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Trafficking in Nepal: An Exploratory look at the Process and Effectiveness of Rehabilitation and Reintegration Facilities for Sexually Exploited Women in Nepal

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International Relations Honor's Thesis

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Section I: Introduction

The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons for 2012 is prefaced with the overarching statement that “there are millions of trafficking in persons victims in the world” (UNODC 2012). The book *Half the Sky* considers sex trafficking “one of the fastest growing organized crimes” globally while also shedding light on the equally important issue of forced prostitution (Kristoff 2009). It would seem the creation of a global web promoting sexual exploitation is running smoothly today. This large scale issue has led to many worldwide and regional conferences, as well as the creation of laws condemning the practice of sexual exploitation on a global and local scale. There is an abundance of literature dealing with the problem of trafficking and more importantly how to stop it. However, there exists only a small amount of work that examines what happens after sexual exploitation has occurred. These surviving women do not simply disappear, and are in no way able to return to their previous lives. Instead, they must begin life again, now living with the stigma that society has attached to them, as well as the significant psychological trauma attached to their experiences. As women are the largest and most sexually exploited sector of the world population, the question arises: How are these women reintegrated and rehabilitated? Interestingly enough, the UN’s Global Report for 2012 only mentions the words rehabilitation and reintegration once in the entirety of its ninety-eight pages. Many governments and large international agencies do not directly handle this particular part of the trafficking process leaving it to Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) locally. Driven by this inattention to and lack of research on the topic at hand, I would thus like to focus my study on the aftermath of trafficking and sexual exploitation.
My work will specifically focus on Nepal which has been and continues to be a hub for trafficking and forced prostitution. As the second most corrupt country in South East Asia, complete with castes, poverty, and a cultural stigma against women’s rights, Nepal is a perfect breeding ground for rampant sexual exploitation (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). Therefore, after categorizing existing literature into three technique dichotomies and what they mean within the larger context of international relations, I will focus on the question of **What rehabilitation and reintegration techniques are most effective for survivors of sexual exploitation in Nepal?** In order to successfully do this I will define these terms as I intend to use them in my work. Hopefully this piece of work can act as a basic framework which can be utilized for an in depth study of effective rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in Nepal in the future.
Section II: Literature Review: Analysis of Current Literature on Reintegration and Rehabilitation of Sexually Exploited Women

What constitutes sexual exploitation and trafficking?

To understand the concepts of trafficking and sexual exploitation it is important to look at existing definitions of trafficking to clarify what members of society I plan to include in my work. While I provide the UN’s definition of trafficking, I recognize that there are many different variations on how individuals and NGOs working in the field define trafficking. The UN’s definition, however, provides a basic conceptual understanding of what trafficking is. They define it as:

… the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (Chaulagai 2009).

It must be understood that trafficking does not only take place for the purpose of commercial sex enslavement. Trafficking includes issues like forced labour in dance bars, circuses, and domestic work as well (B. Gurung, Personal communication, April 30, 2013). However, for the purpose of my study it is important to understand that most sex providers, including those involved in forced or self-imposed prostitution, will at some point encounter similar forms of exploitation and violence (Wickham 2009). The use of sex is embedded in most forms of trafficking, even when the trafficking is not specifically carried out for sex work. Similarly, all forms of trafficking carry implicit social stigmas (B.
Gurung, personal communication, April 30, 2013). As sexually abused and exploited women are faced with the same internal and societal stigmas and challenges, it is my aim in this study to examine the varied processes of rehabilitation and reintegration that have been implemented. While there is a global debate surrounding what constitutes trafficking, sexual exploitation, and forced prostitution— for the purposes of this research, I will not be enforcing a distinction among these terms.

**What causes sexual exploitation?**

Now that there is a general understanding about what sexual exploitation constitutes, the causes of sexual exploitation must be explored. This is integral to our understanding of the processes of exploitation as the root causes often relate to cultural norms within society that continue to exist after individuals have been liberated from a sexually exploitive situation. As found by the UN Trafficking in Persons report for 2012, it is estimated that women and girls make up seventy-five percent of trafficked bodies (UNDOC 2012). In a report on the global status of women, it is seen that many states and their underlying cultures “deny women access to education, health services, political participation, and economic opportunities” limiting movement and effectively destroying any chance for women to fight (World 2012). Therefore, the root causes of exploitation can be broken down into cultural, economic, and political systems that stagnate women’s upward mobility.

One of the biggest societal problems is that many cultures value women considerably less than they value men (UNDOC 2012). Unfortunately “parents see daughters as a cost to the family rather than valuable members” which effectively dehumanizes them and marginalizes them within the family and community unit (World
This effective marginalization and objectification of women promotes the idea that women are a commodity through which something can be gained or a burden can be alleviated. Seen as second-class citizens, women are thus taken advantage of in extreme measures. Women are often the victims of culturally normative practices such as honor killings, infanticide, domestic violence, and the general mistreatment and neglect that result from the enforced perception of what it means to be a woman (DCAF 2009).

Economically, women often are not given the opportunity to receive schooling, and proceed to have little access to opportunities in the workplace. This leaves them vulnerable and at the whims of the men and other women in their lives (UNDOC 2012). Without education, women are unavoidably illiterate which presents them with even fewer opportunities to work in the public sphere. They are then left to take up domestic roles, helping the family with household chores, and effectively cementing their role within the private sphere (Chiguali 2009).

Within the political sphere, cultural lack of respect transcends into local law enforcement which often perpetuates cultural norms by continuing to abuse these women who must live within the constraints set around them. With countries that have relatively weak governments, even the laws stating equality and fair treatment of women are “empty statements” because the governments do not have the power to implement the policies they create (B. Gurung, personal communication, April 30, 2013). Additionally, armed conflict can create extreme spikes in the number of exploited women as their position in society becomes inherently more vulnerable than in times of peace (Shigekane 2007). It is through these cultural barriers and societal obstacles that sex becomes a viable job available to some women.
In Nepal, there is a region called Sindupolchok where, a few years ago, having a tin roof indicated that the owner of the house had sold their daughter. In this instance, it is not an issue of obtaining money, but instead of falling in with the cultural norm of selling one’s daughter that was established in the region for that period of time. It was believed then – as it continues to be believed elsewhere – that this is what women are good for, and if the men in the family have to provide then so should the women (Hubeer, personal communication, March 17, 2013). Therefore, Nepal provides a country where the variables leading to sexual exploitation are alive and thriving.

What is Reintegration and Rehabilitation?

Much like defining trafficking, the terms rehabilitation and reintegration have very different meanings based on who is defining them, as well as who is using them to implement programs. However, I will be providing my working definitions of each so that a concrete assessment can be made of their successes. Rehabilitation refers to the mental recuperation and stability provided to women returning from a sexually exploitive situation. Reintegration refers to the actions used to counter the cultural stigma attached to women returning from a sexually exploitive situation. It is vital to note that both processes are extremely interconnected and affect one another. A program must implement both rehabilitation and reintegration in order to provide a holistic approach that can lead to a success. As a result, they will be used simultaneously within my work.

Both rehabilitation and reintegration aspire to increase empowerment of some kind. The working aspirations of these concepts relevant to this study include functioning to achieve three forms of power. These forms of power can be classified as “power to”, “power with”, and “power from within”. *Power to* refers to providing specific services such as those
needed to meet basic needs like immediate shelter. It is necessary to meet these needs before other forms of empowerment can be achieved. However, as basic needs are often met simply by being within the facility of rehabilitation and reintegration, this study will focus explicitly on the latter two forms of power as a way to gauge success. The second ([Power with](#)) refers to increased power gained from collectivist actions, such as creating networks of individuals and organizations all reaching for the same common purpose or end goal. The third ([Power from within](#)) refers to increased individual consciousness or an internal desire for personal change necessary to transcend the cultural, political, and economic barriers that prevent women's movement within society (Luttrell 2009). In order to achieve successful rehabilitation and reintegration it is necessary for these types of power- or more broadly defined, these types of empowerment- to be attained by surviving women. Therefore, the real question comes to be not whether empowering practices should be provided, but rather how to elicit the most efficient and successful forms of empowerment.

**Why CBOs and NGOs?**

One interesting question regarding this particular line of work is why do NGOs and CBOs draw so much of the focus in this study? In other words, why not use other means such as governmental legislation and funding for successful rehabilitation and reintegration? The answer lies in the fact that government spending is either nonexistent or inefficient in many places. For example, Albania has not only a lack of legislation regarding sustainable rehabilitation and reintegration, but also fails to provide any sort of sustainable funding towards the cause (Muco 2013). In India, sexually exploited women are often denied “access to state and social infrastructures” because written laws surrounding
issues like exploitation are unspecific and murky. This is combined with the fact that these laws are simply not implemented by local police, most of whom often prefer to further abuse the women instead of helping them (Magar 2012). The same can be said for Albania that prizes prosecution as the best way to help these women but uses vague language within the law blurring the lines of who gets prosecuted and for what. More often than not when trafficking is explicitly mentioned within Albanian written law, it is written off as “exploitation of prostitution or child maltreatment” simultaneously devaluing these two types of significant exploitation and rendering anti-trafficking laws ineffective (hence my earlier clarification of sexual exploitation as stated above) (Muco 2012). Even those governments that invest in rehabilitation and reintegration facilities (Nigeria, for example) are proven to be unsuccessful due to the cold and disassociated treatment applied therein. The result is higher dropout rates from rehabilitative programs and wasted money and resources (Aborisade 2008).

It comes as no surprise that cultural buy-in is necessary for successful implementation of laws. The reasons for trafficking previously mentioned become the same hindering reasons as to why state laws are not implemented in an effective manner. Without cultural acceptance and active participation, the laws become, for all intents and purposes, words on paper. In this way, CBOs and NGOs fill the void left by ineffective governmental action. The debate surrounding the relationships between NGO and government efforts and the differing effectiveness of their efforts is in no way a novel or new notion. A study performed in Uganda exploring healthcare provisions notes that it is distinctly common that NGOs and CBOs deal with, and are responsible for, all social issues not surrounding “peace and security” (Cannon 1996). They simply meet the needs of the
people that the Ugandan government is unwilling, but most importantly unable, to provide or regulate (Cannon 1996).

One of the most important hurdles CBOs and NGOs are faced with is obtaining the proper funding necessary in order to “meet the needs of the people.” Similar to the government, they often do not have adequate resources needed to provide the wide variety of services necessary (Ruben 2006). They rely on “support from international donors and foundations” (USAID 2007). Unfortunately, “large grant making bodies often are not well equipped to deal with small grants requested for grassroots projects. In addition, grants and other forms of donations are rarely given without extensive applications, audited financial reports, [and] visits to or from the donor” (Wickham 2009). Grants, by their very nature, are bound to targets that can hinder the implementation of anything beyond their stipulations. Inherent within them is the stress to comply with procurement regulations and meeting quotas with failure viewed as an unacceptable outcome and an organizational rather than a societal issue (D. Welsh, personal communication, November 11, 2013). Many times, the seemingly efficient methods utilized to garner positive outcomes only focus on superfluous results such as the number of people who have come to a facility. While donors may view this as treating patients “efficiently” it raises an important question: are the people that come to these facilities receiving proper care, or are they simply numbers to be counted towards an end goal (Crawford 2013).

From all that has been presented thus far, it can be understood that CBOs and NGOs play a critical role within countries, filling the gaps of what the government is not providing. Therefore, their role is crucial in dealing with social and cultural problems that state policies are unable to address. To the credit of government policy, it does try to
address these overarching issues by funding their own facilities, and there is a call for stronger collaboration between governmental agencies and NGOs/CBOs. However, the patterns in current literature has revealed very little regarding highly successful state policies like Nigeria’s as mentioned above (Aboriside 2008). Nonetheless, state policies should not be disregarded but will not play an important role in the analysis of current rehabilitation and reintegration facilities. That being said, these NGOs and CBOs face significant problems in implementation that results in inefficient measureable outcomes hindering analysis of the rehabilitation and reintegration process.

**Basic Aims**

All organizations dealing with the rehabilitation and reintegration of sexually exploited women have a particular set of aims or goals that they attempt to achieve through specific techniques. To quote directly from the facility AFESIP in Cambodia, organizations’ aims tend to be:

> to work “to free trafficked victims and bring perpetrators to justice, rehabilitation focusing on physical and mental healing, education in the form of vocational training, literacy and core life skills, and reintegration to support individuals as they begin their new futures working alongside their family and communities” (AFESIP 2012).

These goals of CBOs and NGOs working within the field of rehabilitation and reintegration may be categorized into three major aims, which consist of the economic aims, mental and physical aims, and the re-assimilation aims. While some organizations place specific importance on one goal within the broader context of the aims listed above, like an Australian organizations emphasis on legal prosecution, the pattern indicates that most organizations at least take note of all three aims (Schloenhardt 2011). A brief overview of these different aims will provide a general understanding of the scope in which these organizations work for successful rehabilitation and reintegration.
The economic stability aims, which include education and vocational training, are highly important to the ability of sexually exploited women to overcome the issues of dependency and poverty they face upon reintegrating into society. In fact, “financial independence and productivity can play an important role in helping survivors of trafficking regain self-confidence and acceptance in society” (Ruben 2006). It is believed that by providing these women with the tools to actively play a role in the economy, they will break from the extremely common reoccurrence of returning to sex work or being re-trafficked (Skigekane 2007).

Many organizations today are focusing on the use of micro-credits and micro-loans to promote economic literacy and stability (Aborisade 2008). However it is important to note that the training for these economic ventures “must be based on a realistic analysis of the market and take into account both the individual and the environment” (USAID 2007). If a woman is taught to be a hairdresser, but she returns to a village where people get their hair cut twice a year, then her services are not economically viable, and the training becomes useless in overcoming poverty (USAID 2007). In India, the International Organization of Immigration (IOM) has attempted to provide not only market analysis training but also entrepreneurship training so that these women are able to design their jobs, whatever they may be, in different locations with different functions (Ruben 2006). Such enterprises allow for the design of “individually tailored reintegration and rehabilitation services” (Schloenhardt 2011). However, economic stability plays a single part in effective rehabilitation and reintegration. It would be incorrect to assume “that access to resources leads automatically to increased choice” individually or within society
(Luttrell 2009). Focusing solely on this aspect will by nature, ignore the structural and personal issues that affect these women.

The second aim that these organizations work to achieve is physical and mental stability. This aim includes counseling, life skills training, and physical treatment. It can be clearly understood that there is “severe psychological and physical abuse that occurs during the process of sexual exploitation” (Yakushko 2009). Leah Wickham provides a general overview of the mental state produced by commercial exploitive situations. In general, these survivors experience a collection of “impatience, irritability short-temper and violence, lack of obedience, distrust towards others, lack of self-confidence, emotional instability, depression, stress, feelings of isolation, hopelessness or desperation for the future, shame and guilt, humiliation, loss of virginity, negative attitudes, withdrawal, post-traumatic stress, and self-mutilation” (Wickham 2009). In addition, it has been consistently seen that “victims of trauma are much more likely to be re-victimized” even if economic stability is provided (Johnson 2012). As such, NGOs and CBOs provide services such as counselling to deal with the trauma, and life skills training which includes an emphasis on altering habitual actions (Magar 2012).

In addition to mental trauma, these women face significant physical obstacles, namely with the issue of sexually transmitted diseases. Being involved in wide-scale sexual exploitation facilitates the “high probability of contracting sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS” (Wickham 2009). One medical consultant for a Nigerian organization, NAPTIP, believes that the “medical aspect of the rehabilitation process is the most important considering the nature of their journey” (Aboriside 2008). Most of this care is immediate upon an individual’s entry into a rehabilitation and reintegration program, and
therefore has significant importance in women’s retention within the programs. Those known to have contracted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, or have simply been to areas where these diseases are prevalent, are even more vulnerable to experiencing “social ostracism” (USAID 2007). Providing such health provisions are extremely important to CBOs and NGOs working within the field of holistic rehabilitation and reintegration.

The third significant aim these organizations work toward – or at least attempt to acknowledge – is the significant social stigma these women face upon returning to their communities; the effects of social stigma in turn affect the woman’s economic viability and individual wellbeing. In fact, one of the main concerns about the first two aims is that, individually, they do not address the community’s response (Wickham 2009). One of this biggest challenges that sexually exploited women face upon reentrance into society is that they oftentimes find themselves in the exact same conditions that led to the sexual exploitation in the first place (Magar 2012). In addition, they face serious reprisals not only from their community, but also from their family (USAID 2007). In India, it is common for CBO members to create stories for the returnee women in order to hide the woman’s whereabouts. Without this story, the potential for re-victimization is almost insurmountable. If discovered, these women who return to their villages are constantly harassed to the point of being unable to comfortably or easily exist within society. This forces them back to the brothels as they unfortunately become the only places that welcome them (Magar 2012). These women are seen as dirty and stupid which, regardless of the knowledge they gain through these organizations, further constrains their ability to move freely within society (Wickham 2009). Long-term commitment following the programs end is necessary and “involves not only the victim but also the environment and
culture within which the reintegration is to take place” (USAID 2007). Some organizations work with families, others with businesses, and others yet with the law as a way to stop the cycle of trafficking as these women must face the society that vilifies them for situations out of their control. With many facets that must be addressed within this aim, it is one of the hardest to achieve, as it is something that attempts to change culturally ingrained ideas within the community. The aspects of this aim also play a significant role in the struggles for these organizations.

While the basic aims and struggles that these organizations face are relatively similar, there is a wide range of variance on how these organizations implement techniques for successful rehabilitation and reintegration. Analyzing their different techniques allows not only for an understanding of best practices, but also sheds light on the best way in which CBOs and NGOs should run their organizations in order to better meet these aims and ameliorate the struggles. The goal of this paper is to create and exploratory study to examine the potential of these techniques, which I created based on what has been found in current rehabilitation and reintegration work, within Nepal in order to find those techniques that best lead to a holistic recuperation for sexually exploited women.

**Structure vs. Agency**

The difference between structure and agency is a very interesting distinction made by organizations working within the realm of rehabilitation and reintegration. Structure refers to the systemic and community problems surrounding successful rehabilitation and reintegration. In other words, the problem and the solution lie not with the individual but rather with the corrupt systems surrounding them. Agency, on the other hand, refers to the returnee women’s individual ability to bring themselves above a situation. In other words,
the only thing stopping these women from successfully rehabilitating and reintegrating is themselves, effectively placing the burden of success on the survivors. What is fascinating about this dichotomy is that patterns surrounding this type of work emphasize the importance of both structure and agency, but only focus on one as the key to success (Johnson 2012). This is an interesting style of analysis, pitting two ideas against each other while supporting both. In essence, this technique differentiation is pitting power from within against power with, inadvertently inferring that one concept will be ignored, even though both are necessary.

Rehabilitation and reintegration organizations often assume that “access to resources automatically leads to increased choice and therefore empowerment” which does not take into account the structural barriers these women face upon leaving rehabilitation and reintegration facilities (Luttrell 2009). Nigerian governmental organizations believe that the best way to help these women is to close them off from the society that ostracizes them. The survivors they work with are “completely shielded from the public while the process of rehabilitation lasts” effectively “locking [them] up and keeping the clients [survivors] behind walls” (Aborisade 2008). This type of program is then heavily criticized for the fact that it does not in any way interact with the society that these women must enter; it has no cultural or systemic effect therefore, relying solely on agency (Aborisade 2008). These types of walled-in and guarded facilities are often left by survivors in favor of those that allow “more freedom in [...] movement throughout the shelter and its ground[s]” (USAID 2007). Freer facilities allow survivors to continuously interact with their environment rather than cutting them off from what they will inevitably have to return to (USAID 2007).
Some organizations go so far as to state that “although the environment plays an
important role in a successful individual’s reintegration it is he/she who determines the
success of the reintegration process” but finish such statements with “personal
characteristics, social background, personality, age, education level, religion, culture and
motivation to stabilize the situation” are also important (Muco 2013). This organization
therefore calls attention to culture, education, and social backgrounds, which are large
factors in the systemic problems that these women face within their communities but
champion agency above these structural realities.

What will lead to the best results for the community and the individual? By no
means does this critique suggest that agency is not important. However, the focus that is
placed specifically on it cannot by itself lead to successful outcomes based on the struggles
with the community that these organizations face. This is true internationally as it is
included in the analysis of organizations in nations such as Albania, Australia, India, the US,
and Nigeria. This is a very theoretical understanding of how organizations think about the
work that they do and where they place importance in their work. While theoretical, it is a
very necessary point to mention when talking about rehabilitation and reintegration, as it
will affect organizations own understanding of success.

It is my opinion that within Nepal, agency and structure must play equal roles if
successful rehabilitation and reintegration is to occur. To say that one is more important is
to overlook the equal importance of the other. In a study regarding social inequalities of
health in the United States, Frohlich writes, “what we need are interventions that address
the processes by which social practices are reproduced, which ultimately depends on the
interplay between the social structure and agency” thus restating the need for both these
concepts to be understood and to work in unison (Frohlich 2010). As a result, power from within and power with are no longer opposing but rather complementary goals through which rehabilitation and reintegration can ensue.

**Re-Experiencing vs. Escapism**

Patterns in recent rehabilitation and reintegration literature illustrate the need for all organizations to have some level of psychological counseling as a tool to better prepare women for successfully returning to their communities and homes (Magar 2012). One highly debated topic is how organizations working in the field of rehabilitation and reintegration address the issue of counseling. Specifically, many inadvertently decide between counseling through either the use of escapism or re-experiencing. Re-experiencing refers to the most iconic method of counseling that is focused on looking at and examining the sexually exploitive experiences to gain deeper insight and overcome internal obstacles. Escapism, on the other hand, refers to psychological techniques aimed towards the future, effectively staying away from the experiences while trafficked, and taking proactive steps at addressing things like self-worth from the very beginning of the process.

Counselling serves a very significant role in rehabilitation and reintegration by meeting some of the needs of power from within. Such power is based internally, and is controlled by changing habits and creating a sense of self-worth. Clearly, without the power from within, there can be no large-scale change due to the fact that the impressions they have of themselves prevents any change in their current status. Gaining power from within is key to CBOs and NGOs in this particular field because it affects the larger goals that these organizations wish to achieve.
For countries where topics like mental stability are taboo, it is very difficult to elicit stories about the sexually exploitive past. One caregiver working in a rehabilitation and reintegration center in Nigeria states that the “majority of [women] will not want to say anything about their journey or those behind their trafficking….we don't force them because doing so will obstruct the process and success of rehabilitation … nothing would make them revisit their past” (Aborisade 2008). Another NGO worker in the United States says that “[w]estern style therapy is foreign to [trafficked women] and not culturally appropriate…most refuse to go because they did not like it” (Shigekane 2007). By western style therapy, this article is referring to the predominate usage of re-experiencing and retrospective self-talk. In fact, “culture has an immeasurable impact on trauma that can range from differences in interpretations of traumatic events to symptoms of disordered behavior to societal norms about interventions […] Treatment such as talk-therapy inherently assumes that a person, as an individual, can be separated from his or her environment and placed alone within the clinical context” which is not an inherent part of all cultures behavioral analysis (Baldachin 2010).

While treatment is generally more acceptable within the US, mental problems and diagnoses are typically considered taboo in other countries. One example is China where mental illness and therapy are seen as stigmatizing forces within the community; this designation only serves to further subjugate these individuals into a form of marginalization (Foo 2006). From this perspective, it can be concluded that the re-experiencing technique is not the only one and can actually be detrimental in certain cultures. It can be seen to significantly hinder other aspects of the rehabilitation and reintegration processes as well.
This fixation on the past for some hinders growth for the future. Some sexually exploited survivors often state that they feel a “lack of aspiration and vision for the future,” clearly speaking towards the notion that what is most important to these women, and by default the individuals running rehabilitation and reintegration centers, is not analyzing the past but simply escaping from it (Wickham 2009). This does not necessarily mean that re-experiencing does not address the importance of “future planning” in their methods and best practices. There are however, undeniable differences that exist between the two techniques. The importance placed on “future planning” coupled with returnee survivor’s shared sentiments of, “powerless[ness], fear [and] recurrent hopelessness” should indicate where the focus should lie for some (Johnson 2012).

Escapism, as defined above offers an alternative to the dominant psychotherapy style. For countries like Nepal, where topics of psychology are still incredibly taboo, it is necessary to cultivate different yet effective techniques to provide power from within without hampering the rehabilitation and reintegration process. Therefore, it is possible that escapism could act as a healthy and effective alternative to commonly practiced techniques that hold little to no cultural value to Nepal’s society and culture.

**Structured Programming vs. Collaborative programming**

The final distinction or dichotomy that can be drawn out of the current literature is that of structured programming versus collaborative programming. Structured programming is a two-tiered approach on the in-facility and community levels that involves a formulaic method in which a program is to be run. This form mandates how the rehabilitation and reintegration process of returnee women should be carried out. These programs see their concrete methods as the best and only way to implement the program.
In governmental run facilities in Nigeria, this specific method is implemented. In these facilities, the survivors might have control over the type of vocation they decide to pursue but these women have the “least belief in the idea of reintegration and rehabilitation and the majority said they were bored” (Aborisade 2008). In addition, women within state run facilities illustrate that “they are made to believe the way they are being treated is in their best interest and in accordance with what is diagnosed by medical, psychological and counselling experts” and in fact “the clients who are regarded as survivors have very little control over what is being done to them” (Aborisade 2008). However, these Nigerian governmental organizations are the only ones that I found in current analytical data regarding the use of this technique that included survivors perspectives on their own process. A study done by the Slyvia Law Project asses that all organizations need to be flexible and adaptable based on the needs of the individuals involved; this contradicts the idea that there is one set structure or top-down method that is effective in rehabilitation and reintegration (Rodriguez 2013). This will also translate into how the NGOs and CBOs communicate and work with the larger community as well.

The alternative method of collaborative programming can be broken into a two-tiered approach as well. The first part deals explicitly with internal programming where the returnee women become a part of the decision-making process and are intimately involved in their own program; the second part deals with external collaboration creating relationships between other organizations, and the community to meet the aims that these survivors seek to attain. In Nigeria, it was found that the religious organizations had the highest program retention rate as well as the highest after program follow up rate. While the religious organizations had the largest initial dropout rate, those who stayed with the
program were more likely to finish than governmental or other NGO organizations. Nigeria’s case study sheds light on the fact that smaller organizations that are able to establish a close link between the staff and women in the program allows for survivors to better understand the process and are more inclined to fully participate in it (Aborside 2008).

In addition, an important skill that staff members working in rehabilitation and reintegration should have is the ability to “understand the impact of trauma on individuals' communities and cultures” (Johnson 2012). Some believe that, rather than hiring professionally trained staff, NGOs and CBOs should staff their facilities with “counselors with previous experiences of violence and exploitation as well as the same ethnic and cultural background of survivors” (Wickham 2009). Who could be better purveyors of this information than those women who have been through the same experiences? They belong to the same culture and have the same lived experiences as the incoming women. To further support this point, one of the big problems these organizations face is that many survivors distrust those who are caring for them. There is little to no basis for why they should tell the staff anything (Shigekane 2007). Therefore, what could be a better mediator between the sphere of the exploited and the professional staff than those women who have been through these experiences as well?

Often, women who have experienced similar trauma act as role models and confidantes for women entering into rehabilitation and reintegration treatment (Ruben 2006). Through adopting a mentorship role, they are able to relate to these women and help them imagine a future beyond their current circumstances (Wickham 2009). These long-term survivors provide recent survivors with an image that they can look up to within
the cultural and social context specific to a particular place. In addition, the empowerment gained from these close bonds allows for greater access to power from within as specialized attention leads to a more personalized treatment.

In many cases, women returning post-exploitation find that they have lost the local support network they had prior to their stigmatization. This includes their family, friends, and community (Muco 2013). As a result, the external sense of collaboration is widely expressed as a necessity to successful reintegration. Some recent analysis focuses on stronger “interdependent national and international frameworks in relation to trafficking in persons” (Schloenhardt 2011). Such is the case of Australia where it is believed that the government must attempt to have regular contact with and knowledge of the programs these organizations are enacting. In other words, the government should have a vested interest in the work of these organizations. This is believed to lead to more funding and more local police involvement which will work to temper corruption and increase the success of the programs specifically in terms of reintegration (Schloenhardt 2011). The same holds true in the case of Albania where it is believed that the government should create and provide assistance for reintegration of the victims (Muco 2013). However, as discussed above, these networks have yet to be effective.

It is necessary for there to be strong external support if these organizations are to be sustainable (Wickham 2009). In a few cases, women providing mentorship stated how important reaching out to the community was in helping with their own rehabilitation and reintegration (Ruben 2006). This finding has significant implications in showing that survivors have the ability to create a social network among themselves through collaboration that allows them to reach into the community effectively creating power with,
and essential part to any active social movement intent on changing social norms. Another form of collaboration commonly sought out is that of family members who agree to accept the women back into the household (Wickham 2009). In addition, building rapport with “vocal community members” and the press is a way to affect the society in which these women must reside. In a case in the US, the use of the press had the opposite effect by victimizing the trafficker. Due to the traffickers’ influential place within the community, her words, even in a place like the United States, held more sway with the community than that of the law. Community leaders therefore, hold significant sway over community perception. Regardless of the fact that it had the opposite effect, the technique was incredibly effective in gaining an emotional response from within the community (Shigekane 2007).

The IOM, which has done specific studies in sustainable NGO work within this particular, field points out the necessity to reach out and utilize corporate businesses in order to provide on the job training and viable employment opportunities for these women at end of their program. The IOM’s projects in India attribute their success in this area to the fact that “socially responsible corporate behavior is presently in fashion in India” but it still remains an effective way of involving the women within a community that otherwise rejects them (Ruben 2006).

Collaborative or structured programming plays a significant role in the ability of these women to gain both power from within as well as power with. The first is represented in the increased sense of self-worth these women feel within their rehabilitation and reintegration facilities (Aborisade 2008, Ruben 2006). The second is represented by the creation of a different kind of support network that can significantly affect the social stigma survivors face. By finding trustworthy partners within their community, a sense of
reliability is established throughout the program and maintained after program completion. I would suggest that collaboration has a lot of potential in positively affecting stigmatization in Nepal.

**Social Enterprise**

One interesting finding that has the potential to utilize the above techniques, meet the aims necessary for rehabilitation and reintegration, and do so in a sustainable way, is the use of a social enterprise. A social enterprise is a “business that attempts to tackle social problems, improve communities, people’s life chances, or the environment” (Social Enterprise UK 2011). Simply put, it is an “organization that applies business strategies toward achieving philanthropic goals” (TASCO 2010). Social enterprises have the potential to create revenue and as a result “be a valuable and sustainable way to generate funding for social services for trafficked persons. Moreover, it can potentially serve as a safe and protected workplace for employing trafficked persons” (Surtees 2012). While there are considerable risks and challenges to the process of creating or starting up a social enterprise – details of which I explore later in my paper – there are examples of rehabilitation and reintegration facilities that have utilized this method and have become sustainable.

In Romania, an organization called Tjeter Vizion was founded by an Italian NGO. This organization works with returnee trafficked women, and has been an autonomous entity since 2008 when they were able to bring in enough profit to maintain the work that they continue doing. Its activities include a “restaurant, a car-washing service, and a tyre repair workshop” (TASCO 2010). The benefits that the NGO members of Tjeter Vizion see increasing with time are “greater organizational autonomy, particularly from donors;
greater responsiveness and accountability as services are matched more closely to beneficiary demand [and] increased income in the long-term” (TASCO 2010). While there is no official annual report from the organization, it is used as an example of an increasingly effective social enterprise independently financing their social services for survivors of sexual exploitation (TASCO 2010).

Another example of a successful social enterprise is Hagar in Cambodia. Hagar Facilities Management contains a “food catering operation, the creation and marketing center[s] for high-end jewelry, home furnishings, and Hagar soya limited” which incidentally is the “only large-scale soy milk producer” in Cambodia (USAID 2007). Not only does Hagar create jobs for those individuals who cannot return to their communities, it also funds the already established rehabilitation and reintegration facilities that operate under the Hagar name. In the year 2011, Hagar was able to place 190 survivors into employment in Cambodia and Vietnam, a seemingly impressive feat considering the social stigma against “tainted” women (Hagar International 2011). This shows a significant increase in not only meeting aims but also in providing a sustainable environment.

While not all organizations, and not even the two listed above, fully implement the techniques that I hypothesize will be most successful for survivors in Nepal, this type of structure offers one way to handle a big struggle that these organizations all face in terms of funding. It also allows for a sustainable generated income for the organization to maintain its work in which these hypothesized techniques could take place.

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Section III: Nepal, Trafficking, and the Organizations Involved

Contextualizing Sexual Exploitation in Nepal

Nepal is a country of both intense diversity and overwhelming hardship. As an autonomous nation, Nepal was unified around 1769 and is one of the few countries not conquered by early colonial powers. Therefore, this deviation from the general unification patterns of countries like India provides an entirely unique and disparate combination of culture, religion, and politics (Bhattarai 2001). Today, a startling amalgamation of new democratic ideals, Maoist beliefs, caste systems stemming from both Buddhism and Hinduism, and a growing federalist movement create an entirely distinctive and interesting environment within the country.

However, this vast diversity – while incredibly fascinating – does not lend itself particularly well to cohesive group organization or representation. Many times, the sheer scope of diversity in geography coupled with an ineffective governing body is the cause of isolation and misrepresentation. Interestingly, “there are many marginalized ethnic and political groups in Nepal, but women make up an abused constituency of which they all share” (Wydra 2010). Women in Nepal are often left on the margins of state policy or any large representative body. As a result, Nepali women exist in the lower and most subjugated rungs of society and are more often on the receiving end of abuse, low life opportunity expectations, and trafficking (Bennet 2005).

The publisher and editor of the Nepali Times, Kunda Dixit, has spoken quite fervently on the fact that Nepal remains one of the poorest countries in the world with an increasing amount of the population living or having migrated to populated city areas such as Kathmandu. There are currently two million people in the Kathmandu valley living
unsustainably. Among these masses, women exist under the full brunt of this unsustainable environment, as they have fewer opportunities for employment or upward mobility (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). Studies such as those enacted by the UN show a high correlation between gender discrimination and a country's level of development, where the less developed a country is the more gender discrimination marginalized members are likely to experience. Least developed countries (LDC) such as Nepal, present a case where an unsustainable and poverty stricken environment is even more horrific for the women who exist in it (UNIDO 2013). To further aggravate the transgressions against women, Nepal continues to be dependent on the Indian market, and as a result, bends over backwards to meet the demands of China in hopes of decreasing this dependency. Due to this relationship, the Maoist powers have only grown and expanded in Nepal, greatly influencing current trafficking trends of Nepali women. These trafficking trends have expanded up into China and down into the Kathmandu valley as a result of the recent war. In 2006, the end of the eleven-year war between Maoist insurgents and the king's army would result in a marked increase in internal trafficking. High casualty numbers and mortality rates, coupled with another increase in migration to larger city centers would effectively facilitate the inflation in mass internal trafficking and forced prostitution (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). This tumultuous environment brought about by poverty, war, and cultural realities such as patriarchy, creates an unstable and oftentimes abusive atmosphere for Nepali women.

As it should be briefly mentioned, one of the overarching cultural themes found in Nepal is the permeating presence of patriarchy within Nepali culture, existing across ethnic or religious boundaries. Bound by cultural expectations, Nepali women exist within the
domestic sphere taking care of the family, the home, and the children. As a result, they are limited in their access to both tangible resources such as food, as well as intangible resources such as education and training. The women’s role is quite simple: to serve the family, and more importantly the male head (Wydra 2010). Menuka Thapa, the creator of a rehabilitation center in Kathmandu, stated that women in Nepal are “brainwashed by society” (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). They are raised to serve the father, then the brother, then the husband, and then the son, enculturating them into a position of dependency and depleted self worth (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). They are often the first to be taken out of school in order to help care for the house, and are seen as a burden, not only on the family, but also to society as a whole (Chaulagai 2009). The issue of gender was a common topic among women in Nepal. One woman stated that she not only had to break all ties with her biological family after her marriage (which was negotiated for a significant dowry), but she also became responsible for her husband and his parents. She exists solely within the domestic sphere, catering to needs other than her own, and expressed fear of disappointment as well as exhaustion with her duties (Punam, personal communication, May 3, 2013). In a country where predominate themes such as intense patriarchy surrounding gendered discrimination exist, it is not too much of a jump to see why sexual exploitation is common in a country like Nepal.

Nepal is considered by the UN to be a “country of origin” which means it is a primary source for trafficking (Thomas 2011). As a result, the web of trafficking has expanded and intensified, becoming an accepted facet of life for Nepali citizens. Traditionally, trafficked women and girls were moved downward, shuttled from Nepal and into India. Due to the
open border that Nepal and India share, there is no regulation of border crossing (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). Traffickers could freely take and exchange women along the border without much trouble. The result was an ideal and comfortable trafficking nucleus that still exists today.

However, it would be imprecise not to look at the current trends that encompass not only trafficking, but forced prostitution as well. Even though there is still great exchange between India and Nepal, this trafficking trend has altered due to the increased security and anti-trafficking posts created by varying NGOs and INGOs in Nepal at the Indian border. Another contributing factor can be traced to the aftermath of the Peoples War as well (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). Menuka Thapa stated that the Maoist party recruited the majority of their army for the war along the outskirts of big cities in regions such as Dhading, Kakwanpur and Nuwakot. This meant that men and women who did not live in the cities were being killed or completely separated from their families. Women and girls were then forced to migrate to the cities, either to find relatives, or to find work in order to support themselves. The result was a vast new market of fresh, young, and naive women who could be sold and exploited (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). In fact, internal trafficking is one of the biggest problems Nepal is facing today. The streets of Thamel, Kathmandu’s unofficial red light district, are crawling with massage parlors, cabin restaurants, and clubs that act as fronts for forced sex work and trafficking (ABA 2011). One young girl in a rehabilitation and reintegration center in Thamel is an example of a typical case of internal forced prostitution. At the age of nine, she traveled down to Kathmandu when her father and mother died as a result of the war. She worked as a domestic slave for two years for an abusive family until they sold her into a massage
parlor. At the age of eleven, she was raped by the forty-year-old owner and then put to work. These women are generally made to service multiple men in one day and are often addicted to drugs as a result of the ongoing trauma (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

In addition to the internal trafficking and forced prostitution, external trafficking outside of the Nepali borders has also taken a turn for the worse. Where India was once the primary outlet for trafficking from Nepal, China has slowly begun to rise in the past three to four years. The education coordinator for a small organization in the region of Sindupolchok was distressed when she became aware that women, particular those with Tibetanoid features in the rural Himalaya regions of Nepal, were being snuck into the city of Lhasa in the Tibetan region of China on day visas and then sold. China is not the only country that has now become involved with Nepal’s trafficking industry; Persian Gulf countries have also begun to take advantage of Nepali trafficking markets and weak borders (B. Gurung, personal communication, April 30, 2013). These trends show that sexual exploitation is not plateauing, but rather increasing in varying directions.

**International and Nepali law surrounding sexual exploitation**

In an environment so conducive to trafficking and sexual exploitation, the Nepali government has taken some steps to limit this nefarious activity. Nepal has signed and ratified numerous international conventions relating to the eradication of sexual exploitation. A few of these conventions are the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Suppression of Immoral Traffic and of the Prostitution of Others, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the SAARC Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for
Prostitution (Thomas 2011). All of these conventions attempt to address the significant problems faced by Nepali women.

In addition to International law, Nepal has its own set of state laws regarding women and trafficking. Currently Nepal is running under an interim constitution as the new one is being drafted, but it includes an article entitled the ‘Prohibition of Trafficking in Human Beings, Slavery and Bonded Labor.’ Nepal also added a Trafficking in Persons and Transportation (Control) Act in 2007 (Thomas 2011). These laws are put in place for the protection of sexually exploited women and the eradication of trafficking, but come under heavy criticism as they are virtually ineffective—useful only on paper and in theory.

For starters, in a general sense, Nepali law and the language used acts as one of the institutionally unequal systems that Nepali women live within. Legal rights concerning “property, inheritance and migration” are still severely limited for women (Sanghera 2000). In 2010, one women’s empowerment group in Nepal found 118 laws that still discriminate in some form against women (Wydra 2010). Some of these laws include: a divorced women has no claim over any of her father’s or husband’s property, and a man has no legal obligation to care for his daughter (Sanghera 2000). These legally prescribed forms of gendered discrimination work to reinforce already accepted cultural norms surrounding the place of the Nepali woman.

Regarding specific cases of sexual exploitation, the state often shifts blame onto the defendant, an action that is in direct opposition to the stipulations of the written law. As the defendants are usually women, they are portrayed as the ultimate cause of their unfortunate outcome and are further limited in their ability to speak freely about the details of the exploitation. Concepts regarding the release of “vulgar” material further
inhibit their ease of speech. It would be correct to assume that the use of ‘vulgar’ here is intentionally vague. This very vagueness allows for generous liberties to be taken by local enforcement officers. It also makes prosecution against the attacker very rare (Sanghera 2000). Moreover, as one worker from the Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal has stated, there is no rehabilitation package offered by the government. They simply provide repatriation services leaving these women entirely alone to face the shame and stigmatization that most assuredly follows (B. Gurung, personal communication, April 30, 2013). A local Nepali woman named Gita Manandhar who has spent ten years researching trafficking in Nepal, soberly stated that these women who go unaided have two options: “They either return to the practice or they kill themselves” (G. Manandhar, personal communication, March 8, 2013).

Both international and state laws have been unable to curb trafficking in Nepal. The justice mechanisms are so fundamentally corrupt and there is such little faith in these systems (particularly when the systems’ workings attempt to deviate from cultural norms), that they become virtually ineffective (Sen Thakuri 2012). In addition, without any well-developed rehabilitation and reintegration services, a significant portion of the population is living un-represented and ignored. Prevention is worthwhile, but properly handling the aftereffects of sexual exploitation is just as important if the cycle is to be broken. As the law is currently incapable of effectively following through with their initiatives and local police rarely enforce anti-discrimination and trafficking laws, it is left to NGOs and CBOs within Nepal to pick up the tattered aftermath of the sexual exploitative experience.

The Rehabilitation and Reintegration Organizations
There are many organizations in and around the Kathmandu valley working to help rehabilitate and reintegrate women and girls returning or escaping from sexual exploitation. In this exploratory study, I will be looking at six organizations that I was able to visit while in Nepal in 2013.

Founded in 1993, Maiti Nepal is the biggest and most renowned organization in Nepal working with returnee women. This organization has received international attention and the owner has even been nominated for the prestigious Roland Berger Human Dignity award. Their biggest donors include several international organizations such as The World’s Children’s Prize, Bono Direct Aid Association, and ECPAT International. They provide services such as “vocational training, education, empowerment programs, paralegal support, and counseling” as well as many prevention initiatives (Maiti Nepal 2013). With the ability to house up to 100 women at a time, the Maiti Nepal complex sits behind high walls and intensive security details. In 2012, 239 women received their in-house services, and they claim a 100 percent success rate for rehabilitated and reintegrated women (Aadesh, personal communication, April 18, 2013). Of the six rehabilitative and reintegrative organizations under examination in this study, Maiti Nepal maintains the largest budget at 1,172,739.12 US dollars in 2013, as well as the largest staff with multiple locations in different local districts (MAITI Nepal, 2013).

Beauty For Ashes, founded in 2005, is the only foreign-led organization of the six and runs as a social enterprise catering to an international market. This is a Christian-based organization that trains women to create jewelry and other handicrafts for international promotion. In addition, all women who are employed go through devotional prayer time and Bible lessons as a way to regain purpose in life. These women do not live at
the house, but rather come into the facility each day as if going to work. The facility can maintain ten employees at a time and has supplemental funding from international organizations such as Tiny Hands International and other Christian ministries. Its staff is made up of one woman who occasionally has volunteers who come to assist (Mary, personal communication, April 16, 2013).

Change Nepal, one of the organizations located in the heart of the unofficial red-light district of Kathmandu, was originally created to chase out the influx of prostitution in the area. However, upon realizing the truths behind the trafficking influx and the reason behind women’s presence in the city, Change Nepal transformed their cause in 2004. This organization is unique in that it is a walk-in facility that offers legal counseling, art classes, and vocational training. It does not require, however, that the women return or commit to the organization. It is merely a facility of options staffed by fourteen individuals. Therefore, they have very little information regarding long-term follow-up, but have had 400 women utilize their in-house services since their opening and constantly have women in and out of the facility for different classes. Their primary benefactor is an international organization called World Education that seeks to empower individuals through literacy. Their yearly expenditure for 2013 is 14,557.95 US dollars (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013).

Raksha Nepal, founded in 2004, is another organization that is located in the center of the red-light district and is owned and run by a previous cabin restaurant singer. They are unique in that they physically enter into facilities of sexual exploitation and try to convince women to return with them to their stay-in facility. They also work to help provide assistance and education to the children of trafficked and sexually exploited
women in the hopes of breaking the cycle. A total of 150 women have entered into the Raksha Nepal facility since its opening with a known record of seven returning to their previous occupation in Thamel. They work within a budget of around 156 US dollars per woman, and their primary donor today is an international organization called DKA Austria. Raksha Nepal is run by a staff of six field agents and four in-office staff members (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

SASANE, founded in 2008, is one of the smallest organizations out of the six, but is unique in that it is run entirely by women who are survivors of sexual exploitation. They focus predominately on paralegal training and placement of women within police stations both as a form of prevention and rehabilitation in a practice they call “restorative justice”. They have served 130 women with a staff of seven individuals and runs off of donations and volunteer assistance. Some of the donor organizations include Global Fund for women, and the DIDI project. Their yearly budget came to 40,381.81 US dollars in 2013 (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013).

Gramin Mahila Srijansil Pariwar (GMSP) is the smallest organization of the six, and is the only one not located in the Kathmandu valley. They are unique in that they are a community-based organization rurally located, created within a high-risk area nineteen years ago. In this sense, they are a true CBO, created by community members for community members’ use. They use street theater and community pressure as tactics for successful rehabilitation and reintegration, and work specifically with women and girls from the region in which they are located. They have served a total of eighty-one women and are funded by two international organizations called Free the Slaves, and PAF
Childfund Japan. They do not have a website or any other form of social media that provides budgetary expenditures (N. Thapa Maya, personal communication, May 1, 2013).

For this specific study, I look at contextualizing and building a framework through three specific technique lenses in order to further understand what it means to be an effective rehabilitative and reintegrative organization in Nepal. By looking at how these organizations did or did not meet the basic aims all six share through the three different technique differentiations of structure vs. agency, escapism vs. re-experiencing, and structured programming vs. collaborative programming, not only can a better understanding be created on how to effectively meet the intended outcomes these organizations want, but also how they might play a part in the future of anti-trafficking initiatives.

Due to the limited amount of time I was able to spend in Nepal, I pull specific examples to create an experimental and exploratory study on best practices in addition to analyzing what is means to be effective. There has yet to be a cumulative study concerning rehabilitation and reintegration in Nepal or what that should even look like, and I hope that this work can act as a stepping-stone for those who wish to use it as a way to further analyze organizations effectiveness in Nepal.
List of Organizations

- Aandesh → Maiti Nepal
- Pradeep → SASANE
- Meena → SASANE
- Punam → SASANE
- Menuka Thapa → Raksha Nepal
- Karuna Kunwar → Raksha Nepal
- Nani Maya Thapa → GMSP
- Pramesh Pradhan → Change Nepal
- Mary → Beauty For Ashes
Section IV: Structure vs Agency

One common debate surrounding development work in both political and anthropological studies is that of structure versus agency. Whether this terminology is used specifically, the general idea surrounding these terms is a common thread attached to certain development initiatives like education and poverty reduction (Mishra 2012). Agency refers to an individual’s ability to control his/her own fate. In other words, the individual is the primary purveyor of their own destiny. Structure, on the other hand, refers to the belief that the individual and their ability to move within society is limited based on the structures surrounding them. In terms of rehabilitation and reintegration work, this dichotomy becomes extremely important when looking at which initiatives should be focused on in order to create the best chances of success for survivors in Nepal. By examining and analyzing Nepali culture, one may glean a better understanding of structure and agency within the appropriate cultural context. This works to shed light on how an emphasis on either structure or agency plays an important role in the rehabilitation and reintegration process.

A reoccurring notion surrounding rehabilitation and reintegration is what has been termed the “victim-centered approach.” This is commonly cited as the best way to achieve the desired outcome of prosecution and therefore, successful reintegration. In simple terms, this means giving the victim the housing, safety, and the necessary social services in the hopes that they will testify against a trafficker. The focus of such an approach lies solely with what can be given to the individual to facilitate their rehabilitation and reintegration (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The victim centered approach places the outcome of success on the survivor, as they are the ones who receive specific services and testify against the
traffickers. Falling within the concept of agency, this technique reaffirms the notion that if a sexually exploited woman is counseled (rehabilitated) and taught a vocation (reintegrated) she will be able to return to society without any major hindrances. While agency-driven methods are extremely important as women need these services, what happens in a country where pursuing prosecution against one’s trafficker is taboo? Even more so, what happens when society refuses re-admittance into the community regardless of prosecution? There is significant reason to doubt that this victim-centered approach as a solitary, agency-centered technique would work effectively in Nepal. While concepts of agency are noteworthy, it is also important to analyze the different structures that exist and work within Nepali culture; as sexually exploited survivors live and work within these culturally dictated frameworks, the importance and sheer scale of these structures are prevalent to successful rehabilitation and reintegration.

In Nepal, religion, cultural norms, and community values are strict sets of structures that prescribe the place and the movement of women within society. Community, family, and duty are interwoven into the fiber of Nepali religion and local practices, further emphasizing the importance of structure in determining perception, status, and mobility. While there are various religions within Nepal, the main religion is Hinduism; practitioners comprising around eighty percent of the population. In fact, Nepal is the only Hindu state in the world. As such, Hinduism is present in much of Nepali culture, including its law and local practices (Welpton 2005). In 1854, after the unification of Nepal, a document called the Maluki Ain was passed solidifying the existence of the Hindu caste system. Not only were the castes created, but there also existed documents detailing inter-caste behavior and punishments for those who transgressed. While the caste system is no longer codified
in today’s law, remnants of it still exist, and the Nepali population remains largely bound by it. Nepal’s extremely complex caste system may be broken down into four major – albeit, rudimentary – divides. The top caste is called Brahman which is comprised of the priesthood as well as wealthy and influential individuals. The second caste affiliation is the Chhetri which is comprised of country rulers and military. The third caste is Vaishyu, or the business class, and the bottom caste is the Shudra or those who provide services to the higher classes. Individuals or communities who do not identify as Hindu are still held within the same caste categories as those who do, and often find themselves a part of the Delit, untouchable class. The caste system begets the notion that people are literally born into specific roles in Nepal. It is very uncommon for someone to move between castes and those who reject the system are still bound to it by others (G. Manandhar, personal communication, March 8, 2013). In this way, structural forces in Nepal are blatantly ingrained within the culture, a constant reminder of the segmentation of individuals based on where they exist in society.

In regards to family, it is pertinent to understand that community status is also extremely important in Nepali culture. One’s place in society is often not merely the result of the individual, but rather influenced heavily by the community. Specifically in rural areas, the community often dictates individuals’ interactions with one another as well as family’s behavior toward individuals. Therefore, women are often subject to stigmatization by the community and their family regarding taboo issues such as sex, mental health, age, and disease. One individual can taint the entirety of a community, decreasing the community’s status as a whole (Chaulagai 2009).
Sexually exploited women are often on the receiving end of strong community backlash within the larger structural confines of family, community, and caste. Those known to be involved in sex work are thought of as loose and are no longer viable marriage choices, essentially becoming an entirely separate class of Delits or untouchables. They are called names within the community, and treated with intense disrespect. The family, the traffickers, and the community are free from any blame regarding sexual exploitation. The burden of guilt and shame generally lies on the woman who was forced into it. These women are permanently viewed as a curse, and are often seen as contaminants that sicken the prosperity of the community as a whole.

A study done by Ganesh Chaulagai shows that most women want to return to their communities, but are ultimately afraid of the repercussions awaiting them. One returnee trafficked survivor talks of how her family shamed her for destroying their dignity and kicked her out of the house. Trafficking survivors are completely and totally isolated within their communities. Despite the vocational and educational training provided by rehabilitation and reintegration programs, the isolation women experience increases their chances of returning to sex work, falling into a sexually abusive marriage, or even ending their lives (Chaulagai 2009). Unfortunately, even learned vocational skills do not necessitate a successful rehabilitation and reintegration. One example can be seen through Gita Manandhar’s work. Gita Manandhar, a woman studying trafficking in Nepal, met two previously trafficked women in Thamel who had opened up a teashop. They were absolutely terrified of losing their customer base if anyone were to find out about their past, and pleaded with Gita to keep their names and location confidential. They lived in a constant state of fear. It would not matter if they served the best tea in Thamel as it would
be polluted by their status as spoiled women (G. Manandhar, personal communication, March 8, 2013). In addition to being stereotyped as loose women, they also often carry the additional stigma of HIV/AIDS. The abject fear present in many Nepali communities regarding AIDS often leads to actions such as extreme physical isolation. Community members will not even touch survivors, let alone anything that they create for fear of contracting the disease (Chaulagai 2009). Sexually exploited women thus exist in two spheres of public opinion. They are either entirely isolated and ignored, or they are taunted and ridiculed.

In fact, even women who are not necessarily involved in sex work but are associated with a place or a job that connects to it are stigmatized. Women who attain any kind of work in India, for example, are immediately attached to the stigma of sex work (Chaulagai 2009). Menuka Thapa, the founder of Raksha Nepal, was a cabin singer in Thamel, a job often associated with sex work. Due to public knowledge about her position, she was often spit on in the streets and called names as it was assumed she provided sex as her occupation (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). No actual proof of involvement in the sex industry was necessary for community backlash to occur; general suspicion and presumptions were enough.

Some people point to legal avenues as a more beneficial way to aid reintegration. However, out of all sexually exploited women in Nepal, approximately ninety percent say they are too afraid to bring the case to the police for fear of re-victimization. Out of the ten percent who would press charges, only around two percent ever see their case presented in court generally after a two to three year wait (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). With odds this low, and officials unwilling to even represent their cases, it is
extremely rare that justice in this form is found. To complicate issues even further, in a
doctrine of 200 sex workers in Thamel, it was found that the largest clientele base was police
officers (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). In fact, police officers often
knowingly raid facilities that house women taken into sex work and arrest them. It is
important to note that they do not arrest the owner of these facilities. They then have the
ability to hold them for twenty-four days in state prison where they can use them as they
wish. On the twenty-third day, the owner will come back in and re-buy them by bribing the
police. Therefore, these women exist in a system wherein they cannot turn to those who
are supposed to uphold the law as they will re-victimize them and in extreme cases sell
them back into sex work (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013). Nothing
about the community perspective surrounding sexually exploited women favors a smooth
rehabilitation and reintegration process.

Conversely, the importance of structure does not necessarily discount that of
agency. Particularly today in Nepal, with the recent democratic transition and a growing
ethnic federalist movement, there are women's grassroots organizations working to alter
the systems in which they live (Hinton 2010). In a study of thirty-nine Nepali women, a
correlation could be seen between generations in regards to access to education, and age of
marriage. As education becomes more readily available, a higher percentage of women
refuse to marry at a young age. However, as more opportunities become available in terms
of education, women must exert their agency to utilize these new avenues towards upward
mobility (Mishra 2012).

The theoretical trap associated with structure and agency terminology is that it can
be presented as if the two concepts are mutually exclusive. Where agency can provide
power from within, structure – or rather the barriers that they produce – rely on the inclusion of programs working to produce power with. As stated in the literature review, both are necessary in order to holistically approach rehabilitation and reintegration. The relationship between structure and agency does not have to be an opposing one, and can be viewed as almost complementary. The question then becomes how do organizations successfully deal with and maneuver within these structures while also advocating for the exertion of individual agency?

One example of such an initiative is a woman’s organization in Nepal called Mahila Samuha. This organization consists of around twenty women from within the community of a small district in Yolmo. Mahila Samuha has not only taken to protecting women from disrespectful husbands, but also acts as mediator for town disputes. In fact, if it is found that a woman is being abused by her husband, the entire organization will go to the house and scream at the husband, shaming him in front of the entire community. Their role as protectors of the family has extended to include the families around them. They are still wives and mothers who have a duty to their family, but have now extended their understanding on what family means to the community. Their duty to care for their family depends on the success and the health of their community as a whole. These women not only continue to exist within the structures around them, but have gained a significant amount of power by pressuring the limitations and restrictions prescribed by those very same structures (Pema, personal communication, February 12, 2013). This is not to say that all forms of discrimination against women within the community have disappeared, but it is a very important step towards eliminating it and providing a woman’s voice to the community that has long ignored it.
Similar to Mahila Samuha, Gramin Mahila Srijansil Pariwar (GMSP), who works specifically with returnee trafficked women, is also implementing a technique which utilizes community desires while simultaneously questioning and defying the structures that lead to mass stigmatization. Specifically, GMSP uses street theater as a way to incorporate women back into the community while simultaneously appealing to the community's wants for entertainment. The survivors get to pick the topic and develop the skit for the performance allowing them the agency to focus on what they believe is important. In addition to this agency advocating venture, Nani Maya Thapa, member of GMSP, was astounded by the community response to the survivors putting on their performances. It has become so popular that non-trafficked women are eager to participate and join the troupe. That is a huge accomplishment for a community traditionally associated with mass stigmatization. They have used a pathway within the existing structure to bypass the very same boundaries which the structure dictates. This non-intrusive transition is vital in implementing techniques that balance agency and structure. Ignoring the structure increases that structure's control over one's actions; ignoring agency hinders the pressuring forces necessary to break through structure. Both must be implemented.

Out of the six rehabilitation and reintegration organizations, all but two utilized programming relating to both structure and agency. Those who did not implement structure related programming still emphasized its importance. For example, Change Nepal is very much victim-oriented in terms of their approach to rehabilitation and reintegration. They provide services such as counseling, vocational training, and literacy programs, but have very few community initiatives. Pramesh Pradhan, the owner of Change Nepal,
candidly admitted that they are not very successful in reintegration as they have very little control over the community's response to women once they leave programming, and will often find them back on the streets of Thamel. (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013). While all six organizations find both structure and agency to be important, GMSP was the only one to demonstrate the effective use of both in equal parts. One factor contributing to this was the localized nature of the work that GMSP does. They work with a single community in a single district and are continuously present in community affairs. To the dismay of organizations such as Change Nepal and Raksha Nepal, the inability to access necessary funds and enact a physical presence in all communities of those women who enter into their program was believed to hinder the production of long-term structural changes (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013; P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013). Success in terms of outcomes for these specific techniques can be seen in those that incorporate both into their programming. The outcomes of organizations such as Mahila Samuha and GMSP show the effectiveness of a strategy that incorporates both.
Section V: Re-experiencing vs. Escapism

One of the most undeniable effects of sexual exploitation for Nepali women is psychological trauma. However prevalent this trauma may be, there is a significant taboo against the idea of counseling and mental health programming in general in Nepal. The only Nepali law regarding mental health is the National Mental Health Policy that was drafted to provide all Nepali citizens with basic mental healthcare; this policy, however, has yet to be fully implemented. In addition, the national health budget only receives approximately three percent of all government spending, and only one percent of that is allotted to mental health. Beyond the law, general Nepalese cultural concepts regarding mental health are rudimentary and limited (Regmi 2004). “Bola” is a common word in Nepali that describes madness. This term encompasses all forms of mental problems ranging from minor depression to schizophrenia; all those exhibiting symptoms or seeking help are rejected either by the community or their family, and in some cases both (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). More than anything, those individuals who experience certain psychologically-related problems must then endure stigmatization, shame, and fear of being discovered.

In terms of trafficking and sexual exploitation, most women face a significant amount of psychological distress. In the few psychological studies regarding the mental health of sexually exploited women in Nepal, it has been discovered-- although highly debated by medical anthropologists-- that there are many cases of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and anxiety (Asturo 2008). In addition to these symptoms, other psychological repercussions exist in the form of habitual problems, warped self-perceptions, and the development of addictions. One of the few female
psychologists in the Kathmandu valley described one of her patient’s mental state. Her patient, at the age of twenty-two, was overwhelmed by the idea that she was too old to ever receive any profitable work or marry a respectable man. In the world of trafficking and prostitution in Nepal, twenty years of age is too old and prices for sex begin to drop drastically. Her perception of self and her loss of identity brought on by her experiences severely deteriorated her mental stability. This, along with the significant social stigma, leads often leads survivors, much like the one described above to return to sexually exploitive situations or live in a constant state of fear (K. Kunwar, personal communication, April 30, 2013). With no outlet and an increasing sense of hopelessness, suicide becomes viewed as an extremely viable and attractive option for some women (G. Manandhar, personal communication March 8, 2013).

Most NGOs and CBOs recognize the need for psychological services and include them in their programming when dealing with women who have been sexually exploited. However, there is very little discussion about what techniques are used to facilitate rehabilitation. For example, Raksha Nepal’s brochures and website describe their mental health services as “counseling to women, girls, and children who have gone through different forms of violence; physical, mental, sexual abuse, motivating them to live better lives” (Raksha Nepal 2011). Maiti Nepal states that they provide “counseling services, and psychotherapy sessions to children/girls suffering from various problems (physical and mental) especially severe trauma” (Maiti Nepal 2014). In fact, all six of the organizations I worked with (except for SASANE) said that they provided some form of psychosocial counseling, but they are very limited in their descriptions of what this counseling/treatment actually constitutes. How do you counsel sexually exploited women
in Nepal in the most effective way? Is counseling and its definition simply a string of words used by NGOs and CBOs in Nepal in order to receive international funding, as many donors require specific stipulations for grant giving (Signh 2007)? Efforts must thus be made to differentiate between what is said (perceptions) versus what actually occurs (reality) when examining Nepali NGO and CBO work within the field of mental health.

Two of the main forms of rehabilitation that can be applied to work with sexually exploited women are what I call re-experiencing and escapism, both of which work to meet the aims of power from within. As discussed earlier, re-experiencing can be traced to western concepts of psychological treatment which often involves facing and retelling the past as a way to move on. Escapism is a broad concept that includes those styles of counseling that do not focus on the past events, but rather attempt to provide an escape from it. While the two forms are not mutually exclusive in their elements, there is a distinct difference in the two techniques.

Psychosocial counseling in terms of re-experiencing requires the use of self-talk and retrospection in order to overcome the obstacles of the past. This type of therapy requires one-on-one open communication between the survivor and a psychologist who analyzes the data provided, helping to bring the survivor to a deeper level of self-awareness. This self-awareness is meant to stem from re-living the traumatic experiences until that experience become less traumatic in one’s mind. Since finding professionals within this field is particularly difficult in Nepal, expatriate trainers provide most of these services, or act as trainers for local individuals who will utilize these methods (Jordans 2007). One study in Nepal aimed at individuals who had been rescued from high risk situations involving abuse, enacted with a sample of thirty-four Nepali citizens, indicated that
something was gained from the ability to speak about one’s feelings with another individual. Due to the fact that cultural expectations in Nepal dictate the internalization of emotions rather than their release, this method was somewhat cathartic. However, they also indicated that, while they did not feel particularly pushed beyond their cultural limits of comfort, they still expressed concerns regarding unmet expectations and their sense of hopelessness was not alleviated. In other words, they were fine with having to speak about their feelings, but were not entirely satisfied with the process enacted and wished that more time was focused toward future training and endeavors (Jordans 2007). It is also important to note that there is a distinct difference between talking about one’s feelings and purposefully reliving traumatic events. The same can be said for speaking about the stigma surrounding an experience and the actual experience of sexual exploitation itself. There have also been studies that indicate that severe conditions do not lend themselves to the method of re-experiencing. Psychological problems as a result of this method can “often become chronic, and attempts to identify the trauma and relive the connected emotions will often aggravate the condition.” (Elsass 2001).

The idea of escapism as a coping mechanism for trauma is not a particularly new one. As a concept, escapism can be broken down into two major parts that are often enacted simultaneously. This technique includes forgetting and forward thinking. The first factor in this process is the notion of forgetting. There are groups of individuals who have experienced massive amounts of horror who partake in what is called “active forgetting”. This term, which was coined in Ethiopia, simply refers to the selective and conscious effort to suppress and release memories from the mind. It is important to understand that this does not mean that the entirety of what happened to an individual is forgotten, but rather
the most traumatizing experiences are actively alleviated from the consciousness rather than specifically revisited in order to move beyond them. Cases of active forgetting can be found in a wide variety of countries including Bosnia, Mozambique, and Cambodia. It is also important to note that “the features of PTSD identified in different cultural settings around the world do not mean the same thing to the people in each setting” (Elsass 2001). In other words, reactions to traumatic experiences are much more culturally based than universal. Coping mechanisms come in a variety of different forms with re-experiencing being only one form (Baldachin 2010). It would not be too far of a jump then to recognize escapism as a valid approach for survivors of sexual exploitation in Nepal.

In addition to active forgetting, Karuna Kunwar, who is a leading psychologist in Kathmandu working primarily with women entering into the Rasha Nepal facility, was adamant that re-experiencing is not successful in handling victims of sexual exploitation in Nepal. To recount the events of such a traumatic nature often causes re-traumatization rather than introspection or relief (K. Kunwar, personal communication, April 30, 2013).

In addition, Nepal’s cultural taboos against counseling and associated diagnoses (such as PTSD) may greatly hinder the success of the re-experiencing rehabilitative approaches as well. “When trauma-healing programs do not address local psychological frameworks, there is risk of unintended consequences such as degeneration of local support systems, pathologizing and stigmatizing already vulnerable individuals, and shifting resources from social and structural interventions” (Kohrt 2013). If such factors, however, are taken into account, counselors can “incorporate elements of cultural treatment practices into therapeutic practice and creative interventions can unfold” (Baldachin 2010). A good example of this would be to use preexisting methods in Nepal.
like those common in both Hindu and Buddhist faiths. The concepts of mindfulness and meditation naturally lend themselves to the process of active forgetting (Baldachin 2010). Another form of traditional healing done by shamans in Nepal is called *man dadne*. This translates loosely into “bind the heart-mind" and is seen as a way to bind and therefore lessen the emotional ties to the experiences or bad memories of a particularly traumatic event. In this way, man dadne may be viewed as a form of escapism sanctioned by religious ritual, fitting within common cultural practices. The addition of creative arts as an outlet for these emotions has also been seen internationally as an effective coping mechanism that allows the survivor to dissociate oneself from the past by focusing on the creation or immersion in a piece of work (Studio Kristen 2013).

The next aspect of escapism is forward thinking. Unlike re-experiencing, this aspect is enacted immediately, and is not dependent on the success of another process. Karuna Kunwar of Raksha Nepal considers this step to be of the utmost importance, as the majority of the women she has encountered have lost all hope in potential future possibilities. One of the reasons that sexual exploitation among Nepali women is so hard to overcome is that these women are raised with a cultural dependency on men. They are often told that because they have lost their virginity, they will never find a husband. Without any education or vocational skills, living without a husband means an existence that is rife with insecurity. Most women who are sold or forced into sexual exploitation are taken up at a young age, typically between thirteen and sixteen; this increases the odds that they will not have a vocation or education. Therefore, restoring some of this faith or hope at the very beginning of treatment is imperative if rehabilitation is going to be successful. Kuruna Kunwar calls herself a “solution activist" in the sense that she doesn't psychoanalyze a
survivor, but rather provides her “the skills to deal with problems she will face” (Kunwar, Karuna, personal communication, April 2013). Forward thinking is thus a technique that focuses heavily on problem-solving and action-oriented steps during the beginning stages of counseling rather than as a secondary course of action that it is given with re-experiencing techniques.

Change Nepal is very similar in this regard as they try to instill hope in women through the use of future planning rather than focusing on past events. Exploratory inquiries used by the Change Nepal staff include probing questions such as “where do you see yourself in ten years” and “do you want to be an entrepreneur in the future?” Pramesh Pradhan, the founder of Change Nepal, was adamant in the fact that their services are there for “those who have not lost hope” as nothing can be done if there is no faith in the future (Pradhan, Pramesh, personal communication, April 2013).

All six of the organizations employ different forms of vocational training, education, legal counseling, and life skills training which, though not explicitly a part of their entitled definition of counseling, are key factors in the ascension of survivors from a state of hopelessness. These services become indispensable factors in the rehabilitation process. Therefore, it is pertinent that NGOs and CBOs describe these rehabilitative services, not just to meet the standards of donors and financial backers, but rather by how they are actually performed in order to accurately portray successful techniques and their outcomes. This is not to say that organizations that implement re-experiencing techniques do not also implement programs in vocational and life skills training, as most do. The distinction however, is that re-experiencing is dependent on the past shaping future possibilities, rather than on the present day being manipulated immediately in order to
develop future possibilities. It is also a misconception to assume that one technique can be attached to trained individuals as opposed to untrained individuals. It is clear that there is a distinct lack of training in psychosocial services in Nepal across all techniques and therefore, discovering the most successful technique will indicate the type of training that is necessary (Regmi, 2004).

Of the six organizations, SASANE, GMSP, Raksha Nepal, Beauty for Ashes, and Change Nepal are known to implement techniques related to escapism. Pramesh Pradhan, a founder of Change Nepal, was very honest in the fact that their success rate is extremely low. As a walk-in facility, there is very little Change Nepal can do to incite individuals to stay within their programming. However, this does not mean that there are not indicators of success, or what would lead to further success if implemented. Their art classes, which include singing, dancing, and painting, are the most consistently and heavily attended of all of their programming (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013). This type of training distances and disassociates these women from their place of exploitation, and also decreases the amount of time these women are working in the streets. Therefore, it would be logical for Change Nepal to increase the number and frequency of these classes to maintain involvement and consistent check-ins with in staff.

Gramin Mahila Srijansil Pariwar (GMSP) offers a unique example as the only community based organization. Out of the eighty-one women who have gone through the rehabilitation and reintegration center, only two have returned to dance bars, which occurred as a result of habitual and addictive tendencies. Due to the fact that they are located within the community, they are able to retain effective follow-up data, and therefore maintain constant communication with survivors from their facility. GMSP
primarily uses street theater as a way to empower and rehabilitate women within their program, noting significant changes in demeanor and self-worth throughout the process of script creation. This, in addition to community relevant vocational training, helps the women to address not only issues of discrimination in a non-invasive manner, but also monetary empowerment and community standing. They do not require survivors to recount their experiences. The fact that only two percent of their women have returned to sexually exploitive situations indicates that the escapist techniques used could be the highly influential factor in their success (N. Thapa Maya, personal communication, May 1, 2013). Their ability to follow up with the survivors helps them to maintain current records on mental stability as well as to justify the use of their techniques. However, this can only work if follow up is closely maintained which lends itself to CBOs working within smaller and easily accessible communities.

Another, albeit less quantifiable method to gauge the success of rehabilitation techniques is to conduct and maintain records of counselor and survivor experiences as they relate to specific techniques. In particular, it is extremely important to look at local Nepali counselors’ opinions on the matter as they maintain a cultural sensitivity that cannot be copied by expatriates or foreign professionals in the field. The cultural implications of mental health for Nepali women, as well as the deep rooted understanding of societal needs is best represented by those who live within it. Raksha Nepal firmly uses the techniques of escapism. Karuna Kunwar, the main counselor, has witnessed the effects of both techniques and has come to the realization that the most effective for the women she works with is a forward moving, action-oriented approach. Instead of focusing on the bad things that have happened in these women's lives, she attempts instead to draw out
what can be used currently to incite movement towards a new goal immediately. Based on her analysis, the techniques of escapism are faster and more effective in the creation of survivor hope (K. Kunwar, personal communication, April 30, 2013).

Except for one individual, the entire staff of SASANE is composed of returnee trafficking victims. Their main technique for rehabilitation is called “restorative justice” and can be defined as the act of empowering oneself through providing justice to others. It has been shown that women who help other women through the process of filing all police reports in regards to gender discrimination and abuse can act as its own form of rehabilitation and therapy. One SASANE worker, when asked for her definition of empowerment said it is when “I can fight and get justice and I can save others” (Punam, personal communication, April 11 2013). Her sense of purpose came not from her own experiences, though it may have been fueled by them, but rather by having the learned skills to actively help others. SASANE firmly believes that there is no reason to bring up the past when there are opportunities to pursue in the future. This technique does not focus on the actual traumatic incidents but rather forward action-oriented steps and a disassociation from personal experience by connection with a larger collective experience. Using and utilizing self-reporting is huge in terms of gauging the success of a particular type of technique relating to mental health.

While one of the most common problems, mental health is also the hardest to define in terms of quantitative outcomes. How do you quantify mental stability and mental health? While all of the organizations had general numbers of women who had received their services, what do these numbers actually say about effective treatment? Therefore, certain outcomes that are indirectly related to mental health or trauma relief must act as indicators
of success. While re-experiencing seems to be the label that most of the six organizations in Nepal maintain via reports and online media, escapism is the most prevalent form used. By looking at specific indicators such as cultural perceptions of mental health, current Nepali survivor and counselor opinions on the rehabilitation and reintegration process, follow-up percentages, and popular programming, a better understanding of effective technique usage can be created.
Section VI: Structured Programming vs. Collaborative Programming

The final goal that must be sought by programs working within the field of rehabilitation and reintegration is re-entrance into society. This is generally done through a series of programs such as education, vocational training, and empowerment classes, as well as post-program community engagement. Using preliminary data collection with the six organizations under study in Nepal, a distinction can be made between those organizations that use structured work versus collaborative work. Structured work emphasizes a top-down approach while collaborative work emphasizes a bottom-up approach. Both are two tiered methods, and as such will be broken down into two sections. The first tier to both structured and collaborative programming is internal. This refers to the skills and the empowerment that is gained through in-facility programming. The skills are provided with the expected outcome that survivors will return as individuals who can assert themselves in their communities. The second tier is external. External refers to all community outreach and engagement beyond the in-facility programming. Outreach is done with the expectation that changes in the community will lead to a more hospitable environment for survivors. Both internal and external facets play an important role in the rehabilitation and reintegration process, and attempt to facilitate the creation of both power from within and power with.

Internal Structure and Collaboration

Internal structured work consists of a fixed plan that the clientele utilizing a facility must follow. Such organizations have a set number of options available for vocational work; they also have specified times for daily activities, such as a set time to wake up, or a set time to leave the facility. The terminology for structured programming comes from a
data-based informational approach. This means that there is a formula utilized in order to affect a specific outcome. This formula is continuously applied to all pieces of data, achieving the same end product and is highly effective when dealing with unchangeable data (Asagba 2008). USAID believes that such programming provides a stable environment in which survivors of sexual exploitation can return to some semblance of normalcy (USAID 2007). It is not too far of a stretch to understand why this particular method would be applied. A successful structured approach should theoretically lead to higher efficiency rates and less input as time continues. Since this type of work is both time consuming and monetarily strenuous, efficiency is key to the long-term success of a program. Not only does the structured model allow for more rapid intake and output, but also a more unified and easy to define set of successful outcomes (Bradshaw 2007). For example, if twenty women go through a vocational training program for jewelry making, and fifteen of those women are successfully placed in jobs, it may be determined that this line of work presents a clear percentage of success. Simply put, if everyone is doing the same thing, then the outcomes can be easily defined in terms of success and failure. Additionally, this type of top-down approach provides a clearer and more unified set of goals for the organization to reach, and allows for successful outcomes to be more closely monitored and documented (Bradshaw 2007).

However, the active variables of reintegrative and rehabilitative work are rarely static. These variables include individual experience, home life, needs, relationships, and community levels of acceptance. A structured approach leaves very little room for change or growth based on these circumstances. Many hesitancies surrounding structured programming stem from the fact that it lends itself more towards efficiency and output
rather than community needs and individual priorities (Bradshaw 2007). To use the example given above, fifteen jewelry makers may be successfully placed in jobs, but how many of them are actively utilizing this skill throughout the year? How many of them actually wanted to be trained as a jewelry maker? Efficiency does not necessarily breed success, and it certainly does not always meet the needs of those within the facility. For example, a Moroccan organization called SolFem that works with women’s rights is known to be extremely efficient and fast in their procedures. However, a severe disconnect developed between the staff and the women utilizing the facility. With the staff focused on quickly shuttling women through the program, the women often felt a greater sense of disempowerment at the end of their stay (Crawford 2013). In other words, their numbers looked great, but the clientele were unhappy.

Maiti Nepal was the only organization that utilized a semi-structured format. This meant that the daily actions and movements of the women within the facility were closely monitored. Contact with survivors is limited to a select group of people working with them as untoward contact could affect their rehabilitation and reintegration process. They have daily schedules with allotted time for outside visits, vocational training, empowerment training, and education. Influential community members such as Gita Manandhar, a prominent teacher and researcher in Thamel, and Pradeep, the manager of SASANE, believe that such strict control and organizational imposed isolation, regardless of the skills learned within, cut these women off from the society that they eventually have to reenter. One fault they see with Maiti Nepal is that its form of programming seemed to hinder and limit the women’s control over choices regarding their own futures. This is not to say that these survivors are not learning new things, but the scheduling severely limits their
interaction with each other as well as their own community which has the potential to heighten the shock when they return home (G. Manandhar, personal communication, March 8, 2013; Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). Due to the highly structured setting of the facility, I was not able to observe or talk with the women currently in their program, and I have only a few community members' responses to the organization to provide information here.

Collaborative programming, in contrast to structured programming, entails an active rather than a passive role of survivors in their own process of rehabilitation and reintegration. Programming includes and involves survivors' input. Often referred to as "membership-based" systems, these organizations individualize and differentiate in treatment based on the needs and wants of the individual survivors involved. It requires significant give and take in the staff members–survivors relationship, as well as among all the survivors interacting with each other as they all shape the experience and climate within the facility (Rodriguez 2013). In some cases, this means that survivors works as staff members and are in charge of the housing, internal relationships, and the programs held within the facility. The survivors form and dictate their own program of rehabilitation and reintegration. Where individual experience is de-emphasized within the structured approach, collaborative programming highlights and completely focuses on the individual experience as the key element to program success. For example, if twenty women are currently in a facility, their experience, their accountability for success, and the rate at which they enter and leave will all vary based on personal preference, behavior, and ability. It also closely links the organization’s goals with the needs and wants based on community and personal situations, allowing for flexibility and change to permeate the experience.
However, the individualization allowed by collaboration can also leave organizations vulnerable to less efficient and concrete measurable data. Since people do not enter and leave at the same time, and are often doing different things throughout their in-facility stay, measuring certain indicators such as job placement and program completion are highly changeable and inconsistent. Despite the positive narratives that result from this form of programming, tracking success in these terms is not as viable in regards to quantitative outcomes (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). In addition to outcomes, this type of programming is also more expensive as it requires more time and financial input on a case-by-case basis. Money and time, which are in short supply for small CBOs, make collaborative facilities less sustainable (Bradshaw 2007). Both Pramesh of Change Nepal and Menuka Thapa of Raksha Nepal were painfully aware of their lack of resources necessary for complete collaborative work (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013; P. Pradhan, personal communication April 23, 2013).

SASANE in particular emphasizes the use of a collaborative approach. There is little to no structured programming within SASANE. They offer housing, the ability to earn paralegal degrees, as well as the inclusion of extra educational programming. None of this is required, and must be done purely by personal engagement. Due to this open forum, those women who stay with SASANE also have the availability to bond with one another as they must work together in order to maintain their housing in an amicable manner and chose programming based on what is most needed by those currently in the facility. The organization believes this is one of the reasons why they are more easily able to keep track of most of the 139 women who have received training. The women make up a network collaborating and staying in contact with one another.
SASANE’s clients not work collaboratively with each other, but also with the paid staff who are also survivors. These women, some of whom were hired straight out of the program, are in a unique position of understanding and creating base-line rapport with incoming survivors. Their connections allow for a more seamless communication, particularly in terms of expressing their needs and fears. Not only does this seem to increase incoming survivor’s feelings of safety and comfort, but it also seems to continually help those staff members who are survivors. In talking with SASANE employees, some defined their personal empowerment by their ability to interact and work with the survivors around them. A woman named Punam, as stated in a previous section, defined empowerment as her ability to “face the violence. I can fight and get justice. I can save others” (Punam, personal communication, April 11, 2013) Another woman, Meena, said “I feel proud to help girls when they enter” (Meena, personal communication, April 11, 2013). The personal sense of empowerment and stability was a factor that I was able to gauge due to my ability to speak with the women in the facility. General morale was extremely high.

Change Nepal is a walk-in facility which offers a wide array of classes and programming every day. Pramesh, the founder, is adamant that the survivors should have input regarding the programming that they utilize in the classrooms. Every minute that they remain interested in Change Nepal’s programming is another minute free from sexual exploitation. By allowing survivors a sense of control in what they learn, Change Nepal increases the number of women who attend the free programming even if they are not entirely successful in full reintegration. Fun programming is often overlooked for its ability to incite successful rehabilitation and reintegration, but Pramesh is sure that by allowing survivors the option to choose these programs, they can spark the hope that is necessary
for full rehabilitation and reintegration (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013).

Raksha Nepal also uses an open forum to facilitate the rehabilitation process. The entirety of their programming is on a need by need basis. In fact, they don't have any programmers on site, simply calling them in as needed. While at the main office, I was able to interact with one girl, Aya, in the facility. Since she has entered into Raksha Nepal, she has taken up embroidery and has gone back to school. She plans to finish school and become a lawyer (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). This self-assuredness in her plans indicated that she feels at least a modicum of control over their outcome. Clearly not every member within the program will want the same things as her; as such, Raksha Nepal prides themselves on their ability to formulate plans based on clients' personal needs as exemplified by Aya's case (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

When looking to further study research on this particular distinction between internal structured programming vs. internal collaborative programming, there are several indicators of success that should be monitored. By looking at retention numbers, program attendance, as well as internal perceptions of success by actual survivors, a better understanding of what will be the most successful programming type can be created. The data above suggests that the collaborative approach may be the more effective way to utilize programming with sexually exploited women in Nepal even if it is not the most efficient in terms of time and money.

**External Structure and Collaboration**
The second tier of the structured and collaborative distinction refers to the overall facilities ability to run within a county. In other words, this section will address how rehabilitation and reintegration organizations are able to function within the communities that they are attempting to reintegrate women to. What is their ability to increase power with for survivors? Since both techniques have a significant effect on re-entrance into society, it is important to reference structural hindrances to reintegration as defined in section four. While there is a significant amount of work done within rehabilitation and reintegration facilities, it must be recognized that simply leaving an organization does not necessitate a success. Follow-up with survivors is one of the most relevant indicators of success, but also the least reported by all six of the organizations that I worked with. That being said, it is also one of the hardest and largest problems these organizations face.

When discussing structured programming on the second tier, it is also commonly referred to as the cookie cutter approach. This is the top-down method where orders and regulations for actions start at the top, generally from INGOs, international donors and larger governing bodies, stipulating the way the groundwork is to proceed. Very similar to part one, this tier requires a standardized method in which to implement and utilize a program within the larger community (Hill 2010). Foreign aid, which is irreparably attached to organizations working with rehabilitation and reintegration in Nepal, is first consulted in creating a vision and goals for the program (FACD 2011). There are countless INGOs and out-of-country run NGOs within Nepal working with rehabilitating and reintegrating women. Out of the six organizations I worked with, there is only one foreign-run organization involved, although all six had international donors.
Beauty For Ashes is a foreign-run organization led by a woman from Texas, and currently does nothing in terms of reintegration work. Beauty for Ashes simply employs ten Nepali survivors who supply a foreign demand for crafted goods. While effective in providing vocational and transitional employment for women, very little is provided in terms of changing or altering their viability within the community (Mary, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Beauty for Ashes runs as a virtual extension of a US organization in that the products the Nepali women make are sold in the US. They do not need cater to the community markets, but neither do they impact the community in any way.

While it is clear that foreign aid is needed for the continued action of NGOs and CBOs, all five of the local organizations in this study were fervent supporters of Nepali citizens fixing Nepali problems. For example, Menuka Thapa stated that it is Nepal's responsibility to fix this problem and it can only be done from the inside. A foreigner, no matter how long they live in Nepal, will never be able to fully understand what it means to be Nepali and the societal implications therein (M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Pramesh Pradhan of Change Nepal spoke about how the stipulations of international donors often got in the way of the work they actually wanted to do. In fact, they never wanted to be an NGO but recognized that they could achieve greater funding for their program as one, even if it wasn’t ideal. (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013) Pradeep of SASANE ended a relationship with an international NGO that was funding their work because they wanted to implement certain programs that SASANE did not deem helpful to their vision and goals. One of their international donors required bible education as part of the rehabilitation process which was unacceptable for SASANE to agree to. “They
need a shelter, not someone else’s religion thrust upon them” (Prdaeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). Kunda Dixit, the editor of the Nepali Times, spoke very eloquently on the fact that without NGOs and INGOs, Nepal would be a lot poorer. However, it is not the job of these organizations to make a difference, but rather to support the local policies and projects on the ground without stipulations on what they believe should be done (K. Dixit, personal communication, April 21, 2013). In other words, it is not the job of INGOs to pass judgment and fix the problem, but rather to provide the tools necessary based on local need. With this in mind, a significant amount of the working NGOs in Nepal are limited in terms of their ability to impact the community. A foreigner calling out that stigmatization is wrong can and will be easily be discredited and therefore, very little can be achieved in terms of reintegration (Chaulagai 2009). This is in no way a new or ingenious argument in the fields of political science or anthropology, but it is noteworthy as it is a significant factor in how organizations frame potential success as they work towards the reintegration of sexually exploited individuals in Nepal. Local work naturally lends itself to more collaborative work by the very nature that community member’s ideas and belief holds more weight within the community than a foreign voice would (Chaulagai 2009).

All five of the local organizations also utilized some form of collaborative programming, albeit Maiti Nepal does this through their anti-trafficking initiative, not their rehabilitation and reintegration initiative. Where structured organizations work from the top-down in implementing their goals and vision, collaborative organizations start from the community and work their way up. First and foremost, the community dictates the needs that the organization adapts to cater to. This approach relies on forming relationships with
the hopes of affecting the climate of the society to better allow for survivors’ transitions back into the community. Pradeep of SASANE calls it an interwoven web or organization that attempts to overlay the trafficking web with the hopes of smothering it (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013).

In terms of the second component of collaboration, one such indication comes from the organization SASANE. This organization, unlike any of the others, is for those returnee women who wish to gain paralegal degrees. As stated above, the problem of corrupt police is a huge hindrance in the filing of cases against traffickers. What SASANE has been able to do is work their way into the police stations. This was done by providing trained paralegals for free who would work on the cases that police officers deemed as less important. Not surprisingly, most of these cases surround women’s issues. Not only are they able to process these complaints, but they are also present for those who wish to come in and file a complaint. This is something that many women would feel extremely uncomfortable talking to a man about, and it alleviates the potential for police abuse. Currently SASANE, due to its collaboration with the police department, has placed thirty women in different police stations creating a safer environment for women who wish to file complaints (Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013).

Another collaborative outcome can be seen in the form of GMSP. As stated in the section regarding structure vs. agency, the use of street theater has not only been an accepted form of entertainment, but also a popular one. Women and men alike who are not survivors want to collaborate and work with these women to create new skits for their street theater. This counteracts the culturally accepted concept of isolationism and invokes
community debate about issues surrounding women’s rights as all skits focus on them (N. Maya Thapa, personal communication, May 1, 2013).

SASANE, Maiti Nepal, and Raksha Nepal have been able to facilitate training days in certain communities by providing free informational sessions about women’s health. Their presence in the community allows for an easy way to educate local women about the dangers of trafficking in a setting removed from the cultural taboos that exist. Their collaboration not only helps them to gain access to certain communities that would be against the presence of blatant anti-trafficking organizations, but it also helps to keep track of women who have been through the rehabilitation process. As follow-up is extremely difficult to maintain, their presence allows for a non-invasive way of keeping track of returnee women (Maiti Nepal 2013; M. Thapa, personal communication, April 25, 2013; Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013).

Similarly, Change Nepal is able to gain access to a lot of the brothels in Thamel by talking with the employers and offering free clinic checkups. By providing a service that benefits the employers, Change Nepal is not only allowed access to their facilities and the ability to make their presence known for those women who might wish to utilize their services, but are also able to keep track of returnee women as well (P. Pradhan, personal communication, April 23, 2013). These organizations working collaboratively utilize the needs of the society as a way to break down those societal norms that hinder re-entrance.

Re-entrance becomes one of the biggest problems faced by NGOs and CBOs working in the field as it presents a huge obstacle to any form of success. It is therefore a necessity that these organizations at least attempt to sway community willingness to accept trafficking survivors and reintegrate them into the community if they hope to have any
positive long lasting effect. If not, then they are ignoring a significant hindrance to the rehabilitation and reintegration process, especially in a country where the response is so overwhelmingly negative. The very fact that the response is so strong is the reason why measuring any success is difficult. How does a small organization go about implementing change within the community, and even more importantly, how does one know if it is successful? Measuring certain indicators of community responses allows for some insight into successes. Successful outcomes may be different based on the organization and where it is located, but it generally includes factors such as local police acceptance, community involvement in reintegration related activities, retention numbers, percentage of walk-ins, and current survivors’ and community members opinions about the reintegration process. While not all of these areas are quantifiable, they are indicators of certain techniques that have been successful in Nepal. In this way, collaborative programming shows potential to be the most effective form of reintegration. However, both parts of the structured and collaborative debate require more research to produce a definitive outcome.
Section VII: What is effectiveness?

NGO and CBO work surrounding rehabilitation and reintegration work of sexually exploited women in Nepal requires a significant amount of thought and input in terms of how an organization is managed effectively through specific techniques. There are many factors that come into how to successfully record the effectiveness of an organization. Not only does it include in-facility goals and successes, but also follow-up data and anti-trafficking initiatives as a whole. In this sector of work, NGOs and CBOs are key, and often the only support system available in Nepal. Therefore, being successful and effective are incredibly important. One of the easiest to ask and hardest to define questions in terms of an organization’s success is whether or not it is effective in achieving desired end goals or outcomes. Some see the way to effectiveness as eliminating subjectivity and creating a consistent uniform index for counting success (Borisova). While there is some merit to be found for the clarity that uniformity allows, there is another field in non-profit research recognizing that effectiveness and, therefore, its indicators are based on the context in which they exist (Lecy 2012). One however, does not necessarily dictate the elimination of the other.

Specific to this research, the three different dichotomies of techniques for organizational infrastructure in Nepal can be used as different lenses through which success indicators can be found. The current data surrounding reintegration and rehabilitation work looks at the difficulties in facilitating success i.e. meeting end goals, but none lay out an in-depth framework for analyzing the effectiveness of a program. By using these three separate lenses and the resulting outcomes that are used in analysis above, a
better, more succinct, and relevant definition of success can be created, clarified, and contextualized.

While there is some preliminary tracking done by all six of the organizations under analysis, it was often highly unstable and at times arbitrary. Only two of the organizations have published annual reports. Both SASANE and Maiti Nepal, the two who recorded data, include retention numbers, the number of survivors trained vocationally, and the number of law cases won through organizational support. In addition to this uniform type of data in their reports they also included specific information for their organizations, such as Maiti Nepal's lists of awareness training days in rural areas as well SASANE’s survivor anecdotes (Maiti Nepal 2013, SASANE 2013). They also provided additional tracking information in informal interviews that are not present in their reports. Of those that do not have reports, informal interviews show most keeping track in some form of retention numbers, program attendance numbers, the number of law cases won through organizational support, general but not solidified or specific recidivism rates, and staff and survivor insight. Some data, like the number of women trained for a vocation, provides minimal information about the effectiveness of a program in the long run. On the whole, data collection and record keeping in regards to effective programming was disorganized, absent, or unreliable. There is certain information that needs to be outlined and maintained if NGOs and CBOs wish to show any significant data regarding effectiveness, i.e. rehabilitation and reintegration. Therefore, looking at what indicators are significant and what actions are necessary to maintain this data is extremely important for organizational success of rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in Nepal.
In each of the technique dichotomies analyzed above, there are two types of outcomes that present themselves in terms of effectiveness. Regardless of the technique used, these two types of common outcomes provide insight into the success or failure of an organization. One type of outcome looks at specific, measurable, and quantifiable data. This is data that can be easily recorded and summarized quickly. The importance of this data is essential in clarifying effectiveness tracking. The obvious quantifiable data includes recorded figures such as the retention data for women entering and exiting the program. Retention data includes the number of women who complete in-facility stays, as well as the number of women in attendance for certain programming. This also includes individual length of stay within the facility. Retention data can act as an indicator of programming that appeals and interests the survivors who attend them. In other words, good or effective programming correlates with higher survivor interest and attendance in a facility. Five of the organizations spoke of general completion numbers but did not go much farther beyond that in terms of record keeping. All provide a timeline that they have for women within the facility such as one year for Raksha Nepal and Maiti Nepal but none calculated the percentages of the actual rate of time between entry and exit (Aandesh, personal communication, April 18, 2013; M. Thapa, personal communication April 25, 2013). Retention data can be gathered simply by keeping a record of dates and times of in-coming and out-going survivors. Similarly, recording attendance percentages simply requires that attendance be taken at each programming event. The fact that only two have annual reports that preliminarily address retention data indicates a lack of record keeping that could be beneficial to gauging the effectiveness of a specific facility.
Furthermore, the number of cases that an organization brings to the police is an indicator of a successful outcome. The ability to move cases through the cluttered and corrupt Nepali justice system is indicative of an effect on the broader community as most cases do not succeed without continual organization and community pressure. Three organizations maintain this type of data (N. Maya Thapa, personal communication, May 1, 2013; Maiti Nepal 2013; SASANE 2013). Similar to retention rates, this simply requires meticulous record keeping of the number of case files entered and the final outcome that will be processed through their organizations one to two years later.

Another quantitative indicator can be the number of women placed and maintained within a vocation or occupation upon completion of in-facility programming. Employment percentages, which are often not kept up to date beyond the initial completion of vocational training, could be significant indicators of intangible outcomes such as empowerment and community willingness to accept these women into the marketplace. However, using simply the completion of vocation training as an indicator of success has little value by itself. For example, Maiti Nepal provides the number of women who completed vocational training in each district they work within but have no follow-up data regarding if a job was attained or maintained (Maiti Nepal 2013). In addition, SASANE has the number of women who have successfully completed paralegal training but no follow-up data is documented showing their workplace employment beyond those staff members placed in police stations (SASANE 2013). Training that leads to no employment or only short-term employment is not indicative of success. In order to maintain this information it would be necessary that these organizations either sustain close and reliable relationships with all women who complete vocational training or have access to some form of network (via social
mobilization) that will allow them to monitor those individuals outside of the facility. Both SASANE and GMSP seek out the creation of personal relationships with all women who enter into their programming and as a result have a better grasp on general employment retention (N. Thapa Maya, personal communication, May 1, 2013; Pradeep, personal communication, April 11, 2013). It would be important to note, however, that these organizations are both very small and have yet to service the same number of individuals as an organization the size of Maiti Nepal.

Another easily quantifiable portion of data collection is recidivism rates. This data looks at the number of women who return to sexually exploitive situations. While often seen as the hardest and most time consuming part of data collection, it can easily be put into a comparative table alongside other figures such as retention rates. It also provides a plethora of successful indicators for an organization. The more women who do not return to sexually exploitive situations can indicate; successful empowerment programming wherein women refuse to return to an exploitive situation, successful vocational and education programming wherein women do not need to return to an exploitive situation, successful in-facility relationship maintenance wherein strong bonds are created between staff and survivors to facilitate open and constant communication patterns, and community perspective transitions wherein society is more amenable to accepting returning women. For example, GMSP sees their low recidivism rate as an indicator of a changing community climate as positively influenced by their interactive street theater and close connections with survivors in the facility through their use of escapism and collaborative programming techniques (N. Maya Thapa, personal communication, May 1, 2013). Recidivism rates illustrate a technique's success in achieving a large number of outcomes that most
rehabilitation and reintegration faculties seek to achieve. Therefore, they are key in
expressing a program’s effectiveness. All six organizations recognize the importance of this
type of information and have measures in place to maintain contact with women once they
have left the facility. While all believe this step is important, and some techniques
(collaboration, for example) seem to emphasize it, only one out of the six could definitively
state their recidivism rates holistically, and none of the remaining five organizations have
continuously reliable strategies for keeping track of the survivors post-program (N. Maya
Thapa, personal communication May 1, 2013). Raksha Nepal, for example, does monthly
call-ins or walk-ins with all of the women who have left the facility; this does not
necessarily mean that all of them will answer. If survivors do not respond, then they can no
longer be termed as having been successfully reintegrated, since their accomplishments, or
lack thereof, cannot be adequately determined (M. Thapa, personal communication, April
25, 2013). The only organization that was successful in maintaining constant and reliable
data regarding recidivism rates was GMSP due to the fact that the survivors in their
program were localized and easy to follow. As most of the other organizations work within
up to ten districts at a time, this method is not sustainable for them.

For both occupational maintenance data and recidivism rates, these rehabilitation
and reintegration NGOs and CBOs in Nepal require some form of follow-up with the women
who have exited their programming if techniques are to be properly analyzed. As
mentioned previously, follow-up for some of these programs is near impossible. Similar to
the employment piece, recidivism would require that the organizations tap into the idea of
social mobilization or an infrastructural network if they wish to secure reliable data
regarding the success of the techniques employed.
The second type of outcome that should be analyzed and documented when looking at the effectiveness of rehabilitation and reintegration programs in Nepal is qualitative data. "Reconciliation and reintegration are processes that defy quantification or amenability to scientific measurement" (Muggah 2009). That does not necessarily make this information any less valuable than that which can be entered into a data table as it provides contextual and interpersonal information regarding a program that quantifiable data cannot. Outcomes that should be looked at include certain indicators such as cultural perceptions about mental health and reintegration as well as the opinions of local professional and community members. These types of data cannot be measured in percentages, but would clearly have an effect on the success of a program. Local, cultural, and contextual insight are strong indicators of which techniques and as such, facilities will be most effective within a particular population.

Another important qualitative indicator is self-reporting. While organizations such as Maiti Nepal used a few anecdotal stories in their annual reports, a much more useful way of gauging the effectiveness of a program is to do in-depth interviews of all the survivors within a specific facility (Maiti Nepal 2013). By taking into account individual women’s perceptions about their own rehabilitation and reintegration processes, a much more holistic look at success through specific techniques can be created. Asking those who receive services about what type of programming works to facilitate intangibles such as empowerment is one of the best tools available in not only determining success, but also understanding it. While anecdotes are not neatly measurable like retention data, the personal experiences they provide are certainly a very large part in determining the effectiveness of a program.
A balance must be struck between collecting data that is both quantitative and qualitative. Only then can a true understanding of successful techniques and therefore, the effectiveness of a program in Nepal be created. By using this work as a basic framework for the creation of an in-depth study, more clarified and contextual results will arise that are sorely needed in order to truly understand what techniques would be the most effective in implementing rehabilitation and reintegration of sexually exploited women in Nepal.
Section VIII: Conclusion

Nepal is a country of complexities and an intricate web of cultural, religious, political, ethnic, and gendered dynamics. The place of NGOs and CBOs working within the field or rehabilitation and reintegration of sexually exploited women is to effectively navigate this web in order to produce the most viable and sustainable livelihoods for those survivors who utilize their services. This is done through the implementation of specific techniques existing within the common tropes of structure vs. agency, escapism vs. re-experiencing, and structured programming vs. collaborative programming. Based on the six organizations used in this exploratory study it would seem that a combination of structure, agency, escapism, and collaborative programming have extreme potential within the context of Nepal. The framework created within this work to analyze what techniques show potential in Nepal can help those who wish to create a more in-depth study of what it means to be an effective program and how this will effect rehabilitation and reintegration work for the future in Nepal. By using these technical tropes to view qualitative and quantitative outcomes, NGO and CBO work can hopefully become more effective in altering not only the lives of survivors but maybe even Nepali culture as a whole.

Important points for further research

The Potential of a Social Enterprise

One of the biggest problems faced by organizations working within rehabilitation and reintegration in Nepal is funding. This was clearly articulated by all six organizations I worked with. Reliable funding is crucial as money allows for facility upkeep, programming, more effective follow up maintenance, and larger community reach. While seemingly disconnected from the rest of the case studies regarding techniques and data collection, it
must be recognized that funding is what allows for the implementation of techniques and the successful collection of data, making it a key and noteworthy facet in studies on rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in Nepal. By the very nature of the many services they provide, these organizations need a significant income if they are to effectively utilize the techniques above to facilitate intended outcomes. SASANE was one organization in Nepal that brought up the idea of potentially utilizing a social enterprise, not only as a way of bringing in extra income, but also to release them from the constraints of international donors (Pradeep, personal communication April 11, 2013). As stated in the literature review, a social enterprise is an organization that uses business strategies to meet philanthropic outcomes. This begets the question: could social enterprise be a feasible way to alleviate the funding and monetary issues that these organizations face in order to effectively utilize techniques for success in Nepal?

First, it would be pertinent to look at the general landscape of Nepal's economic and business structures. Nepal is classified as a Least Developed Country with approximately over one-fourth of the population living below the poverty line, and is extremely dependent on foreign aid. Their industries and markets consist primarily of agricultural and textile goods, and their biggest trade partner is India. They have very few exportable resources which intensifies their reliance on aid. Their depleted economic status is further exacerbated by the political instability that has ravaged the country since 1990, not to mention the additional desolation caused by the Peoples War. War has the unfortunate effects of depleting foreign investments and stifling entrepreneurship (CIA 2014).

In terms of Nepal's business practices, “the political deadlock, lack of rule of law, labour migration, lack of skilled labour, increased unemployment, tensed labour relations,
unfriendly and unhealthy business environment and rigid and unclear policies provide the background in which unethical business practices are on the rise” (National Business Initiatives 2014). Currently, there is a large push to fix these problems by implementing a Business Code of Conduct. However, out of the 100 companies that have promised their commitment to this code, only seven percent were found to have actually implemented conduct transitions (Ghimire 2013). In addition, in 2014, Nepal dropped eight points in the Index of Economic Freedom, which acts as an indicator of the ease in which business can be done within a country. It is based on a country’s success in “governance, rule of law, regulatory efficiency, and the openness of the markets” (The Heritage Foundation 2014). Nepal’s score – which has remained low and largely stagnant since 1996 – is due to a lack of transparency, lack of investment freedom, lack of governance, as well as a significant amount of corruption both in the private and public sectors (The Heritage Foundation 2014). In addition, “most businesses admit that the external environment forces them to indulge in behavior they know is unethical in order to survive” (Dixit 2014). While these factors may provide significant hindrances to the startup and upkeep of a social enterprise, Nepal is not without its success stories. In 2011, an organization called ChangeFusion Nepal started to give out what they called the Surya Nepal Asha Social Entrepreneurship Award (SNASEA) for social entrepreneurs in Nepal who have been, not only successful, but also sustainable in their endeavors (ChangeFusion Nepal 2012). By looking at which organizations won this award, one may gain a better understanding of the types of social enterprises that are able to flourish in Nepal. This method of organizational analysis provides the necessary insight into whether a particular business model would be
successful with an organization working with rehabilitation and reintegration of sexually exploited women.

The first winner of the SNASEA was Mountain Delights Treks and Expedition and Tukke Nepal. This enterprise earns a profit through the use of tourism and trekking expeditions in remote areas of Nepal. All of the profit goes to the main project site in a rural region called Jyamrung. The funds produced help to increase access to education, health services, better living conditions, electricity, and sanitation for the villagers. This enterprise relies on the foreign market of tourism as the primary source of income for the program. It employs Nepali citizens who are knowledgeable of the region, and gives back to the community, although not all who receive the enterprising benefits are directly involved in working with the program. There is no specific data given on startup costs (ChangeFusion Nepal 2012).

Kalash Milk Industry is a milk collection center that provides income for farmers who provide fresh quality milk. The center then sells the milk to neighboring villages and city centers. It is sustainable due to the high demand for fresh milk in Nepal which is often in short supply. The owner began his company by providing farmers with cows, enabling these farmers to pay off their debt by providing milk to the Kalash Milk Industry. The owner started with only a few cows and was able to generate enough returns to cover the costs of startup. Unlike Mountain Delights, this enterprise works within a small local niche market that has a high demand. He employs poor farmers within the community of Dhorey in order to provide them with better living standards and the opportunity to send their children to school (Change Fusion Nepal 2012).
Sabita Maharjan is a knitting company located in the region of Kirtipur. This social enterprise works to empower women by providing the vocation of knitting quality goods that are currently selling quite successfully in the Korean market. In addition to this income, the owner aims to educate and support women from an array of backgrounds within the community, but focuses on those who are survivors of domestic abuse. Sabita Maharjan was founded by four women working from home that marketed their products in the hopes of establishing a clientele and membership base; this clientele and membership base now completely sustain the organization. Similar to Mountain Delights, this organization depends on a foreign market (ChangeFusion Nepal 2012).

The final social enterprise that won the SNASEA is called Chhadari Services, and is run out of Kathmandu. It caters to widows and women who are ostracized by their communities for various reasons such as trafficking. By renting out event spaces, providing catering services within the Kathmandu valley, and promoting and selling goods made by women in the facility, this enterprise is able to generate enough income to train and provide micro-enterprise loans to women in need. This organization relies on their sterling reputation and catering services, and employs at-risk women with the hope of empowering them. There is no information on startup costs. All four of these organizations provide insight into the methods by which a social enterprise can exist in Nepal’s relentless economy (ChangeFusion Nepal 2012).

The first type of social enterprise that is seen to be successful in Nepal is that which relies on foreign markets to generate income. In order to create a sustainable revenue strand, a social enterprise does not necessarily need to be dependent on the internal and local markets of the country in which it resides. By utilizing foreign markets, a social
enterprise not only increases its clientele base, but also the options of goods and services that it can produce. These organizations are also no longer solely dependent on local market trends and biases. Three of the organizations that won the SNASEA benefited from some kind of foreign market. Mountain Delights utilizes tourism, Sabita Maharjan utilizes foreign knitting market demands, and Chhadari Services utilizes the increasingly growing hospitality industry.

Another type of social enterprise that has shown to be successful in Nepal is that which utilizes niche markets that are in high demand. Milk for example, is in low supply and high demand in Nepal, and as a result those organizations that engage in its production have less competition within the market and more flexibility in terms of pricing the good. By investing in this industry, Kalash Milk Industry is able to flourish.

Specific to rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in Nepal, it is important to remember the significant stigma held against women who have been trafficked and sexually exploited. There is a very good chance that local perceptions could stifle incoming revenue as Nepali citizens would not want to buy the goods or services produced by these women. If no one is willing to buy the goods or services produced, then a social enterprise becomes largely unsuccessful. Where niche markets may be harder to find, foreign markets are ever increasing.

It is very clear that tourism is a growing and expanding industry in Nepal. Tourism, as an industry that relies on foreign markets, does not have the same stigmatizing constraints that certain local markets may have. To paint a quick picture of the tourism industry in Nepal, the total contribution of tourism to GDP is approximately 9.4 percent. Spending by international tourists has increased every year by 12.4 percent for the past ten
years. In addition to tourists from Europe and the US who have made up a majority of incoming tourists in the past, the middle classes in India and China are growing rapidly and contributing largely to religious tourism in Nepal as well. Nepal offers a unique array of diversity in terms of tourist activities. Due to its rich environmental attributes, as well as its many cultural and religious sites, the tourism market in Nepal is in a unique position to flourish. This is not to say that the industry does not suffer from most of the same problems other incoming businesses face in Nepal. The lack of regulation governance and corruption are still large hindrances to the success of the tourist industry and a major point of concern, but the potential there is undeniable (Jones 2013).

Beauty for Ashes is an organization in the field of rehabilitation and reintegration in Nepal that utilizes a foreign market for sustainability. By selling handicraft goods, this organization is able to provide employment and basic services for previously trafficked women with the assistance of foreign ministries. One important factor about this organization is that at this time, it does not have any community or reintegration programming. While this organization’s social enterprise does not necessarily have a direct impact on the surrounding community, it could still potentially utilize the income generated through the foreign market to create community impact initiatives, therefore enacting a holistic rehabilitation and reintegration approach. A social enterprise within the field of rehabilitation and reintegration in Nepal, while facing many challenges, could be feasible if it can effectively enter into the right market- such as tourism- for the production of a good or service, as well as ameliorate the deficit of the startup costs. It would need to take into account the markets that are practical and realistic due to the stigmatizing connotation attached to most sexually exploited women, as well navigate through a
deregulated and corrupt business industry. The creation of an income generating revenue stream for an organization in this line of work could have exponentially positive effects on what that organization can do and how far it can reach into the community by effectively implementing techniques as laid out above.

**The Potential of Social Mobilization**

Similar to the lack of funding for these organizations in Nepal, there is also very little infrastructural avenues to utilize for survivor maintenance and follow-up. Survivors can simply disappear into the city, rural areas, or other countries without the organizations ever knowing. Yes, this disappearance could be indicative of successful reintegration, but it could also be indicative of re-trafficking, family and community ostracism, prostitution, or a poor marriage. There needs to be some infrastructure in place so that reintegration can be gauged as successful or ineffective. Can rehabilitation and reintegration faculties in Nepal mobilize to create such an infrastructure for this? In addition what is the potential of this to actually have an effect on the community stigma survivors face?

Nepal, now more than ever, is at a turning point in its history. With the end of a ten-year struggle between the Maoist insurgents and the Nepalese army, which ended with the People’s Movement that effectively dislodged the monarchical system in Nepal, change is present. The 1990s heralded in the restructuring of the country into a democratic state with the hopes of creating a new and more representative constitution that effectively met the needs of marginalized individuals. In particular, the federalist movement has been a point of contention for Nepali citizens. As marginalized ethnicities fight fervently for the creation of a government that represents and acknowledges their identity, others fight for a unified Nepali culture. Needless to say, the struggle for a representative constitution is still
underway. In a country of 103 identified ethnicities, it comes as no surprise that creating a representative constitution is a slow process. While there are multiple pros and cons to a federalist or a unified Nepal, what is particularly exciting about the creation of a new constitution is that minorities who previously have not been acknowledged now have a platform in which to express their opinions and their wants for the future of their country (Hinton 2010). What is less exciting is the essential disappearance of women’s issues such as trafficking from the political forum, even though the potential for these grievances to be addressed is much stronger than before (Tamang 2009). Is there a place for the fight against trafficking and sexual exploitation in this movement? More importantly, is there a place for rehabilitation and reintegration facilities to utilize this movement to create the much-needed infrastructure necessary for follow-up data?

The first question that begs to be asked is: are there any sustainable women’s movements in Nepal today? The idea of a women’s social movement in Nepal gained significant momentum with the fall of the Rana kingdom, which led to a massive increase in foreign aid directed toward development, and women’s rights related issues. However, it is startlingly clear that the success of a women’s movement in Nepal post-1990 has not necessarily been wide-scale. Many of the factors that inhibit the creation of a new constitution are unfortunately replicated in the politics of women’s social movements. The vast ethnic, cultural, caste, and religious diversity that the pro-federalist government stance is focused around is also present in current women’s social movements. Women of different religious, caste, and ethnic backgrounds in Nepal find that their experience as Nepali women is painted by, and often defined by, these different factors more so than gender. The result is that women’s organizations are split along lines beyond gender,
oftentimes in opposition to one another in the struggle for limited resources such as aid and political positioning. The incongruence that exists between the reality of these multiple layers of individual Nepali women’s experiences and the misconstrued image of the united Nepali woman generates tension and disruption in the creation of long lasting, sizable social mobilization for a specific cause (Tamang 2009). The separation and disunity of these organizations hinders the ability for any strong unified force while the image of a single Nepali woman disempowers and whitewashes the tangible differences that exist.

Hindrances to women’s social movements are not only caused by cultural issues, but also geographical ones. With its various terrains, Nepal has always been relatively geographically isolated particularly in rural areas. There is not enough money or infrastructure for the centralized government to reach the multiple districts beyond the valley (Wydra 2010). As the Nepali state maintains its power in the centralized location of the Kathmandu Valley, very little local or community devolution of responsibilities or even representative positions are given. The result is that the rural areas are isolated from both the government and each other (Basnett 2009). Since there are not already formed avenues of connection, women and their organizations are often isolated in three dimensions: first by cultural values that supersede women’s rights, then by competition between organizations, and finally by geographic isolation. For a social movement to have any cultural impact regarding a woman-related cause, or to mobilize people in any sense, a unified goal and network of support are required. Neither is currently present in women’s social movements in Nepal.

That does not necessarily mean that mobilization is impossible. The one movement that is often referred to as a positive step towards women’s mobilization in Nepal was the
Maoist uprising. While women’s involvement was exaggerated by the Maoist party as being thirty to fifty percent when more realistic numbers approximate around nineteen percent, it was still a much larger convergence of women with different backgrounds and religions than had ever been seen before (Tamang 2009). The success of the Maoist movement can be traced to their usage of three overarching steps that allowed them to not only garner support from many different groups of people, but also to actively take a role in the lives of those who supported them.

The first step is that the Maoist party was able to fit themselves within the “ideological construction of the oppressor and the oppressed” (Basnett 2009). This step is in no way unique as the coming of the democratic state allowed multiple parties to utilize this construction in order to garner support along ethnic lines (Basnett 2009). In fact, this step alone is seemingly more problematic for the Maoists who did not identify with a specific ethnicity. If this were the only step taken by the Maoists, they would most likely have been unsuccessful as the multiple layers of diversity in Nepal often splits rather than unites a cause. The second step that allowed the Maoist party to continue to gain support for their cause was by utilizing this ideological construction for the “collective perception of grievances” along with visible actions taken to mitigate these grievances (Basnett 2009). Most of the ethnic related parties were criticized by the fact that they were not actually representing the people they promised to support, and were in reality largely inactive. The fact that the Maoists were actually taking action, albeit in the form of violence against the oppressor, was more than ethnic related parties had done. This difference in action solidified the Maoist intent to make a tangible difference in Nepal (Basnett 2009). The final step taken was that instead of focusing their campaign centrally and moving towards the
rural areas, they began their campaigns in the rural areas and worked their way to the center. This allowed them to set up a web of Maoist infrastructure and influence in the communities where grievances were the strongest. The result was the creation of an actively mobilized population with considerable strength, all fighting under the cause of the Maoist party (Basnett 2009). These three steps allowed them to permeate Nepali society with the infrastructure necessary to put force behind their initiatives. They garnered so much support that it led to a ten-year war.

While movements solely concerned with the rights and transgressions against women have not yet been successful in Nepal, it is clear that women of different ethnic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds can be united under a single cause. In addition, Nepal is in a position to recognize this movement as they continue to create a representative constitution. What if there was infrastructure that allow for better follow-up data as well as an end to the social stigma that forces survivors into re-victimization? Rehabilitation and reintegration facilities are irrevocably involved and invested in creating the strong community infrastructure necessary for widespread mobilization. It can even be argued that these organizations are more closely tied with issues such as community acceptance and survivor support than other organizations that work solely in terms of preventative measures. In fact, many of the organizations working in anti-trafficking may inadvertently reinforce the stigmatizing factors that survivors face which has to opposite effect of reinforcing negative community responses (Bhattarai 2000). What about a movement surrounding sexual exploitation that involves those who have been affected by it? It has yet to be attempted in Nepal.
It must be made clear that not all survivors would be involved in the creation of this infrastructure. Some simply wish to go home and return to their families. However, currently in Nepal, there are those survivors who fight fervently for the rights of fellow survivors. An example would be SASANE, or the rehabilitated women of Maiti Nepal who decide to act as border patrol personnel (Maiti Nepal 2013). Another reputable organization is Shakti Samuha that was founded and is now run by previously trafficked victims who are personally tied to the eradication of the social stigma. “Other people work for other people’s rights. But we work for our rights. That’s the difference” says one Shakti Samuha employee (Quismundo 2013). In addition, the rehabilitation and reintegration staff is closely tied to the struggles that these women face. Where many different types of organizations working for women’s rights get bogged down in the problems of ethnicity, caste, religion, and competition with one another, these organizations and the women who go through them have a distinct and binding identity beyond national demographics. This puts rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in the unique position to create a unified identity under which to mobilize their efforts for the elimination of the social stigma that other more generalized organizations cannot, while facilitating much needed data collection.

Surprisingly, most of the six organizations under study do not collaborate with other similar organizations. Aandesh, an administrative worker for Maiti Nepal told me that all organizations work separately towards the same end goal (Aandesh, personal communication, April 18, 2013). However, the possibilities of working together are undeniable in terms of maintaining relevant follow-up information and monitoring changes in communities' stigmatizing responses. This data can most likely be amassed if they follow
the steps that allowed for the rise of the Maoist movement. The first step is easy enough to define: conceptualizing their fight in terms of the oppressor and the oppressed. Most women-related organizations can easily do this by framing their work within the larger concepts of patriarchy and the exploitation of women. The next step would be to use this framework as a functioning reference for the creation of a collective perception of grievances or a distinct identity in which to function. As survivors, those who closely work with them, and sympathizers’ of the cause, a very distinct identity can be created that has the potential to transcend the differences that they may face; in other words the specific violence they face supersedes the differences that they may face. Furthermore, the fact that these organizations are doing work in places that the government is not, better enables them to broadcast their ability to take action where other organizations can’t. The next step would be to start in the rural areas and work in to the centralized areas, much like the Maoist party, where most of the organizations are currently located. Many anti-trafficking initiatives, as well as rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives located in the Kathmandu valley are involved in “one time sensitization programs” (Bhattarai 2000). This means that they go into different communities for a day to explain the danger of trafficking or the problems that survivors face. The fact that they only spend a single day attempting to impart information concerning community transformation lessens the impact that they are able to have (Bhattarai 2000). Community involvement such as that with the Maoist movement must be extensive in order for it to be effective. GMSP offers a perfect example of an organization that works at the community level. It has a significant impact on the community because it runs continually within the community. Not only does this facilitate more relevant and reliable follow-up data, but it also allows for direct community impact
and pressure to alter their responses to survivors. Simply put, more of these organizations are needed in different districts.

One way to create more community-based centers is for the rehabilitation and reintegration facilities located in Kathmandu to come together and choose certain impact areas that they will focus on in addition to the work they do in the city. The number of rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in the Kathmandu valley is staggeringly high, and working together could eliminate the duplication of efforts, as well as create an accessible support system that all could draw upon. If temporary community centers can be set up where survivors can have a direct relationship with many different communities, then follow-up data will be easier to maintain, as well as increasing the organization’s ability to impact and change stigmatizing behavior. Once they are able to build support from the community level, they will be able to translate this mobilization into a potential movement to affect what is added to the new constitution. Therefore, the role of mobilization is threefold in allowing for accurate and relevant follow-up data, greater presence within the community, and outreach to those that are geographically isolated. Like Pradeep of SASANE said, can you imagine the impact of a web of survivors all working for the same unified goal? (Pradeep, Personal communication, April 11, 2013). More research should be done in terms of the creation of social mobilization by rehabilitation and reintegration facilities in Nepal. This is an extremely fascinating piece of research to follow.
"We have faced the real causes of trafficking. We were the real victims of the crime. We were the persons to be rescued. We are still subordinated and our fundamental rights are violated. We are the persons who need counselling and rehabilitation. We are the persons who need to be reintegrated. We are human beings that can take lessons from our past incidents. We are eager to shun our dark past at the hope of a brighter future. We need environment where we can transform ourselves. If we get the environment we would be an asset for the society rather than a liability. Only we can support ourselves. And we have the motto - Let's protect ourselves!"

SAMRAKSHAK SAMUHA NEPAL
Methods/Limitations

My methods include a combination of in-field research including the six organizations used in this study, as well as community members and professionals within this particular field of work in Nepal. My in-field research consisted of a combination of participant observation as well as unstructured interviews with various news organizations, NGOs, INGOs, CBOs and community members. In addition of my field research, I also used a significant amount of research into rehabilitation and reintegration work as a whole as well as specific to Nepal. I then combined this information into the exploratory study above.

My limitations with this project were relatively large. Due to the fact that I was only able to spend about one month in the field in Nepal, the data that I have regarding the six organizations is limited. Instead of doing a true organization-to-organization comparative study, I was forced to simply pull out those examples which exemplify the success or failure of a certain technique. The information that I have most likely holds significant biases as well as it came mostly from the organizations involved and closely tied to the work they do. However, regardless of the inherent biases and the lack of a comparative study, I believe that I was able to pull out and analyze significant points in regards to rehabilitation and reintegration work of sexually exploited women in Nepal.
Work Cited


The recipients of the Nandini Awards this year provided a new model of feminist action, while remaining aware of existing gender inequalities, to engage in the need for remitted men and women to fight for justice together.

Many women have realized the need for positive support from men as they seek to create an atmosphere for equal rights. Women like Sarala Luma (Mahendran), Prabha Ratna Pradhan, and Durga Khadka (Shree) have worked together to form an atmosphere for equal rights. Women have also become more proactive for the younger generation of women. Therefore, they are aware that the need for remitted men and women to fight for justice together is a necessity.

The concept of three-literacy seems to me, not only to be the necessity of men and women working together for social good, but also to be an important factor in the fight for equality. 

Solidarity towards Gender Equality and Women Rights

Gandhi Mahamela 2068