and is conducted both in person and online, where traffickers lure young people with the offer of friendship, romance, or jobs. When the trafficker has established sufficient control, children are sold at private parties, illicit massage businesses, hotel and motel rooms, strip clubs, trade shows, truck stops, and other venues. Drugs are common tool used by human traffickers as well. The trafficker will get the child or teen hooked on drugs, and the addiction will be used as advantage to force the young person into prostitution.

2.2. Pertaining to Objective 3

2.2.3. To suggest some possible measures for preventing trafficking nexus of children.

Trafficking is a social problem and it is a symptom of a much deeper malice in our society. Hence, there cannot be any instant remedy for such a problem. The trafficked persons are subjected to physical and emotional harm, sexual assault, economic deprivation and violation of the dignity. The post-trafficking scenario therefore finds the victims at the end of the tunnel, with almost no hope of survival. Research on the concerned subject has proved that the strong nexus of stake ensures that the victims caught in debt and bondage, which is one of the many strategies adopted to keep the girl in constant servitude. The difficulties in detecting and measuring trafficking cases make the task of preventing them much more challenging. Nonetheless, several measures can be taken in this direction and successful implementations of the steps will surely bring some positive result. As the problem is multi-dimensional, its solution also lies in following a multi-dimensional approach for prevention. We suggest the following short-term and long-term measures:

- Lack of literacy and awareness amongst the economically weaker sections of the society is another cause of trafficking. There is therefore every need to strengthen basic capabilities of women through education and awareness. Simultaneously, regular and vigorous campaign is necessary to sensitize media and make people, particularly the poor, to remain alert about the traffickers.

- There is no doubt about the fact that poverty, unemployment and lack of income opportunities are among the main reasons behind trafficking. Hence, we need to improve the economic condition of the families living in financial hardships. It is particularly necessary to focus attention on micro-finance and self-help groups to strengthen the economic condition of women. This may prevent them from going to distant, unknown places to earn money for their family members.
- The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) continued to fund NGO run shelter and rehabilitation service for women and children through the Ujjawala programme specifically for female sex trafficking victims and the Swadhar programme for women in difficult circumstances.
- Rescued bonded labours are entitled to have “release certificates” enabling them to receive govt.-funded compensation and services. Many victims received certificates at or soon after their rescue, especially in areas where there was significant coordination between the Govt and NGOs.
- The rural setting is the origin of child trafficking activities; therefore, awareness programmes should be organised in all block and district headquarters. A network should be developed among key community leaders like local teachers, doctors and police personnel for prevention of trafficking and for maintaining vigilance.
- It must be ensured that women and children in post-rescue situations are placed in homes or shelters. Grant-receiving organisations can use funds with some flexibility when assisting victims in complicated trafficking situations.
- In each high-risk village, a core group comprising people from all lifestyles should be constituted to identify families living below the poverty line. With the help of local NGOs, it should disseminate information among the poor about various welfare and income-generating programmes. It should also help them develop and sustain self-help groups to create income-generating activities as they lack the ability to seek financial support from banks.
- Undertaking time-bound measures, programmes and plans — that is, setting specific goals and deadlines — to combat child trafficking and other worst forms of child labour; and linking this with the national development effort, particularly a poverty reduction strategy and the provision of quality education and skills training.

- States Parties shall take or strengthen measures, including through bilateral or multilateral cooperation, to alleviate the factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal opportunity.
- Policies, programmes and other measures established in accordance with this article shall, as appropriate include cooperation with non-governmental organizations, other relevant organizations and other elements of civil society.
- States Parties shall endeavour to undertake measures such as research, information and mass media campaigns and social and economic initiatives to prevent and combat trafficking in persons.
- Improving children's access to educational opportunities and increasing the level of school attendance, in particular by girl children.
- Developing programmes that offer livelihood options, including basic education, skills training and literacy, especially for women and other traditionally disadvantaged groups.
- Strengthening the capacity of law enforcement agencies to arrest and prosecute those involved in trafficking as a preventive measure. This includes ensuring that law enforcement agencies comply with their legal obligation.
- Adopting measures to reduce vulnerability by ensuring that appropriate legal documentation for birth, citizenship and marriage are provided and made available to all.

3. **Conclusion**

Child Trafficking has assumed menacing proportions not only in the country but also all over the world. A very large number of children are being trafficked and used as bonded labour, sex slaves, agricultural labour etc. There are a number of International instruments that have been formulated to look into this problem but a lot more needs to be done if we want the children to free of bondage of any kind and enjoy their childhood. To achieve this goal, more training and education about child labor trafficking could be given to the public, law enforcement, and policymakers (Bouche, Farrell, and Wittmer 2015). Further, more resources could be put into developing and implementing evidence-based programs and treatments for victims of child trafficking.

References

- Mandal, K. S. (2006). The changing status of women in West Bengal, 1970-2000: The challenge ahead.
- Ghosh, B., & Guven, H. M. (2007). Trafficking in women & children, child marriage and dowry: A study for action plan in West Bengal. *Kolkata: UNICEF and Govt. of West Bengal.*
- India, P. S. (2011). National Crime Records Bureau. *Ministry Of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.*
- Mukherjee, S. R. (2005). Trafficking in Women and Children: Dimensions and Strategies. In a seminar on Prevention of Child Marriage, Dowry and Trafficking in Women and Children, Organised by the Department of Social Welfare, Govt. of West Bengal at Kolkata on 31st August.
- Ghosh, B. (2009). Trafficking in women and children in India: nature, dimensions and strategies for prevention. *The International Journal of Human Rights, 13(5), 716-738.*
- Samarasinghe, V. (2012). *Female sex trafficking in Asia: The resilience of patriarchy in a changing world.* Routledge.
- Hennink, M., & Simkhada, P. (2004). Sex trafficking in Nepal: context and process. *Asian and Pacific migration journal, 13(3), 305-338.*
- Rasheed, S. (2004). Meeting the Millennium Development Goal on Maternal Mortality: A response to women and girls' health rights in South Asia. *Development, 47(2), 115-121.*
- Baker, R., & Hinton, R. (2001). Approaches to children's work and rights in Nepal. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 575(1), 176-193.*
- Frederick, J. (2010). Sexual abuse and exploitation of boys in South Asia: A review of research findings, legislation, policy and programme responses.