

**Post Trafficking In Nepal. Sexuality and Citizenship in
Livelihood Strategies
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WORKING PAPER**

Anti-trafficking Activism: Collaborating on Transforming Citizenship

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Abstract

In this article we examine how different strategies for the co-production of knowledge through participant, academic and anti-trafficking activist collaboration challenges how trafficking research is conducted, promoting a new agenda on post-trafficking. This is important as not only are the issues faced by returnee trafficked women largely ignored, but also the stigmatisation and poverty which they typically encounter means they often have little voice in policy making. Drawing on research in Nepal, we present four types of co-produced data that indicate how collaboration is woven through research design, data collection and analysis in order to prioritise returnee women's voices.

Introduction

Almost every country in the world is affected by human trafficking. It is a global phenomenon and a priority for many governments. This concern with human trafficking has led to the production of a large body of research over the last two decades, most of which seeks to explain its causes and characteristics, in particular through attempts to quantify which groups of people and how many of them are trafficked, as well as documenting the process and geographical flows of trafficking. Despite this growth in the literature, human trafficking remains a contested concept, with alternative definitions leading to different and, in some cases, divided approaches to anti-trafficking analysis and activism (Samarasinghe, 2008). In addition to a lack of conceptual agreement on what trafficking is (and is not), the dominant approach to knowledge production described above has itself been criticised (Doezema, 2010). While such research has fed into policy frameworks and NGO practices targeting the 'rescue' of people, especially women and children, experiencing diverse trafficking situations, a critical examination of this approach reveals that many aspects of trafficking have not been addressed and remain poorly understood. In this article we argue that very little research has focused on post-trafficking situations, and, as a result, scant attention has been given to the development challenges post-trafficking scenarios raise for governments, (I)NGOs and returnee trafficked people, their families and 'home' communities.

What is also often missing in research that seeks to establish the ‘facts’ about trafficking, are the voices, perspectives and knowledge of those who have themselves been trafficked and who are now attempting to establish new lives post-trafficking. This represents a significant gap in our understanding of trafficking and the success, or not, of anti-trafficking initiatives and interventions. In this article we attempt to address this gap by drawing on data that has been co-produced with returnee trafficked women as part of recent research on post-trafficking livelihoods in Nepal. Reflexive engagement in the politics of the co-production of knowledge is a well-established cornerstone of feminist academic practice. (Co-production of knowledge is based on bringing different social worlds, in this case practitioners, academia and community, together on egalitarian terms for a single goal). It has shaped reflections on feminist collaborative research on a range of topics, including research on vulnerable mobile groups such as refugees (Houston et al. 2010) and recent immigrants (Mountz et al. 2003). This latter work, examines how the co-production of knowledge is shaped by collaborative dynamics among academic team members, including in participatory research settings. By contrast in this article, we focus on the co-production of knowledge with activist partners who are returnee trafficked women themselves. We argue that such forms of knowledge production generate new understandings and agendas which, in turn, challenge the ways in which research on trafficking is conducted.

Understanding post-trafficking

Broadly defined, the term post-trafficking describes the processes and practices associated with returning ‘home’ from trafficking situations, for whatever purposes, whether this involves being trafficked internally in one’s own country or elsewhere. The research we conducted (www.posttraffickingnepal.co.uk) sought to analyse the post-trafficking *experiences* of women and because of this the methods used were qualitative. Research was based on a collaborative partnership with Shakti Samuha, one of the first anti-trafficking organisations in the world to be founded and staffed by returnee trafficked women (www.shaktisamuha.org.np). This partnership was important as not only are the issues faced by returnee women largely ignored, but also the stigmatisation and poverty which they typically encounter means they often have little voice in policy making. Specifically, the research sought to bring trafficked women’s voices into policy development and implementation, in relation to human

rights, through an investigation of how post-trafficking issues intersect with access to citizenship. Another partnership was also established with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Mission in Nepal once the funding had been awarded and provided further opportunities to influence the process by which knowledge could be co-produced, as we shall explain in more detail later in the article. Both partnerships were initially made possible by the long-term engagement of one of the team members (Poudel) in anti-trafficking in Nepal (1).

Our two and a half year qualitative study ran from November 2009 to April 2012 and produced a range of qualitative data (2). In this article we draw on four different kinds generated through the collaborative research process. First, the overall framing of the discussion is grounded in the findings from interviews conducted with returnee Nepalese trafficked women. This phase of fieldwork ran from April 2010 to January 2011. In total, 37 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with returnee trafficked women in Kathmandu and other district and rural sites identified in the past by the government of Nepal for high occurrences of trafficking. Our sample selected women who self-identified as returnee trafficked women and who had differing levels of engagement with NGOs and social movements. Analysis indicated that professionalisation was an increasingly important issue for anti-trafficking groups in Nepal. It was therefore decided that a further subset of the interviews (9) would be conducted with returnee trafficked women who identify as activists in order to explore these issues in more depth. These interviews, which comprise a second data set, were carried out October-November 2011 with members of the Executive Committee of Shakti Samuha. All the 46 interviews were taped and transcribed in Nepali and then translated into English. Where we draw on this material in this article we do so using the idiom of the original translation as we wish to recognise that Nepali English is one of the many forms of global English spoken in the world (3).

The article also draws on a third source of data arising out of a range of joint initiatives connected with dissemination from the project including an Activist Workshop to debate emerging findings (February 2010) and a Policy Workshop ‘*Making Livelihoods Post Trafficking: Sexuality, Citizenship and Stigma*’ (November 2011), both of which took place in Kathmandu and were events that Shakti Samuha played a central role in co-hosting with the wider research team. The fourth set of data

that informs our discussion arises out of information collected by Shakti Samuha as a feature of the way they work with women who seek to become members of their organisation. Specifically, this data collection relates to their understanding of trafficked identities not only as part of membership formation, but also in terms of raising public awareness about what a trafficked identity means and what being a trafficked activist involves. Here our focus is on how a sample of this data was carefully selected, with input from the research project team, for use in advocacy. The presentation of these four types of data in the article is purposeful. The aim is to show the diverse ways in which collaboration and co-production were woven through the project at different levels, in order to ensure trafficked women's perspectives are made visible, and foregrounded in data production, analysis and dissemination.

Nepal was chosen because it is one of the source countries for trafficked women in South Asia. Women are trafficked to India through the open border and also on to other countries including those in South East Asia and the Middle East. Although estimates are difficult to interpret, the US State Department TIP Report estimates that between 10-15,000 women and children are trafficked to India and Gulf countries annually (US TIP 2012). Another reason for choosing Nepal is that returnee trafficked women there, while representing one of the most stigmatised, vulnerable groups, are also beginning to organise around rights to livelihoods. This is a key aspect of the anti-trafficking work undertaken by Shakti Samuha. A further reason for the choice of Nepal is that it is undergoing democratic reform through a constitutional process following a decade of civil war. Our project explored the intersections of sexuality, gender and citizenship in returnee women's livelihood strategies as these new democratic processes, supported by national and transnational communities, unfolded. The first multi-party democratic constitution was ratified in 1990. The civil war lasted from February 1996 until November 2006. In April 2006 an Interim Assembly was enforced following the People's Movement III, the revival of the dissolved parliament and the brokering of peace talks with the Maoist rebels (GoN 2007). Two years later an elected Constituent Assembly (CA) was convened in April 2008 which declared the country to be a Federal Democratic Republic after ending the Monarchical parliamentary system. The original mandate to draft the new constitution by May 2010 was extended several times until in May 2012 the Supreme Court rejected any further extensions to the Constituent Assembly as a move towards the setting up of

elections to form a new democratically elected government. This will take place between June and October 2013.

Although our findings highlight an extreme case of discrimination, and draw on experiences taking place in a particular political context, they can also aid in understanding post-trafficking experiences elsewhere where the discrimination may not be so obvious or where citizenship may be less central.

The research findings established that the difficulties many women face on their return 'home' from trafficking situations present severe challenges to them in making new lives and forging sustainable livelihoods. On their return, trafficked women are typically stigmatised (as prostitutes or HIV 'carriers'), experience high levels of discrimination and face social rejection from their family and communities (Poudel, 2011). They are frequently denied services, skills trainings and employment on their return. Returnee trafficked women's groups and anti-trafficking organisations such as Shakti Samuha have actively lobbied for rights to livelihoods and changes in citizenship rules which discriminate against women, who historically have needed a male relative to endorse their application for citizenship on reaching 16 (Richardson et al. 2009, Pant and Standing 2011). For many returnee trafficked women the stigma and family rejection they encounter makes this process formidable (4). This adds to their experiences of discrimination and social rejection, effectively making them stateless in their home country upon return. This includes being unable to confer citizenship on their children, either because they lack citizenship themselves or because their children were born in trafficking situations (lack a known father) (Richardson et al forthcoming).

Collaboration, co-production and a shared agenda

The collaborative partnership with Shakti Samuha shaped the research's focus on citizenship and livelihoods from the outset, prioritising in particular the situation of returnee women. Although founded in 1998, Shakti Samuha initially struggled to gain legal registration as an NGO because the founding members did not at that time hold citizenship cards. This lived reality sparked a long standing interest in improving trafficked women's citizenship rights. Growing from a small base Shakti Samuha now provides solidarity for returnee women in a number of ways, through hostels,

including a working women's hostel, outreach programs and livelihoods training, including in non-traditional skills. While Shakti Samuha has grown significantly as an organisation in recent years, managing a number of projects funded by a range of international donors including Oxfam GB, Free the Slaves (Shakti Samuha 2008) and more recently the IOM Mission in Nepal's economic empowerment program for returnees, to this day only returnee trafficked women can become members and serve on the Executive Committee. As part of its increasingly diverse portfolio, of activities the research project was Shakti Samuha's first move into academic research for advocacy purposes and a core element of the partnership was capacity building through a two-year modularised research training program for Executive Committee members. The training was conceptual and also involved practical skills.

“The research training taught me the way to deal with any individual. I also learnt the way to think about any incident, in theory...I also learnt the skill to start any conversations while doing research”. (Interview, Executive Committee Member, Bal Kumari, 2011).

Overall the training program reflected a strong sense of the need for trafficked women to be authors of their own stories.

“Research has been very important to understand the *jeevan ra jagat* (life and the world), social world we live in. We have been involved in research work through consultancy and all but it is very important to take the research training once in life. I have realized this importance of research training after I took it. I don't know whether I would be able to sustain my livelihoods being a researcher or not but taking this training is very important.

Shakti has been doing research funded by other donors and recruiting researchers for us. But this is us doing research for ourselves and it is very important to analyse our social world from our perspective”. (Interview, Executive Committee Member, Charimaya Tamang, 2011).

In the feedback session after completing the first training module, the same Executive Committee member stated that the training would enable them to make informed

decisions when dealing with the media and other researchers, “*Now we know what to ask researchers/media interviewers and foreign researchers coming and taping our stories*”.

Shakti Samuha argue that capacity building through research training for returnee trafficked women is more likely to ensure that policy development is based on real not assumed needs. This point was highlighted by their presentation on the importance of research training at the Policy Workshop entitled ‘*Making Livelihoods Post-Trafficking: Sexuality, Citizenship and Stigma*’ held in Kathmandu in November 2011 and co-hosted by the research project, Shakti Samuha and the IOM. In their presentation, ‘A Reflection on the Journey from Trafficking Survivor to Social Researcher’, Executive Committee Member Laxmi Puri argued that: “*Research conducted by survivors themselves would be more effective and help to identify the real status of trafficking survivors, identify their needs and make recommendations to stakeholders in order to fulfil their actual needs*”. This was a significant forum in which to make such a point, as this policy workshop attracted more than 100 participants, including senior policy makers, members of the Parliament Women’s Caucus, and several CA members including members of the Fundamental Rights Committee. It was opened by the Minister for Women, Children and Social Welfare and Chaired by the President of Shakti Samuha (5). This event served to highlight how policy development could be made more responsive to returnee women’s need if building research capacity among these women is prioritised. Towards the end of their presentation Shakti Samuha outlined an agenda for future research. They have since developed their own research proposal (‘Access to Justice? Social impacts on women after filing legal cases against traffickers in post-trafficking situations’) to carry out a pilot study on the implications for returnee women of them trying to take traffickers to court.

The research project’s focus on the need to build capacity that enables trafficked women to become co-producers of knowledge on anti-trafficking was also scaled up through two additional training programmes at points when Shakti Samuha was playing a leadership role in national and international level anti-trafficking networks. The first was during Shakti Samuha’s period as chair of the Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal AATWIN (the national umbrella

organisation for Nepal's anti-trafficking organisations). A two day workshop for ATTWIN's 35 membership organisations promoted understanding of anti-trafficking's relationship with human rights (November 2010). The second was a three month research training program (July-September 2012) jointly for AATWIN and the Global Alliance Against the Trafficking of Women (GAATW) (6), Shakti Samuha being also a member of GAATW's board at the time. The training aimed to build capacity in generating baseline data on livelihood needs for future international lobbying around the UN optional protocol on trafficking which, the UN signed in 2000. This protocol (the Palermo protocol) aims to 'Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children'. An aspect of the Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, it came into force internationally in 2003 and has since been ratified by more than 117 countries. Nepal has not yet signed.

Another important feature of the emphasis on the co-production of knowledge with trafficked women was the joint hosting of an Activist Workshop, mentioned above, in Kathmandu in February 2011. This was purposefully scheduled to coincide with the last stages of submission of the first drafts of various thematic committees to the Constituent Assembly (CA) writing the new constitution. By reviewing NGO programmes' strategic development in light of five core themes derived from research findings (7), the aim of the workshop was to generate co-produced advocacy-focused data with a wide group of anti-trafficking activists.

Activist Workshop

Over 80 participants attended the Activist Workshop, including anti-trafficking NGOs, donors, 37 trafficked women and high level government representatives including members of the CA. The workshop acted as a catalyst in stimulating a chain of events that led to policy debate and political lobbying and, subsequently, to a number of recommendations on rights of citizenship being included in the draft Constitution and the National Plan of Action on Trafficking (MWCSW 2012) which are now in the process of being implemented (see below).

The participatory research methodology sought to bring trafficked women's perspectives into policy debates and responses. This had a direct effect on how some

workshop participants started to envisage how democratic mechanisms could be used to support women in post-trafficking situations in specific local settings. For example, expressing a clear appreciation of what notions of active citizenship mean in practice, one participant from a grassroots provincial NGO suggested that: *“We should make each district and Village Development Committee (VDC – local government office) to allocate budget for women affected from trafficking and ask for their commitments on raising awareness on citizenship and livelihoods and establish rehabilitation centre”* (Workshop evaluation feedback form, February 2011). Another spoke about the need to follow up the workshop with strategic lobbying of the national Constituent Assembly (CA) process: *“The issues raised should be collated and submitted to the Chairperson of the Constitutional Committee. For this, Shakti Samuha to take an initiation and a follow up, this will make change.”* (Workshop evaluation feedback form, February 2011).

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

As a result, a number of demands concerning citizenship rights for trafficked women and their children came out of the workshop, which Shakti Samuha submitted to various bodies of the Constituent Assembly (CA) or constitution drafting committees (8) (see table 1). These fed directly into debates on citizenship in the Constitution writing process through ongoing dialogue with relevant subject committees of the CA and the Women’s Caucus of the legislative parliament.

Lobbying the government and CA on anti-trafficking and citizenship

The process through which lobbying occurs illustrates how the co-production of knowledge for advocacy purposes operates on the ground, often through networks of trust and overlapping spaces of influence and jurisdiction. Such networks and opportunities can be the result of unanticipated alliances and opportunities, as well as more long-term strategic network building. Two examples illustrate these different contexts through which the co-production of knowledge generated by the research influenced attention to post-trafficking livelihoods and citizenship issues in policy making in Nepal. The first example relates to the drafting process for the National Plan of Action on Trafficking. In her role as the IOM Nepal National Programme Advisor, team member Dr Poudel was invited to be a technical expert to the National

Committee Controlling Human Trafficking (NCCHT) mandated to formulate, revise and implement the National Plan of Action on Trafficking. Shakti Samuha also served on this Committee as a member representing survivors of trafficking in Nepal. As mentioned above, while Dr Poudel's long-term relationship with Shakti Samuha predated the research project the partnership with the IOM did not. Rather this was established post the research funding being awarded to facilitate Dr Poudel's continued involvement in the research, as by this time she was employed by the IOM. Subsequently a partnership was formed and a sub-contractual arrangement negotiated between Newcastle University and the IOM Mission in Nepal. This was agreed to by the funder because such an arrangement had the potential to influence policy making at a high level. The end result of this collaboration had influence on the policy making process because in March 2012 the Cabinet endorsed the recommendations, informed by the research findings, for the provision on support for women post-trafficking through access to social rights of citizenship (e.g. housing, medical treatment, victim support fund, education, livelihoods) (National Plan of Action, 2012).

The second example relates to lobbying the CA on citizenship following the Activist Workshop in February 2011. Immediately after attending the workshop, the Chair of the Nepali Fundamental Rights Committee, Ms Binda Pandey, who had been an active and supportive participant in the research project, contacted Dr Poudel to solicit from Shakti Samuha case study examples of returnee trafficked women's exclusion from forms of citizenship, with a view to presenting them to the CA. They both went to the Shakti Samuha office the next day and whilst sitting in a room together with the founding members, including the current president, they leafed through compilations of case histories which are part of the Shakti Samuha membership process. Through this process Ms Pandey selected the cases she wanted to present to the CA. Each case history is generated through interviews between Shakti Samuha staff and women applying to be members of Shakti Samuha. As such they indicate how another layer of the co-production of knowledge is embedded within a participatory bureaucratic process. Knowledge co-production can also be a useful tool in the selection process itself as the following quote from one of the Shakti Samuha Executive Committee members involved in documenting case histories with women living in hostels indicates.

“When someone approaches us first looking for Shakti’s membership we sought a kind of the commitment from the person that she should accept the trafficking issue. It means if need be they should be able to say that they are trafficked, be it in the family or community or just a single person ... During this time we evaluate their performance, make a kind of assessment how one is doing... then we ask for their case file because we give membership only to those who were trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. So they have to submit their case files which include their original name, address and everything in order to make a request to become Shakti’s member. We study their case files and the case files are prepared by counsellors and based on their profiles we make decision. Case study is the most important as a basis to provide membership”. (Interview, Pooja Mahato, Executive Committee Member, 2011.)

Not all those who make an application to Shakti Samuha are accepted and sometimes the case study documentation process serves to help verify whether women’s narratives are trustworthy and to weed out those who are providing fake stories in order to access resources.

“Some women come stating that they are trafficked survivors. It is not written on your forehead that you are a trafficked survivor; you can’t recognize a person from her outlook that whether she is or not a survivor. You just trust on their stories. We work in anti-trafficking and we also provide supports to trafficked survivors. When you become a member of Shakti Samuha we try our best to enhance their capacity and skills and all. We provide different sorts of training for their capacity building. In order to get this [opportunity] also they pretend”. (Interview, Executive Committee Member, Charimaya Tamang, 2011).

In cases where women are accepted into membership based on case study documentation that later proves to be falsified, membership is usually cancelled.

The case study interviews create a fabric of common and diverse threads. Violence was explicit in the lives of many of the women in our research and this is reflected in

the fact that violence against women featured explicitly in 7 of the 13 case studies presented to the CA. In some it was the reason for failure to secure citizenship and be able to register a birth, as the following testimonials from two of the cases indicate.

“My husband kicked me out of home after I gave birth to second daughter. He even said he is not the biological father of our second daughter. They beat me and I faced a lot of violence at home. They even came to my maternal home to beat me and tortured me mentally and physically. I could not resist this therefore I decided to go for divorce. I couldn't make my citizenship through my husband because I am divorced. When I tried to get this through the VDC, the VDC Secretary told me that this is illegal and I would be punished for this. Now I don't have my citizenship certificate and I cannot do the birth registration of my daughter as well” (Case history 1).

“I fell in love with a boy when I was 21 and married him. I gave birth to a boy after one year. I started facing physical and psychological violence immediately after I became pregnant and later he left me ... I started asking my husband to support in making my citizenship certificate and help in registering the baby's birth but he denied. I tried to make this from my maternal home but VDC secretary there also refused to do so. We both are in a big trouble because we don't have this essential document and we don't have our future” (Case history 2).

In these cases, both women approached their VDC to process their citizenship applications without success.

While our research reveals how officials are often unsympathetic to women without citizenship, because they have been trafficked, the cases presented to the CA also suggests that this is a more generic problem for women who do not have the support of a husband or father, for whatever reason.

“At the age of 19, one of my friends showed me a man and requested and forced me to marry with him...later on I came to find that he already had two wives

along with children. After a year, I also gave birth to a boy but I didn't get any kind of care and support from my husband. He started to abuse me verbally, emotionally and physically by beating and saying bad words to me ... I couldn't stay with him ... My father didn't agree to give endorsement for my citizenship ... and my husband also denied of giving me citizenship in his name. My son also doesn't have birth certificate" (Case history 3).

A further and separate thread of deprivation of citizenship is woven for many women through inter-caste marriages. One woman in the case histories submitted to the CA was not accepted by her husband's family and in another case a woman's marriage was not accepted by her own parents. Our research indicates how bias against women in the processes of accessing citizenship is also compounded by the mutually reinforcing links between poverty and trafficking (Laurie et al. 2010.) Testimonial evidence in another case history submitted to the CA also makes this link very clear.

"Because I am from a very poor family and I am illiterate, I was lured to a fake marriage and trafficked to Kuwait as a domestic worker...I started to face a lot of domestic and sexual violence from my landlord. After my landlord found I was pregnant with his child, he snatched away all the documents and complained to the police that I was an illegal immigrant. At the custody I met Nepali woman who later helped me and my child to be rescued from there. We came to Nepal and started living with this woman ... Later I met a social mobiliser who told me that this woman whom I was living with was also a broker and will potentially traffic me again" (Case history 4).

The woman who shared this testimonial is from an ethnic group (Tamang) often stigmatised for high levels of trafficking within their communities, indicating how the link between poverty and trafficking is also often racialised for some groups (see also Laurie et al. 2011).

A major preoccupation in the majority of the cases presented to the CA (10 out of 13) was the future of children. This is explained by the fact that if a husband or male relative will not support the mother's application for citizenship, a birth cannot be registered, unless the husband/male relative does it himself. This rarely happens and

in this situation, the women said, the child cannot go to school, get a job or get citizenship at 16. In three of the cases the fathers of the trafficked women refused to endorse their citizenship claim. In five other cases, a father's support was not possible because he had died. For some of these women, as well as others, husbands would not endorse them either, this included two cases where the women were divorced.

In sum it seems likely from our analysis of the 13 cases documented by Shakti Samuha and selected by the Chair of the Fundamental Right's Committee to present to the CA, that in 11 cases simply having been trafficked and family reactions to this precluded women from citizenship. The current constitution creates so few opportunities for Nepali women to be able to secure citizenship that each of the 13 cases represents a very real demand for the right to citizenship.

Conclusion

Through Shakti Samuha's advocacy trafficked women without citizenship are engaged in lobbying and looking for a new constitution for Nepal that will grant them citizenship in their own right. To this end, the research interviews, the Activist Workshop, letters to the different CA committees and the 13 cases presented by the Chair of the Fundamental Rights Committee have been highly successful lobbying tools. The Workshop in particular received extensive media coverage including interviews on Nepali TV and radio stations and print articles in the Nepali press. It also prompted follow-on events targeting the CA process organised by various NGOs and human rights groups, and media houses. In each of these events knowledge about trafficking continued to be co-produced through engagement between returnee trafficked women, and state and other civil society actors. Through these processes new understandings of anti-trafficking have been generated, setting a new agenda and parameters for the debate. Representing a challenge to the ways in research on trafficking is traditionally conducted, collaborative research has started to feed into policy debate on anti-trafficking in diverse and on-going ways that are difficult to capture and evaluate in a 'snap shot'.

Engaging in research to help bring about change is never a straightforward, unilinear process. Sometimes unexpected collaborations come about through changed

circumstances, as we have tried to illustrate with the presentation and discussion of the four different kinds of co-produced data in this article. We have also suggested that for such circumstances to turn into opportunities overlapping spaces of influence and jurisdiction need to be aligned through networks of trust built up over long periods of time. This, we would argue, is at the heart of a politically engaged understanding of collaboration which aims to raise the profile and listen to the voices of excluded and marginalised actors, such as returnee trafficked women.

Despite the current situation in Nepal where the CA remains suspended, some closure has been achieved as a result of lobbying about exclusions from citizenship post-trafficking. The mechanisms for taking proposals forward are now in place following the inclusion of a recommendation in the draft Constitution that ‘children without having a father’s known identity’ should be granted rights of citizenship. This was approved in March 2012 before the CA was suspended. (Fundamental Rights Committee Submission to the CA 2012, p.5). The draft has been saved in the CA secretariat and will be reopened after the next CA elections when the new CA resumes. This we would argue is a step along the path to transforming citizenship in Nepal.

Notes

1. Dr Meena Poudel had a long standing relationship with Shakti Samuha, including in her role in Oxfam (Programme manager 1996 – 1999, and as Oxfam’s country director for Nepal for 2000 – 2005), prior to coming to Newcastle University to do a PhD on anti-trafficking. After that, as this project took time to secure funding, Dr Poudel took up a position with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) Mission in Azerbaijan, in the meantime. Once the project was funded, a partnership was established with the IOM mission in Nepal to facilitate her continued participation in the research.
2. Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, UK (ESRC) ‘Post Trafficking Livelihoods in Nepal: Women, Sexuality and Citizenship’ RES-062-23-1490
3. A further 15 stakeholder interviews with activists, key personnel in NGOs and government were conducted. The study also analysed discourses and emerging

policies on trafficking and citizenship in Nepal, and tracked the evolution of debates in the Constituent Assembly, convened in 2008 to draft a new constitution.

4. Historically the right to citizenship was passed through the paternal line and linked to particular forms of kinship, as distinct from the state conferring citizenship, via the endorsement of a male relative typically a woman's father or, through marriage, via her husband.
5. See Conference Report: Accessed March 19th 2013. <http://www.posttraffickingnepal.co.uk/#/making-livelihoods-seminar/4563059569>
6. A leading global anti-trafficking network based in Bangkok. Accessed March 19th 2013, <http://www.gaatw.org/>. It recently launched its own international academic and policy journal (*Anti-trafficking Review*) <http://www.antitraffickingreview.org/>.
7. a) Committee reviewing current citizenship provision, b) inputs to National Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking (NPA), c) reviewing NGO sponsored rehabilitation schemes, d) examining mainstream approaches to post- trafficking livelihoods and e) challenges to the social reintegration of the women.
8. The Chair of the Women's Caucus, the Fundamental Rights Committee, the Chair of the Constituent Assembly, and Thematic Committee as well as different political parties.

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