Durham E-Theses

Departure Avenues: The Politics of (Anti-) Trafficking and Emigration Control in Nepal

AYUSHMAN BHAGAT

Departure Avenues:

The Politics of (Anti-) Trafficking and Emigration Control in Nepal

Ayushman Bhagat

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography,

Durham University

2020

Abstract

This thesis foregrounds the experiences of people on the move for labour employment from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal, amidst the politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration control. Drawing on 48 stories of mobility from participatory action research conducted from November 2017 to May 2018, I propose a conceptual framework of *departure avenues* as spatial and temporal trajectories produced during the actualisation of mobility decisions. Departure avenues offer a situated analysis of encounters between people navigating their international mobility and forces of control operating through a variety of actors and institutions restraining such mobility. The conceptualisation draws upon and speaks to the literature of new mobilities paradigm, the autonomy of migration, migration trajectories, critical (anti-) trafficking and critical border studies by demonstrating a mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control practices.

In particular, departure avenues show how (anti-) trafficking discourses in Nepal enable forces of control to configure several forms of bordering which delays or denies labour mobility of the research participants. As a result, we observe a variety of individual and collective mobility struggles along the departure avenues. These mobility struggles also signify the spectrum of mobility practices exceeding control practices. I uncover these dynamic shapes the excess of mobility over control take through the conceptualisation of *escape mobilities.* Escape mobilities are contingent configurations of interdependent mobilities employed by people upon their encounters with specific forms of borders. I empirically show how forces of control rescale and respatialise its existing bordering configurations in an attempt to highlight, capture, control, and digest these escape mobilities which sometimes disrupt the bordering attempts. I show modulations in mobility and control practices to make a broader argument of co-constitution of mobility and control.

Table of Contents

Declaration

Declaration The material contained in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other institution. It is the sole work of the author who takes full responsibility for any errors contained.

Statement of copyright

Acknowledgements

Guru is the Sanskrit word meaning 'principle', 'element' or 'reality' that dispels ignorance and brings autonomy. The word is also used interchangeably to signify masters, philosophers, teachers, professors, guides, coaches, experts, counsellors, sages etc. In this acknowledgement, I express my sincere gratitude to all those gurus who touched this research project and my life, in various ways.

To begin with, I would like to thank all my research companions – Lakpa Dorjee, Sitamaya Ji, Changu Di, Pemba Ji, Dhan Dorjee Ji, and all those wonderful participants who opened up to me, shared their pain, joy and pleasure and handed over their bundles of memories with trust. I am indebted to Cheewang, a friend that I made in the research site, and Dolma Di, a mentor, for providing all the possible support to execute the research project in a Himalayan village. I also express my gratitude to all those wonderful community leaders, placement agents and manpower personnel, NGO personnel, UN-ILO staffs, government officers, border guards and airport officials who offered their time, energy and effort to share their experiences. Thank you for letting me observe the incredible work you do with great passion and dedication. This dissertation belongs to you all as much as it belongs to me. I shall always remain indebted to your contributions.

I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Siobhan McGrath, for nurturing me throughout the process. Your super-human level support, guidance, encouragement and patience at all the stages of my PhD was inspirational. Without you, this thesis would never have begun. Thank you to Deirdre McCann for her continual support throughout the process. Thank you so much for placing your trust in me. Thank you, Lauren Martin, for joining in the supervision team when I needed your expertise, insights and experiences the most. Thank you for having faith in my work when I was feeling out of place. Thank you so much for all the wonderful personal and professional advice, conceptual discussions, and therapy sessions during the moments of self-doubts. Without you, this thesis would never have been finished. I will always remain indebted to all three of you for your enthusiastic supervision, critical engagement with my work and caring guidance. Thank you for inspiring me to think beyond disciplinary boundaries for this project.

Thank you to Bharti Birla and Yash Shethia whose unconditional guidance, enthusiasm, warmth and encouragement instilled the confidence in me to apply for a PhD position. I would also like to thank my professors, mentors, friends and colleagues from Xavier Institute of Social Service, Ranchi for sensitising me to put the community first in any development process and inspiring me to be a committed participatory professional.

Abhishek, Surbhi, Rakesh, Kashish, Yazmin, Riva, Celia, Shraddha, Aditi and Arushi for being there during some of the most challenging phases of the PhD. Thank you so much for providing support during the moments of struggle. I would also like to extend my gratitude to several meditation teachers, including but not limited to, Sri Sri, Bhavin Kumar, Mahesh Gupta, Promila Vaid, and Dr. Sen (my lovely therapist). The meditation and breathing techniques that you taught helped me during demanding and stressful times.

Finally, but most importantly, thank you to my family members for being there throughout the process. Thank you Raushan Bhaiya, Subrat Bhaiya, Aashish Bhaiya, Neha Didi for your steady support. Thank you so much to my little sister, Sweta, for unconditionally being there for me. Thank you so much for the unwavering support when I was going through some of the most difficult phases of the PhD journey. Thank you, Papa, for accepting my quirks, and allowing me to fly irrespective of the socio-economic constraints. Most especially, thank you so much, Mummy. I can not imagine my life without all your struggles, endurances and sacrifices. Thank you for your love, patience, kindness, thoughtfulness, compassion, gentleness, and encouragement. Thank you for allowing me to dream big. I could not have written this PhD without your love.

List of tables

List of abbreviations

AATWIN: Alliance Against Trafficking of Women and Children in Nepal

ABC Nepal: Agroforestry, Basic Health and Cooperative Nepal

AC: Air Conditioner

AD: Anno Domini

AoM: Autonomy of Migration

AWO: Arbeiterwohlfahrt

ATM: Automatic Teller Machine

BCE: Before the Common Era

CATW: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women

CNN: Cable News Network

DCCHT: District Committees of Combatting Human Trafficking

DoFE: Department of Foreign Employment

DFID: Department for International Development

FEA: Foreign Employment Act

FGD: Focused Group Discussion

Ft.: Feet

GAATW: Global Alliance of Trafficking Against Women

GAMcA: Gulf Approved Medical Centres Association

GCC: Gulf Cooperation Council

GEFONT: General Federation of Nepalese Trade Union

GoN: Government of Nepal

HIV AIDS: Human Immunodeficiency Virus Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

Ibid.: In the same place

ID: Identity Document

IGI: Indira Gandhi International Airport

IHRR: Institute of Hazard, Risk and Resilience

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IME: International Money Express

INGO: International Non-Governmental Organisations

INR: Indian Rupees

KD: Kuwaiti Dinar

KLIA: Kuala Lumpur International Airport

KL Tower: Kula Lumpur Tower

 NCCHT: National Committee of Combatting Human Trafficking

NEEDS: Network for Enterprise Enhancement and Development Support

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHRC: National Human Rights Commission

NNAGT: National Network Against Girls' Trafficking

NPR: Nepali Rupees

OT: Over Time

PAR: Participatory Action Research

PhD: Doctor of Philosophy

SAMI: Safer Migration Initiatives

SIDA: Swedish International Development Agency

TIP: Trafficking in Persons

TVPA: Trafficking Victims Protection Act

UN: United Nations

UNICEF: The United Nations International Children's Fund

UNOs: United Nations Organisations

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UK: United Kingdom

USA: United States of America

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

USD: United States Dollars

USSR: *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

VDC: Village Development Committee

WiF: Work in Freedom

WOREC: Women's Rehabilitation Centre

List of Pictures

Life is hard in the Himalayan villages. For my PhD research, I selected one particular village situated 15,000 ft. above sea level (see section 3.2.1). I had completed my fieldwork earlier this morning and was now trying to take a nap on a dust-ridden, fragile bed, inside a semi-constructed hut. Outside, the village was trying to recuperate itself after the immense loss of life and damage to infrastructure in the aftermath of the 2015 Gorkha earthquake. Inside, my sleep was disturbed by the brisk noises of rats running around the gables and the stinging, cold waves seeping through the porous blankets.

Knock, Knock [silence] *Knock, Knock, Knock* [silence] *Knock, Knock, Knock*

'Strange! I have never had a visitor at this time of the winter', I thought, as I was scared to leave the warmed bed space inside the freezing hut. I asked,

"Kaun hai?" [Who is this?]

Silence

After a while, I heard another round of knocks on the doors. "Wait!" I shouted, stepping out of the bed and taking two steps to unfasten the door latch. In front of me was a young girl in a green tunic with matching loose pyjamas and large, puffy, dusty black jacket. She looked somewhere between 7-9 years old. We both looked at each other and there was a silence for at least 10 seconds. I noticed that she was a bit restless. Before I could say anything, she stormed inside the room and sat on my bed. Without speaking, I sat next to her, looked at her, smiled and asked,

"Kaisi ho?" [How are you?]

Silence

Opening the lid of a small plastic jar of cookies, I asked,

"khaogi?" [Do you want to eat?]

She shook her head. I continued,

"Mera Naam Ayushman hai" [My name is Ayushman]

She tried to speak but couldn't. After a moment, with tearful eyes and a sad face, she tried again and said, in broken Hindi language,

> *"Maamaa Kuwait… Nahi phone…bahot din… baideshik rojgar… mumma ko la do"*[Mother Kuwait…no Phone… several days… foreign employment… bring my mother]

There was a long silence after the statement. I wondered what might have happened to her mother - Indo-Nepal Emigration detention, Indian brothels, Sri-Lankan transit, a cruel employer in Kuwait were some potential fates, among many other possibilities. The pain in her words and silences stopped me from speaking. The silence was awkward - maybe she felt the same and she changed the topic.

The girl started examining things and asking questions about the laptop, mobile phone, books, notebooks, stationery, medicines. Later, I showed her some pictures from my laptop and asked about her school, and friends. We were communicating without fully understanding each other. For a moment I thought that I escaped the original question, before she told me that her father was Palsang's bother.

I froze.

'Oh god! I know this guy'.

a month before the encounter with the girl

I was standing at a bus stop waiting to catch the only bus to the village. While I was waiting for the bus to arrive, a man approached me and asked me about my research. He was Jean[1], younger brother of Palsang, a local communist leader who founded the 'youth-club' to combat human trafficking and sex-work in the village (see 4.2.1).

The bus arrived. We sat next to each other and started talking about life, work, and everything in-between (village history, the current agricultural scene, seasonal migration in India, earthquakes, South Indian movies, how many children I have, why I am still studying and not married, life in England). Jean's hold on the Hindi language was good because of his regular seasonal labour mobility in India and his interest towards Hindi-dubbed South-Indian movies. All of a sudden, out of nowhere, Jean asked,

> *"Sarkar 'Sharm' kyun nahi deta hai hum log ko? kitna parenshai ho jata hai gaon wala log ko"* [Why does the government not issue labour permit to us? it just makes village people's lives difficult]

Silence

I could not utter a single word. Anti-trafficking NGOs had advised me to avoid using the term 'human trafficking' in front of the community members for my own physical and mental wellbeing. I was aware of the rapidly drying blood in my bones, as I did not want to say something entirely offensive and endanger the research project. I took a breath and asked,

"Kya pareshani ho gaya aapko usse?" [What problems have you encountered because of that?]

He told me that he was returning from Delhi after leaving his wife with a Delhi-based agent who was a friend of the village-based agent. He narrated the story of his wife's travels. He told me that to disrupt the gaze of the (anti-)Trafficking, they wore new and expensive clothes and took the most expensive bus service to New Delhi. En-route, Delhi Anti-Trafficking NGO counsellors interrogated his wife twice. As planned, she told them that they were going to Delhi to meet some relatives. Counsellors checked their bags only to find the strategically placed marriage certificate and citizenship document.

---

[1] Western names are anonymised names (see 1.4).

I interrupted and asked,

"Aur passport ka kya?" [And what about the passport?]

Silence

We both knew the answer, and we both laughed. He told me that they had handed over the passport to the agent before they left the village. The agent sent the passport to New Delhi with someone else to disrupt the Anti-Trafficking bordering practices at these posts. He told me that once the passport arrived in Delhi, the Delhi based agent would send his wife to Sri-Lanka on a tourist visa, and from there a paper-based visa, issued by the employers in Kuwait City, would be used to enter the destination.

'She has to become illegal to legally enter into the immigration regime', I thought.

"How much money did you receive from the agent?" I asked.

He told me that he received 40,000 Nepali rupees because the agent was a relative who helped them, despite the bans. He could have asked help from the other agents and would have received as much as 70 thousand rupees, but he decided to go with the most trusted one.

"Who was the agent?" I asked.

"Bales", he said.

'But Bales cannot be his relative. He supports congress, and Palsang is a hard-core communist', I thought.

A: *"Who are these agents?"*

Bales**:** *"Who is not an agent?"*

The sarcastic statement, by one of the most respected people in the community, highlights the polysemic and heterogeneous positions of most of the actors – community members, anti-trafficking groups working the community, local administrative officers etc. – who help people to navigate and sustain transnational mobility. For Bales**,** everyone is an unlicensed agent. He explains that,

> *"… to be a licensed agent, you need to pay tens of thousands of rupees to the government [see section 5.4.1], but to be an unlicensed agent, all you need is a network ensuring security and people willing to move."*

He once helped men and women from the community and beyond (including his wife and sisters) to move to the Middle East and Malaysia, both via regular and irregular channels. However, he claims, *"I've left all this"* and has remained inactive for the last two years. He explains the reason -" *if you send women to Kuwait, and if you are caught, you will get a minimum of 10 years under the anti-trafficking law."*

Bales' father, Wilbur, is an infamous drunkard who was among the first to have explored transnational mobility in the Middle East. A devout leader of *Rashtriya Prajatantra Party* (a nationalist part of Nepal), Wilbur's fondness for monarchy is well known in the village. Some people talk about his connection with brothel owners of India and his later connection with the agents of the Middle Eastern countries.

Palsang, the uncle of the seven-year-old girl, once brought Wilbur into the youth club. The idea was to bring local agents into the group to prohibit trafficking and sex work in India, as a recuperative measure to stop human trafficking (see section 4.2.1). Wilbur is now vocal about protecting women against 'human trafficking' and offers his full support to the initiatives led by local ward president, from the congress party[2] of Nepal.

I interviewed the young ward president, where he expressed his concerns over the increased mobility of women from the village. After the interview, my interpreter asked me,

[2] The leading Anti-Trafficking NGO in Nepal associates with this political group.

> *"Do you believe in the story he concocted for you? His own sister went to Kuwait through illegal channels. What would he will say about women's mobility?"*

Later, the interpreter's statement was corroborated by other participants. They told me that several female relatives of the ward president are still living in Middle Eastern countries and that the ward president is a good friend of Bales**.**

Josephine**,** who works closely with the local ward president, introduced me to Bales after most of my research participants refused to connect me to any agent (see section 5.4.4). During her interview, Josephine told me,

> *"He [Bales] is very nice as he is the first point in contact if anything goes wrong."*

 She further adds,

> *"It's not very difficult for him to 'help' people to move for foreign employment, as one of his relatives works in the Department of Foreign Employment office in Kathmandu."*

Bales, during his interview, told me that he started the business by sending his wife first to the Middle East. That helped him to forge a network and establish the business. He helped (and for some people, is still helping) many women from the community and beyond to go to Kuwait for employment. Bales supports the ban imposed by the government, and Anti-Trafficking NGO works, as for him these bans protect women from the potential 'traffickers' who could be charged with at least 10 years' imprisonment if they were caught.

> *"Why would anyone [agents] accept that they take women [to Kuwait] as there is no way one could legally take women out of the country at the moment?"*

Peter, the eldest (60+ year-old) participant, made this sarcastic comment during our action-reflection session (see: section 3.5.5).

Peter called himself a social worker and was an active member of several local NGOs. He worked with Wilbur for nine months to maintain the only Himalayan clay road connecting the village to the valley. One day, while reflecting on the problems of mobility, he requested that I put a question to the Anti-Trafficking NGO:

> *"Why do these NGOs aligning with specific political parties in Nepal allow agents associating with their party to take women across borders, while other agents are not allowed?"*

The quote offers us an opportunity to understand the politics of anti-trafficking and transnational migration in Nepal. Peter belonged to the Communist Party, Wilbur belonged to the Nationalist Party and Bales supported the ruling Congress Party of Nepal. The current Governor of the Federal State of Nepal and the congress party member is the founder of the largest and the most popular Anti-Trafficking NGO of Nepal (*Maiti - Nepal*). Maiti draws support from the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) - the largest anti-trafficking network in the world (see 2.2.1). Also known as "Mother Teresa" of Nepal, she had received dozens of awards, for instance, CNN *Anti-Trafficking Hero* and *Padma Shree* (India's fourth-highest civilian award). The organisation is known for its transit monitoring on national highways and open Indo-Nepal territorial borders.

I interviewed Peter during my initial days in the village. Having lost his parents in the early stages of his life, he suffered from extreme poverty. Due to this, he decided to leave Nepal with his uncle who was a hawker in India. Both used to buy clothes, watches, heels, handkerchiefs from Kathmandu and sold them across India. Afterwards, he worked in Indian stone quarries for several seasons, which helped him to start a carpet industry in Kathmandu during the early 90s. Finally, he decided to settle down in the village, and work to improve his community through various development NGOs. While I was returning from the interview, my interpreter told me,

> *"He didn't tell you the whole story [...] what do you think he was doing during his carpet job? [...] He took my Aunty to an Indian brothel and she later died from HIV/ AIDS."*

Drawing upon his experience of the research site and anti-trafficking, Cheewang, my interpreter, hinted about what I should expect from this village. Cheewang worked as an anti-trafficker with a local NGO and helped them to implement several grassroots Anti-Trafficking interventions.

Disillusioned with all the Anti-Trafficking work, he once said,

> *"I just hate it. This is not good work. Community members do not like me doing this work, as people often resist."*

Cheewang connected all ex-sex-workers to the Anti-Trafficking organisations, who transformed them as 'victims of trafficking' for their empowerment (NGOs prefers survivors over victims). In many ways, Cheewang was responsible for converting many sex workers into 'victims of trafficking' around that region. Sukumaya was one such sex trafficking victim/survivor. During her interview, she blames Cheewang for making her visible to the Anti-Trafficking,

> *"It was because of Cheewang I came out thinking I will receive some benefits."*

Cheewang's father was the core member of the Anti-Trafficking initiative in the community. His brother Jim used to be an agent, although he said that he had no idea about his brother being an agent until I told him. However, when he and his wife decided to move to the Middle East, he did not use the services of Bales, an agent who supported Congress. Instead, he utilised the services of his uncle Choi – another unlicensed agent - to facilitate their transnational mobility to the Middle East.

While Choi could not manage to secure visas for Qatar, he connected him to another agent. Later, the agent collated all the documents – medical, pre-departure training, insurance, contract, tickets – with the help of a placement agency and helped him to attain a labour permit from the government of Nepal (see: Chapter 5). According to Cheewang, while he was badly exploited in Qatar, he kept in touch with Choi over email and Viber, in case something went extremely wrong. Both Choi and Cheewang are supporters of the Communist Party of Nepal.

Choi**,** unlike Bales**,** participated in some of the focused group discussions and was critical about the activities of the local Anti-Trafficking NGO in the Indo-Nepal border. Later, I became friends with Choi and Jim**.** Both Jim and Choi knew about all the agents of the community and those further out. Choi once told me,

> *"They [agents] never ask people to move or tell them about the opportunities. It is the people who approach them, and only then do they help."*

The statement was given to me by most of the agents, who hinted at people's own agency in rendering their bodies illegal, which speaks to the politics of the Anti-Trafficking and Transnational migration in Nepal which delays or denies their aspirations. When I asked the reason for moving through illegal channels to work in exploitive employment relations, most of them told me that,

"It's a lottery that we have to take."

"Kya kare, Kisi ka aacha hota hai kisi ka kharab hota hai, yeeh tooh kismet ka baat hai" [What to do, some have good experiences and some have bad experiences. It is all about destiny]

[Jean, on the bus].

I met Jean a few of months after my encounter with his daughter, while I was out in the cold, on top of a plateau, trying to get internet connection to report my wellbeing to my university. He gave me a visiting card of the agent who facilitated his wife's mobility in Delhi. He asked,

"Kaab jayega aap" [When are you leaving?]

"Jaldi hi" [Soon]; *"Kutch pata chala biwi ka?"* [Did you hear anything from your wife?]

Nods

"Ek baar phone kiya tha" [She called once]

Enthusiastically, I closed my laptop and asked him to tell me more about his wife's experiences along, and beyond, the route. He told me that whereas Delhi was nice and offered freedom, Sri Lanka was bad and offered a month-long confinement, and Kuwait was horrible, as she was currently facing a lot of issues with her employer. He listed a few common issues such as: 'problems with the Arabic language, lack of sleep, lack of food, ill-treatment, and intensification of work and no physical mobility'. It is said in the community that aspirants, whose 'lottery' was not forthcoming, would have to endure lack of food, sleep, and indignity.

Jean told me that he returned to the village after he had stayed with the Delhi based agent for a few days. After a while, the wife was then taken to Sri-Lanka, where she waited for a month in a very bad place. She was kept in confinement before she received her visa for Kuwait. Later, he gave me the names of the sites where he had stayed and had visited in Delhi and the name of the agent who booked his return ticket to Nepal.

He was sad and I was silent, lacking words of consolation. However, he was relieved because his wife called him once. He told me that he was hopeful that once his wife learned the Arabic language, things would be better for her in Kuwait. On top of that, he was hopeful that the money [remittance] would arrive soon which would help towards reconstructing his old house which had been decimated by the earthquake. I asked whose decision it had been to go to Kuwait. Frustrated, he replied,

"Khud gaya tha, hum tooh bola nahi jao, lekin kya kare"

[She went on her own, I told her not to go but what could I do?]

He explained how, after months of negotiation, he had given up on his wife's stubborn decision to move, but later he decided to facilitate it.

These interdependent vignettes signify the complexity of lived experiences of people on the move from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal. These stories subsume empirical, methodological and conceptual arguments, which I aim to unpack throughout this thesis. Empirically, these vignettes highlight everyday encounters, intersubjective silences, historical contexts, intertwined networks and state policies as sites of epistemological importance. Methodologically, they prioritise the embodied experiences of people on the move over a variety of control practices. Conceptually, they provide a grounded understanding of concepts such as decisions, mobilities, borders, conflicts, liminality, disruptions, and escapes.

An analysis of these vignettes highlights the diverse mobility struggles of the people before they enter into the immigration regime and labour relations. To make a better understanding of the mobility struggles, I offer a concept of *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities.* Departure avenues constitute the active, spatio-temporal distance produced during the actualisation of mobility decisions. Put simply, the time and space between the initial mobility decision of that seven-year old's mother and her actualisation, reveals a highly localised, particular, and contingent departure avenue. Her mother encountered several forms, sites, agents, and practices of bordering along her avenue, which sometimes denied or delayed her mobility and rights. For example, the initial disagreement with her husband (Jean) delayed her while the current mobility ban in Nepal (Chapter 1) denied her mobility and rights. To actualise her mobility decision, she disrupted several forms and sites of bordering practices which she encountered along her departure avenue. I conceptualise the mobility configurations exceeding the immediate logics of these bordering practices as *escape mobilities.*

Escape mobilities signify a configuration of interdependent mobilities and are employed to disrupt the bordering practices of forces of control. People on the move configure these mobilities to challenge or disrupt the existing, sometimes unjust, configuration of control which denies or delays their mobility and rights along the departure avenues. At the same time, forces of control (which signify modulations among individuals, social groups, institutions, segments of nation-states which follow discourses, strategies, and practices) rescale and respatialise their existing bordering configuration to control, to capture, absorb and digest such mobilities which exceeds the immediate logics of control practices. Together, the modulations between mobility and control practices highlight a co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The co-constitution of mobility and control

This thesis highlights the experiences of people on the move from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal over political articulations of control (including political categories of migrants, trafficking victims, illegal, irregular etc.) to show a mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control. Whilst mobility is an embodied spatial and social movement, imbued with meaning and power embedded in the diverse practices of people on the move (Cresswell, 2006), control signifies modulating mechanics and logics of regulation, management, monitoring, containment embedded in the practices of individuals, social groups, institutions, segments of nation-states following diverse discourses, strategies, and practices. In this thesis, I add to the literature which bring both mobility and control into one analytical framework (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Söderström and Crot, 2010; Bærenholdt, 2013; Salter, 2013a; Söderström *et al.*, 2013) in order to demonstrate ways mobility practices shapes and are shaped by the practices of control. I show how control practices attempt to represent mobility practices exceeding the immediate logics of control and how mobility practices attempt to escape the practices of control to make a case of the mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control as a guiding argument for this thesis.

In this thesis, I study the mobility practices of people on the move for labour employment from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal underscoring a case of the constitutive relationship between the functioning of the politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration controls in Nepal and the mobile lives of the people. Specifically, I highlight a variety of encounters between different practices of control and mobility practices of my research participants. These constitutive experiences, embodied encounters (see: Scheel, 2013), reveal various sites of mobility struggles, uncovering different ways my research participants are targeted by dynamic forms, sites, agents, practices of bordering delaying and denying their mobility and rights (Burridge *et al.*, 2017), and ways they attempt to resist, transgress, disrupt, escape such bordering practices. Drawing on these insights, I argue that the embodied encounters at bordering sites produce modulations in both the mobility and bordering practices of the forces of control to highlight mutually co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

To capture this dynamic constitutive relationship between mobility and control, I develop the concept of *departure avenues* as spatio-temporal distances produced when my research participants attempt to actualise their mobility decisions. The concept of departure avenues offers a situated

analysis of encounters between people navigating their international mobility and forces of control operating through a variety of actors and institutions restraining such mobility. I demonstrate how (anti-) trafficking discourses in Nepal enables forces of control to configure several forms of bordering to delay or deny labour mobility of the research participants. Empirical findings demonstrate how these trafficking bordering practices not only shape the mobility practices but are also shaped by these mobility practices. Prioritising the spectrum of mobility practices, I show different ways mobility practices exceeds practices of the control performed due to (anti-) trafficking discourse. I uncover the highly particular, localised, and dynamic shape that the excess of mobility over control takes through the conceptualisation of *escape mobilities* as contingent configurations of interdependent mobilities employed by people along their departure avenues which sometimes disrupt the bordering configuration of trafficking. To control such disruptions, or to capture such escape mobilities, empirical findings reveal a dynamic rescaling and respatialisation in such control practices. The conceptualisation of departure avenues and escape mobilities draws from the literature of new mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2007), the autonomy of migration (Scheel, 2019), migration trajectories (Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020), critical (anti-) trafficking (O'Connell Davidson, 2015) and critical border studies (Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2012). By offering a grounded insight into how (anti-) trafficking discourses produce several bordering practices for people on the move and how mobility practices disrupt the practices of control, I empirically demonstrate and conceptually make a case of a mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control practices as advanced by Salter (2013).

In what follows, I present a historical account of mobility practices from my research site, and its subsequent encounters with the politics of (anti-) trafficking and transnational mobility. I divide this chronology into six subsections and begin with the brief history of labour and mobility in Nepal (section 1.2.1). I then introduce the community inhabiting the research site (section 1.2.2). Under this subsection, I discuss four different types of mobility for snow girls, sex workers, and contract workers. This discussion highlights the experiences of labour relations and immigration regimes that play a significant role in the mobile lives of individuals belonging to that research site. I provide a snippet of how people on the move navigate their international mobility.

1.2 The context

Nepal is a landlocked country with a population of 26.4 million.[3] The country is surrounded by China to the North and India to the South, East and West (Deane, 2010). Administratively, the country is divided into seven provinces; however, geographically, it is divided into three parts, viz., Mountain

---

[3] National Population and Housing Census 2011.

(northern part), Hill (central part) and Terai (southern part) with a 6.73%, 43.00% and 50.27% population respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). While scholars consider the Terai region as 'developed' due to fertile lands, urban centres, and dense population, they often position the Hill and Mountain regions as 'under-developed', due to the lack of sustainable employment opportunities (Kumar, 2016). They suggest that widespread poverty (nearly 80% of the population is dependent on subsistence farming (The World Bank, 2012)), high unemployment rates, years of civic and political unrest (Sharma and Tamang, 2016), frequent natural disasters (earthquakes and landslides) (Jones, Oven and Wisner, 2016), and strong social structures of discrimination due to caste and the class system (March, 2002), has resulted in both internal and international migration (Deane, 2010). I conducted my fieldwork in a sparsely populated mountain region with high female migratory mobility, often labelled as a 'trafficking prone' area by anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal. In this section, I begin by providing a brief account of mobility in Nepal (1.2.1). I then foreground an account of the mobility of people from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal as context for this thesis.

1.2.1 History of labour mobility in Nepal

The history of mobility in Nepal dates back to 500 BCE when salt traders of Nepal, India, Tibet, and China used ancient *Ghoretos*[4] to crisscross these regions (Piya and Joshi, 2016). Nepal, during those times, was made up of several small principalities. In 1742, the kingdom of Gorkha (a small principality) started an aggressive unification process by conquering several principalities. In less than 75 years, the kingdom pushed its territorial boundaries from the river Yamuna on the west, and Teesta on the East, and annexed several small kingdoms which led to the foundation of (the Hindu Kingdom of) Nepal in the mid-18th century. Scholars suggest that the rapid unification process blocked trading routes and threatened colonial ambitions of the British East India Company (Schrader, 1987). As a result, both aggressive imperial powers fought the Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-16) which ended with the treaty of Sagauli (Marshall, 2005). Some anthropologists suggest that even the unification of Nepal, Rana Rule,[5] and several bordering events[6] could not impact the ancient 'trans-Himalayan' mobility in the mountain region (Schrader, 1987). It was only after the Chinese invasion and the occupation of Tibet, in the 1950s, that the salt trade was disrupted (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1975).

---

[4] A local word which signifies roads formed by the impressions of horse hooves.
[5] Ranas were originally the prime ministers of the kings of Nepal. During mid-19th century, they reduced the Nepal monarchy to mere nominal heads of the state. The Rana lineage was a totalitarian regime which ruled Nepal from 1846-1951.
[6] For example: the Sagauli treaty, the independence of India, open border treaty with India.

The treaty of Sagauli demarcated territorial lines between India and Nepal (Thapliyal, 1999) and marked the birth of the state controlled transnational recruitment in Nepal (Piya and Joshi, 2016; Bossavie and Denisova, 2018). After the treaty, the British East India Company encouraged recruitment of Nepali *Gurkhas* (army personnel) in their Battalions (Sijapati and Limbu, 2017a), and facilitated the mobility and settlement of Nepalese people in the tea plantations of Assam (a north-eastern Indian province) after its annexation in 1926 (Adhikari, 2017). During this period, several Nepalese people preferred to work in the mines and tea estates of Assam to escape the oppressive land and labour policies of the unification era (*ibid.*). Historians suggest that, while Nepali rulers discouraged international mobility, especially the recruitment practices of the British Empire (Rathaur, 2001), 'The East India company opened many recruitment centres near the Indo-Nepal borders to attract Nepalis' (Adhikari, 2017, p. 296). The British 'smuggled' Gurkha soldiers into their battalions, despite the restrictive policies of Nepal, until the Government of Nepal cooperated with the British in recruiting Gurkhas after 1885 (Rathaur, 2001). Several British Gurkha Regiments were raised in different parts of the British colonies, and the two World Wars took them all over the world. The British later encouraged the immigration and settlement of Nepali soldiers and their families in India (Adhikari, 2017). Many people in Nepal still find this cross-border army recruitment a prestigious employment opportunity.

The independence of India, in 1947, transformed the landscape of labour and mobility for Nepali citizens. Initially, Nepal, India and Britain entered into a tripartite agreement in 1947, which allowed India and Britain to recruit Gurkhas in their regiments (Upreti, 2003). Later, India proposed 'Indo-Nepal Peace and Friendship Treaty' in 1950, which was accepted by the Ranas of Nepal. While the Indo-Nepal border was historically open, the treaty officially bound both these countries into a strategic, political, and diplomatic relationship (Kumar, 2016). The treaty formally marked citizens of both countries as free to cross the 1751 km long borderline[7] (without visa and customs charges) (Deane, 2010). This reciprocal Indo-Nepal border arrangement of free movement of people and goods established a close strategic partnership between the two nations (Manhas and Sharma, 2014). The open border shapes and strengthens the economic, cultural and social ties between citizens of both these states, and promises people living on both sides an almost unhindered mobile life (Thapliyal, 1999). The treaty allowed Nepalese to access various employment-rich areas of India like Mumbai, Delhi and Calcutta, and Indians to access various opportunities in the booming industrial locations in the *Terai* region of Nepal (Kumar, 2016). India remained the prime destination

---

[7] Statistics from Ministry of Home Affairs (Department of Border Management).

for the International labour mobility for employment until the 1980s. One such labour employment opportunity was in the sex work sector in India, preferred by Tamang women from my research site.

1.2.2 Historicizing labour mobility of a community from a specific site

This research is based on the mobility practices of an indigenous Tamang community residing in a Himalayan site.[8] Tamangs follow Buddhism and have physical and cultural similarities with Tibetan people (Fricke, 1994). The earliest account of Tamangs comes from the writings of British traveller, Francis B. Hamilton, who notes that the community followed the profession of agriculture, and carried loads for upper caste people, but were prohibited to enter the valley of Kathmandu because they ate carrion (Hamilton, 1819, p. 54). While there are several conflicting accounts of the origin of Tamang people, most of the researchers place mobility as a defining feature of the Tamang's society (Holmberg, 1989). For example, Fricke suggests that Tamangs are descendants of Tibetan soldiers who embraced Buddhism during 640 AD, and settled in the South of the Tibetan plateau. The explanation resonates with a highly controversial representation of Tamang people with the Tibetan word *Tamag (Ta: Horse, Mag: Soldiers),* who arrived from the ancient slat route (Ghoreto: routes formed by horse impressions) (Hall, 1982; Smith, 2011). In contrast, Holmberg suggests that the name Tamang emerged with the formation of the Nepal state, which offers an overarching label to represent communities such as Bhote, Lama, Murmi, Ishan, and Sain (Holmberg, 1989; Fricke, 1994). In this historical ambiguity, the origins of the community is difficult to trace. However, Tamangs were classed as 'impure' (placed in the lowest strata of the caste system) and were subject to slavery in the first edition of *Muluki Ain* (National Code) rolled out by Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana, in 1854, to achieve the national unification of Nepal based on Hindu cultural homogeneity (Holmberg, 1989; Gray, 2015).

Some scholars note that during the *Rana* era, while male tamangs *(keta)* were used by courtiers for menial jobs, females tamangs *(keti)* were preferred as domestic workers (*susaaray),* concubines *(bhitrini)* and in Rana palaces (Tamang, 1992; March, 2002; Ghimire, 2014). Once the Rana rule ended, historical accounts suggest that Tamang women started to seek sex work in India (Asman, 2018). The gradual proliferation of sex work mobility in India increased the discourse of human trafficking in Nepal. As a result, many of the sex work aspirants started to go to the Middle East for domestic work. Currently, many young women are aiming to go to Europe. I conducted field work in one such site. Drawing upon the fieldwork, archival material, and literature on migration and (anti-)

---

[8] Due to the anonymity clause, I will not reveal the name of the research site. For more discussion see section 3.6.1 and 3.6.2

trafficking in Nepal, I now present a historical account of the mobility of Tamang people from my research site and simultaneous transformations in the forces of control.

Mobility: snow-girl work

"[T]he trafficking of women within Nepal began in the 19th century, when the feudal Rana family began recruiting Tamang girls from Sindhupalchock, the central hill of Nepal, to serve as entertainers for ruling families in Kathmandu" (Poudel, 2009, p.30). Tamang *'women were imported from the Tamang hills for all kinds of chores* in the Rana palaces and courtier houses, eventually starting a trend of prostitution in Nepal (Hamilton, 1819; Tamang, 1992). While the royals of Nepal deny the presence of Tamang women, there is evidence which suggests that these women worked as domestic workers, courtesans, concubines, entertainers and sex workers in the courts of Nepal (Tamang, 1992; Sangroula, 2001; Gardner, 2008; IANS, 2008; Ghimire, 2014; Lama, 2018). For example, Asman (2018), based on her ethnographic study reiterates the presence of Tamang women in Royal courts. She suggests that Tamang women were either sent by their parents or ordered by members of the Rana's administration.

Asman (2018) categorises Tamang women in the royal courts of Nepal according to their 'inside' (live-in) and 'outside' (live-out) status. While live-out workers were strictly supposed to conduct domestic work, live-in workers were placed and lived inside houses (Asman, 2018). For Asman, inside women were sometimes engaged in sexual practices, and upon their return, people readily accepted them in their village. Some suggest that *'Kings used to have hundreds of concubines* [from Tamang communities]*; even in the 1940[s] it was still accepted'* (Kendra Dixit, editor of Nepali times in Gardner, 2008). While it is hard to find evidence of when this system started, most people acknowledge that it ended with the culmination of the 104-year long Rana Rule, in 1951 (Ghimire, 2014).

The community where I conducted my research use a local term *Him Kanyas* or 'Snow Girls' to identify these women. They claim that the majority of women who once used to serve the royals of Nepal belonged to this Himalayan landscape. Research also backs the claim that these concubines were, in the majority, recruited from my research site to serve the kings and their family members (Tamang, 1992). People claim that Tamang women, because of their physical features, were preferred in the royal courts to work as concubines, domestic workers, or to please others, especially guests. Some research participants suggest that *Him Kanyas,* after their service in the royal courtyards, used to bring back objects (gold jewellery, money and fancy clothes) and stories about the 'other side of the world'. The sudden prosperity of their families prompted other members of this mountain-dwelling agriculture-based community to aspire to gain similar

opportunities. While estimating the exact number of Snow Girls from this site is difficult, some people in the community believe that the employment of Snow Girls triggered the international mobility of Tamang women.

International mobility of Tamang women started after the independence of India, in 1947. In 1950, India proposed a peace and friendship treaty with the Ranas of Nepal, which formally reinforced the importance of 'free' movement of people and goods between these two nations without restrictions (Manhas and Sharma, 2014). However, within three months of signing the treaty, Ranas were overthrown from Nepal. Many of them utilised the open border as an escape route to India with their young Tamang concubines and servants. Asman (2018) explains,

> *"To India they brought their families, their second, third and fourth wives, and so on, rakhels, mistresses, some of the dancers, entertainers, as well as other women and men from the staff at the palaces in Kathmandu"*

> (Asman, 2018, p. 42).

Asman further suggests that many women who were jobless due to the financial crisis of the Ranas, opted for the entertainment sector and sex work in India *(ibid.)*. Some researchers suggest that Ranas 'sold' some of the Tamang women into sex work in Indian brothels (Joshi and Swahnberg, 2012). Joshi & Swahnberg (2012) argue that these women opened brothels in India and started to return to their villages to recruit Tamang girls. Community members say that these women established transnational networks with those agents who once recruited girls for the Ranas. These networks started the process of recruitment from Nepal into the Indian sex industry.

Mobility: sex work

The mobility of Tamang women in respect to travel to India was initially considered as 'women going to Durbar to do household work' as Ranas continued recruiting Tamang women (Asman, 2018). However, once the news of sex work spread in Nepal, the mobility of women became a moral concern for the state, which later became a political concern for the anti-traffickers of Nepal (Asman, 2018; Caviglia, 2018). As a response, during the revision of the original Muluki Ain (National Code) in 1963, the government introduced a chapter (no. 11) on human trafficking (Shukla, 2010). The National Code of Nepal, 2020 (1963) criminalised those who conduct or assist cross border movement of women for the purpose of 'selling' them (Government of Nepal, 1963). The reactionary measures reinforce a conservative Brahmanical idea of Hinduism, which considers women as polluting and dangerous (Gray, 2015) under the disguise of human trafficking. Shukla explains this,

"The Muluki Ain or Country Code regarding rape providing for a much lesser punishment if the victim/survivor was a prostitute is a striking reflection and illustration of the tremendous social stigma attached to sex work/prostitution, even when it is not criminalised by law"

(Shukla, 2010, p.25).

While the restrictions sparked the debate of human trafficking in Nepal, male community members were making new connections with Tamang women in Indian brothels. Asman (2018), in her ethnographic account, mentions that many Tamang men used to meet and forge networks with Tamang women in Indian brothels. Similarly, several Tamang men from the research site travelled a lot and brought diverse personalised networks into the community. These networks offered many opportunities for the community members, such as construction work opportunities in several northern parts of India, sex work in the Indian brothels of Calcutta, Pune, Delhi and Mumbai, and several labour opportunities in other informal sectors in India.

During the 1980s, Nepal witnessed growth in the carpet industry, which increased rural to urban mobility of women (Sangroula, 2001). At the same time, demand for fair-skinned, Mongolian-featured Tamang women in Indian brothels (Devries, 2012) increased the cross-border movement of women from this specific community. Almost all 'human trafficked victims/survivors' interviewed during the research talked about the promises (deception) made by the agents/traffickers of employment in the carpet industry of Kathmandu. Sangroula (2001) suggest that during this time,

"rapid urbanization and job prospects entice teenage girls to migrate to cities in Nepal. They seek work in the carpet industry, garment industry, restaurants and domestic service. These unsuspecting girls arrive in cities and are coerced into the sex trades"

(Sangroula, 2001, p. 34).

Community members claim that the employment opportunities in the 1980s led many women into sex work in India. For example, one of the research participants, who used to run a carpet factory in Kathmandu during those times, was charged by another participant for taking his aunt to Indian brothels. Many researchers have highlighted strong links between the carpet sector and sex sectors (Sangroula, 2001; Joshi and Swahnberg, 2012). The renewal of the fear of trafficking in Nepal, in policy circles during the 80s, led to the enactment of The Traffic in Human Beings (Control) Act, 1986. Building upon the existing provisions, the act conflated trafficking with prostitution (Shukla, 2010).

However, The Traffic in Human Beings (Control) Act, 1986 did not have much effect on the mobility practices of the community members; but the gradual proliferation of Anti-Trafficking awareness by

the media in Nepal brought shame to some of the community members. As a response to the existing mobility towards sex work, some young men of the village decided to restrict the mobility of women to brothels through a youth club. The setting up of the youth club manifested trafficking borders for the rest of the community members. The rationale was to deny mobility for sex work, which, for them, presented the community and its women in a bad light. The evolution of the youth club, which followed purity-based upper-caste rules could be a tribute to the process of Sanskritization or Hinduisation (Gray, 2015). The aim was to sensitise these community members against sex work, restrict mobility of the non-Tamang agents, and prevent women of the community from entering into sex work. The youth club was later forced to disband during the Communist Revolution of 1996 (Sharma and Tamang, 2016). While the youth club's five-year bordering endeavour[9] could not fully prohibit sex work mobility, it successfully stigmatised sex work and women's mobility in the community.

Several parallel events and interventions, like the Mumbai raid in 1996 (Shree and Abhurami, 2015), the International Anti-Trafficking debate of the late 1990s (Wijers, 2015), National coalition and network in Nepal (Poudel, 2009), increased media reporting against human trafficking (Konrad, 2019), and increased HIV/ AIDS cases (Poudel and Carryer, 2000) sensationalised trafficking in Nepal, and encouraged the seeds sown by the youth club in the community. As a response, the government of Nepal introduced a comprehensive law on trafficking in 2008, which replaced the existing legislation (Legislature-Parliament of Nepal, 2007). The Law broadened the scope of trafficking by positioning trafficking as 'selling and purchasing of a person for any purpose' (GoN, 2007). However, for the first time, sex work was deemed illegal in Nepal under this law. Shukla explains,

> *"Sex work/prostitution was not an offence in Nepal till this enactment. In a retrograde development indicating the conflation of trafficking and sex work, the new law specifically includes 'to go in for prostitution' in the definition of trafficking"*

> (Shukla, 2010, p. 23).

Shukla explains that sex workers were detained and harassed under the Public (offences and penalties) Act, 1970, as public nuisances, and disturbing public tranquillity.

---

[9] During the course of my field work, some of the members of this youth club told me that initially they faced several resistances (sometimes violent) from the community members as they were problematising the most profitable livelihood of the community at large. This resistance changed their strategy as well. They started recruiting and giving positions of power to community based agents in the youth club who had contacts in the brothels.

Mobility: seasonal work and contractual work

The community members also opted for seasonal labour in North Indian Himalayan sites. While there were limited restrictions (except Indo-Nepal borders), the routes they took were arduous and dangerous, and the spaces that these routes led them to (i.e. labour relations) were extremely exploitative. These seasonal labourers work under harrowing conditions in the steep terrain of Himalayas, constructing and maintaining mountain roads, breaking stones in stone quarries, and participating in horticultural development activities in North Indian federal states (Gill, 2003). While some research participants (and many Nepalese) still prefer the location and the work for seasonal employment, no concrete provisions had been put in place, until now, to improve these exploitative working conditions. During focused group discussions, many participants told me that no one goes to India for sex work anymore, due to the stigma and policing,[10] and that young people in the community do not choose seasonal work in India, because of the hardship and exploitation.

Meanwhile, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, several developments in Nepal, the Middle East, and Malaysia shifted women's mobility towards the Middle East (Kuwait) for domestic work, and men's mobility towards Malaysia and Middle Eastern countries (Qatar and Saudi Arabia). The gradual transformation in the mobility of the community also signals a gradual formalisation of the emigration regime of Nepal, through laws, regulations, directives, policies and interventions by the government of Nepal (Khatiwada, 2014; Asman, 2018; Pyakurel, 2018). These became one of the most comprehensive emigration laws in the world – the Foreign Employment Act (FEA), 2007 (Khatiwada, 2014). The Act created spaces for several actors and institutions to implement its rules, directives, and regulations. For example, in the wake of human right abuses, suicides and the exploitation faced by workers, especially in the Middle East, the FEA has currently issued a directive imposing a total ban on the movement of people in the informal sector (ex. domestic work) unless there is a bilateral treaty with the country of destination (Bossavie and Denisova, 2018) (For a detailed history of bans, see section 5.3). However, despite prohibition, the employers from the Middle Eastern countries continue to issue individual and paper-based visas to the citizens of Nepal, which has sparked the discussion on illegality in the country. To restrict so-called 'illegal' mobility practices, several Anti-Traffickers of Nepal juxtapose sex work with domestic work in their anti-trafficking policies and implement the directive. For the participants in my research, numerous encounters with Anti-Trafficking NGOs, en route to the Middle East, stigmatised the mobility of women in domestic work, which was once used as a tactical response to avoid conflicts with these actors. These anti-traffickers do not consider the mobility of men for contractual labour in the

---

[10] Or, as per some sources, the community politically pretends that the avenues are blocked.

Middle East and Malaysia worth significant protection. Several Tamang men, during the 90s, went to these countries and forged transnational links with people (mostly Nepalis) who were engaged in the recruitment business. Some of them started to facilitate the movement of their wives, sisters, and relatives, before becoming unlicensed agents. Now the condition is such that most of the households in the community have their own transnational links in the Middle East. As a result, despite mobility bans, women from this community go to the Middle East.

The same unlicensed agents facilitate the mobility of men, following the government regulations despite having less accessible support by the government to deal with force, fraud, deception, and abuse of vulnerability, both during the move and in the labour relation. My empirical data suggests that several forms and degrees of exploitation (Strauss and McGrath, 2017) are regularly faced by almost all members of the community using these government channels. However, the findings also suggest that the lack of justice from the government has produced at least two alternative courses of action. First, the birth of several illegal diasporic communities, both in Malaysia and in the Middle East, as a response to exploitation in the labour relation (see section 6.5). Secondly, people often take direct action against their exploiters - for example, pressurising employers in Kuwait to avail certain rights as acts of solidarity, and kidnapping placement agents and retrieving money from them, in the case of bad mobility deals. These empirical evidences highlight the government's unwillingness to deal with the exploitation in labour relations, despite frequent changes in the policies of the mobility regime of Nepal (Sijapati and Limbu, 2017b). As a result, the place has recently started witnessing a turn towards another direction. People are now envisaging a better life in Europe, by preparing themselves to enter into another complex immigration regime.

In this section I provided a short history of people on the move from my research site, for context. I showed how the issue of morality, gendered mobility, exploitation, and illegality brought several actors, social groups, segments of nation-states following several discourses, strategies, and practices together, to control the lives and mobility of people. These are what I call as the forces of control, which contingently assembles at different sites to delay and deny mobility to my research participants.

1.3 Research questions

In this research, I highlight tensions between mobility and control practices. I prioritise people's differentiated and diverse mobility experiences and discuss sites where their mobility was either delayed or denied by actors and institutions following different discourses, strategies and practices. The political and ethical prioritization of people's mobility experiences, impacted by the discourse of trafficking, was carried out through Participatory Action Research (PAR) (McTaggart, 1991; Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007a).

I conducted PAR in a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal. With the help of several participants, we conducted participatory sessions, participatory trainings, interviews and focused group discussions, to understand diverse mobility experiences along the mobility routes taken by the participants in order to navigate foreign employment opportunities. I tracked several sites along these routes to better understand the process of denying mobility and rights. Based on the field work, parallel readings, and analysis of data, I now present three research questions to frame the thesis:

How do mobility and control co-constitute each other?

This question focusses on the embodied experiences of people on the move and simultaneous modulations in the forces of control from a 'trafficking prone' area. The question is also a conceptual one, which asks us to position control as the constitutive other of mobility. While *mobility* for me is an embodied spatial and social motion, imbued with meaning and power (Cresswell, 2006), *control* signifies modulations among individuals, social groups, institutions, segments of nation-states which follow discourses, strategies, and practices. I understand forces of control as being a contingent articulation of actors and institutions following different discourses and strategies to highlight, control, capture, and digest diverse mobility practices.

In section 1.2, I presented a snippet of the transformations in the mobility pattern and the modulations in control strategies. In every empirical chapter, I aim to unpack the dynamics of mobility and control at several spatial sites – villages, buses, highways, the national capital, government offices, airports, Indo-Nepal border sites, placement agent offices, and employment sites. I highlight spatial sites where forces of control deny or delay mobility of people on the move and observe temporal modulations in the forces of control to control, capture, and digest mobility. These modulations in the forces of control signify a primacy of mobility over control. Hence, throughout the thesis, I empirically prioritise mobility over control, and conceptually argue for the co-constitution of mobility and control.

In what ways do (anti-) trafficking discourses transform practices of mobility and control in Nepal?

The question is a meso level question, focused on dynamic configurations of control following the discourse of (anti-) trafficking in Nepal. To answer this question, I follow Foucault's understanding of discourse and position human trafficking as a historical system of knowledge production to govern everyday life through collective understanding and acceptance of trafficking as a social fact (Adams, 2017). The discourse of (anti-) trafficking attempts both to fix, and to hide, the meaning of trafficking, in order to achieve certain political goals. For example, the (anti-) trafficking discourse in Nepal, which draws from the pre-Victorian understanding of morality and sexuality of women

(Doezema, 2010), hides the discourse of *Brahmanical* purity order, and caste system, enshrined in the 19th century *Muluki Ain* of Nepal (Asman, 2018). However, once this discourse is challenged by the mobility practices of the people, we observe a simultaneous modulation in the anti-trafficking measures as well. I empirically show how the ever modulating anti-trafficking measures in Nepal simultaneously shape people's mobility practices.

In section 1.2, I contextualised the (anti-) trafficking discourse of Nepal. I showed temporal modulations in mobility practices and control practices which follow the discourse of trafficking. I reveal how the Anti-Trafficking discourse contingently divides people (family members, placement agents, NGO members, government officials, trade union members, Nepal/Border Police force, staff of detention centres, bus service operators, bus drivers, hotel owners, rickshaw pullers, taxi drivers, everyday border crossers, dance bar owners, even counterfeiters) either into traffickers and anti-traffickers upon encountering classed, gendered, and racialised mobility. I aim to magnify these encounters of mobility and control in the subsequent chapters, to show the production of interstitial spaces of exceptions due to such encounters and the transformation in the practices of mobility and control. I show how, in this space, people's diverse mobility practices both exceed strategies of forces of control, and simultaneously, allow the forces of control to rescale and respatialise its bordering practices, using (anti-) trafficking discourse to control the excess of mobility over control.

How do people on the move from a 'trafficking prone' area navigate their international mobility?

This question underpins the overarching and meso level research questions by denaturalising all the categories of control and brings to the fore the perspective of mobility practices of people, regardless of the outcome. I answer this question based on the analysis of 48 stories of mobility, focused group discussions involving more than 200 people, and ethnographic navigation of some of the mobility routes at several sites. Participants from the research site move to more than eleven countries, to work as sex workers, domestic workers, factory workers, hawkers (newspaper, watches, handkerchiefs, towels, high heels), construction workers, loading/unloading workers, beauty parlour staff, hotel staff, stone quarries workers, and horticultural workers. These stories of mobility show both individual and collective mobility struggles by highlighting different encounters along the routes, which delay or deny mobility and rights of my research participants while navigating their international mobility.

In this thesis, I draw upon empirical materials, relevant literatures, my policial and practical experiences of working with people deemed vulnerable to, and victims of, human trafficking. Underneath these three research questions sit countless, often uncomfortable, questions asked by

the research participants during my stay; many discussions and debates took place in various sites and I was placed in several political and ethical dilemmas during every stage of my research. I highlight experiences of, and responses to, several mobility and control practices, by placing mobility at the core of all the political narratives which attempt to control people's bodies, mobility, rights, and labour. Through these research questions, I argue that embodied experiences of encounters between mobility and control highlight where and how mobility practices exceed control practices and mobility struggles of my research participants making an overarching case of the co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

1.5 Navigating the thesis

In the following chapter, I conceptualise *Departure Avenues* to analytically make a case of the co-constitution between mobility and control. I start with a review of critical literature on (anti-) trafficking (section 2.2). For context, I historicize the debate on trafficking before reviewing the critical literature which problematises mobility control practices (O'Connell Davidson, 2015). To make a case of how anti-trafficking measures problematise transnational labour mobility in Nepal, I review literatures discussing various dimensions of (anti-) trafficking discourses in the emigration regime (Howard, 2017) (section 2.3.3). These anti-trafficking control measures in the emigration regime of Nepal not only targets mobility practices but also tries to capture mobility practices exceeding them. To make a case of how control practices shapes mobility practices, and how mobility practices shapes control practices, I review literature emerged under the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Urry, 2007) (section 2.3). I discuss how scholars from different disciplines have developed this paradigm, before highlighting literature discussing the importance of power relations in the study of mobility and mobilities (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013) (section 2.3.1). However, to make a case for how mobility practices exceed various relations of power, I review some critical literature on migration that makes an important case about the excesses of mobility over control (Scheel, 2019) (section 2.3.1). With the help of the aforementioned bodies of work, I advance the argument of the co-constitution of mobility and control forwarded by Salter (2013).

To analytically make a case for this mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control, I then conceptualise departure avenues as highly contingent routes produced when people attempt to actualise their mobility decision (section 2.4). I place the concept of departure avenues in the emerging literature on migrant trajectories (Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020) to show highly specific mobility practices exceeding control practices and to investigate individual and collective mobility struggles. I review literature on mobility decisions (Mccormack and Schwanen, 2011), liminality (Thomassen, 2009), and borders (Burridge *et al.*, 2017), to further conceptualise departure

avenues. Drawing on critical border studies (Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2009), I show the encounter between discourse-based decentralisation of borders and people on the move producing a liminal space. People on the move decide either to disrupt or to follow those liminal spaces. Here I conceptualise *escape mobilities* as a complex configuration of interdependent mobilities with subversive potentialities. Escape mobilities signify contingent shapes of excess of mobility over control. To capture these escape mobilities and plug the ruptures created by them, the forces of control rescales and respatialises its control practices through a dynamic assemblage of what Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos (2008) call as *liminal porocratic institutions.* These assemblages take place in response to the mobility practices of specific targets. The dynamic modulations both in the mobility and control practices establishes the co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

In Chapter 4, I take the first step to empirically establish the concept of departure avenues. I begin by showing various mobility decisions taken by people from the research site. I chronologically divide mobility decisions of my participants according to the categories of labour – sex work, seasonal work, contract work, and domestic work (section 4.2). While these mobility decisions are ongoing decisions embedded in history, present context, and future aspirations, I break down this multiplicity of decisions to examine the decisions people take to navigate their labour relations, using the concept of *departure avenues*. I highlight three aspects of departure avenues. First, I argue that the departure avenues are contingent mobility routes which are produced following a multiplicity of decisions. Second, I show that these mobility decisions follow contingent directions, revealing a departure avenue. In other words, departure avenues are spatial and temporal distances revealed during the actualisation of mobility decisions. Third, I argue that transformations in mobility decisions also signify the transformation in departure avenues. These transformations show encounters between people on the move and forces of control.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the encounters between people on the move and the forces of control. Building on the conceptualisation of the departure avenues, I highlight encounters along departure avenues towards sex work, domestic work and contract work. I show how encounters between people on the move and forces of control not only transform departure avenues, but continuously bring about changes in the forces of control. These forces of control draw from the Anti-Trafficking law and Foreign Employment regulation of Nepal, which structures formal recruitment industry in Nepal. Due to these anti-trafficking and emigration control regulations, people on the move contingently encounter several borders and 'bordering' along their departure avenues. I then highlight the presence of the informal recruitment industry in Nepal. I review the history of mobility bans, which deny and delay women on the move for domestic work. The mobility bans in Nepal

show a constant change in the bordering process, revealing conflicts due to the attempts to capture excesses of mobility over control. The excess is a tribute to the various ways in which escapes? manifest along the departure avenues.

In Chapter 6, I discuss conflict and escapes along *departure avenues* in four regimes – citizenship, emigration, (anti-) trafficking, and labour regime – which constitute regimes of mobility in Nepal. I show the production of the spaces of exception during the encounter between people on the move and forces of control. I conceptualise these spaces of exception as liminal spaces. I then empirically highlight several forms of borders that people experience in these spaces. Here I conceptualise *escape mobilities* as contingent configuration of different types of intertwined mobilities. I position the configuration of escape mobilities, or highly particular, localised, and contingent shapes of excess of mobility over control used to disrupt the liminal space as 'subversive' escape mobilities, and those which could not disrupt these spaces as 'non-subversive' escape mobilities. However, I show the cost of execution (section 6.6.1) and non-execution (section 6.6.1) of escape mobilities to avoid any valorisation of such mobilities.

In Chapter 7, I conclude my thesis by collating arguments made in the preceding chapters. I start by detailing how I draw upon and add to the literature of critical mobility, migration, and (anti-) trafficking (section 7.1). I discuss the various ways in which I answered the research questions throughout the thesis. I then point out the key empirical and methodological contributions of the thesis (section 7.2), and highlight the limitations of this thesis and future research avenues (section 7.3), before taking a momentary halt.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

How do people on the move from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal navigate their international mobility? In what ways do (anti-) trafficking discourses transform practices of mobility and control in Nepal? How do mobility and control co-constitute each other? To answer these interrelated research questions, I start this chapter with a review of the critical (anti) trafficking literature, questioning the impact of anti-trafficking measures on the mobility practices (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Anderson and Andrijasevic, 2008; O'Connell Davidson, 2015). Specifically, I review literature highlighting the combined effect of the anti-trafficking and emigration control measures on the mobility experiences (Fernandez, 2013; Howard, 2017) to make a case of how anti-trafficking measures transform practices of mobility and control in Nepal. The diverse mobility practices of my research participants and the simultaneous control practices they encounter signify a constitutive dynamic between mobility and control. To make a better understanding of this dynamic, I review literature which emerged under the rubric of 'new mobilities paradigm' (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Adey, 2010). Under this, I review literature highlighting the effect of control practices on the mobility practices (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013; Salter, 2013b; Söderström *et al.*, 2013), and the effect of mobility practices on the practices of control (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014; Scheel, 2019) to position the dynamic co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control (Salter, 2013; Cook and Butz, 2015) as an overarching research question guiding this thesis.

The constitutive relationship between mobility and control suggests ways diverse mobility practices shape, and are shaped by, the modulating practices of control. The modulation in control practices highlight an *excess* of mobility over control surpassing the immediate logics, mechanics, and practices of control (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). Control practices constantly adapt to these excessive mobilities by recuperating themselves resulting in highly contingent and localised encounters between people on the move and forces of control producing various degrees and forms of mobility struggles along the mobility routes (Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014). Hence, drawing upon a historical modulation of mobility practices of my research participants and anti-trafficking measures (see: section 1.2), this research offers a people-centric understanding of mobility struggles along the mobility routes though the concept of *departure avenues*. Departure avenues are spatio-temporal distances produced during the actualisation of the mobility decisions of my research participants. I position the concept of departure avenues within the discussion of migrant

trajectories (see: Schapendonk *et al.*, 2018; Godin and Donà, 2020; Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020) to argue for a people-centric analysis of mobility struggles. To offer a people-centric analytical frame to analyse mobility struggles, I review the literature on decisions (Haug, 2008; Mccormack and Schwanen, 2011; Squire, 2017), liminality (Turner, 1995; Szakolczai, 2014; Thomassen, 2013), and borders (Johnson *et al.*, 2011; Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2012; Burridge *et al.*, 2017) to highlight the continuous encounters, conflicts, escapes and subversions along these avenues. These encounters demonstrate a simultaneous modulation between control and mobility practices making a case of their dynamic co-constitution.

2.2 The Human Trafficking debate and the control of mobility practices

The term 'human trafficking' offers specific imagination of 'victims' and 'criminals' and is often conceptualised as an issue of criminality. Historically, the term victimised women and children's bodies, sexuality, mobility and labour (Anderson and Andrijasevic, 2008; Doezema, 2010), and criminalised those who facilitated their mobility and/or exploited their labour (Sharapov, 2017). The latest trend is to frame 'human trafficking' under the term 'modern slavery' (Bales, 2007; Chuang, 2014). While the term 'modern slavery' is yet to find its full legal traction - except in the UK and Australia (Machura *et al.*, 2019; Vandergeest and Marschke, 2020), the prevention of trafficking, protection of trafficking victims, and prosecution of traffickers are among core legal agendas of most of the countries which follow two international laws (Gallagher, 2001); first, the United Nations Trafficking Protocol (UN, 2000) which provides the foremost legal, yet controversial, definition of 'human trafficking' (Wijers, 2015).

> *The act of 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"*

(UN, 2000).

Countries are accountable to adopt and implement this international instrument upon the ratification of the protocol. The second international regulatory instrument is the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of the United States (US, 2000). This domestic legislation of the US attempts to play the role of the global sheriff to shape anti-trafficking policies of other countries by holding them accountable to eliminate trafficking as per their 'minimum standards' (Chuang, 2014). The US

Department of State annually prepares and issues its assessment of trafficking measures adopted by other countries through the Annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report (see: NHRC, 2018). The report categorises countries into three tiers of compliance, according to their performance (Chuang, 2006). Upon non-compliance, the United States withhold some of their financial assistances to countries placed in the third-tier and lobbies against them in the IMF and multilateral development banks (Gallagher, 2001). Shamir explains this:

> *"The TVPA gave the protocol's main provisions teeth by creating an international monitoring scheme accompanied by financial sanctions against countries that fail to meet certain minimum standards for the elimination of "severe forms of trafficking"*

> (Shamir, 2012, p. 91).

The combined operation of these two legal instruments shapes the debate on human trafficking in the Global policy arena. Both instruments justify the prevention of 'trafficking' activities through stringent border controls. They prioritise the interception of 'traffickers' over the identification and protection of victims (Gallagher, 2001). Hence, the border control measures imposed in the name of fighting trafficking are suited to deny rights, mobility and other opportunities to people on the move, or navigating their international mobility, including those who are theoretically classified as 'victims of trafficking' (Gallagher, 2001; Chuang, 2014; Kotiswaran *et al.*, 2014).

In this section, I first discuss the historical debate on 'Human Trafficking' (section 2.2.1). I then discuss both the critical and dominant paradigm of trafficking before reviewing critical (anti-) trafficking literature which discusses the impact of the anti-trafficking measures on the mobility practices of the people on the move (section 2.2.2). I then review relevant critical (anti-) trafficking literature to discuss how anti- trafficking plays out in the emigration regimes (section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Historicizing the trafficking debate

The history of the term 'Human Trafficking' can be traced from the early 20th century when, during the Industrial Revolution, people (originating and or residing from the UK and the US) motivated with egalitarian and religious agendas, decided to free women from prostitution – principally white, Eastern European. Their initial motivation to correct 'fallen women' transformed into a white wo(men)'s burden (Kempadoo, 2015) to abolish the 'trade of selling of women into prostitution' known as the campaign against 'white slave trade' – the enslavement of white Europeans (Doezema, 1999). Whilst the campaign highlighted that friends and family members sell women into prostitution, and have transformed the states into a dumping ground for this form of traffic (Farrior, 1997), the interventions were to set free women from prostitution and punish men who sell them.

When this struggle entered the legal arena, this 'flesh trade' received the legal term of 'traffic' in the White-Slave Traffic Act (Mann's Act), which was passed in the US in 1910, and the White Slave Traffic Bill in the UK, which was blocked in the UK despite several attempts between 1910-13 (Schendel and Abraham, 2005).

The cause of freeing women from dire circumstances turned into a fully-fledged 'purification of space' (Sibley, 1988), a campaign which shifted the focus of intervention from assisting women from exploitative labour relations to the abolition of a trade which brought shame to the nation-state (Wong, 2005). Wong suggests that these early anti-traffickers used media platforms, like newspapers and silent movies to highlight these inflated numbers of victims, and rescued and deported women in the name of protection (Wong, 2005). Whilst few raised question on the extrapolated data productions and politics of sexuality and migration in this white slave trade era (Doezema, 1999, 2010), it is commonly acknowledged that the struggle diminished after the First World War, which slowed migration (Schendel and Abraham, 2005).

The trafficking debate did not receive a significant global spark for the next 60 years. During the 1970s—1990s, the world witnessed a series of events, such as the globalisation of production, the abolition of the guest workers scheme in Germany, the end of the Cold War, the division of USSR, the division of Yugoslavia, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the economic and political meltdown in Africa. With these, migration once again was discussed, highlighted, feared and problematised, especially in the USA and Europe. With the increase in migration, several NGOs started discussing the precarious work conditions of women, and history repeated itself in the establishment of human trafficking among the more pressing issues of the world (Wong, 2005). Wong (2005) suggests that, once again, assisting and helping women from the exploitive working conditions transformed into global attempts to eradicate 'human trafficking'. Placing human trafficking back on the Global agenda.

During the late 1980s, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW) pushed their agenda of combatting human trafficking into the international arena. Born out of a conference entitled 'Trafficking in Women', organised by several North-American feminists, in 1988, the aim of CATW is to 'end trafficking' through policies that criminalise the demand of sex work by penalising men who buy sex, by offering rescue and rehabilitation support to those working in prostitution, and by assisting states to adopt policies and laws to abolish sex work (Poudel, 2009). The Coalition advocates that prostitution exploits all women, regardless of whether forced or voluntary, and they should be rescued from this worst example of patriarchal gendered subjugation of self (Kempadoo, 2016). Some of the key anti-trafficking measures adopted and supported by the dominant paradigm

of trafficking are: (a) to end the labour relation (especially sex work) in which people are trafficked or to punish buyers (Crawford, 2017; Kara, 2017; CATW, 2018); (b) to restrict the mobility of vulnerable people from entering into specific labour relations, where exploitation may happen (Joffres *et al.*, 2008; Miller and Baumeister, 2013; Hudlow, 2015); (c) to free people from selected labour relations (sex work, domestic work, brick kiln work etc.) (Bales, 1999; Boyd *et al.*, 2018); (d) to generate large (extrapolated) data to estimate the number of slaves in the world (McGrath and Mieres, 2014); (e) to link the issue of human trafficking with issues, like climate change (Bales, 2016; Brown *et al.*, 2019); (f) to use technologies to map slavery on the ground (Boyd *et al.*, 2018); and most importantly (g) to map the perception of the spectrum of stakeholders – police and students (Machura et al., 2019), magistrates (Lourenço, Gonçalves and Matos, 2019), pharmacists (Palombi, Van Ochten and Patz, 2019), and emergency medical service professionals (Donnelly et al., 2019). These strategies feed into the production of "new" indicators of trafficking (Cockbain and Bowers, 2019) and produce innovative multi-stakeholder sensitisation programmes (Konrad, 2019).

The critical paradigm of (anti-) trafficking questions the validity and politics of such anti-trafficking measures. Institutionalised under the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW, 2018), born out of the 'International Conference on Migration and Trafficking', Thailand 1994, the critical (anti-) trafficking paradigm opposes most of the dominant anti-trafficking interventions and position them as collateral damage (GAATW, 2007). The paradigm questions the ethics and politics of selectively focusing on labour relations, global anti-trafficking industrial complex, raid and rescue, big numbers and indexes, and increased border controls, all of which produce conditions of exploitation. The paradigm advocates the legitimisation of sex work as other forms of work (Kempadoo, Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2012), envisages 'no borders' as a practical political project (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2011), and attempts to address the issue of labour exploitation 'in ways that advance the interests of all exploited workers' (McGrath and Strauss, 2017, p. 299).

2.2.2 Anti-trafficking and mobility control

The literature that has emerged under critical (anti-) trafficking has repeatedly highlighted, discussed, and critiqued, border controls as one of the central anti-trafficking measures, enshrined in both the UN's Trafficking protocol and US's domestic legislation primarily to protect victims and prosecute criminals (Shamir, 2012; Miller and Baumeister, 2013; FitzGerald, 2016). These critical scholars have critiqued actors, institutions, and interventions that attempt to control diverse mobility practices under the guise of protection against 'trafficking' (Anderson and Andrijasevic, 2008; Andrijasevic, 2009; Strauss and McGrath, 2017). The discourse of border control legitimises, within and beyond the state, mobility control practices of a variety of actors. Some of these mobility

control practices are: stringent visa requirements, surveillance and patrolling, biometric controls –
finger printings, facial scanning, the inclusion of non-state parties for better prevention, detection,
and detentions (Miller and Baumeister, 2013).

Critical (anti-) trafficking literature often position these border enforcement and mobility control
practices, that are sometimes justified on the grounds of the nation state's survival (Lobasz et al.,
2009), as 'human rights violations' which strips the agency of people on the move (Kapur, 2010;
Kempadoo, Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2012; O'Connell Davidson, 2015). The subjugation of women's
and children's diverse agency to the anti-trafficking mobility control practices at political borders
which exclude, preclude, victimise and criminalise them often infantilise their mobility, and impacts
their choices (Yea, 2020b). Critical (anti-) trafficking scholars have recently started to extend this
important insight from the perspective of immigration states (Wong, 2005; Lobasz et al., 2009; Ham,
Segrave and Pickering, 2013; Miller and Baumeister, 2013; FitzGerald, 2016) to the perspective of
emigration state where anti-trafficking measures restrict mobility and choices of the citizens
(Lindquist, 2008; Boyden and Howard, 2013; Fernandez, 2013; Zharkevich, 2020). To show the
human rights injustices taking place in Nepal as a result of the dominant discourse inspired anti-
trafficking measures which restrict women's mobility towards sex work and domestic work industry
in India and the Middle-East region respectively (Flåte, 2018; Richardson and Laurie, 2019; Sijapati et
al., 2019), I now review burgeoning critical (anti-) trafficking literature which highlight how anti-
trafficking measures in the emigration state attempt to control the mobility of the citizens.

2.2.3 Anti-Trafficking in the emigration regime

Critical (anti-) trafficking literature hashighlighted the impact of the anti-trafficking measures in
emigration states like Benin, Ethiopia, Philippines, Nigeria and Nepal. Critical scholars have shown
how the synergy between emigration control and anti-trafficking measures constrain mobility and
choices of women, adolescents, and children on the move for a variety of labour relations (Lindquist,
2008; Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh, 2012; Boyden and Howard, 2013; Fernandez, 2013; Zharkevich,
2020). For example, Howard in his book, 'Child Trafficking, Youth Labour Mobility and the Politics of
Protection' show how several anti-trafficking measures like strengthening border patrols, border
surveillance, village vigilance committees, anti-work sensitisation programmes in Benin problematise
labour mobility of young people (Howard, 2017). He documents labour migration of teenage boys
from Benin to the artisanal gravel quarries of Abeokuta, Nigeria to show the how the strict
regulation of facilitators of mobility, often deemed as traffickers, problematises labour migration of
youth in Benin (Howard, 2019). Howard, drawing upon a rich ethnographic study, argues that labour
migration of his young participants is neither equivalent to trafficking nor experienced as trafficking

(Howard, 2014). Similarly, Okyere (2017) shows how the discourse of child trafficking acts as a mechanism of control in Ghana and deflects the attention from historic and persistent structures of inequalities which drive children's labour mobility. In both cases, these critical scholars show how mobility control practices effectively restrict the decisions and choices of women, youth and children and force them to adopt diverse routes to actualise their mobility decisions.

Under the guise of pre-emptive protection of its citizens from 'trafficking', exploitation and abuse along the route, and in the immigration regimes and the labour relations, many states like Indonesia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Mexico, and Nepal use migration bans (Fitzgerald, 2009; Lindquist, 2012; Fernandez, 2013; Napier-Moore, 2017; Platt, 2018; Sijapati *et al.*, 2019; Henderson, 2020). For example, while Chan (2014) and Platt (2018) analyse the use of moratorium issued by the state of Indonesia to impose a migration ban of female domestic workers to Malaysia and Saudi Arabia in response to publicised abuse and exploitation, Grossman-Thompson (2019) trace ever-changing directives issued by the state of Nepal banning its female domestic workers' mobility towards middle eastern countries in an attempt to protect them from trafficking. Similarly, scholars have demonstrated the effect of migration bans on domestic workers imposed by the government of Philippines (Henderson, 2020), Sri Lanka (Gamburd, 2000), and Ethiopia (Fernandez, 2013). Whilst these bans imposed on women's transnational mobility are justified on moral grounds due to the increased reporting of abuse, trafficking and exploitation in labour relation, these morals grounds, as per Platt, Davies and Bennett (2018), are complexly entwined with discourses of gender and social reproduction, religion, exploitation, morality, and national development (see also: Gamburd, 2000; Chan, 2014; Platt, 2018).

These research on mobility bans imposed by the emigration states raise several questions about the state-sanctioned structural violence on female migrant domestic workers. For example, Henderson (2020) discusses state-sanctioned structural violence on migrant domestic workers in Sri Lanka and Philippines by interviewing 'advocacy groups, government agencies, and international organizations' (p. 12). Chan (2014) examines the representation of women in media as 'heroes' and 'victims' by analysing 'public statements by Indonesian state actors, news reports, and migrant activists' websites' (p. 6949). Hammond (2011) analyses mobility control measures over the last 25 years to argue that excessive use of state-regulated mobility control measures that restrict poor Ethiopian women's mobility in their own country increases their vulnerability towards migration brokers, conveniently called 'traffickers', who facilitate their dangerous irregular transborder mobility. Building on this, Fernandez (2013) highlights the effect of the juxtaposition of emigration control measures and anti-trafficking interventions on the regulation of mobility facilitators of international migrant domestic workers of Ethiopia. She argues that due to the failure of the proper regulation of

the intermediaries, and the international pressure to criminalise irregular transborder mobility and combat human trafficking, the Ethiopian state has increased regulation on the facilitators of the mobility (Fernandez, 2013). This mobility control measures, as per Fernandez, "has had the perverse unintended consequence of forcing more PEAs [Private Employment Agencies] underground, and more transborder movement facilitated by unlicensed brokers." (2013, p. 823) hence increasing vulnerability to exploitation.

The research on migration brokers and intermediaries, sometimes identified as traffickers by anti-traffickers, is interested in the state and non-state actors that channel, filter, and authorise labour migration (Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh, 2012; Fernandez, 2013; Shubin, Findlay and Mccollum, 2014; Brülisauer, 2015; Deshingkar and Zeitlyn, 2015; Kern and Müller-Böker, 2015; Lindquist, 2017; Azad, 2019). For example starting from the perspective of brokerage, Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh (2012) argues that brokerage highlights broader migration infrastructure within which mobility is made possible and organised for the aspirants. Drawing upon Indonesian and Malaysian migration channels, Lindquist (2017) attempts to shift the focus from mobility of the people to the mobility of the broker which provides parallel logistic conduits to make mobility possible. Similarly, Kern and Müller-Böker (2015) analyse recruitment agents and agencies of Nepal and argue that brokers are the main actors assuring the process of migration for kinetic underclass (Creswell, 2006), and ask us to pay attention to the practices of these middle (wo)men of migration in the emigration regimes. However, Wee, Goh and Yeoh (2020) take the concept of brokerage beyond emigration regime, and highlight their importance within arrival infrastructures that integrate immigrants in the immigration regimes. These literature on migration infrastructure privilege brokers over the state and decentre the power of the state as the sole controller of the migratory mobility.

However, the majority of the informal brokers are targeted by the (anti-) trafficking control measures in the emigration regimes like Nepal. Building on the afoementioned literatures this thesis makes two empirical contributions to the existing study of informal brokers: (a) One of the core empirical findings is the marketplace of brokers who could easily be convicted as 'traffickers' for facilitating illegal transnational journeys of my research participants. I show how my research participants carefully navigate the marketplace of traffickers and select those who could provide the maximum financial incentives to them without any debt-bondage (see Chapter 5); (b) I show how these brokers move between various categories rendering the boundaries between them as fuzzy and complex. These brokers, sometimes called as traffickers or agents, are not necessarily distinct from the aspiring migrants and their friends and relatives who sometimes simultaneously facilitate their illegal journeys and represent the anti-trafficking industry of Nepal. These two arguments further problematise the anti-trafficking industry of Nepal which targets these brokers as threats by

selectively demarcating boundaries between trafficking victims and 'traffickers' and disregarding the complex social infrastructures provided by the brokers.

These arguments on brokerage add to the critical anti-trafficking literature which questions the ethics and politics of dominant paradigm of anti-trafficking. The dominant paradigm of anti-trafficking positions migration of women and youth as a crisis, strips migrants of their consent and agency (if they experience exploitation), and chokes the understanding of the importance of social infrastructure of the brokerage and the reason of making clandestine journeys (Sharma, 2005; Lindquist, 2008; Plambech, 2014; Sanchez, 2015). In order to control these clandestine journeys, the anti-trafficking industry of Nepal adopts stringent border surveillance and control measures, which as per Yea (2020b) pre-emptively victimise people on the move and criminalise their facilitators. Further, this criminalisation and victimisation done by the (anti-) trafficking measures, as per Kapur (2010), positions women and children bodies and mobilities 'as sites of cultural and national identity' (p. 113) requiring protection. Similarly, Sharma (2005) argues that people on the move '… are victimized by border control practices and the ideologies of racism, sexism, and nationalism that render unspectacular their everyday experience of oppression and exploitation' (Sharma, 2005, p. 91). These arguments resonate to the study of Ham, Segrave and Pickering (2013) with immigration officials at bordering areas of Australia and Thailand which argues that to understand the everyday implications of border enforcement for the human rights of migrants one must attend to the everyday bordering practices.

Drawing on this burgeoning strand of critical (anti-) trafficking literature, I attend to the contingent articulation of the symbiotic effect of anti-trafficking and emigration control in Nepal to highlight everyday bordering practices as sites of control, struggle and negotiation (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018), encountered and embodied by the research participants. Prioritising these embodied encounters (see: Scheel, 2019) of my research participants, I highlight sites where research participants encounter control practices which delay and deny their mobility, ways their mobility practices exceed control practices, and how the anti-trafficking industry of Nepal recuperates their control practices to capture the excessive mobilities. As a result, I show a simultaneous and heterogeneous modulation in mobility and control practices to make a larger argument of the constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

2.3 The co-constitution of mobility and control

In the last section, I argued how changes in mobility practices and anti-trafficking control practices signify a co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control. In this section, I review literatures which attempt to bring mobility and control into a shared frame (Sheller and Urry, 2006;

Richardson, 2013; Salter, 2013b; Cook and Butz, 2015a; Scheel, 2019) to elaborate the co-constitution of mobility and control. I start with a review of literature that emerged under the rubric of 'new mobilities paradigm' challenging the *sedentarist-bias* in the analysis of the sociology of mobility (Malkki, 1992; Urry, 2000b). Whilst the mobilities paradigm provides an understanding of how interdependent mobility of people, objects, images, technologies, and communications move (re)produces across multiple scales (Urry, 2007), this research pays attention to the power relations which shape, and are shaped by, diverse mobility practices of the people to highlight the constitutive modulations in mobility and in the workings of social institutions, practices, and organisational power as well as the system which attempts to govern them (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2012). To discuss the importance of power-relations in the study of mobility, I review literature that discusses how practices of control influence mobility practices (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013; Söderström *et al.*, 2013), and then review literature that argues how mobility shapes these control practices (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Scheel, 2019) to make a broader argument about co-constitution of mobility and control.

2.3.1 The new mobilities paradigm

Sheller and Urry (2006) showed the evolution of the field of mobilities in the geography, social sciences and cognate disciplines, and developed a manifesto for the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006)*.* Also known as the 'mobilities turn', this interdisciplinary paradigm, ensured by the establishment of *Mobilities* journal in 2006*,* examines the interdependent and networked movement of people, objects, capital, policies, images, ideas, media, and information across the world along with the localised process of daily transportation and the spatial movement in everyday life (Urry, 2007). Büscher, Sheller and Tyfield (2016) suggest that the new mobilities paradigm is 'a hub of analytical insight for a diverse and expanding range of different parties, whether academic, applied, or creative.' (p. 485). Since its inception, a two-way process of development started in this scholarly paradigm. Whilst scholars from diverse disciplines critiqued, developed, and expanded the paradigm, the rapid development of this interdisciplinary paradigm shaped their disciplines as well (Merriman *et al.*, 2013).

The new mobilities paradigm is concerned with the interaction, entanglement, and relationship between the differentially intertwined movement of humans, objects, funds, information, images and ideas, the meaning and representation of the movement, the diverse practices of the movement, and the workings of these movements into social processes and institutions (Adey, 2006; Cresswell, 2006; Urry, 2007). Initially, the paradigm was underpinned by scholarly works which attempted to constitute the social and spatial base of the sociology of interdependent mobilities

(physical, object movement, imaginative, virtual, and communicative) and to challenge the *sedentarist bias* in the existing sociological thought which renders people, their movement, and their cultural practices as static or fixed (Urry, 2000a; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006). Malkki (1992) calls this static analysis and government of movement that links people to place and nation to territory metaphysical and asserts the importance of processual approaches in the analysis of the society (Malkki, 1992). Drawing on and advancing the critique of sedentary metaphysics, theorists of mobilities paradigm provided a platform to challenge every analysis which normalises and privileges fixity or stasis over mobility (Cresswell, 2006). However, building on the works of processual thinkers like Simmel, Bauman, Bergson, Deleuze and Guattari, the mobilities paradigm views movement as primary, sometimes to the extent that mobilities attain a universal principle of everything (see: Merriman, 2019). While the focus on mobilities displaced the ontological, epistemological, and methodological sedentarism inherent in various disciplines, Cresswell (2014) cautions us that drawing heavily on the processual philosophies often fluidify, flatten, fetishize, and universalise mobility thereby romanticizing metaphors of mobility such as the tourist, the nomad and the migrant (Cresswell, 2006).

This romanticisation of mobilities, often based on mobile lives of elites (Urry, 2012a; Cresswell, 2016), is accused of being insensitive towards two important, but related, constitutive elements of the social: (a) immobility and (b) differences. To fix this exalted celebration of flux, some theorists ask us to be attentive toward the politics of im/mobility (Cresswell, 2010; Bélanger and Silvey, 2020). For example, Ahmed *et al.* (2003) in her book *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* stress that mobility, which sometimes signifies uprootedness, is intrinsic to the making of homes, nations, and boundaries. Drawing on the contributors of that edited collection, one can argue for the importance of including the question of stasis, situatedness, moorings and fixity in the analyses of interdependent mobilities (Ahmed *et al.*, 2003). Drawing on this suggestion, Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) argue that the lack of situated analysis in the mobilities paradigm normalises the immobility of the unprivileged. Building on and advancing these critiques, Cook and Butz (2015) shows two implications of privileging mobilities over immobilities: (a) it normalises accelerated mobilities (of the privileged), and (b) it impedes the co-constitution of mobilities and immobilities (p. 389).

Scholars of mobilities paradigm respond to such romanticisation of fluidity and flux by recognising spatial, infrastructural, and institutional moorings or fixities as the enabler of mobilities (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006). They argue for the dialectic of mobilities/moorings (see: Urry, 2007) constitutes and are constituted by the social relations (Adey, 2006; Söderström and Crot, 2010). Whilst Adey (2006), following the mobilities literature sensitive to the immobility dimension,

develops a theoretical argument for a relational politics of immobility to avoid the romanticisation of flux, migration scholars highlight that despite these efforts, the analytical use of mobilities in migration literature reinforce a *mobility bias* which neglects immobility as a valid research category (see: Schewel, 2019). These scholars argue for a relational and embodied understanding of mobilities and immobilities which is more sensitive to the differences and request us to trace differentiated mobility experiences in the historical contexts (Adey, 2006; Hyndman, 2012; Hui, 2016; Merriman and Pearce, 2017; Bélanger and Silvey, 2020).

To explore the im/mobilities produced by anti-trafficking and emigration controls, this thesis draws specific insights from mobilities literature: a focus on mobile subjects, their embodied experiences and the constitutive role of movement in workings of social institutions, practices, and organisational power and the system of governing im/mobilities and immobilities (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Peck and Theodore, 2010; Sheller, 2012). To conceptualise how the efforts to control mobility intersect with the mobile lives in a trafficking-prone region in Nepal, I now draw upon select contributions to mobilities paradigm, primarily by critical security and border scholars (Cunningham and Heyman, 2004; Amoore, Marmura and Salter, 2008; Bærenholdt, 2013; Richardson, 2013; Aradau, 2016; Leese and Wittendorp, 2018), arguing that 'mobile subjects are created by and create the structure of mobility in which they circulate' (Salter, 2013, p. 9).

Salter (2013) argues that the mobilities paradigm often divides the social science and cognate disciplines into a bipolarity of agent-centric and control centric approaches (Salter 2013). For Salter, 'the control of mobility extends before and beyond the particular journey through the process of identification, verification, authorization, consumption, examination and confession, and arrival: and these functions are not defined in terms of mobility/immobility' (Salter, 2013b, p. 16). These literatures which prioritise the dimension of control in the study of mobility focus on the regulation, blockage, and facilitation of mobility in the global, regional and local scale (Shamir, 2005; Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013; Jensen, 2013). These approaches to the study of mobility transform the mobilities paradigm into a 'paradigm of suspicion' focusing on the processes of 'closure and containment' (Shamir, 2005). These control-centric literatures position the perspective of the authorities and practices of control over diverse mobility practices in the study of mobilities (see: Cohen, Cohen and Li, 2017). In contrast, an agent-centric approach to the study of mobilities focuses on individual mobility and its relationship to meanings, representations and practices (Cresswell, 2006, 2016; Dorow, Roseman and Cresswell, 2017). Scholars of agent-centric approach position individual mobility and social relations as central to their analysis by placing the control perspective secondary to the mobility (Huang and Yeoh, 2007; Gray, 2016; Zampoukos *et al.*, 2018; Zhang, 2018). Salter (2013) argues that both these approaches either give ontological primacy to 'the state' dealing

with borders, territories, and geographical space; or to 'the social' dealing with transnational populations (p. 8).

Several scholars from critical border, security and migration studies offer a middle ground to advance the mobilities paradigm (Kalir, 2013; Richardson, 2013; Aradau, 2016; Leese and Wittendorp, 2018; Scheel, 2019). These scholars draw on the work of Foucault to discuss how power relations impactand are impacted by mobility. For example, while Salter (2013) draws on the concept of circulation to understand the relationship between mobile subject and structures of mobility in which they circulate, Ole Bærenholdt (2013) draws on the concept of governmentality to make an argument of mobility as a means of government (see: Tazzioli (2019) as well). Similarly, Scheel (2019) draws on the Foucauldian notion of security dispositif to highlight embodied encounters between people on the move and dispositiffs of control like the biometric regime. More recently, Bélanger and Silvey (2020) and authors of the special issue of *'An Im/mobility turn: power geometries of care and migration'* highlight how the mobility of care workers are 'managed, monitored… blocked, stuck and constrained in gender-specific ways which intersect with nationality, citizenship, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and socio-economic class.' (p. 3424). I draw upon this strand of literature which attempts to analyse the mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control and show a dynamic relationship between the spectrum of mobility practices of people from a so-called 'trafficking prone' region of Nepal and the ever modulating (anti-) trafficking control practices. These dynamic modulations between mobility and control practices simultaneously highlight: (a) how control practices shape mobility practices, and (b) how mobility practices shape control practices.

2.3.2 Control practices shaping the practices of mobility

To understand how control practices shape the practices of mobility is to take the question of power seriously in the study of mobilities. Skeggs (2004) warns us against any understanding of mobilities which flattens the differences and simplifies the complex relationship between mobility and power relations. Analysis of power in the mobilities scholarship makes an importance case for the mechanics, differences, inequalities, territorial logics, and representations that facilitate and legitimise mobility and fixity (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013; Leese and Wittendorp, 2018). Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) pose questions of differential power and highlight 'stigmatised and forbidden movement, migration and interconnection of the poor, powerless and exploited' (p. 188) as central to the framings of mobility regimes. Similarly, Söderström *et al.* (2013) in their book *'critical mobilities'* reflects on the question of power by highlighting the nexus between mobilities and migration studies amidst ever-transforming nation-state and citizenship regimes. These

questions of power in mobilities paradigm constitute what Cresswell (2010) calls as 'politics of mobility' which 'concerns the power to stop and put into motion, to incarcerate and accelerate objects and people' (p. 28).

Building on this 'politics of mobility', Salazar (2018) argues that people on the move often encounter authorities and institutions of control which restricts, facilitates, incarcerates, and accelerates their mobility while crossing physical and social boundaries. To better understand the relationship between mobility and control, Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) ask to move beyond the traditional binaries of difference (mobility and immobility, local and translocal, internal and international, native and foreigner). They argue that such binaries impede the analyses of the relationship between mobility and control, and request to adopt a regime of the mobilities framework that is sensitive to the range of and relationship between various actors and institutions (which I understand as forces of control) within specific situations. Following this, Söderström *et al.* (2013), while retaining specific insights of mobilities paradigm on inequality, domination, and constraint, highlight how the state and private actors shape the possibilities and implications of different forms of mobilities and immobilities by focusing on their interdependence. Adding to this discussion, Salter argues that the process of control are sometimes hidden or minimised by the paradigm of im/mobility and requests us to examine them to better understand how control shapes mobility (Salter, 2013b).

These aspects of control highlight mechanics, dimensions, and impacts of control on life, body, and mobility of people on the move (Walters, 2006; Adey, 2008; Richardson, 2013; Aradau, 2016; Leese and Wittendorp, 2018; Tyszler, 2019). For example, while Pickering and Weber (2006), and Sharma (2018) emphasise the importance of the physical borders on the migratory mobilities, Tyszler (2019) takes the debate beyond the physical borders to show the violent effects of the European Union's externalisation policies of migration control on the lives of the Central and West African woman whose mobilities are choked along their migratory routes. In contrast, Aitken (2016) offers more situated analysis of the mobility control in the immigration regime by highlighting a unique case of Izbrisani youth in Slovenia locked in place and living in constant fear of deportation through administrative bordering. Similarly, Salter (2007) and Adey, (2008) have shown the affective dimension of mobility control at airports. However, Tazzioli (2019) and Bærenholdt (2013) unsettle the control practices itself by making a case of how the state uses mobility as control strategies in the immigration regime. They highlight how control operates through actors and institutions dividing, dispersing, and policing of immigrants across Europe. Similarly, critical literature on (anti-) trafficking also unsettle these control-centric security imperatives (Yea, 2020b) which sort (Strauss, 2017), exclude (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel and Townsend, 2015; Yea, 2020a), frame (Esson, 2020),

and contain (Richardson and Laurie, 2019; Yea, 2020a) the mobility of the 'victims of trafficking' at several sites. In each case, these diverse literatures show how control practices (performed by the diverse set of state and non-state actors following different discourses) shape the im/mobility practices of the people.

Whilst these control centric analyses of mobility offer a frame to conceptualise how various actors and institutions attempt to shape mobility practices of my research participants, empirical findings suggest that the mobility practices of my research participants simultaneously shape these control practices. In chapter 1, I underscore a dynamic modulation in both control practices and mobility practices highlighting the significance of mobility practices in shaping the practices of control. To show that mobility practices are both shaped by and shape the practices of control they encounter, I now draw upon critical literature on migration (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Novak, 2017; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018; Scheel, 2019) which argue 'that migratory movements temporarily precede the attempts to control, regulate and valorise them' (Scheel, 2013a, p. 581).

2.3.3 Mobility practices shaping the practices of control

The majority of the literature highlighting the effect of control practices on mobility practices focuses its analysis on the politics, practices, interventions of the state and non-state actors to challenge their rationalities and effects. Some critical migration scholars suggest that these control-centric literature render highly differentiated mobility practices as passive targets of the process of framing, sorting, excluding, and controlling, by neglecting mobility practices which challenge these control practices by gaining access to what is denied to them (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018; Scheel, 2019). The overvaluation of control practices places mobility practices secondary in their analysis, which, according to Scheel (2019), reveals a 'control-bias' in the critical literatures on mobility and mobilities. The critical migration literature emerged under the rubric of the 'Autonomy of Migration' (AoM) attempts to address this control biased analysis of mobility by placing the human agencies and its creativities at the strategic, conceptual, analytical, and political forefront in the study of human movement (Nyers, 2015). The AoM argument of irreducibility of the migratory mobilities to any state control, bordering regimes, immigration regimes and the regimes of capital prioritise mobility practices ahead of control practices (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010; Mezzadra, 2010; Kaneti, 2015).

The AoM framework argues that migratory mobilities exceed forms, sites, logics and practices of control which deny access to the migrants and asks us to focus on the excess of mobility over control by highlighting the spectrum of migrants' agency (De Genova, 2009; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli,

2018; Tazzioli, 2019). Prioritising the spectrum of agency of the migrants, the framework provides a people-centric approach of studying migratory mobility privileging migrant practices and tactics which resist, subvert, transgress, and escape control practices in the study of migration (Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014). Due to these reasons, the framework resists valorisation of any political categories like illegal immigrants, trafficking victims, refugees which frames migrants as victims or vulnerable (Andrijasevic *et al.*, 2012; Hess, 2017). AoM literature caution us that privileging control practices could not only overshadow but could potentially erase the creativity of human agencies enacted through diverse mobility practices. The AoM's strategic and analytic privileging of the power and practices of mobility over the power and practices of control provides an insight on how practices of mobility exceed practices of control which, in turn, respond to these excessive mobility practices by recuperating themselves. The insight not only makes a case of how practices of mobility shape practices of control, but also highlights the dynamic encounters between people on the move and forces of control revealing several sites of mobility struggle.

However, the valorisation of excessive mobility practices has subjected the AoM framework to continuous criticism from migration activists and scholars. For example, the notion of 'autonomy' is interpreted as a quest for self-determination by the critics of the AoM approach (Samāddāra, 2005). Scheel argues that critics understand 'autonomy' as some form of independence or quality inherent to individuals and the possibility of emancipation from all techniques of government (Scheel, 2013a). While the proponents of the framework offer diverse conceptual explanations on the misinterpretation of the term 'autonomy' (see: Mezzadra, 2010; Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias and Pickles, 2015; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018; Scheel, 2019), some of them accept that the ambiguity related to autonomy is implicitly present in most of the literature emerged under the framework (Scheel, 2013a, 2013b, 2017; Scheel and Ustek-Spilda, 2019). These reflexive criticisms and simultaneous engagements have made the AoM framework a rich field of debate. In this thesis, I follow this framework

> "…to articulate the commonalities between all migrations by accounting for the irreducible singularity of each migration project, *the motivation that animate it* [See Chapter 4], *the particular control regimes it has to negotiate* [see Chapter 5] and the *practices its protagonists deploys to escape control* [see Chapter 6]"
>
> (Scheel, 2019, p. 52; emphasis in original; author's signposting).

I now discuss three concepts – incorrigibility, imperceptibility, and appropriations – AoM scholars use to demonstrate the excess of mobility practices over control practices to emphasize (a) how mobility practices shape the practices of control, and (b) different articulations of mobility struggles.

I aim to use these three concepts throughout the empirical chapters to highlight how ever-changing practices of mobility employed by the people from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal respond, challenge, escape, and alter dynamic modulations in control practices following (anti-) trafficking discourses, to make an empirical case of the mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

Incorrigibility

The majority of the AoM literature follows the original conceptualisation of the AoM framework (Moulier-Boutang and Garson, 1984) which privilege the role of mobility in the formation of capitalism (De Genova, 2009; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013). These literatures locate the notion of autonomy within the broader conceptualisation of the production of subjectivity under capitalism (Mezzadra, 2010), and consider migrants possessing 'living labour' as a constitutive yet antagonistic element of capitalist labour relations within the privileged immigration regime (Mezzadra, 2010). These literatures show how illegal immigrants own the power of living labour and highlight their *incorrigible* practices which the state cannot get rid of (De Genova, 2010; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018). Incorrigibility is 'an enunciation of (transnational) labour as constitutive of (global) capital, inextricably within the capital, but also against capital—rightless, "illegal," but insubordinate all the same' (De Genova, 2010, p.119). De Genova draws upon protests, in 2006, by several 'illegal' and 'legal' immigrants (lasting two months) following a bill which would have criminalised their presence in the US and consider their *anti-assimilationist* gesture as incorrigibility (De Genova, 2010). These incorrigible practices reject normative categories of state sovereignty and its immigration regime. Incorrigibility suggests a queer politics of migration where illegal immigrants, in a deportation regime (De Genova and Peutz, 2010), formally challenge the state through various forms of protests by drawing on their labour power which they argue drives the global capitalism (De Genova, 2010). In the subsequent chapter I will show several forms of incorrigible practices, as mobility struggles, and their consequences, adopted by my research participants.

Imperceptibility

In contrast, some AoM scholars argue that an argument of incorrigibility *'[…]reduces mobile subjectivities to a productionist subjectivity of capitalism and ends up separating mobility and its embodied experience'* (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p. 207). They believe that reading capitalism through the lens of mobility, on a theoretical level, restores the mobility to the subject of capitalist polity, which the AoM framework tries hard to dismantle. On a more practical level, this reductionist approach renders mobile bodies visible to the control and makes them an easy target for the states which either obliterate them by detentions and deportations or digest them by placing their bodies into a 'double R axiom of rights and representation' (Papadopoulos,

Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Tsianos, Papadopoulos and Stephenson, 2012; Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013). The critiques resonate with some of the earliest critics of the framework. For example, activist Sunny Omwenyeke of *The Caravan* states,

> "I wonder where are the support structures on whose basis we could fight for the paperless workers. The illegals themselves are struggling due to repressive structures, and they are under constant threat of deportation. The left is unable to protect those who want to show their faces"

<div align="right">(Author's translation of Sunny Omwenyeke in Alabi et al., 2004).</div>

This school of the AoM framework offers a different reading of mobility. They read the history of bodies and their mobility as the history of symbiosis between subject and sovereignty (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). The literature that emerged from this reading of mobility focuses on the ruptures or discontinuities within the spaces where bodies and practices of migrants become *imperceptible* amidst the constant struggle against the subjugation of the power exercised by the state (Tsianos, Papadopoulos and Stephenson, 2012; Gray, 2016; Wilcke, 2018). This school claims that the escape is manifested only when (sovereign) power tries to control the mobility but '[p]rior to its regulation, escape is primarily imperceptible' (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, prologue xiii). For them, these 'imperceptible subjectivities', upon their questioning of sovereign power, must be subsumed, mediated and translated by the ever-modulating forces of control. To do this, Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos (2008) highlight a continuous transformation in control practices to capture these imperceptible subjectivities which transform migrants 'by domesticating, adjusting, educating, tormenting, disciplining and training [their] imperceptible bodies' (p. 9).

Whilst imperceptibility makes a case of how mobility practices always exceed the control practices, the concept, in turn, is criticised by Sharma (2009) who argues that this approach gives us the impression that the body and mobility are unauthorised by power. Theoretically, the concept of imperceptibility also places the subject beyond and outside power relations (Squire, 2017), which makes the concept of imperceptibility antithetical to the Foucauldian conceptualisation of power relations. While I acknowledge the importance of these critiques, my empirical findings highlight various ways anti-trafficking and emigration control measures in Nepal tryto throw light on these imperceptible mobility practices by practices of control. Using the concept of imperceptibility, I aim to highlight the mobility struggles of my research participants who try to evade and escape anti-trafficking measures which attempt to restrict their mobility.

Appropriations

Addressing the previous criticisms on imperceptibility (see: Sharma, 2009), Scheel in his latest intervention draws on the Foucauldian concept of security dispositif to talk about the immediate configuration of power to highlight the moments of autonomy in them (Scheel, 2013a, 2019). A security dispositif is an apparatus of control fed by the politics of fear, and responds to the urgent need to tame those practices and which cannot be recuperated by the current materiality of the dispositif (Scheel, 2019). Scheel uses a multifaceted notion of *appropriation* to offer a particular dynamic of subversion of rules, norms, and regulations that define particular control practices and simultaneous recuperation of control practices by the actors, means and methods (Scheel, 2017). Scheel argues that migrants appropriate resources denied to them by the immediate security dispositif they contingently encounter. For him, people

> *"on the move are compelled to appropriate mobility and other resources within and against border regimes, these conflictive dialogues of action take place in their embodied encounters with the means and methods of control."*

> (Scheel, 2013b, p. 282).

The notion of embodied encounters provides an account of attempts of appropriation by particular people on the move upon their particular encounter with the security dispositif. The security dispositif and this struggle of appropriation highlight a dynamic relationship of conflict between migration and forces of control.[11] Scheel, using the case of biometric regime, argues that the conflict takes place within the security dispositif when practices of appropriation transgress the indicators by which highly localised control practices seek to restrict the access to mobility revealing an excess of mobility over control practices. These secretive appropriations and struggles of migrants to actualise their mobility, bring a continuous reorganisation in the security dispositif (Scheel, 2019). Hence a dynamic struggle of and against the ever-transforming machinery of domination of the security dispositif becomes a motor of its own development *(ibid)*. Scheel's intervention makes an important case to understand how differential mobility practices shape practices of control in biometric bordering regimes, and how mobility struggles are embodied upon each encounter.

---

[11] Scheel cautions us that this mobility and forces of control is not at all a binary concept. For him "[t]his conflict features multiple forces and actors who struggle and negotiate with one another as they seek to challenge, appropriate or recuperate other actors' practices for their own agenda" (Scheel, 2019).

In this thesis, I draw upon Scheel's conceptualisation of the encounters between the immediate configuration of control and migrants practices of appropriation to analyse excess of mobility over control, and the simultaneous modulations in control practices. Drawing upon this insight, I show diverse degrees and forms of mobility struggle of the people on the move from a 'trafficking-prone' region of Nepal by highlighting their practices of appropriation of mobility which is denied to them by actors and institutions implementing anti-trafficking measures. I empirically highlight a continuous recuperation in the control practices following a particular discourse of (anti-) trafficking to capture, highlight, and control the practices of appropriation, imperceptibility, and incorrigibility of my research participants, and a simultaneous reorganisation in the mobility practices as a result of a variety of control practices they encounter. These modulations in control and mobility practices show a mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

However, the embodied encounters and the practices of appropriation require a particular person in a particular body willing to become a target of the practices of control. Hence, in order to empirically examine these highly contingent, localised, and particular encounters, I develop the concept of *departure avenues* to analyse a variety of embodied encounters, excesses of mobility over control practices, modulations in control practices, and diversity of mobility struggles to make an overall case of the co-constitution between mobility and control.

2.4 Departure Avenues

To show the co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control, I offer a concept of *departure avenues* as spatio-temporal distances produced when people on the move try to actualise their mobility decisions. The historical analysis of spatio-temporal distances navigated by my research participants reveals a dynamic modulation between their mobility practices in an attempt to actualise their diverse mobility decisions, and actors and institutions of control delaying and denying their mobility. These modulations, both in the mobility and control practices, highlight a variety of embodied encounters, excesses of mobility over control practices and a variety of mobility struggles along their departure avenues. A synthesis of 48 stories of mobility suggests that every time people on the move encounter these control practices through various types of bordering, they experience a temporal halt. Hence, not only do the research participants embody the experiences of encounter with the control practices, but they also embody the experience of liminality along their way. The embodied experiences of bordering and liminalities of the research participants along their departure avenues highlight their mobility struggles. Based on this empirical insight, I argue that departure avenues provide an analytical platform to advance the understanding of the interplay

between control and mobility practices, the liminality and the bordering practices people encounter and embody, and mobility struggles to prioritise the perspective of the people on the move.

In this section, I first situate the concept of departure avenues in the burgeoning geographical literature on migrant trajectories. I then discuss how the concept of departure avenues provides a precise concept to analyse the interplay between mobility and control practices prioritising the 'natives' point of view' (De Genova, 2016). I then texture the concept of departure avenues with three of its important constituents – decision, liminality, and border.

2.4.1 Situating the concept of departure avenues in migration trajectories literature

Historically, migration has been examined as: a linear change of destination from point A to B; an outcome of push and pull forces; something that has the origin and the destination (Cresswell, 2006). Migration scholars adopted a sedentrist approach and paid significant attention to the places – A and B, rather than the line which connects them (Ravenstein, 1885; Conway, 1980). This prioritisation of *roots over routes* often ignores the latter as an important analytic of migration. However, some scholars argue that the line which connects these two places are important as mobility along the line, often called migrant journeys, not only have the transformative effect on the lives of people but on the places as well (Papastergiadis, 2000; Andrijasevic *et al.*, 2005). Place-based sedentarist approaches used in migration literature are also challenged by the circular migration scholarship which demonstrates accelerated mobility within and across places (Hugo, 1982). Whilst important, the notion of circular migration reinforces the static staged categorisation of migration – source, journey, destination, journey. Transnational scholars of migration challenge this staged approach by showing simultaneous presence and absence of people in both source and destination places though formation and sustenance of multiple transnational ties (Basch, Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994; Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995; Ehrkamp, 2020). Having established the complexity of the line between places, migration literature is increasingly focusing on the en-route transit journeys (Coutin, 2005; Godin and Donà, 2020b).

Trajectories approach

Whilst the focus on the transnational migrant journey questions the simplicity of linear lines, places, and political categories of migration (Mainwaring and Brigden, 2016), recently some migration scholars from a geography discipline have started drawing on the 'new mobilities paradigm' (discussed in the section: 2.3.1) to question the empirical focus of human mobility in the examination of migration journeys which offers an understanding of an essentialized subject (Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020). This criticism of human mobility in migration literature underscore an ontological difference between migration and mobilities paradigms (Hui, 2016). As

per Hui (2016), while the empirical focus of most of the migrant research is people (migrants), spatial displacement, and the subsequent social change, the mobilities paradigm is concerned with the interdependency between diverse human and non-human actors which makes a complex mobile system (Urry, 2003, 2005). Drawing on the new mobilities paradigm, and highlighting the conceptual limits of linear 'migrant journeys', Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden (2020) argue that the journey involves 'multiple attempts to leave a place and does not necessarily end when a destination is reached' (p. 3) and ask us instead to focus on migrant trajectories (Schapendonk and Steel, 2014; Schapendonk *et al.*, 2018; Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020).

The trajectory approach to understanding migration routes was, in a way, given by Grillo (2007) who, drawing on the concept of liminality (Turner, 1967), considered transmigration projects as the multiplicity of potential trajectories which are always in betwixt and between. Building on this, Schapendonk (2011) argued that migrant trajectories consist 'of various movements that reach multiple points and go in several directions' (p. 8) by shifting the traditional place-based ontology of migration scholarship to the processual ontology of mobilities scholarship. The trajectories approach highlights the spatial and temporal dimension of migration – multiple places of transit (Ehrkamp, 2020), flexible mobility facilitators (Franck, Arellano and Anderson, 2018), changing aspiration and identities (Benezer and Zetter, 2014) – and argue that the confrontation with the regimes of mobility (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013) creates several spatial frictions (Schapendonk *et al.*, 2018). This important approach to study migratory route from the mobilities perspective highlights the non-linear and multi-polar perspective of migrant's world and creates a room for coagulation, fixity, and carcerality in the migratory projects of the individuals (Schapendonk and Steel, 2014). An analysis of different trajectories helps us to understand how im/mobilities are differentially included in the life projects of people on the move intersecting with a variety of mobility regimes (Schapendonk *et al.*, 2018).

Whilst a trajectories approach provides an important processual lens to study multiple interactions between mobility practices and mobility regimes, Schwarz (2018) argues that having trajectories as a unit of analysis poses several interrelated challenges: (a) practical challenges in mapping the long term and long-distance journeys given the limited time and resources, (b) methodological challenges in selecting a research participants on the basis of specific forms of migratory mobilities which reinforces what Hui (2016) calls as 'migrant exceptionalism', and most importantly (c) conceptual challenge of 'How to demarcate an evolving process? [and] How to define the beginning and end points of the journey?' (Schwarz, 2018, p. 3). This conceptual challenge is highlighted to the conceptual dislocation of single moment decision migrants make before their departure as discussed

in the majority of migration literature (see: Zhang, 2018). Whilst conceptually pertinent, Schwarz (2018) argues that trajectories approach positions migrants as permanently uprooted.

The concept of departure avenues draws upon the literature of trajectories approach to address some of these gaps. First, rather than positioning trajectories of specific form of migratory mobilities, departure avenues highlight specific forms of trajectories of participants who are either subjected to 'pre-departure' training organised by the states (Bélanger and Rahman, 2013; Sijapati *et al.*, 2019) and/or 'pre-decision' training organised by the NGOs (Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019). The subjects of such training are 'slow-moving, and high risk' transnational labour migrants, often identified as kinetic underclass in the mobilities literature (see: Cresswell, 2006). This makes the concept of departure avenues pertinent to understand the transnational mobility trajectories of those whose mobility and labour is subject to protection.

Second, and most importantly, departure avenues provide a localised understanding of 'decision following' rather than 'decision making' by analytically demarcating the beginning and endpoints of decisions people on the move pursue. To conceptually make this point, I employ the notion of undecidability, or terrain of decisions forwarded by Derrida (1992) which shows how every decision follows and is followed by a terrain of decisions (i.e. Undecidability). Whilst this processual understanding of decisions highlight that every decision signifies a departure from a specific terrain of decisions, an analytical understanding of the unfolding of that decision, or decision following, reveals a symbolic order highlighting a dynamic interplay between people on the move trying to actualise that decision and actors and institution trying to control such attempts. Hence, an understanding of spatio-temporal distances produced during the actualisation of the overarching decisions not only help us to analytically demarcate the beginning and endpoint of a particular journey, but to understand the importance of the encounters between people on the move and diverse forces of control along the spatio-temporal distance unfolded during the actualisation of such decisions.

People on the move make a variety of decisions along their departure avenues to actualise their mobility decisions. Every decision made along the departure avenues '*contains aspects of instability, insecurity and volatility*' (van der Velde and van Naerssen, 2011, p. 281). This instability is due to continuous encounter between mobility and control practices at numerous sites and locations. These encounters are embodied as bordering and liminalities (discussed in the next section) by my research participants while following their decisions which I understand as mobility struggles. The turbulence and upheaval produced as a result of such struggles modulate both the control and mobility practices which dynamically shape each other (see: chapter 6). Hence, the concept of

departure avenues draw upon the literatures on critical (anti-) trafficking, the mobilities paradigm, critical migration studies, and migration trajectories to highlight a variety of mobility struggles of the people on the move, as it is people who decide, act, embody, experience, subvert, escape, and resist relations of power, rather than some abstract figure of uprooted migrant navigating heterogeneous trajectories.

2.4.2 Conceptualising departure avenues

The government of Nepal issues labour permits to its potential transnational labour migrants only when they undertake 'pre-departure training' (see: Grossman-Thompson, 2019; Sijapati *et al.*, 2019) in an attempt to make their labour migration 'safe'. Similarly, 'safe migration' is a popular anti-trafficking measure (see: Ray, 2008; Molland, 2018) adopted by organisations like the ILO which imparts 'pre-decision training[12]' to the potential 'vulnerable' migrants (see: Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019). Such training programmes aim to empower potential transnational labour migrants so that they could make robust mobility decisions, and to reduce oppression and exploitation along and beyond their mobility journeys. However, empirical findings suggest that techniques to target decisions and departures of my research participants are often encountered as borders contingently manifesting during the actualisation of their mobility decisions. Building on these insights, I centre my analysis on how certain decisions are approached by my research participants (who are subject to both pre-departure and pre-decision training) and how those decisions unfold towards certain directions through the concept of *departure avenues.*

I conceptualise *departure avenues* as contingent and highly particular spatio-temporal distances produced when people on the move try to actualise their mobility decisions. These mobility decisions include, but are not limited to, moving for employment, exiting exploitative employment, disrupting the border that denies or delays mobility and rights, and escaping from everyday boredom, anxiety, and frustration. However, the actualisation of such decisions does not depend merely on mobility decisions. To actualise their mobility decisions, people must encounter different forms, sites, agents, practices of control (i.e., family members, community members, local agents, local administration offices, agents' offices, passport offices, the government departments, borders, border guards, airports) along their departure avenues. Some of these mobility control practices, following a variety of discourses, deny and delay mobility and rights to the people on the move resulting in spatiotemporal stretching of their departure avenues.

---

[12] Interestingly, the ILO uses the term 'pre-decision training' in Nepal only because the government of Nepal uses 'pre-departure training.' In other countries like India, the ILO used the nomenclature of 'pre-departure training' to assure "safe migration"

The departure avenues conceptualise how mobility decisions unfold in contingent directions, mobility practices encounter control practices, and mobility struggles of the people on the move as a result of that encounter. A detailed account of mobility struggles has the potential to reveal various sites where mobility practices exceed control practices. To show this excess, I employ Sandro Mezzadra's concept of the *surplus of sociability* (Mezzadra, 2010) which talks about excess produced in the attempts to control mobility (Scheel, 2013b). Using this understanding of excess of mobility over control, I argue that departure avenues are trajectories featuring several moments of uncontrollability in the attempts to control mobility by the state and non-state actors. The concept of departure avenues offers an account of numerous contingent, localised, and highly particular excesses produced during the actualisation of the mobility decision. I empirically show how these excesses produce upheaval and turbulence both in the practices of mobility and control making a case of a variety of mobility struggles of the people on the move (see: chapter 6).

Using the concept of departure avenues, I make a balance between the singularity and commonality of mobility struggles of transnational labour migrants of Nepal. It is important to take singularity into account, due to the differential potentiality, accessibility, and opportunities of each individual in terms of the difference in class, caste, race, age, skin colour, sexual orientation, and gender. Their innumerable embodied encounters with the forces of control render unique departure avenues. The singularity of struggles along departure avenues highlight: (a) the underlying social, economic, political structures within which an individual makes a mobility decision; (b) different, subjective, mobility struggles experienced by the people on the move trying to actualise their mobility decision; and (c) the change in configuration experienced by that individual after the actualisation of that mobility decision. These three characteristics of departure avenues provide an account of the diversity of conditions under which 'migration' takes place (Alabi *et al.*, 2004; Omwenyeke, 2004), differential accessibility of mobility resources (Sharma, 2009), and a variety of mobility struggles.

Departure avenues also highlight collective mobility struggles of my research participants. For example, shifts in emigration ban in Nepal (section 5.3) revealing a simultaneous collective mobility struggle impacting the mobility of most of the women of specific class and race. Due to these mobility struggles, we observe a multiplication of departure avenues, revealing the commonality of mobility struggles. The transformation in avenues simultaneously highlights the transformation in both mobility and control practices, making an overall case of co-constitution of and modulations in mobility and control. For example, the emigration regime of Nepal not only transformed the direction of departure avenues but also subsequently transformed the way mobility along these avenues is controlled. Hence, highlighting collective mobility struggles, using the concept of departure avenues, reveals simultaneous transformations in the control practices. When these

departure avenues are analysed collectively, they articulate both the commonalities between diverse mobility struggles along these avenues (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013) and the differential access, deprivation, and discrimination faced by highly racialised and sexualised bodies on the move (Scheel, 2019). Hence the analytic of departure avenues strike a balance between the singular articulation of mobility struggles and collective mobility struggles. To better understand these mobility struggles, I now unpack three of the interrelated elements of departure avenues – mobility decisions, liminalities, and borders.

Mobility Decisions

Decision-making is the oldest, yet is among the most important sites of inquiry in migration scholarship (De Jong and Gardner, 1981). Historically, migration scholars have understood decisions as a linear series of discrete steps undertaken by individuals, starting with an initial mobility decision, followed by a journey, the experience of work, the value of remittance, and return after the contract period is over (Sharma *et al.*, 2014). Policymakers and researchers use this linear understanding of decisions to understand drivers and causes of migration (Gill 2003; Poertner et al. 2011; Shrestha 2016; Shrestha 2017). Some of the examples are: structural push and pull factors (Shrestha, 2017), access to agricultural lands (Bhandari, 2004), social networks (Simkhada *et al.*, 2017), ethnicity (Sharma *et al.*, 2014), environmental insecurity (Shrestha & Bhandari 2007; Massey et al. 2010), and education and income (Bossavie and Denisova, 2018). The dominant framing of a decision, which either renders migrants as objects of causation (push-pull) or positions people as the Cartesian agentic subject, is often unrelated to various structures of control (Halfacree, 2004; Shrestha, 2017; Van Hear, Bakewell and Long, 2018). Further, the dominant inquiry often ignores the conflict between people on the move and emigration regimes.

This dominant framing of decisions is employed by policy-based migration studies, but challenged by more nuanced literature on migrant decisions - for example, influences of the affective nature of networks on migrant decision making power (Haug, 2008), and the unequal distribution of decision making power to assemblages of non-human sites (Zhang, 2018). Whilst a relational understanding of decisions (often used in trajectories approach (see: section 2.2.1)) has dismantled the oversimplified centralised essence of decision-making (van der Velde and van Naerssen, 2011; Schapendonk, Bolay and Dahinden, 2020), the obscurity of the relational analysis often prohibits us from making a clear political point regarding individual and collective mobility struggles from the perspective of the people. In addition, the decentralisation of decisions prohibits us from providing a conceptually coherent explanation of the ongoing temporal fragmentation of and transformation in decisions.

Hence, following Mccormack & Schwanen, I conceptualise mobility decisions as 'a differentiated affectively registered, transformative and on-going actualisation of potential against a horizon of undecidability, in which past, present and future fold together in complex ways' (Mccormack & Schwanen 2011, p. 2801). Undecidability, in a Derridean sense, is a horizon of decisions every decision has to go through to actualise itself (Derrida, 1992). The rules of such horizons are structured by the underlying social, political, economic, and cultural structures where an individual, divided by class, caste, race, gender, resides (Mezzadra, 2010). These differentiated, distributed, opportunistic, and transformative decisions (Mccormack and Schwanen, 2011) produce several creative mobility practices nestled within these structures, which either facilitate or constrain its actualisation.

I understand the concept of departure avenues as the distance between the terrain of decisions and the decision made by the people. For Derrida, there is no actualisation of decisions amidst the heterogeneous multiplicity of ever-changing terrains of decisions. However, in practice, the terrain of an overarching decision changes the moment the decision unfolds towards its actualisation. The spatial-temporal distance that takes place between the decision and its actualisation produces a singular departure avenue for an individual on the move, which exceeds the sovereign logic behind the attempts to fully tame them. For example, if a woman decides to go to Kuwait without the authorisation of the state, then to actualise her mobility decision she needs to move through several times and spaces where she encounters and disrupt several control practices which could potentially restrict her mobility. I conceptualise these spatial and temporal distances as departure avenues.

Consider the denial of sex work and domestic work mobility by the government of Nepal (Chapter 5). Since these mobility restrictions are produced in response to pre-existing mobility decisions to move for sex work and domestic work, it fragments those decisions leading to these sectors in three possible ways: first, the decision to move without the authorisation of control; second, the decision following the forces of control; and third, the decision to move by utilising some aspects of the control. During the process of actualisation of the first and third decisions, several political moments of an *excess* of mobility over control (central to the AoM Framework) are produced along the departure avenues. My empirical findings highlight the proliferation of several agents, forms, sites of border work along these departure avenues, before taking an individual to the immigration regime, signifying the reactionary rescaling of control to tame the autonomous moments of *excess*. Throughout the thesis, I aim to make a case for different types of mobility decisions before, within and beyond the immigration regime and labour relations. Through the concept of departure avenues following mobility decisions, I aim to highlight both the singularity of embodied experiences and commonality of collective mobility struggles.

Following the AoM framework, I argue that singularity and commonality of mobility experiences and struggles along departure avenues cannot be imagined beyond social, political, economic, and cultural structures. However, while the AoM framework makes an important case on decisions to enter into certain privileged spaces despite entry controls, this research analyses decision to depart from spaces despite restrictions on departures. I examine decisions to move for and from labour employment, producing departure avenues not only to highlight individual mobility struggles but also to make a case for common mobility struggles.

Both the singularity and commonality of mobility struggles along these avenues highlight different temporalities in which individuals move from, through, and to, different terrains of capitalism, nationalism, racism and sexism, which produces dynamic spaces for different contextual forces of control. Developing the conceptualisation of departure avenues further, I argue that every time an individual with singularity of subjective desires, ambitions, aspirations, encounters these forces of control following a multiplicity of discourses, it produces a temporal space of exception. I conceptualise these temporal spaces of exception as liminal spaces (Turner, 1995; Thomassen, 2014; Szakolczai, 2017).

Liminalities

Folklorist Arnold van-Gennep's work *'Rites of Passage'* (van Gennep, 1960) introduced liminality as a 'spatial and social transition, employed in every culture, wherein the very structure of the society is temporarily suspended' (Szakolczai, 2009). Later, anthropologist Victor Turner popularised it as 'betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial' (Turner, 1995, p. 359). However, since the original conceptualisation, liminality, as a concept, has been increasingly employed to encompass almost anything which celebrates difference (Szakolczai, 2009; Thomassen, 2013). Given the instability of our controlled existence, there has been a tendency to celebrate liminality by assigning to it an ontological dimension, especially among anti-foundational scholars (O'Reilly, 2018). Thomassen (2009) cautions against such celebratory practices as a de-political move, and argues that if liminality becomes everything, then it does not effectively mean anything (Thomassen, 2014).

The concept has also been utilised by several migration scholars in various creative ways (Grillo, 2007; Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Aguilar, 2018; Barry and Yilmaz, 2018). For example, for Aguilar (2018), the entire period of circular labour migration is the liminal period. Through liminality, she discusses the transformative dimension of circular labour migration (Aguilar 2018). Similarly, for Barry and Yilmaz (2018), the temporal distance between the very first arrival of the migrants in a destination country, to their integration, is a liminal period. They use liminality to discuss problems

within citizenship regimes. Likewise, if Aguliar's subject does not return from the 'destination area', and Barry and Yilmaz's subject never receives the citizenship in the 'destination area', then it means that the subject resides, in what Szakolczai calls, permanent liminality (Szakolczai, 2014, 2017).

In this thesis, I conceptualise spaces between the terrain of decisions and a decision as liminal space. While liminality scholars caution us about the deployment of this form of interstitially, the mobility experiences of my participants reveal several exceptional spaces when they encounter forces of control which delay or deny their mobility. They encounter temporary freezing of the normal rules of mobility-control dialectic for people on the move. In these 'betwixt and between' periods (Turner, 1995, p. 359), people experience suffocation, boredom, anxiety, trauma, precarity, oppression, rightlessness, and exploitation, due to the desire for the actualisation of their mobility decision. A terrain of decisions is revealed at this point in their journey, which shapes the fate of both the liminality and mobility decisions. In the liminal space, people on the move must take a decision to end it to actualise their overarching mobility decision. They either decide to wait for the forces of control to take the decision (allow or deny) along their departure avenues or decide to disrupt the liminal space. While people enter into a complex negotiation based on their accessibility of resources, forces of control follow discourses (trafficking, modern slavery, exploitation) to structure their decisions. For example, immediately after the 2015 Gorkha earthquake, several women in my research site lost their houses, children, livestock, and family members. Based on their access to resources, some decided to move for labour employment, while others decided to stay. However, at this time, the state strictly implemented the migration ban decision due to the fear of trafficking and exploitation.

These encounters between people on the move and forces of control freeze departure avenues. I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, that the elongation of time which disproportionately impacts the people on the move depends on the degree to which the individual is bound by social, economic, and cultural structures. I empirically argue how, during these moments of exception, people on the move make the decision (to wait for the forces' decision or disrupt the liminality) depending on their accessibility of mobility resources, and encounters with forms, agents, sites, and practices of bordering. Hence, the experience of liminality structures the subjective mobility experience of the people on the move along the departure avenues. For example, some liminal spaces serve to inhibit people on the move from progressing along their departure avenues. The delay and denial of mobility resources and the will to actualise the mobility decision will create a reciprocal relationship which shows an irreconcilable conflict between them (De Genova, 2009; Scheel, 2017). The conflict allows people on the move, depending on their accessibility of resources, to appropriate resources to disrupt the spaces of exception. Whilst individual mobility struggles along the departure avenues

shape their mobile subjectivity, the struggle manifested, due to the presence of the conflict and appropriation of resources, highlights common mobility struggles. For example, due to the mobility ban in Nepal, while the individual's experiences of liminality at departure avenues are highly subjective, the transformation of departure avenues by the appropriation of mobility and rights denied to the people on the move shows the common mobility struggles.

The appropriation of rights and mobility fragments, and multiplies, the existing departure avenues, which is sometimes imperceptible to the immediate logic of bordering practices (Tsianios, 2007; Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Wilcke, 2018). The whole process reveals an excess of mobility over control, which is precisely an autonomous moment (Mezzadra, 2010; Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias and Pickles, 2015; Hess, 2017). I now introduce insights from critical border studies to discuss how forces of control react to the multiplication of these imperceptible avenues.

Border(ing)s

The theoretical development of borders ranges from its initial conceptualisation of borders as territorial dividing lines (Jones, 2009; Parker and Adler-Nissen, 2012; Paasi, 2014; Jones *et al.*, 2017) to a more social and spatial decentralisation of bordering taking place within and across territorial limits (Balibar, 2002; Rumford, 2006; Johnson *et al.*, 2011; Brambilla, 2014; Burridge *et al.*, 2017). Critical border studies take us beyond the 'Territorial Trap' (Agnew, 1994) to unearth practices, discourses and materiality of border control (Walters, 2006) taking place and being redefined at sites defying territorial logics (Rumford, 2006; Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2012). Some of the work showing the heterogeneity of bordering within and beyond the state includes, but is not limited to, the externalization and offshoring of borders (Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias and Pickles, 2015; Ehrkamp, 2017), multiplication of bordering in everyday life (Jones and Johnson, 2014; Cassidy, Yuval-Davis and Wemyss, 2018), the transformation of borders into temporal sites like camps and detention centres (Martin and Mitchelson, 2009; Hiemstra and Conlon, 2017), interpretation of policies and multiplication of bordering (Gorman, 2017; Bürkner, 2018), and the transformation of individual bodies into bordering sites through algorithms and bio-metrics (Amoore, 2006). Border scholars caution us that decentralisation of borders makes it difficult to locate '*the where of the borders'* (Brambilla, 2014, p. 19) and to maintain the conceptual coherence of the border (Newman and Paasi, 1998; Jones and Johnson, 2014) asks us instead to focus on bordering (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018; van Houtum and Bueno Lacy, 2020).

The AoM framework also problematise the notion of borders and bordering, by privileging creative practices of people on the move over the efficacy of border control (Scheel, 2019). They consider borders as secondary, if not reactionary constitutive other of mobility. The Autonomist rejects the

classical Anglo-American understanding of border as impenetrable walls and re-categorises borders as apparatus which 'frames, contains, and controls' the migratory mobilities (Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias and Pickles, 2015). For them, borders are mobile devices reiterated along migratory routes of people (Cobarrubias, 2020). This approach positions borders as sites of contestation, negotiation, and refusal, rather than as an apparatus of exclusion (Nyers, 2015). Here the placement of borders is secondary, or more precisely reactionary, to the migratory mobility. For example, Mezzadra and Neilson, in their book *Border as Method*, argue that borders are epistemic methods that not only divide geographical as well as social space but also multiply the differences (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013). The multiplication of differences does not only mean 'proliferation of borders', but also suggests the proliferation of mobility struggles *(ibid.)*. These struggles manifest when borders and bordering differentially deny or delay mobility and rights to the people on the move. Autonomists prioritise and highlight these mobility struggles (Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014), practices of appropriation (Scheel, 2019), and the variety of creative subversions (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008) to make a case against border controls which constantly adapt, transform and reorganise themselves to perceive, highlight, control, capture, digest, and tame the ever fragmenting mobility practices. While this provides a strong critique against those narratives and conceptualisations of borders which downplays the subversive potential of migrants, it opens the AoM framework to a critique of downplaying the violent and repressive nature of borders, the repressive power of the nation-state, and relevance of political borders (Sharma, 2009). Autonomists addressed this critique by highlighting 'embodied encounters' and 'irreconcilable conflicts' between appropriation of mobility resources by the people on the move and forces of control which deny or delay those resources (Scheel, 2013b, 2017, 2019) which neither deny repressive state power nor valorise migrants as heroes.

Most of the conceptualisation of borders under the AoM framework reflects the specific mobility struggle of individuals due to exclusionary immigration regimes or, in the words of Mezzadra, differentially inclusionary regimes (Mezzadra, 2010). I add to this understanding of the decentralisation of borders by empirically making a case for a variety of bordering before and beyond the immigration regimes using the concept of departure avenues. On a micro level, I aim to offer an analytical platform to observe the decentralisation of borders through the concept of departure avenues. On a meso level, this is an attempt to answer how different political discourses, strategies and practices transform different forces of control and mobility along the departure avenues. On a macro level, I add on to the project of Salter (2013) to empirically make a case of co-constitution of mobility and control along the departure avenues.

2.4.3 Co-constitution of mobility and control along departure avenues

Until now, I have shown how encounters between people on the move and forces of control produce different degrees of liminality along the departure avenues. The liminality could be understood as a continuum where, on the one side, there is an ever-pervasive minute liminal threshold with its ontological claim (Rattray, 2016); on the other side, there is permanent liminality (Szakolczai, 2017). The continuum of liminality also reflects diverse forms of mobility struggles in contingent spatial sites. Following a processual turn in border studies, these liminal spaces allow borders to be understood as a dynamic social process which delay or denys mobility and rights to people on the move. Brambilla (2014) understands these in-between ordering spaces as *borderscapes* which are ever-shifting, relational spaces continuously crisscrossed by bodies, discourses, practices, strategies, and relations (Brambilla, 2014). She suggests that in these spaces, 'various strategies of adaptation, accommodation and contestation take place, challenging the traditional top-down geopolitical control of borders' (p. 20). Hence these in-between spaces become sites of power and counter-power (Amilhat Szary and Giraut, 2015). Whilst delay and denial of mobility and rights are adapted and accommodated by some people on the move, others decide to contest such liminal spaces. If successful, the disruptions of these in-between ordering spaces signify the subversion of borders along these departure avenues.

Each subversion of these borders reveals an *excess* of mobility over control (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Mezzadra, 2010; Scheel, 2017). The visibility and knowledge of the materiality of this excessive mobility is important for the forces of control to plug the porosity. Hence these excessive mobilities initiates a decentralisation of borders into the dynamic social process to address specific ruptures. Amilhat- Szary and Giraut (2015) consider this spatio-temporal politics of multiplication and transformation of mobile borders as *Borderities*, revealing a dislocation of sites, functions and symbolic power of borders*.* However, there are certain cases where decentralisation takes place due to pre-emptive protection measures employed by the state and non-state actors (Yea, 2020a, 2020b). For example, the discourse of human trafficking in Nepal focuses extensively on making the imperceptible mobility practices visible to the control. In either case, every reconfiguration of borders and borderings signify attempts of the control practices to capture the excess of mobility practices, and every excessive mobility reveals attempts of the mobility practices to escape these bordering practices. These variety of mobility practices, moments of excess and the rescaling and respatialisation of borders establish a co-constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

Building on the existing theorisation of continuous *becoming* of borders, I show multiplication, transformation, and the rescaling of *borders* along the *departure avenues.* I position the particular discourses (for example: Anti-Trafficking) as polymorphs which simultaneously highlight mobility control and mobility struggles. Following AoM framework, I argue that *excess* produced as a result of the simultaneity of the two results in the heterogeneity of borders. In other words, the *excess* brings rescaling and respatialisation of border work and makes the border mobile. Or, put another way, every time rescaling takes place, the excess highlights the inability of the forces of control to capture, highlight, control and digest imperceptible (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008) and incorrigible (De Genova, 2017) mobile practices. While the former, as professed by Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, cannot be perceived by the sovereign power due to its singularity, the latter, as professed by De Genova, is equally disobedient, yet fully perceived by the sovereign power rendering it helpless as it gains its strength from the appropriation of collective labour-power. I empirically discuss both forms of disobedience in Chapter 6 highlighting an excess of mobility over control, which I argue takes shape of what I conceptualise as escape mobilities.

Escape mobilities

Escape mobilities are a constellation of differentially intertwined mobilities – objects, images, ideas, information, and capital (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006) employed by people along their departure avenues to respond to the liminality and bordering they experience and encounter. People on the move employ escape mobilities, either to disrupt the existing liminal space or to assist them to escape the effects of the liminal space which delays or denies mobility. For example, one of my participants entered into a liminal space when she encountered bordering practices of anti-trafficking NGOs patrolling at Indo-Nepal territorial borders. She stayed in that liminal space for a few days, collected all the information regarding indicators of trafficking borders, published fake wedding cards, hired an expensive Indian vehicle with a Bengali speaking driver, and disrupted trafficking borders which otherwise would have denied the actualisation of her mobility decision. Similarly, another participant, upon denial of mobility to Korea by the existing emigration control measures due to her age, decided to stay in the village for a year to become legally eligible for foreign employment. During this time, she suffered from anxiety, frustration, and boredom, while watching her friends disrupting the emigration regime of Nepal. However, over Facebook, she contacted several friends working in different countries of the Middle East, South Korea, and Europe and gathered information on worksites, payments, benefits, and freedoms at these spaces. On the basis of that, she decided to move to Croatia instead of Korea one year later. In both cases, a powerful configuration of mobilities manifested in liminality, which denies or delays mobility and rights to the people on the move. In this active space, people forge trust-based personal networks

and involve differently positioned actors to facilitate their mobility decisions. Both participants employed a constellation of mobilities – escape mobilities – either to locate or exploit rupture in that specific bordering practice - to disrupt them or to escape the everyday effects of the configuration. Hence, an appropriation of escape mobilities could either help people to evade the immediate bordering configuration or force them to bear the burden of such liminal spaces. In either case, subjective desires (remaining or leaving the liminal space) reveals an excess of the forces of control and mobility. Hence, I now divide these 'mobilities' into two overlapping forms – non-subversive escape mobilities, and subversive escape mobilities.

Non-subversive escape mobilities are configurations where people decide not to disrupt the liminality they encounter for a variety of strategic reasons. This decision to stay in the liminality enables people to work on their lives whilst avoiding everyday effects of liminality and bordering like anxiety, boredom, pain, trauma, loneliness etc. For example, when labour department of Nepal denied labour permit to Dolma, and when placement agency personnel delayed the visa document Bobby, they entered into a liminal space which was full of anxiety, boredom, and uncertainty (see chapter 6). During this period both of them gained a lot of information about alternative visa process from their friends and relatives. Whilst these non-subversive escape mobilities have the ever-present potentiality to trigger the desire and opportunities of subversive mobilities, for analytical purposes, I position them as mobilities employed by people till they decide to disrupt the immediate liminality and bordering which constrains them. I show, in section 6.6, that sometimes these mobilities are invoked to avoid some costs of subversive escape mobilities. Yet, these non-subversive mobilities sometimes force an individual to bear the cost of rightlessness, exploitation, and oppression.

On the other hand, subversive escape mobilities are power-imbued configurations of mobilities, which disrupt the liminality. Here people do not wait for the forces of control to end the liminality; rather they decide to escape the configuration, which produces liminal conditions on their departure avenues. For example, once Meghan was told that the state of Nepal is not issuing labour permits, unlike Dolma she didn't wait for one more year in a hope that regulation will change, she decided to employ subversive escape mobilities and moved via India to disrupt the liminality and bordering. Whilst a few scholars highlight the presence of 'subversive mobilities' as diverse routes which people on the move take to disrupt the dominant mobility regime (Cohen, Cohen and Li, 2017), I position the concept of subversive escape mobilities as a specific contingent phenomenon taking place all along the departure avenues. People on the move employ these mobilities to disrupt defences of bordering configurations presented in the liminal space either because of an urgent need to actualise the mobility decision, or to avoid their suffering – exploitation, oppression, and

rightlessness. However, empirical findings suggest that that people on the move differentially embody the experiences of these liminalities, and their accessibility of resource to configure subversive escape mobilities are different as well.

With the conceptualisation of escape mobilities, I show a highly contingent, localised, and particular shapes excess of mobility over control takes in the context of my project. For example, the contingent shape of the excess of mobility over control which disrupts the immediate bordering and liminalities is what I call as subversive escape mobilities. These escape mobilities offer an insight into the moments of uncontrollability in the immediate control practices. However, the contingent shape that excess of mobility over control takes without disrupting the liminalities and bordering signify the spectrum of agency amidst such restrictions. Hence, I argue that a spatio-temporal analysis of the localised experiences of liminalities and borderings and the configuration of escape mobilities reveals a variety of excess or moments of uncontrollability, or moments of autonomy, rendering highly singular departure avenues.

Liminal porocratic institutions

Escape mobilities are highly contingent and localised shapes of the *excessive* mobilities which defy the immediate logics and practices of controls. Whilst subversive escape mobilities in the labour relations pose threats to the structures of exploitation, rightlessness, and oppression, these mobilities also disrupts the immediate control practices which restricts the mobility of the people on the move. Disruption of these control practices questions the status-quo of the discourse. In response to that, the control practices recuperate '*to regulate mobility flows by forging contingent border zones wherever the routes of migration make the existing regime porous.'* (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p.174). Hence, the subversive escape mobilities initiate a dynamic 'respatialization, rescaling, and mobilisation of border work' (Burridge *et al.*, 2017, p. 239)

I explain this polymorphism in border(ing)s through a neologism –liminal porocratic institutions – developed by Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos in their book *Escape Routes* (Papadopoulaos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). For them, these institutions operate in the liminal spaces between the public, the state, and the supranational organisations and form temporal aggregates to control the excess of mobility over control (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). These temporary aggregates try to highlight, capture, control and digest subversive escape mobilities with an attempt to plug the porosity in the existing configuration. These porous sites are revealed when the flood of subversive escape mobilities threatens and unsettles established technologies of control. Also, when migrants own their labour power and challenge the state by making their bodies perceptible, the

porosity transforms into a watershed. In both cases, there is no way singular, institutional control could govern the flood of moments of uncontrollability along the departure avenues. It demands,

> *"[…]a new form of mobility control, one which is no longer the result of transnational governance; rather it is designed and implemented by a series of institutions […] which lie and operate beyond public negotiation and beyond norms and rules instituted through governance"*

> (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p. 173).

The goal of these liminal porocratic institutions is to regulate the porosity by capturing subversive escape mobilities. Every time these liminal institutions capture subversive escape mobilities at the departure avenues, the knowledge of the configuration feeds into the kernel of forces of control. For example, to control the subversive escape mobilities employed by my participants – staying in a hotel, employing a vehicle (Indian plated), actors (Bengali speaking), objects (wedding cards) (see, section: 2.4.3) – forces of control train several hotel owners, local vehicle drivers, and local shops to control such mobilities. Hence the knowledge of excess rescales and respatialises existing bordering to highlight, control, capture, and digest subversive escape mobilities, thereby multiplying borders' forms. This rescaling of borders performed by liminal porocratic institutions shows the inability of the forces of control to capture or perceive the diverse practices of appropriation by the people on the move. The attempts to control the porosity and excess of mobile practices, manifests in the production and subversion of borders, marking the co-constitution of mobility and control.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviews diverse literatures helpful in developing the analytical framework for this thesis which broadly examines the co-constitution of mobility and control. Drawing on and contributing to the critical literatures on mobilities, migration, (anti-) trafficking, borders this chapter introduces two concepts - *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities* by highlighting a variety of encounters between control practices and mobility practices. In the rest of the thesis, I empirically develop the concepts introduced in this chapter, through a novel case study which highlights mobility practices from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal.

In this chapter, I draw upon the literature on critical (anti-) trafficking which highlights how anti-trafficking measures restrict mobility and choices of women and children in the emigration regime. I contribute to this strand of literature by historicising mobility practices of my research participants from a trafficking prone region in Nepal by highlight the modulations in anti-trafficking measures in an attempt to control their diverse mobility practices. To better understand this simultaneity of

mobility and control practices, I draw upon the literature emerged under the mobilities paradigm to understand how control practices shape mobility practices, and how mobility practices shape control practices to make an overarching argument of the co-constitution of mobility and control.

However, to make an empirical case of the co-constitution of mobility and control, I draw upon and contribute to the literature on migration trajectories by offering an analytical concept of departure avenues as spatio temporal distances emerged when people try to actualise their mobility decisions. Departure avenues add to the concept of migration trajectories by highlighting several embodied experiences of encounter with bordering and liminalities along the mobility route of those who are deemed as subjects of protection, and several moments of *excess* of mobility over control produced as a result of these encounters along the route. To better understand the shapes of these excesses, I offer a concept of *escape mobilities* which highlights a highly contingent, localised, and the particular configuration of mobilities employed by the research participants upon their encounters with a variety of bordering practices. The concepts of departure avenues and escape mobilities draw from and contribute to the literature of trajectories, mobilities, and borders by offering an analytical platform to examine a diverse spectrum of mobility practices. Through these concepts, I explain how my research participants leave the emigration regime, enter the immigration regime, navigate the immigration regime, and return to the emigration regime, only to leave it again with or without restrictions.

I examine different ways of my research participants navigate international labour mobility to conceptualise departure avenues and escape mobilities. In the following chapter, I elaborate on the messy process of the fieldwork conducted in a post-disaster and 'trafficking prone' site of Nepal, and on the various observations at airports, highways, government offices, and Indo-Nepal Borders (Chapter 3). Next, I empirically demonstrate how these departure avenues are produced by highlighting mobility decisions (Chapter 4). I aim to show the singularity and commonality of these mobility decisions emerging in its embedded social, cultural, and political structures and make a conceptual argument on pre-production, post-production, and transformation in departure avenues. I then present a detailed account of encounters between people on the move and forces of control and their subsequent transformations (Chapter 5). I intertwine people's mobility stories of sex work, domestic work and contract work through ever-changing anti-trafficking instruments, emigration laws, and the regular and irregular recruitment process in Nepal. I show how these encounters and transformations take place before an individual enters into an immigration regime. The empirical case highlighting a detailed account of mobility and control practices clears ground to establish the concept of (subversive and non-subversive) escape mobilities along the departure avenues (Chapter

6). I also discuss the costs of such escape mobilities. Through these empirical chapters, I aim to make an argument of co-constitution of mobility and control along the departure avenues (Chapter 7).

Chapter Three: Navigating messy encounters

3.1 Introduction

Issue-oriented action research are political processes materialising amidst a continuum of 'doing proper research and doing research properly' (Cook, 2009, p. 3). Whilst 'proper research' would require pre-determined, often neat, research questions, methodologies and conceptual frameworks, doing research properly could entail an iterative action and reflection throughout the research process (Kindon and Elwood, 2009). Both approaches offer, argue, and justify numerous research decisions using the coordinates of research ethics (Elwood, 2007; Miller *et al.*, 2008). In this research, I acknowledge the epistemological importance of everyday encounters (Klocker, 2015), action and reflection (Cameron and Gibson, 2005), and ethical tensions (Treharne *et al.*, 2018) to understand how people navigate their international mobility from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal.

The term 'human trafficking' often symbolises issues related to mobility and exploitation (Di Nicola, 2007). For example, according to the Trafficking protocol, the *Act* of trafficking signifies spatial and temporal sites of mobility (the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons), the *Purpose* signifies exploitation, and the *Means* signifies the causation of mobility (the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion etc.) (Chuang, 2014; Shamir et al., 2011). Drawing on this definition, dominant (anti-) trafficking research develop indicators to identify trafficking 'victims' (Bales, 2007; Cockbain and Kleemans, 2019), promise to quantify the magnitude of the 'problem' (Boyd *et al.*, 2018), and produce spaces for various forms of (policy-based) research (See: Dharel, Rai and Thapa, 2015; Laurie *et al.*, 2016). The vantage point of these research is the term 'human trafficking' which, as I have highlighted in Chapter 2, suffers from definitional ambiguities, ideological agendas, and counter-productive interventions.

Research, whose vantage point is the term 'trafficking', often prescribes solutions to 'free' or 'save' people from their exploitative labour relations. For example, most anti-trafficking research in Nepal strengthens responses which govern women's mobility on an assumption of severe exploitation in sex work and domestic work (Uprety, 2014; Awale, 2016; Cousins, 2016; Pattisson, 2017; Konrad, 2019). These policy research construct potential 'victims of trafficking' as objects of research programmes, and provide opportunities for governmental and non-governmental actors either to make 'new' epistemic claims or to justify 'old' practices under 'human trafficking' (Thomas-Hughes, 2018). However, ever-burgeoning trafficking research, and ever-transforming anti-trafficking interventions also highlight transformations in mobility practices. These simultaneous transformations in mobility and control are reactionary to victimisation (Esson, 2020), stigmatisation

(Richardson and Laurie, 2019), criminalisation and prosecution of family members, friends, relatives as traffickers (Bromfield and Rotabi, 2012), and the interception of people as victims at different transit points (see: Hudlow, 2015). Hence, considering the high ethical stakes involved with the trafficking research, I dissociate with the term 'human trafficking' in this research and make room for mobility practices and struggles. I adopt the Participatory Action Research (PAR)[13] approach (Pain and Francis, 2003) to prioritise embodied mobility practices, experiences, and struggles to examine how people on the move navigate their international mobility from a site in Nepal.

Grounded in people's struggles, PAR takes place in a collaborative space where researchers and participants examine the participants' struggles for a positive transformation. Interestingly, PAR has also been a quick-fix development tool used by some anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal. For example, immediately after the 2015 earthquake, a PAR was commissioned by 'Free the Slaves', an anti-slavery NGO in Nepal, to strengthen community responses against trafficking by sensitizing select community leaders (See: Dharel, Rai, and Thapa (2015) and Milan Dharel et al., (2015)). Building upon my experience as a participatory development professional, I adopted an academic PAR approach for this research. Further, drawing upon ethical and political nuances of critical literatures on mobility, migration and (anti-) trafficking, I prioritised the mobility experiences of my research participants over political categories of 'Human Trafficking'. Understanding how people navigate their international mobility through PAR helped me to empirically and conceptually understand (a) how mobility and control co-constitute each other, and (b) how discourses of human trafficking transform different practices of people on the move and bordering practices of forces of control.

The chapter navigates messy encounters during the Participatory Action Research in five stages. First, I describe the initial planning processes for the PAR research (section 3.2). Planning a participatory project is antithetical to the foundational concepts of PAR. However, I understand that neither would the community request such research (McIntyre, 2008), nor could the university ethics board allow a PhD research project to evolve from the ground without a framework (Elwood, 2007). Hence, I presented a loosely assembled participatory framework to the ethics board as a strategy to negotiate ethics (Cahill *et al.*, 2007). Secondly, I describe the way some of the elements of the proposed framework became inadequate during the testing (scoping study) phase (section 3.4). Thirdly, I explain how the object of inquiry took several shifts when participants started sharing research control (section 3.5). Fourthly, I discuss ethical tensions and encounters during the research process (section 3.5). Finally, I reflect on activities undertaken after the field – transcription and analysis (section 3.6) before reviewing the limitations (section 3.7) and highlighting the conclusion

---

[13] Academic participatory action research without using any NGO is very rare in the field of human trafficking.

(section 3.7). The aim is to highlight numerous messy sites of epistemological importance encountered during the process (Cook, 2009; Thomas-Hughes, 2018). However, to make better sense of the empirical findings (primarily on ever-transforming mobility and control practices), and to navigate the messiness of the research process, I first outline a factual presentation of the collected data before describing the research stages.

3.1.1 Data

The primary site for this research was a remote Himalayan village[14] in a *'Gaunpalika'*[15] of Nepal. I engaged a few participants to work with me in conducting research in the village. We employed a diverse range of participatory methods: focused groups, interviews, participatory training, participatory planning, participatory mapping, in order to understand the chronology of mobility decisions and routes. We conducted more than 36 individual interviews (which captured 48 stories of mobilities), 18 focused group discussions (to capture voices and struggles of more than 200 people), 8 open-ended household interviews, 6 interviews to understand historical mobility of the site, and 3 interviews with unlicensed agents in the village (See Appendix for a tabular outline). We captured people's mobility experiences through interviews[16] and discussions. Based on this data, I conceptualise *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities* which take people from the research site to more than 11 countries to work in various industries – sex work, domestic work, factory work, hawking (newspaper, watches, handkerchiefs, towels, high heels), construction work, loading/unloading work, beauty parlours, hotels, stone quarries, and horticulture.

We discovered highly singular mobility routes originating from the village. Based on this, I conducted a border ethnography at national highways (*Thankot* check-post) which links Kathmandu to Indo-Nepal Border: four India-Nepal bordering sites - Mahendranagar, Nepalgunj, Sunauli, and Kakarvitta; the landing site in Delhi – *Majnu Ka tila* (Tibetan refugee colony); airports – Kathmandu, New Delhi, Colombo, and Kuwait; and mobility systems - bus stations, tea stalls, train stations, border police offices. I conducted open ended-Interviews and observations at these sites, including but not limited to, agent's association leaders, placement agency owners, anti- trafficking NGO members, government officials (women and children department, labour and foreign employment, NHRC), trade union members (GEFONT), Nepal Police, border police – both in India and Nepal, anti-

---

[14] *I've anonymised the name of the village due to ethical reasons (see section 3.5).*
[15] *Gaunpalika or gaupalika is the newly formed lower administrative division in Nepal. This village was earlier a separate Village administrative unit known as VDC, but due to this administrative reshuffle is now divided into two wards – 6 and 7 – of the gaunpaliks.This research was be conducted in ward 6.*
[16] *Every week criteria was being changed: We ended up capturing mobility experiences of recent returnee, people about to leave, people who faced jail, illegal people, irregular, people left during certain period of time, human trafficking victims, HIV victims, disaster victims, People with experiences in Malaysia, Middle Eastern countries, Seasonal work in India, Construction Work, Domestic work, Factory work.*

trafficking NGO members at borders, detention centres leaders, bus service operators, hotel owners, rickshaw/taxi drivers, everyday border crossers from both sides, Indian secret intelligence officers at borders, dance bar owners, counterfeiters etc. I maintained an electronic research diary to capture day-to-day encounters, participant observations, and informal talks at bordering sites (see Appendix).

3.2 Planning a Participatory Action Research (PAR)

In this section, I describe the research process. The planning of this research started before the PhD process. My experiences as an anti-trafficker and a participatory development professional shaped the way I approached academic literature on (anti-) trafficking, mobilities, migration, and participatory research. Drawing upon these experiences and kinds of literature, I designed a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project.

3.2.1 The beginning

The Institute of Hazard, Risk and Resilience (IHRR) at Durham University sponsored this research through a studentship from the Christopher Moyes Memorial Foundation. The Moyes studentship is awarded to students with the potential to 'impactfully' contribute to the low-income societies of the global South. I pitched the idea of examining 'risk and resilience of human trafficking in Nepal' in a post-disaster context. Drawing on the policy level[17] and grassroots level experiences[18], I convinced the interview panel that the issue of 'human trafficking' could only be understood and combatted through the experiences of those directly impacted by it. At that time, my understanding of trafficking and anti-trafficking came from my association with the International Labour Organisation (policy), trade unions, government departments, recruitment agencies, and NGOs (grassroots) where my bottom-up approach of 'putting the last first' in any development process conflicted with implementing an imperialistic top-down project on 'labour trafficking'.

I was introduced to the politics of the dominant and counter approaches to trafficking while designing my research. The critical debate on (anti-) trafficking spoke to my policy and practice experiences and cautioned against unethical practices of research typically ignored in the name of practicality. Drawing upon my field experience, I reflected on the validity of those (anti-) trafficking research (or project evaluations) influenced by the 'collaborating' NGOs, who (in) directly control interviews and reduce the research merely into a performance. Most importantly, I developed

---

[17] I assisted implementation of ILO-DFID funded Anti-trafficking programme. The opportunity helped me to work with various actors – the UN, NGOs, Govt. departments, placement agencies, and trade unions.
[18] I am a Rural Development professional with a grassroots level experience of living and working with some of the most marginalised communities of India.

sensitivity regarding the potential harm caused once the impacts of these inquiries are translated into anti-trafficking measures.

3.2.2 Problems with (anti-) trafficking research

'Human Trafficking' is an ambiguous political category. The emotional appeal of trafficking as 'hidden in plain sight' and traffickers as those who 'think two steps ahead of us [anti-traffickers]'[19] has rendered the category as being above criticism. Despite the low numbers of victims identified and perpetrators prosecuted, various agencies, organisations and lobby groups selectively utilise the term to achieve their political goals. The selective usage of the term positions some women's bodies and mobility as worthy objects of protection (often without their consent) and excludes other women's (and most of the men's) bodies and mobility as unworthy of protection from exploitation and abuse in labour relations. Hence, I politically associate myself with critical scholars who argue that 'human trafficking' is a political fiction, and every (anti-) trafficking intervention (both research and practice) has potential to damage the very people it promises to protect.

The question which then surfaces is – how to research a political fiction? For critical scholars like Tyldum, there are three potential subjects of human trafficking research – 'persons at risk, current victims, and former victims' (Tyldum, 2010). There are clear ethical issues involved in researching 'current victims' without exacerbating their exploitative conditions (for the exception: Bales, 2016; Kara, 2017; Boyd *et al.*, 2018; Brown *et al.*, 2019). Hence, most of the research tries to understand the risks of trafficking (Brülisauer, 2015; Dharel, Rai and Thapa, 2015; Shree and Abhurami, 2015), or the risk on the lives of trafficking victims (or survivors) (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel and Townsend, 2015; Richardson *et al.*, 2016; Richardson and Laurie, 2019). Whilst Tyldum also argues that it is impossible to distinguish within and among these three subjects of trafficking, nevertheless she argues for considering trafficking as a vantage point to research the live experiences of victims (Tyldum, 2010). The trend is followed by critical (anti-) trafficking scholars who take trafficking as a vantage point to talk about larger labour market injustices (see: Shamir *et al.*, 2011), and sometimes develop indicators to better identify victims (See: Cockbain and Bowers, 2019; Cockbain and Kleemans, 2019).

My experience as an anti-trafficker cautioned me against the effect of the stigma-bearing term 'trafficking' in the research site. I did not take the route of 'labour paradigm' (Shamir, 2012) and 'continuum' approach (Skrivankova, 2010; Strauss and McGrath, 2017) for two reasons: Firstly, the site of the research did not allow me to examine the intricacies of labour relations; and secondly, I

---

[19] I've been told this statement more than 5 times when I asked why despite so many anti-trafficking interventions these NGOs still think that traffickers operate.

wanted to avoid reducing the subjectivity of people on the move to the forces of the labour market or immigration regime. I relied on the 'new mobilities paradigm' to explore the embodied experiences and practices of the movement of people, ideas, and objects, as well as the broader sociality of these spatial movements (Urry, 2007, 2012c). The move to shift the vantage point of the research from trafficking to mobility helped me to capture the experiences of people before they entered into their labour relations and/or immigration regimes.

3.2.3 Mobilities paradigm influenced participatory research model

The mobilities paradigm is an interdisciplinary paradigm which focuses on the constitutive role of movement in workings of social institutions, practices, and organisational power and the system of governing mobilities and immobilities (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller, 2012). The paradigm offers a powerful lens to examine how people, infrastructure, and communication support the socially embedded movement of people dependent on a complex of family, work, and friendship (Adey, 2010; Urry, 2012b). These interdependent mobilities are governed (in part) by the state, to maintain law and order.

The mobility paradigm helped me to put aside the term 'human trafficking' as a prime object of analysis to avoid any definitional confrontation and to open new avenues to contribute to the field of trafficking and mobilities. On the one hand, the burgeoning literature on mobilities (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006; Cresswell, 2010; Sheller, 2015) is yet to unpack whether and how the discourses of human trafficking have (in)direct implications on the movement of people; on the other hand, trafficking scholars have rarely used this inter-disciplinary field of study. I formulated a project to examine the governance of pre- and post-disaster mobility of the people living in a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal.

The mobility paradigm solved the definitional dilemma associated with the term 'trafficking'. However, rejecting this political category does not mean that structural injustices do not exist on the ground. I was aware that working directly with people on issues related to exploitation, rightlessness, and oppression merely to observe and analyse issues in society, should not be an option (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b). Hence, I decided to adopt a participatory approach to conduct this research. I navigated participatory approaches like Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) (Chambers, 1994), Tribal Participatory Research (Fisher and Ball, 2003), Participatory Research (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995), Action Research (Brydon-Miller, 2008), Participatory Learning and Action, Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Pain, Kindon and Kesby, 2007), Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) (Banks and Manners, 2012), and Co-production (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel, S*amuha, et al.*, 2015). Drawing on this literature, my own comfort, and the need for rigorous

trafficking research, I planned a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project (Pain, Kindon and Kesby, 2007) to examine 'pre- and post-disaster mobility governance' in a 'trafficking prone' area.

The methodology initially comprised four stages – the preparation, the incubation, the walk, and the illumination. I wanted to develop my understanding through reading literature and developing a framework in *the preparation* stage. In *the incubation* stage, I wanted to live with the community, and conduct *the walk* to trace one route people from that community take for their transnational labour employment. Finally, for *the illumination* stage, I planned data management and preparation, training, dissemination and future project planning. The framework helped me to obtain permission from the University's ethics and safety board. In addition to that, I explicitly mentioned that a scoping study would be conducted to test whether and how to conduct large scale research. Following Khanlou and Peter (2005), I decided that I would seek ethical approval for the changes during the dynamic PAR process.

3.3 Scoping Study

In this section, I discuss the scoping study which led to the formulation of the research project. I conducted the scoping study due to my subjectivity as an anti-trafficker which made me aware of the site-selection bias, and the way NGOs dominate the whole research. These NGOs often link academic research to their development agendas for fundraising and profiling purposes. Due to these, I did not contact any specific anti- trafficking NGO of Nepal before I arrived at Kathmandu, in July 2017, after receiving the University's ethics approval for the scoping study.

I then devised my research tool, 'participatory project mapping' (explained below), to map the project and the site. The tool can assist participatory researchers to solve a longstanding dependency on collaborating institutions in order to find a research site.

3.3.1 Participatory project mapping

The participatory project mapping tool is a framework to situate the objectives of academic participatory research in line with the objectives of actors working on an issue, without depending on them for its execution. I started with dialogic snowballing and used political maps to map the project.

Using dialogic snowballing

Initially, I developed a live database of actors in Nepal working on anti-trafficking, migration, gender, and labour issues before contacting them. I then met with a few of them who responded to my

meeting request.[20] These actors were using English and Hindi to communicate with me. In every meeting, I used a snow-balling technique to meet and network with other anti- trafficking actors. I met with more than ten organisations – anti- trafficking networks, NGOs, INGOs, government departments, United Nations Agencies – in Kathmandu. During each meeting, I asked these five questions:

- What is your understanding of human trafficking?[21]

- What is the magnitude of the problem in Nepal?

- What kind of research has already been done in Nepal?

- What research would you like to do?

- Where would you like to conduct the research?

The snowballing took me to a research dissemination workshop organised by UN Women on human trafficking, illegality and migration-related issues. I networked and scheduled meetings with other NGOs working in this field. The iterative process of snowballing led me to the administrative headquarter of the Sindhupalchok district. Here, I encountered language issues, as most of the government and non-government officials were speaking only in Nepali. The language barrier changed my mapping strategy.

Using district level politics maps of Nepal

Once the process encountered these language barriers, the endeavour transformed into a fully-fledged mapping process. During one of the meetings, a government official brought along two, old, political Village Development Committee (VDC) maps to explain the situation, as we were not able to communicate properly with each other. A local engineer pointed out the earthquake-impacted sites where female migration was high. I used the maps to interview other district-level anti-trafficking NGOs and government departments to locate villages based on two criteria:

a.   High female migration.

b.   Impacted by Gorkha earthquake.

---

[20] Later, I used my positionality of ex-UN consultant and sought help from the ILO to establish contact with other actors.

[21] In Kathmandu I used the term 'trafficking' only to understand the actors' viewpoints, and their implementation strategies. I tried to avoid the term trafficking as much as I could in the district, and at village level.
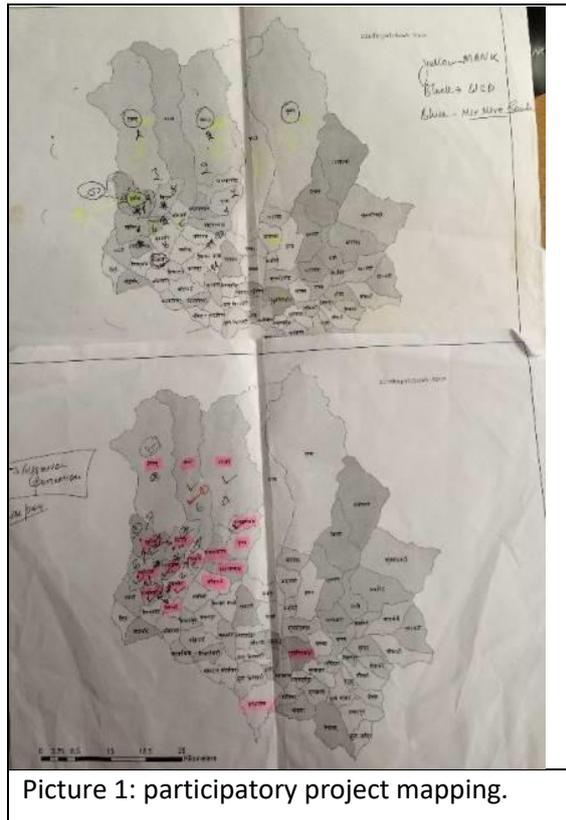
Picture 1: participatory project mapping.

Later, I located the top three recurring villages. Many actors asked me to avoid these three locations due to language issues,[22] inaccessibility during the rainy season,[23] and the hostility of the community members against anti- trafficking NGOs. For example, one HIV/AIDS based NGO manager told me that interviewing people in these areas is difficult because people do not reveal information to outsiders due to trust issues. He said that most of the researchers do not live within the community and no one has ever returned to the villages after the data collection.

Nevertheless, I then went to the nearest municipality of these three sites. I met with an anti-trafficking NGO manager and conducted the same mapping exercise. The manager prioritised the same three sites and helped me to get in touch with a local female political leader from the Communist Party of Nepal. I had a long telephone conversation about the project and asked her to facilitate my preliminary visit to these villages. Next day, a local engineer took me to some of these villages on his motorbike. We went near some of these sites, only to realise the difficulties of accessing these villages on a motorbike. After a few unsuccessful attempts, I called that leader and explained the situation. She asked me to trek up the Himalayan mountain and she arranged my stay

---

[22] Language used by these mountain dwelling indigenous community is Tamang which is difficult to understand.

[23] The Bus services are put on halt during rainy seasons due to a lack of bridge and roads, and the dangers of landslides.

at a teacher's house in one of the villages. Upon arrival, I realised that the village was divided into two wards, as per the new administrative shuffling in Nepal.

Over the next few days, I met individuals, women's groups, NGO members, and a trafficked survivor[24] - the most powerful woman of the village. I met with important actors – teachers, community leaders, social workers, trafficking victims/survivor group leaders – identified by the teacher with whom I was staying. I observed that people were not revealing information about female mobility, but were deeply concerned about the exploitation of males in Malaysia and Qatar. I discussed my intention of understanding the mobilities of both men/women who go to work for foreign employment. Many of them gave their consent, though in retrospect, I feel the consent was given only under the influence of the communist political leader. While I acknowledge a classic critique of the PAR approach, where existing power structures in the community is exploited (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), I also want to make a point that there is no other way to conduct any field-based academic participatory research inside a hard-to-reach community. Before I left the community, the teacher, whom I was living with, revealed that she was leaving her teaching duties soon and planned to depart for Dubai to work as a cleaner. She also told me that there were so many truths in the community, and people would reveal details once I become familiar to them.

Picture 2: Anti-trafficking awareness generation in an earthquake relief project conducted by an anti-trafficking organisation	Picture 3: Temporary school in the village

---

[24] The victim identifies herself as the political subject category of victim and is a leading member of the local trafficking victims support group.

3.3.2 Reflections on the existing framework

During the scoping study, I reflected on the existing framework with government and non-government actors of Nepal, before discussing it with the villagers. I received comments on multiple aspects of the framework. In this sub-section, I explain some of the outcomes of this reflective process.

Site selection

I initially planned three villages as my research sites. However, given the arduous location, time and money constraints, I decided to select one village as my research site.

Using the term Human Trafficking

I initially planned to avoid using the term 'human trafficking' due to ethical, political and conceptual reasons. However, during the scoping study, anti- trafficking, HIV/AIDS and migration, NGOs cautioned me against using the term trafficking in these communities. Some of the NGO members told me that it is hard to determine how and when the community will react towards the usage of the term 'human trafficking'.

Male and Malaysia

Initially, there was a dilemma in selecting the lived experiences of male or female or both for the research. However, the community asked me to include male experiences as an object of enquiry in the research. For them, the problems faced by males opting for Malaysia, are much more severe and often go unnoticed, more than those of the females.

Using anti-trafficking NGOs

I was cautious about seeking assistance from anti- trafficking NGOs for the execution of the research project. The reasons became quite evident when some anti-trafficking NGOs, although dissatisfied with the repetitive trafficking research, offered their assistance in implementing action research on the ground. But I was almost convinced to collaborate with a local anti-trafficking organisation, given the support I received to access this remote site. However, during the village stay, the community warned me that I should not anchor the project with any anti- trafficking NGO if I wanted to conduct my research properly. During one of the meetings, the community members told me that most of the people were aware of the dubious nature of the NGOs, who raise funds to implement their different political agendas. They told me that large-scale NGO interventions had altered the socio-political landscape of the community after the 2015 Gorkha earthquake.

Hence, I decided to go to the field without any NGO. Avoiding the use of any NGO in a PAR speaks to the concerns of post-structural and critical-development scholars who consider PAR approaches as

quick, dirty, extractive, hierarchical and damaging research (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), and (anti-) trafficking measures as a counterproductive development agenda (McGrath and Watson, 2018). Despite these critiques, PAR (on trafficking), especially academic, seldom operates without NGOs (See: Richardson, Poudel and Laurie, 2009; and Dharel, Rai and Thapa, 2015).

Information Centre

The PAR advocates 'doing some good' to the research participants (Pain and Francis, 2003). During the planning stage, I did not offer any significant outcome of the research. However, interacting with anti-trafficking NGOs revealed the importance of community-level intervention in the field site. These interactions sparked a discussion concerning the migration information centre or information booth, a nascent developmental strategy of the anti-trafficking organisations of Nepal. The idea here is that various forms of information (labour domestic and international laws, human and labour rights, key contact persons, evils of trafficking and modern slavery) empowers people on the move while en route and in the destination. I discussed this idea with many anti- trafficking, migration, labour-related actors, including community members, and almost everyone welcomed having an information centre in the community. Hence, I decided to establish a migration-resource centre in the community as the immediate outcome of my research.

Picture 4: The research site.

3.4 Fieldwork

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is an 'epistemology of practice grounded in people's struggles' (Kindon, Pain, and Kesby 2007, p. 10). The research approach is sensitive to the wisdom of the subjugated and advocates that they are also capable of 'finding fracture points in unjust social arrangements' (*ibid.*). It challenges the hierarchical models of research which promote 'conversation of 'us' with 'us about them'' (Kindon, Pain, and Kesby 2007, p. 196). Hence, the PAR not only promises to reveal, but also actively engage with numerous 'locations of power in the various stages of the research process' (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995, p. 1667).

I conducted PAR at a post-disaster site recuperating from a tremendous loss of life, infrastructure and livelihood (Sijapati *et al.*, 2015). At the same time, events (for example, a scheduled assembly election in Nepal and state-imposed financial incentive deadlines on the post-disaster housing construction) transformed the research site into a politically charged arena. I lived in the community for over three months to understand multiple realities of mobility from a visually immobile (and devastated) place. People's mobility experiences showed a critical worldview of simultaneity (of conflicts, bordering, waiting, and subversions) and heterogeneity (of differential ways of being, doing and navigating the international mobility) which I aim to unpack throughout my thesis. In this section, I discuss different stages of the research while navigating through challenges I encountered during the process.
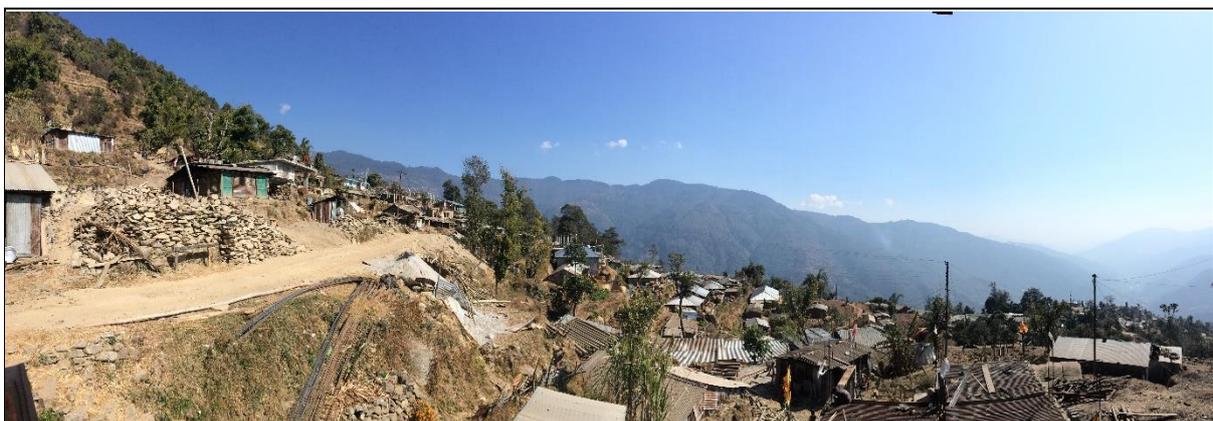
Picture 5: Landscape view of the research site under construction.

3.4.1 Steering committee

PAR generally begin with the constitution of a steering committee (or an advisory body) (Blake, 2007). A steering committee assures supervision of ethical procedures and creates a troubleshooting back-up by influential community members. However, the selection of such bodies creates ethical

risks, as it could signify a parallel power structure in the research site (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). The steering committee is the cost of every bottom-up development project,[25] which, I believe, is still better than any top-down development projects/research.

Initially, some participants asked me to engage with leaders of all three political parties[26] in the village. They cautioned me against the political animosity within the community and forthcoming assembly elections in Nepal, which could disrupt my research process. I used a snowballing technique to identify key actors in the community. Starting with some participants, I asked everyone to nominate (with reasons) at least three people I should meet to have a general meeting. The snowballing took me to people with whom I discussed the participatory project. The process helped members of the community become accustomed to my presence, the proposed project and my intentions. I stopped the process once the chain became repetitive and called a general meeting.

Community members like the president of the ward, community leaders, political group leaders, teachers, health workers, educators, women's group leaders, and the sex trafficking group leader all participated in the meeting, along with more than 25 participants. We started our discussion trying to make sense of the nature of the previous research conducted in the community. We discussed the meaning of participation in research and the formation of a research steering committee. People reflected on the number, constitution, gender-mix, and roles of the committee before nominating people. After nominations, we discussed a selection criteria of 'peer' researchers, their compensations, the selection of an interpreter, a safe space of action and reflection, meeting dates, as well as community-level compensation. Finally, we reflected on issues of representation, anonymity, confidentiality, accountability, and the risk-benefit of the research at the community level. After the constitution of the committee, I gained permission to start the research project.

3.4.2 Research companions (or Peer researchers)

Recruiting 'peer' researchers[27] is important for participatory approaches (Cahill, 2007a; Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b; Klocker, 2015). Participatory researchers (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b) and qualitative researchers (Marlowe *et al.*, 2015) often employ peer researchers to assist in fieldwork, particularly with isolated groups (Ryan, Kofman and Aaron, 2010). They are widely employed

---

[25] In the past, I've helped in the evolution of village level institutions in the forests of India to achieve self-governance.

[26] *Communist Party* of Nepal (Unified Maoist-Leninist) *Communist Party* of Nepal (Maoist Centre) Nepali *Congress* party. Rashtriya Prajatantra Party of Nepal.

[27] 'People who live within, and have everyday experiences as a member of, a particular geographical or social "community", and who use their contacts and detailed lay knowledge in a mediating role, helping to gather and understand information from and about their peers for research purposes' (Edwards and Alexander 2011, p. 269).

because of their embodied experiences, cultural understandings, network accessibility, and knowledge about the object of enquiry (Marlowe *et al.*, 2015). The insider status privileges them with the capacity to connect with their peers, a form of 'cultural capital', which enriches the research process (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b). Due to conceptual, political, and ethical difficulties in executing the project, scholars often employ peer researchers, on the assumption that cultural capital would 'enable [them] to identify and access exploited workers across the groups' (Siegel and de Wildt, 2016, p. 122).

I argue that the word 'peer'[28]is uncritically celebrated in participatory approaches. The Oxford English Dictionary considers peer as a verb meaning 'be just visible' and as a noun meaning 'a person of the same age, status, or ability as another specified person'. Whist the first talks about visibility, the second gives us a sense of equality which is central to the PAR (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007a). Uncritical employment of the word could be counter-productive for some research and participants. The first meaning reveals an ethical tension between the individual desire of visibility and their vulnerability to the forces which often capitalise on their visibility. The second meaning reveals a conceptual fallacy between the impossibility of intersubjectivity between researcher and researched, despite an unwavering awareness of positionality and reflexivity (Noxolo, 2017). A false sense of equality could potentially mask the bargaining power of 'peer' researchers, who could end up researching in an exploitative labour relationship in some of the most 'ethical' research.

However, evidence suggests that the difference between 'insiders and outsider' is not clear as participants often navigate between an insider-outsider spectrum (Ryan, Kofman and Aaron, 2010; Marlowe *et al.*, 2015). For example, researchers encounter guarded responses, censured data, normative stickiness, and lack of transparency while working with peer researchers (Siegel and de Wildt, 2016). Furthermore, their employment places them in a hierarchical power relation against the principal researcher, who employs them to circumvent the community's distrust towards researchers, which in turn leads to indirect coercion. Inducement, seduction, and accountability transfers are other issues which could also harm the people from a particular geographical area (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b).

During my fieldwork, I recruited a few people with the help of a steering committee and called them 'peer researchers'. However, they called themselves *'sathi anusandhankarta'* – a combination of two Nepali words in which 'Sathi' denotes a 'friend' and 'companion' and anusandhankarta is 'researcher'. The signifier and signified produced here is unique and the essence of the term cannot

---

[28] Oxford English Dictionary Online.

be captured by another popular term in the literature.[29] My participants were more like a friend rather than a peer. They were with me as companions. Hence, I replace the word 'peer researchers' with 'research companions'. I argue that not only does it unsettle the common understanding of 'a book that provides information about a particular subject',[30] but also provides room for negotiation, emotion sharing and commanding respect.

My research companions included a youth leader (initially, a sex-trafficking survivor/victim consented for this but later dropped out because her husband did not want his wife to work with a male Indian researcher), an HIV patient (everyone recommended him), a middle-aged social worker (I came to know later that he used to take women to Indian brothels), a woman's group leader, and a health professional (who had no migration experience, and as a result, could not speak Hindi). Also, a local assistant cum interpreter provided his invaluable support throughout the process. Indubitably, the insider status of my research companions served the research process well but, given the sensitivity of the topic, they become outsiders to the project when it came to interacting with the agents, and the ownership of the project outcome (more on this in section 3.4.9). Research companions negotiated many aspects of the research - for example, they negotiated the decision making power given to the steering committee members during the general meeting. One such negotiation was the negotiation of a safe space for the community members for planning, action, reflection, and negotiation during the research process.

3.4.3 Safe space

An iterative cycle of action-reflection-action is at the core of the PAR (Borda, 2006; Pain, Kindon and Kesby, 2007; McIntyre, 2008). While the action-reflection cycle took place throughout the process, given the sensitivity of the research topic, I requested a safe space where we could sit periodically, reflect on our actions, and plan new ones on a regular basis.

Some advisory board members suggested a post-earthquake infrastructure *'Mahila Chalfal chautari'* (Women's Discussion Centre). The centre was anchored by an NGO working on Land Rights, managed by a committee and presided over by a research companion. When I asked for his support, the research companion was reluctant to offer the place, fearing the 'wrath' of the NGO. Upon my request, he rang the NGO leader, in front of me, who denied access to that space. I was later assigned a room for this purpose by the steering committee, in a post-earthquake, dilapidated, and deserted school. Later, I went to Kathmandu to talk to the same NGO leader who had denied the

---

[29] The nearest term is Co Researchers (see Guillemin & Gillam (2004), which signify a disposability as it lacks the connection that is made and sustained for a longer period of time.
[30] *'The Oxford Companion to English Literature'.*

access. After hearing about the project, the NGO leader allowed me to use 'their' infrastructure for the research purpose. That site became our meeting space throughout the fieldwork in the community, where we met over seven times to critically reflect, and reflectively plan out field activities.

3.4.4 Participatory training

Participatory training is an important component for a PAR. PAR scholars suggest that these training programmes build research skills among the participants (Pain, 2004) and produce a space for discussing and negotiating research ethics (Pain, 2008). While participatory training sessions are aimed at brainstorming the idea of research and the ideal way to execute on the ground, some scholars also caution that these exercises seldom ensure sufficient preparation in the practice of participatory research (Wilson, Kenny and Dickson-Swift, 2018). For example, training sessions as an end goal of the PAR (e.g. 'Free the slaves' which sponsored PAR in the post-earthquake Nepal was all about training (Dharel, Rai, and Thapa (2015)), and training to follow up development interventions (e.g. participatory videos (Frost and Jones, 1998)).

During the initial stages, my interpreter brought the requirement of training to the fore. He told me that the community members were finding it difficult to comprehend or appreciate my intentions behind the research. Moreover, I thought that training would allow me to know more about the community – history, problems, issues, and ways of living. Hence, we decided to have a participatory training session. For this research, a cross-cultural training process was adopted (Kwan and Walsh, 2018). Here we addressed my training requirements, to have a better cultural understanding of people and their practices, and the research companions' training requirements, on research tools, ethics, and process.

I took dates from research companions and organised a meeting in a nearby municipality. On the agreed date, we then held a training session, which lasted over two and a half days. We discussed and reflected on topics and issues – past, current and future problems, language and translation, participation, research and ethics, collective action and reflection, and agents. We reflected on our positionalities and negotiated roles and responsibility and discussed issues which community members have historically faced. Moreover, we conducted participatory exercises – problem prioritization, pre- and post-disaster village mapping, migration history and trends, gendered mobility mapping, and a project timeline.

Picture 6: Participatory exercises.
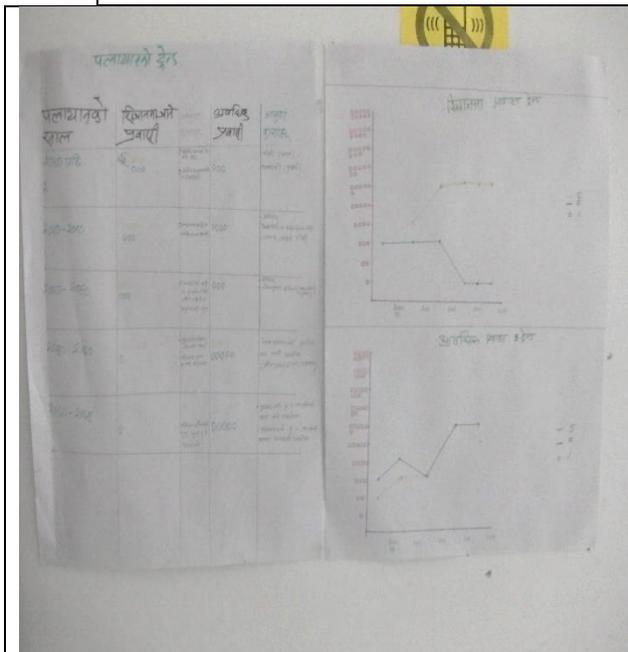
Picture 7: Gendered Migration Trend – (last 100 years)

Picture 8: Post disaster village-mapping

| Picture 9: Gendered mobility mapping. | Picture 10: Pre-disaster village mapping. |
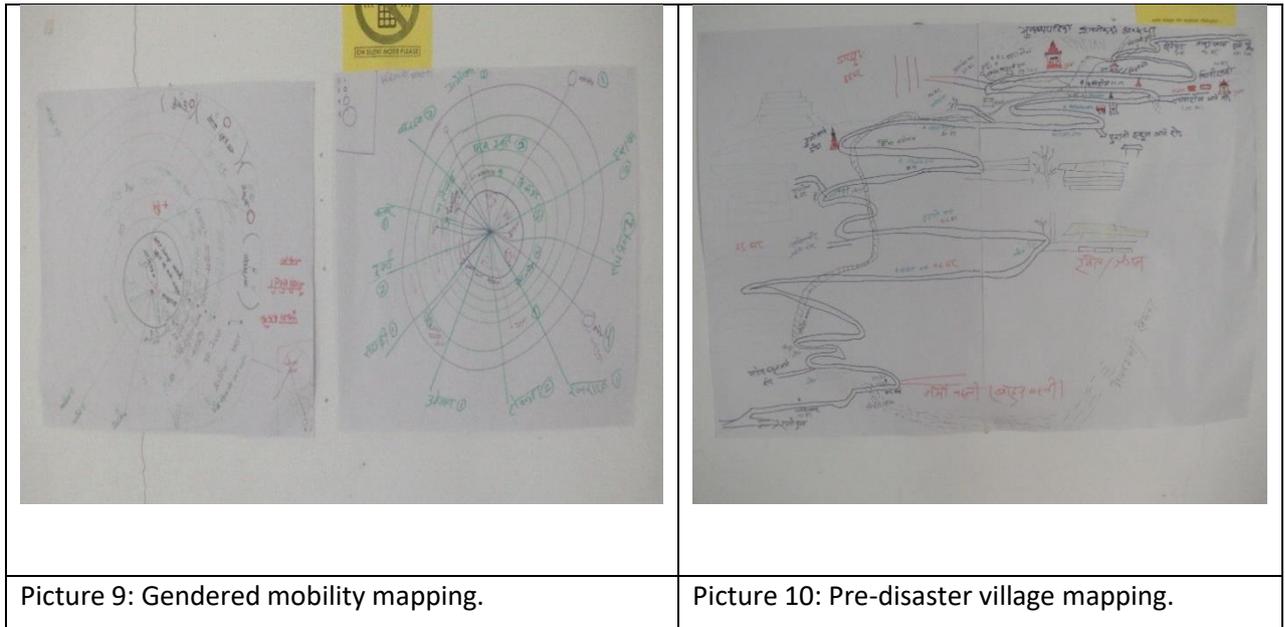
3.4.5 Action and reflection meetings

During the training session, we iteratively reflected on issues identified by the research participants. At the end of the two and a half days of training, we planned our actions. Later, we met in the safe space to reflect on the status of the planned action. The iterative cycle denotes PAR's core strength of action and reflection during the research process and reveals an inevitability of a power play necessary for social transformation (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995; Kinpaisby-hill, 2011). The interplay of power during the process of action and reflection presents the most challenging critique of the PAR approach (see: Kesby, Kindon, and Pain 2007; Kesby 2005; Cahill 2007b). Scholars from development studies caution us regarding the production of alternative power structures as a direct result of this process (Cooke and Kothari, 2001). However, drawing on my past policy-based research and participatory development experiences, I argue that research on politically charged issues can seldom be power neutral, which speaks to those participatory scholars who argue that power-neutral research is neither needed nor imperative (Kwan and Walsh, 2018).

During the training session, we decided that all seven of us should meet once a week in the safe space, to plan, discuss, and reflect upon research activities. Frequent meetings and continuous critical reflection of the activities brought unprecedented changes in the research. Some of the important changes were: dropping the idea of visiting Qatar,[31] reflecting on the viability of researching in Kuwait, formulating and discussing questions for participants in the community and

---

[31] *On the basis of the scoping study, we were told that many men from the community visit Qatar. I got permission from the department for Qatar. Later, discussions and reflections showed that, for the community, women's mobility in the Middle East and men's mobility in Malaysia was important.*

beyond, selecting interview participants – every week we changed the criteria, deciding the combination and nature of the focused groups, and planning awareness generation sessions. We had negotiations and disagreements over many issues. We critically analysed our successes – focused group discussions, meetings with key informants, and our failures – conducting household visits, preparing a database of all those who are abroad, forging links with all the unlicensed placement agents living in and around the village. During the field visit, we met seven times in the safe space, and the average discussion time was 1.5 hours.

3.4.6 Focused group discussions

During one of the action - reflection meetings, we decided that every research companion would mobilise and organise groups based on criteria like geographical locations, personal contacts, gender, age, and mobility experience. As a result of this, five groups were formed – one mixed group (the majority being women), one all Gulf group (only women), one mixed group, one youth group (all men), and one mixed group (relatively immobile). The group formations not only helped us to increase the reach of the research but also to bring people into the conversation. A total of 10 FGDs were conducted with these groups.

a. Focused group discussion – Round 1

   During the action-reflection meetings, we discussed the agenda of the FGD for each group and scheduled dates and times of the meeting. A research companion facilitated the meeting of their group in the native Tamang language. We discussed challenges and opportunities (source, transit, and destination) in the mobility for foreign employment and different forms and degrees of exploitation.

b. Focused group discussion – Round 2

   Once the first round of group discussions had taken place, we reflected on the collected data. Upon reflection, we decided that it is important to have a rights based (human/labour) awareness generation session. I went to Kathmandu to collect different awareness generating materials (in the Nepali Language) from organisations like the ILO and GEFONT (General Federation of Nepalese Trade Union). We synthesised the information and decided that the research companion would conduct the awareness generation activity in their language (Tamang). It was an interactive process where we discussed the meanings and forms of freedom and unfreedom faced by the community members.

3.4.7 Interviews

Three types of interviews took place during the course: (a) interviews with participants occupying different political subject positions – trafficking victims, illegal immigrant, illegal migrants, to

understand mobility patterns; (b) interviews with influential people – teachers, political leaders, community development workers – of the village, to understand the history of mobility in the community; (c) interviews with stakeholders who influence and facilitate the mobility of the community – for example, household members, unlicensed agents. Many of the questions that I asked in these interviews came up during action-reflection meetings. I discussed ethical choices – informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity – with every single one of them (See section 3.7). The duration of these interviews lasted somewhere between 1-1.5 hours and was recorded with permission.

Initially, I conducted some open-ended interviews as rapport building exercises with some of the community members. I did not include any of the research companions in these interviews, especially when interacting with (unlicensed) agents, assuring their safety and avoiding social stigma. The process helped me to build a rapport with the community members.

Meanwhile, research companions maintained a register with the names of people living outside the community. During action-reflection meetings, we discussed their names before selecting them for interviews. Upon selection, research companions organised these interviews. I conducted most of the interviews (I used the services of the interpreter only in a few cases when the interviewee could not speak in Hindi) at a time and location preferred by the interviewees. Identities of the interviewees were known only to the research companions who arranged these meetings. We captured mobility stories which the participants thought were the most interesting, both by drawing maps (in a notebook) and by recording their viewpoints. Later, during action-reflection meetings, we discussed these maps (depicting journeys without the names) and argued over the names of people whose mobility stories would further enrich the project. These reflections frequently changed the criteria of the interviews – people who have only been to India, who were planning to leave soon, who had recently returned from the labour relations, who were immobile, who are labelled as sex trafficking victims (those who identify themselves as that).

Lastly, I conducted interviews with stakeholders during my stay in the community. The need for interviewing actors came up during the action-reflection meetings. During focused group discussions and interviews, many questions were fired at me. Some of them were: Why were some people allowed, and some people not allowed to cross the borders? Why are anti-trafficking NGOs sympathetic to the agents who support their political parties? Why has the government implemented a mobility ban? Why do anti-trafficking NGOs support only a few selective people in the community? What are the sources of their funds? Why are they not at all transparent in terms of

their functioning? We compiled these questions, added few, and I interviewed some anti-trafficking actors.

3.4.8 Analysis, discussion, and halt

The analysis of this PAR project was an ongoing iterative process of organising, describing, classifying, interpreting and representing data before, during and after the fieldwork (Pain and Francis 2003). I adopted an iterative and ongoing process which pushed the research team at every stage to reflect together, to make sense of diverse viewpoints, and to take informed actions (Cahill 2007).

During the fieldwork, many aspects of the project were debated among research companions which altered aspects of the research. One such issue concerned an Information centre which was initially discussed by the community (and suggested by some of the stakeholders like the ILO) as a form of community-level compensation. Throughout the village stay (more than 100 days), the discussion regarding an information resource centre (which was pre-determined during the start of the research process) generated a positive response from the participants and companions. However, a few of them were highly sceptic and remained silent about it. Many anti-traffickers support the idea of the migrant resource cell or information resource centre as a soft approach for dealing with 'labour trafficking' (Molland, 2018; Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019). The intervention could have been the solution to the classic PAR question of how 'to have real impacts for those we study beyond academic articles and conference papers'? (Pain and Francis 2003, 47).

The decision on the information centre proved to be the most difficult aspect of the fieldwork. Klocker (2015) talks about a similar situation while conducting a PAR on issues related to the domestic worker in Tanzania and cautions us that there is no guarantee that the impact of the research will be positive. Klocker, when faced with a similar situation, explained the emotions that I underwent as well:

> "There were many days when it all felt too difficult: I cried about this project, I got angry, I had nightmares, I experienced anxiety attacks and heart palpitations, sleepless nights and e as a PhD student and novice researcher e an overwhelming sense of being utterly out of my depth. I experienced a 'maelstrom of emotions'"

> (Klocker, 2015, p. 39).

However, to assure the intervention, I regularly visited Kathmandu and was in touch with NGO members, to collaborate to successfully execute this institutional set-up. I underwent a series of discussions and negotiations with the steering committee members, research companions, and most importantly, with myself, regarding the pros and cons of such an institution. Some of the cons were: making a stigmatised place and community visible where people move through illegal channels, and making the facilitators of these mobilities visible to the state which has imposed the mobility ban. I reflected on the interviews of the agents who told me that, if the state identifies agents who facilitate mobility through illegal channels, then he could easily be charged with trafficking.

Upon intense reflection, I decided to leave the community to avoid the damage that this intervention could have unleashed on the community at large. Before I left the place, I called another general meeting and discussed the positive side and the negative side of the information centre with everyone. The group asked for some time to think and reflect on the issue with other members. Given the sensitivity of the activity, I suggested that the research companions should organise a general meeting, record the proceedings in a register and take the signatures of more than two thirds of the population. The aim was to democratically legitimise the critical decision. I am regularly in touch with my research participants, and the community still do not favour this idea.
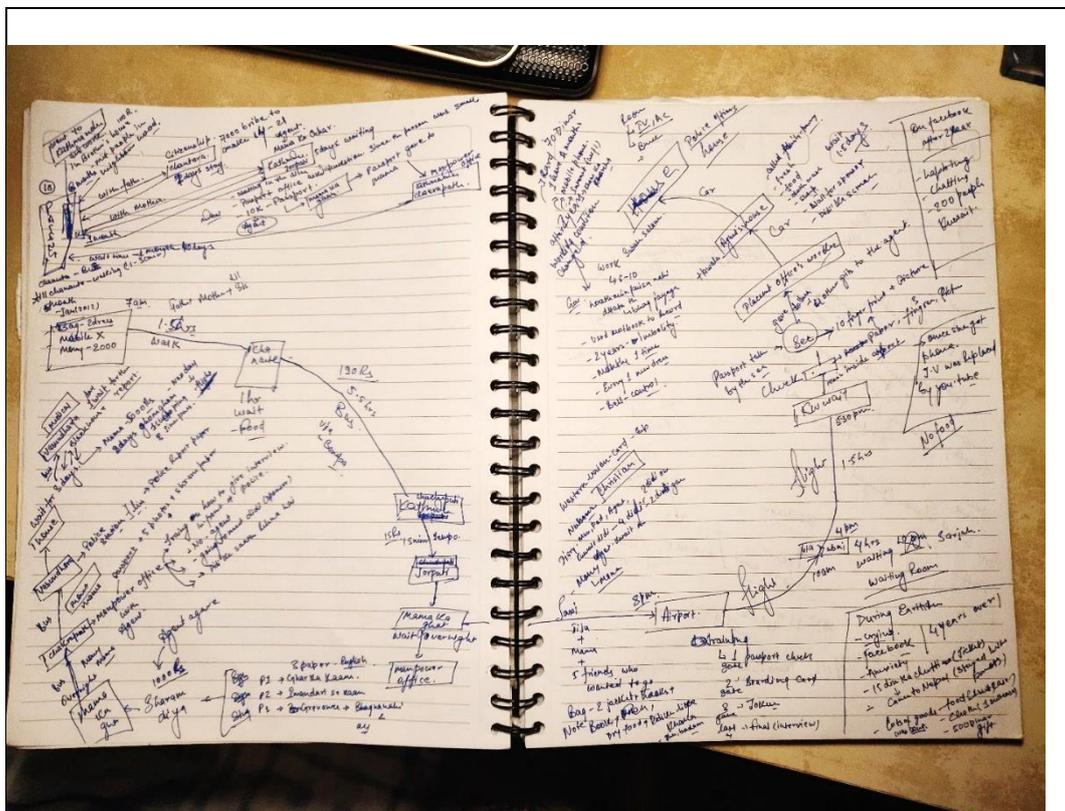
Picture 11: Mobility routes.

3.4.9 Moving beyond

During action-reflection meetings, we discussed routes people take from the community to their labour employment. Later these routes were discussed with important stakeholders like National Human Rights Commissions, Nepal, government departments, trade union members, and anti-trafficking and international migration NGOs. Together we formulated different questions and discussed participatory observation methods. Once again there was a change in methodology, and that made me seek security clearance from the university.

I traced checkpoints which included four Indo-Nepal borders, a landing site in New Delhi, and four airports – Kathmandu, New Delhi, Colombo, and Kuwait. I contacted,[32] interacted and interviewed actors during the process. Some of these actors were border guards, NGO members patrolling on the borders or the checkpoints, rehabilitation centres staff, local people living on the borderlands, everyday commuters, and rickshaw/auto-rickshaw/taxi drivers (see: Appendix). An electronic research diary was maintained to capture day to day encounters, self-reflection and participant observation.

Picture 12: Three intercepted girls sleeping inside a check-post.

---

[32] Some of these contacts were provided by community members, agents, government officials, trade union members, NGO officials.

3.5 Reflections on Ethics

In previous sections, I presented an account of my fieldwork underpinning the empirical materials. Every time I reflect on my methods, following Noxolo (2017), I ask three questions: (a) How much had I been able to perceive the intersection of dense power relations? (b) How much had I been able to interpret and translate whatever I claim to have perceived? and finally (c) In what ways is the knowledge produced amidst this multiplicity interesting and important for both the researcher and the researched? These questions demand assurance of ethics in a political process. In this section, I reflect on negotiations which followed ethical foundations, and assured ethics of political commitment. I start with a brief account of the confluence between Normative Ethics and Political commitment which shaped this entire research. I then elaborate on the outcome of navigating within this terrain at many sites throughout the research.

Normative Ethical Principles

The University Ethics Commission prescribes normative rules to ensure the foundational university ethics. The prescription is based on the idea that clauses such as confidentiality, informed consent, and anonymity would not only refrain from causing any harm but, if possible, would also do some good to the research participants (Pain, 2008). In addition, the Participatory Action Research (PAR) advocates participatory ethics (Cahill *et al.*, 2007). Manzo and Brightbill (2007) position participatory ethics as ethics of representation, accountability, social responsiveness, agency, reflexivity and constant concern of the participants (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b). Since the process of PAR attempts to blur the differences between the researcher and researched (Khanlou and Peter, 2005), there is a need for contextually grounded and iterative ethical codes (Pain, 2008). I spent considerable time and effort to develop a trusting relationship with my research participants (Aldridge, 2014). Having understood the sensitivity and the stigma attached with the term trafficking, I did not mention the term trafficking unless participants introduced it to me.

Political Commitments

As a participatory development professional (and an anti-trafficker) I encountered the term 'trafficking' for the first time in the media. I then went on to work in a Bonded Labour project, and a human trafficking project respectively with the ILO, where I engaged with numerous representatives of Trade unions, NGOs, government departments – women and children, police, labour – employer's representatives, corporate officials, in workshops and conferences. However, I interacted with 'victims' and the 'vulnerable' to capture their stories of 'trafficking'. Here, my ethics as a

participatory development professional conflicted with the organisational ethics of strict bureaucratic system of the UN, which encourages a certain degree of performativity.

My political commitment is to prioritise people's struggles ahead of political categories in analysis, advocacy, and intervention. Due to this, the research engagement produced ethical conflicts. For example, ethical conflicts took place whenever a participant hinted that there was no difference between the trafficked and trafficker. While my previous ethics of an anti-trafficker would have undermined the voices of the people, if at all properly captured, the ethics of a participatory researcher demand that I conduct the research in a way that the critical voice and activities of people on the move are reflected in method, theory, and empirics. Hence, the confluence between political commitment and university ethics shaped most of the decisions that I took for this research.

Up to this point, building upon the importance of the aforementioned confluence, I have highlighted many of these decisions in different sections. I made these decisions at sites where different political actors hold diverse meanings of mobility and labour. Besides, I and my research companions made decisions upon encountering heterogeneous embodied experiences of mobility and labour of research participants. Overall, the demand was to ensure every encounter was ethical with agents, traffickers, household members, community members, NGO members, disaster victims, those vulnerable to human trafficking, and other Nepali citizens.

A geography of ethics could emerge upon a detailed discussion on the ethical encounters with these actors at various scales. However, this is far beyond the scope of the current thesis. Hence, I selectively navigate the terrain of the university prescribed, normative, ethical principles through these everyday encounters. I now highlight how I negotiated university ethical principles in a political process at different sites of intervention.

3.6.1 Sites of intervention

Whilst my research is a tribute to the scholarly standpoints which argue that political categories can seldom be neat, to show the ethical in each encounter I highlight different sites (national, community, group, household and individual) where I intervened during the research process. I started every interview narrating everything about the project – why we were doing what we were doing. After obtaining their consent, I discussed the clause of anonymity. Throughout the dissertation, I highlight the names of those who seek anonymization with Western names, while I use the original names for those who do not wish to seek that. During every encounter, at every site, I explained, negotiated and discussed the overarching university ethical rules - anonymization, informed consent and confidentiality. Furthermore, before I started my interviews, I provided my

participants with three choices - the choice to leave the interview at any point, the choice not to answer the research questions, and the choice to share their discomfort during the process.

Individual

Community members subjectify outsiders (development professionals, and researchers) who try to discover the labour and mobility in the village. The subjectification by the community is partly due to the stigma of trafficking, and partly due to the earthquake, followed by unbridled development interventions. Research companions suggest that the earthquake changed the way the community members perceive foreigners in the community. They interpret the foreignness of the individual as potentially beneficial. Hence I decided to live in the community to regularly interact with its members.

Intervention in the Individual site demanded a constant awareness of my position while living among, and interacting with, community members. We conducted several forms of individual interviews in the community. The interview process started only after the community members were properly familiarised with the research. While we discussed all the ethical clauses with the participants, everyone responded to these clauses differently. Some people grilled me about the research, while others discussed the anonymity clause thoroughly before making their decisions to participate in the interview; some people opted out of the interview in the middle of a conversation; some people expressed their discomfort through silence; and some got angry with the questions and bluntly told me that they did not wish to reply.

During the interview, I tried to capture the international mobilities of the participants and asked them to examine their embodied experiences in detail. The process of interview brought to the fore embedded emotions, joyful instances, and traumatic experiences. The process also helped me to unearth diverse encounters and conflicts in the lives of my research participants and this complexity led to the conceptualisation of *departure avenues*, and *escape mobilities*. However, I cannot claim that I have captured all encounters and conflicts. There are possibilities that (a) people might have given a wrong account of their experiences, (b) people might not have revealed important information, (c) I couldn't properly capture/appreciate/understood their words or silences, and most importantly (d) I might have misinterpreted them.

Household

At this site, I interacted with members of different households. I conducted interviews to understand their perspective on family members living abroad. There were instances where individual interviews turned into household interviews, where spouses/family members acted as translators. However, there were other instances when family members left the household interview, transforming it into

an individual interview, revealing a flux between the household site and individual site. During this continuous inflow and outflow, I observed that people sometimes became relaxed and sometimes uptight in the absence or presence of their family members.

While I provided all the ethical choices, people responded to it differently here as well. Some household members wanted anonymity, while some were against it. The most common observation was that people, who during group discussions and individual interviews were not answering anything about the agent, when they were interviewed in the presence of their family members spoke freely about the marketplace of the agents. Sometimes exactly the opposite happened.

Group

The research was conducted at group sites as well – research groups (research companions, the interpreter and me), executive committee members, five peer groups, and informal groups. I engaged with many types of groups – women, men and women, youth, immobile people. On this site, I observed that individuals retained both singularities (given their personal mobility experiences), and commonality (of migrant, tamangs) while participating in the discussions which reveal both the heterogeneity of lived experiences and the simultaneity of political categories.

I discussed the ethical norms before the start of every interview. However, the way each group responded to them was different as well. More specifically, during every research companion action-reflection meetings, we negotiated ethics every time we met. During our initial meetings, reflecting on the ethics of the research, we decided to conduct household visits to discuss the research project and to capture information related to people living abroad. In the next meeting, I, along with research companions, reflected on the transparency of such activity. We then decided to record the names of the people who had left the community for foreign employment. In the next meeting, we reflected on the discomfort shared by the community members in giving the details. Upon reflection, we decided to drop the idea of making a database of people. Similarly, ethical tensions surfaced during our discussions on the selection of the interview participants. Upon reflection, we selected some and rejected others, respecting their inability to participate in the interviews (unidentified sex workers in the community, undocumented women in the Middle East, agents)

Further, during one of the meetings, we concluded that the focused group discussion (FGD) sessions which were organised by research companions and based on their social capital, should take place in the local language (Tamang) and be conducted by research companions. Every FGD started with a discussion of ethical choices in the Tamang language. The ethical decisions did not assure the smooth functioning of the discussion. For example, some people exercised those choices and left the meeting amid a discussion, some drunk people disturbed the meeting, some youths questioned my

presence in the community, some asked whether I have raised millions of rupees in their name, and some called me a spy who wanted to catch traffickers from the community. These encounters reveal the limits of institutional ethical procedures and demand an urgency to act ethically so that no harm is inflicted, nor does it jeopardise the entire research.

Community

The community was the most complex site which intertwined most of the sites of interventions. While the community was divided along the lines of class, gender, political associations, disaster beneficiaries, NGO beneficiaries (for example, anti-trafficking victims support group), there was a sense of the community at large when it came to mobility and labour. In the past, the community was objectified by many people living in the outskirts of the community or even by people of other castes living within and nearby the community, as an immoral one. There was a common narrative of historical trading of women in sex work by the male community members. I argue that popular representation produced a sense of community with its members. Community members did not wish to speak about sex work history as a strategy to undo the stigma (section 5.2.3). Hence, the identification of a single coherent community reveals itself, despite differences, whenever any external entity tries to intervene and/or understand the history of labour and mobility in the community. In other words, the arrival of an external entity in the community, with a specific gaze, renders the community as a single coherent unit. Research companions often told me that everyone implicitly knows what and what not to speak about. Hence, maintaining ethics and political commitment at this site demands sensitivity towards these historical issues.

I started my intervention in the community with setting up a steering committee. I obtained permission (consent) from the committee to start the research. The institutionalisation helped me deal with numerous political issues that surfaced at individual and group site. We continuously discussed and negotiated university-based ethical principles with them. The continuous process of negotiation of ethics questions the validity of all three clauses of ethics – informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. For example, we were initially granted an information resource centre in the community. However, over the period, some community members retracted the initial consent, which forced me to make different decisions (more on this later). Also, initially, community members did not want to anonymise the village; however in the last meeting, we decided to anonymise the name of the village as a strategy to avoid re-stigmatisation.

National

In this phase, I interacted with people with stakes in the mobility of Nepali citizens. At this site, I used the term "human trafficking' to understand how mobility produces (Chapter 4), encounters

(Chapter 5) and escapes (Chapter 6) forces of control produced by the discourse of (anti-) trafficking. Hence, understanding mobility through the prism of the National site, reveals diverse ways mobilities and forces of control constitute each other.

During the research, I interacted three times with these National actors influencing mobility and labour.

a. Before the fieldwork: During the scoping study (section 3.4), I interacted with various government and non-government actors. Whilst I rejected the idea of going in the field with one anti-trafficking actor, I interacted with anti-trafficking, migration and labour relations actors to better understand the context. I outlined all the ethical choices to my participants. As a result, I developed a participatory research project.

b. During the fieldwork: The continuous process of action and reflection in the community shaped many research questions for the National level actors. I encountered people implementing discourses of anti/trafficking NGOs and tried to understand the representation of mobility, and ways in which mobilities are shaped, if not captured, by the forces of control. Initially, it was only to collect data and to facilitate discussions in the community. Later it became essential when the community asked me to change the destination region from Qatar to Kuwait. I failed to go to Kuwait due to administrative and political reasons. Later, when we planned to conduct an awareness generation session in the community, I interacted with NGOs, UNOs, and trade unions to collect information. The information was contextualised for the sessions by the community. Finally, for the constitution of the information centre, I visited many NGOs to pursue a strategic collaboration. That effort also failed. An interesting ethical tension surfaced when almost all the actors asked me about the name of the community. Due to the strictures of anonymity, I never revealed the name of the village to anyone - community ethics which I am still trying to maintain.

c. After the fieldwork: In the last stage, I conducted a multi-site border ethnography, which required me to observe people on the move, based on the mobility stories, at several checkpoints guarded by anti-trafficking NGOs. Though I have identified the location to be observed in the community itself, the formulation of the questions and observational strategies took place at the National site. Many NGOs, trade unions, stage agencies – National Human Rights Commissions of Nepal - helped me to devise strategies to observe Indo-Nepal bordering sites. I observed these sites and obtained information from actors such as – Nepali/Indian Army/police, secret service people on the border, NGOs, daily vendors, rickshaw pullers, auto-rickshaw drivers, and local shop/hotel owners. My positionality played

a greater role here, as I contextually utilised my status– Indian, Bihari,[33] migrant, someone studying in England, someone who could speak English, a meditator and yoga practitioner, ex ILO consultant, ex- NGO worker, an ex-government worker – to access to some of these sites. I provided all the ethical choices at every encounter.

Many incidences happened at this stage: a dance bar owner gave me the details of the primary agent who oversees illegal mobility of Nepalese women in Africa; a taxi driver offered me his assistance to transfer women and girls from Nepal to India at a fixed rate; anti-trafficking NGOs complained about illegal activities of other anti-trafficking NGOs operating at the same bordering sites; I observed corruption in the emigration detention centres; placement agencies complained about extortion done by anti-trafficking NGOs. Some of these encounters were random. For example, the taxi driver incident happened when I was not doing research. While I provided all the ethical choices, as per the university mandate, ethical dilemmas surfaced while conducting this exercise. For example, I witnessed the detention of women in bordering areas. Here the demand for action against the unjust detention of women trying to cross the border was placed on me as it was happening right in front of my eyes. I was not in a position to discuss and deal with them at that time.

3.6 After the field

In this section, I provide an account of an iterative process of data analysis. During the field, we conducted preliminary data analysis in action and reflection meetings (section 3.5.5). We iteratively reflected on the materials collected in the field and planned the next stage, which pushed the research team at every stage to reflect together, make sense of diverse viewpoints, and take informed actions (Cahill 2007a). However, once I left the field (after a PAR and border ethnography), I underwent a parallel process of reading, transcribing, sorting and analysing my data (section 3.7.1). The process helped me to locate, observe, and analyse messy sites comprising of words and silences (section 3.7.2). These are some of the most important sites of epistemological importance underpinning my empirical findings.

3.6.1 Data analysis (encountering words)

I came back to Durham University immediately after the completion of the border ethnography. I then undertook the task of transcribing over 100 recorded files; many were in-depth interviews and focused groups lasting more than 1 – 1.5 hours. The process of transcription helped me to develop broad conceptual themes, exclusively based on 48 mobility stories. These stories were compiled, and

---

[33] The state where I come from. It offered its own political subjectivity of poor, labour/agriculture class, uncultured, corrupt, laborious people.

narratives from the sites these stories came from were brought together to analyse similarities and differences. Simultaneously, I tried to explore some of the themes in the literature, which led to the further categorisation of data according to theoretical resemblance and common features of the stories. I used mind mapping charts to reflect on how these stories could be understood together with theoretical concepts which emerged within these readings.

The process revealed diverse forms of mobility decisions taken by my research participants from the village. The distance between decision making and its actualisation signifies a dynamic space of individual and collective mobility struggles. I observed how the ever-transforming discourse of trafficking simultaneously transforms mobility practices of my participants. Based on these findings, I conceptually argue that mobility and forces of control co-constitute each other.

3.6.2 Data analysis (encountering silences)

Iterative listening, reflecting and translating made me relive participants' experiences several times. Some of these interviews were traumatic, and listening to the emotional experiences of traumatic incidences like rapes, beatings, psychological abuses, again and again, often reduced me to tears. Just like the experiences of Gordon & Riger (1991) who researched rape experiences in the United States, I found it extremely difficult to listen, type up, and analyse those traumatic experiences. These stories not only included painful speeches, which forced me to internalise a whole range of trauma, but also helped me to listen and reflect on silences that I encountered during the research process (see Vignettes: The girl, and The Father). Radcliffe (2005) considers these types of listening as rhetorical listening. Rhetorical listening not only gives insight on different meanings of the words spoken during the interview, but also reveal sites of absences, pauses, silences encountered during the research process.

I encountered the first silence during the first steering committee meeting. I illustrate this point with a quote from a participant during the very first public meeting:

> *"Everyone knows everything, but no one is going to tell you anything."*

The participant brought the first anti-sex work awareness generation in the community (See Chapter 4) more than twenty years ago. He played a significant role in stopping sex work mobility from the community. Later he gave a detailed account of forms of labour and mobility practices from the community (see Vignette 2). Now I do not know whether he was acting during the meeting or I gained his trust later, but his statement signifies a community level of silence which I encountered several times during interviews, focused groups, and action and reflection meetings. For example, during one of the interviews, a participant randomly stopped speaking and stared at me. The silence

required me to ask my research companion to wait outside the room. Sometimes research companions and interviewees were reluctant to reveal and discuss the names and practices of the agent. I respected their decisions and interacted with the agents through other means. Sometimes participants used silences to show their inability to translate their experiences in Hindi. I used the assistance of the local interpreter during those times. Sometimes participants used silences to tactically guard some information. I didn't push them further, respecting their boundaries and choices. Sometimes participants stopped during their mobility story while explaining their experiences of rapes, beatings, and abuses. These were the moment of pain, hopelessness, and fear, which I relived several times while listening and transcribing.

There is an unspoken demand to act ethically in such spaces of discomfort. During the interviews, I immediately changed the questions when the silence revealed discomfort; sometimes I would use silence as a strategic tool to avoid politically charged questions and at other times, I just waited for the moment to run its course, especially during the narration of traumatic incidences, as I became helpless (see Vignette 1). The most significant silence came to the fore when some of the community members started seeing the project as counterproductive, which could jeopardise foreign employment mobility. When I started the discussion on the ownership of the information centre, there was a visible reluctance among the community members. Their silence implied that this intervention might make the agents of the community visible to the state and anti-traffickers. Their silence spoke to solidarity and demanded immediate action from my side.

I decided not to proceed ahead with this output. I decided to anonymise the whole community. Whether I was able to capture these silences appropriately is a matter of debate, because of the overly-fragmented nature of the community. However, I can say, in my defence, that this village is already a stigmatised site in Nepal. People living in and around the community consider this community as a savage one with no moral principles. Since the first anti-trafficking intervention (in the early 90s), the community has been trying hard to undo the stigma in various ways (section 5.2). The infrastructure in the community would have re-stigmatised the community. Hence, my decision to anonymise the community is both ethical and political.

Picture 13a: Preliminary Data Analysis.

Picture 13b: Preliminary Data Analysis.

Picture 13d.: Preliminary Data Analysis.	Picture 13e: Preliminary Data Analysis.

Picture 14: Data Sorting

3.7 Limitation

PAR challenges extractive modes of knowledge production by making an effort to blur lines between traditionally recognised hierarchies of the researcher and researched (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007b). It is assumed to be ideal feminist research, which is sensitive to the power play between researchers and the researched. However, there are many limitations to this research approach. One of the principal critiques of PAR is that it marginalises some at the expense of others (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), which means that it sometimes reproduces the power relationship it hopes to disrupt in the community (Nygreen, 2009). Kesby debunks this post-structural conflation of the negative

effects of power and participation to the overall approach and highlights the messy, entangled, variable, and contingent nature of the approach (Kesby, 2005). Building on these critiques, I now aim to highlight some of the limitations of this study.

Managing expectations

It was difficult for me to navigate the challenges posed by over expectation from some of the participants and, at the same time, stigmatisation by others (some community members wondered if I was just fulfilling the criteria of donors to earn money). There was an expectation that the project would result in material good for the community by some of the people (especially by most of my research companions and steering committee members).

Lost in translation

The scoping study led me to believe that many people speak Hindi (my primary language) in a Himalayan region dominated by Tamang and Nepali language speaking people. However, to avoid any linguistic challenges, I decided to hire a translator. In their article, Temple and Young (2004) stress the epistemological implications of translation, as it raises ethical issues of representation. Indeed, the translator helped me conduct many of the focused group discussions and awareness generation exercises, and subsequently translated some of the interviews. While he helped me understand the social, cultural, and historical context of the village, it was left to me to translate every-day encounters with words and silences. I assume that information is lost (maybe filtered) during the process of translation.

Many people tried to talk to me in their language at first, but ended up talking to me in broken Hindi. Intersubjectivity is important in translating such incidences. Sometimes I wondered if there was any intersubjectivity to begin with, in which case I have lost the essence of everything in the pursuit of translation. The loss of data during the process of translation, the inability to translate important data (for example silences), and ignorance of other important translatable data are some of the limitations of the project.

Navigating sensitive data

Some of the data collection took place outside the community – especially at the borders, check posts, and airports. Despite gaining consent and promising anonymity before data collection, data generated at these sensitive sites could have serious political and legal implications for the organisations my interviewees represented. Also, some anti-traffickers pointed me towards unethical practices of other anti-traffickers in those sites. These data were generated through personal and political vendettas and have caused some serious damages to people serving those

anti- trafficking organisations. To avoid this, I have decided not to reveal some of the information through my PhD dissertation, or in journal articles and reports.

Researching destination

This research could not extend to the 'destination area', primarily to avoid excessive data collection, but also due to the relative inaccessibility in the receiving countries. Initially, I received approval to go to Qatar from the university. However, once we started analysing the routes, it was found that most of the women currently migrate to Kuwait, and the community members asked me to change the research site. Unlike Qatar, where an Indian national can get a visa on arrival, entry into Kuwait was strictly limited to sponsorship. Since there was no legitimate way to enter Kuwait, I postponed researching the voice of the people in receiving countries.

3.8 Conclusion

I started my fieldwork with a participatory project mapping (3.3.1) which I conducted with organisations responding to the issues of mobility, migration and human trafficking in Nepal. The mapping process took me to a post-disaster village of Nepal with high female mobility, where I stayed for around four months. I called a general meeting where I discussed the research, constituted a steering committee, and obtained their permission to undertake participatory research in the community (3.5.1). With the help of the steering committee members, I selected five *research companions* – a youth leader, an HIV/ AIDS person, a women's leader, someone who never migrated, and a social worker (who used to be an agent) (3.5.2). We then secured a safe space where we met more than seven times to reflect and plan our actions (3.5.3). After that, we organised a participatory training where we brainstormed the research activities (3.5.4). Meanwhile, the research companions conducted household visits and discussed the project in the village. They formed their peer groups for focused group discussions (3.5.6). During action and reflection meetings, we decided that I would interview relevant NGOs and question their policy responses which problematises the mobility of the community members. Upon reflection, we decided to have another set of focused group discussion sessions to generate labour/women's right awareness. Meanwhile, we started selecting individuals for semi-structured interviews. Every week we used to reflect on the stories of mobilities and changed interviewing criteria until we arrived at a saturation point (3.5.7). However, once the discussion of an information centre started, some of us reflected on the adverse impact. After a series of discussions with research companions, steering committee members, and other participants, I decided to move out of the village and continued further research (3.5.9). I conducted ethnography at many sites: four Indo-Nepal open bordering locations – Mahendranagar, Nepalgunj, Sunauli, and Kakarvitta; and four international airports – Kathmandu,

Delhi, Colombo, and Kuwait-city. An engagement of hundreds of actors in multiple sites revealed diverse mobility experiences, and heterogeneity of mobility struggles of individuals before they enter into their labour relation. This research process contributes to the critical literatures on migration, mobilities, (anti-) trafficking, and participantory research in at least five ways.

First: 'human trafficking' research requires clear definitional boundaries around embodied experiences of mobility and labour (to know which incidences qualify as human trafficking). Conceptually, the subjective nature of these two makes it difficult to trace boundaries. Moreover, researchers need to ethically decide on subjects of trafficking – 'persons at risk, current victims, and former victims' (Tyldum, 2010). Placing people into political categories of exclusion could potentially lead to a biased enquiry, due to the subjective and political dimensions of these exclusionary categories. Hence, selecting any one of them would mean having a faceoff with different contradictions, complications, stigmatisations and an assumption that these exclusionary categories would not harm the participants once the research is over. Hence, the research subject selection is a political moment, which demands a decision necessarily bearing the burden of ethical responsibility. Debunking Tyldum's argument, which still stresses the usage of the term 'human trafficking' for research purposes to highlight and fight exploitative practices and structural injustices (Tyldum, 2010), I decided to go with the mobility experiences of individuals from a site in Nepal.

Second: assuring the 'ethical' in trafficking research means assuring ethics in categories it represents, and maintaining the ethics of translation. One such recent attempt is Siegel & Wildt's (2016) editorial book, *'Ethical Concerns in Research on Human Trafficking'* where authors highlight four categories of human trafficking – 'sex', 'labour', 'organ' and 'child'. Whilst the book elaborates – with many personal experiences of ethics management by some of the leading (anti-) trafficking researchers – complexities in researching 'victims', 'vulnerable', 'pimps', 'criminals', and 'saviours' in the context of human trafficking, none of the authors in the editorial collection discussed the ethical implications of using the term 'human trafficking'. On the contrary, authors like Zhaleh Boyd and Kavin Bales stressed the importance of labelling people as 'slaves' as an ethical endeavour to save them from exploitative practices (Boyd and Bales 2016). I cannot claim that these researchers have not reflected on the 'distance' between researched and researcher, but somehow they have neglected political translations of trafficking. The issue of translation demands an explanation of how 'trafficking' is translated by its combatters to create a political subjectivity which strips people's rights and mobility. Translating the research where the term human trafficking is used to create new (or strengthen the existing) subjectivities of victims and criminals, without considering how its subject translates the term, raises serious ethical issues of representation. On the ground, it increases the distance between the researcher and the researched on a presumption that the

researcher can't be 'trafficked' in the same way the researched would be. I argue that even if research sets very high 'ethical' standards, the issue of distance and translation between the researcher and the researched will remain intact, if the vantage point of the enquiry is the term 'human trafficking'. Acknowledging the arguments made by critical scholars regarding the seductions of the political discourse of human trafficking (see: Chapter 2), I changed the epistemological focus to mobility and positioned it as a motor of discourses, like human trafficking. Placing the mobility first, as the constitutive other of the control, enabled me to *examine how mobility produces, encounters and escapes the political discourses like human trafficking.*

Third: capturing mobility through PAR in a post-disaster area historically stigmatised as a 'trafficking prone' is to navigate through the ethical and political mess. The research was conducted in an area where, on the one hand, relief interventions (after the 2015 earthquake) increased people's dependency towards NGOs, and on the other, mistrust towards anti-trafficking NGOs quadrupled (Anti-traffickers either supported victims/survivors support groups, generated awareness about dangers of illegality, or stopped them at India-Nepal Borders). While navigating this space, I encountered messy sites, tensions, failures, absences, moments where translations produced intense feelings, and experiences leading to confusion (Pratt, 2000; Klocker, 2015). Some of these instances were: people exercising their right to withdraw during an interview; total reluctance of research companions to include agents in the research; people calling me a spy or a corrupt NGO representative in the middle of a focused group discussion; people using silences as a political tool towards me, or the refusal of some of the community members to run the information centre. These moments made this research emotionally and intellectually challenging. Cook (1998) encourages us to highlight this messiness in the research, which might facilitate new ways of seeing, disrupting, analysing, knowing, and changing long-held views (Cook, 2009).

Fourth: unpacking the mess required the translation and interpretation of words and silences, which took a heavy toll on me. There were numerous instances when I became angry, shed tears out of helplessness, wanted to quit everything, got frustrated and anxious, was physically sick, and burned out. I experienced all these emotions in an attempt to translate words and silences, so that I could ethically and justifiably represent the struggles of community members. However, the process demanded a constant awareness of my ever-shifting subjectivity, and simultaneously, capturing spaces where words and silences of the participants arrive without being fully aware of their subjectivity. For example, during my field visit, I interacted with several people - some of them thought I might be able to change their world; some of them thought I had a lot of money; some of them thought I was a spy; some of them thought I was a researcher; and others placed me into of all these positions. Participants were categorizing me into these different positions, of which I was

unaware, which further questions the translation and interpretation of the words and silences. I wonder whether social science researchers have no control over the meaning; are there ways to be open to the otherness of the other?

Finally, the research strikes a relationship of simultaneity and heterogeneity between everyday practices of the anti-trafficking actors of the global South and diverse mobility experiences of the people on the move. Both people on the move and forces of control following the discourse of trafficking were trying to subjugate each other through their mobility and control practices. Unearthing the encounters between these two was an intense, emotionally taxing process, which allowed me to map the mess and make it visible through this research. While there was no intention to drastically change the lives of my research participants or to support the anti-trafficking cause, the endeavour to understand messiness gave rigour to the research process. This research does not follows a neat model, nor do I have any intention of making it neat and so undermine the heterogeneity and simultaneity of lived experiences that I aim to unpack throughout my dissertation.

Chapter Four: Production of departure avenues

4.1 Introduction

Migration intrigues scholars, who try to describe, analyse, categorise, and theorise bodies that move across time, space, and scale; and policy makers, who try to understand, capture, control, direct, and digest movement for various conceptual, political, and economic reasons. These scholars use time and distance-based categorisations of movement – internal, international, temporary, permanent, regular, irregular, voluntary, forced – to explain migration (King, 2012a). Whilst King (2012b) highlights the fragility of all these categorisations, based on *'epistemological orthodoxy, scale of analysis and privileged type of data'* (p.10), following Hui, I argue that migration and migrants do not exist *a priori* but are linked to nation-states producing them through regulations, visas, and borders (Hui, 2016). Hence, I argue that the term migrant is not a useful category to understand social life and to discuss the complexity of roles and practices performed by the people on the move (Faulconbridge and Hui, 2016; Hui, 2016). To better understand how humans, objects, information, ideas and images move, interact and relate to each other in a differentiated manner – the social life of the movement – I draw upon the mobilities paradigm and use the term mobility instead of migration (Adey, 2006; Blunt, 2007; Cresswell, 2010). Throughout this thesis, I use the term mobility to examine mobile lives (Urry, 2012a), meaning and practices of movement (Cresswell, 2006) and the constitutive role of movement in workings of social institutions, practices, and organisational power and the system of governing mobilities and immobilities (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2006; Urry, 2007).

This chapter discusses mobility decisions for international labour employment. Mobility decision making is one of the oldest, yet most important, inquiry in migration literature (Ravenstein, 1885; De Jong and Gardner, 1981; King, 2012a; Carling and Collins, 2017; Thompson, 2017; Zhang, 2018). Migration scholars categorise movement through 'macro', 'meso', and 'micro' approaches to have a better understanding of the mobile world (Brettell and Hollifield, 2015). 'Macro' approaches explain movement through measurable socio-economic indicators (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). At macro-level, push (poverty, unemployment, conflict etc.) and pull (job prospects, social welfare etc.) factors render mobility decisions (Halfacree, 2004; Shrestha, 2017; Van Hear, Bakewell and Long, 2018). These approaches often reduce people to an object of causal determination and position them against stimulus beamed upon them by a location promising good opportunities (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). 'Meso' approaches reveal the role of social relations and networks for movement (Faist, 2010). At meso level, the social networks of 'movers and stayers' render mobility decisions

(Faist, 2010). These approaches focus on spatially distributed social capital (Haug, 2008), or more precisely, in the words of Urry, 'Network capital' (Larsen, Axhausen and Urry, 2006), which produces a web of kinship and friendship based information and influences their mobility decisions. 'Micro' approaches focus on migrants, and migrant decisions on the move (Lu, 1996). At micro-level, people 'act and are acted upon' and (re)construct their reality concerning their social, cultural and gendered location in the world (Brettell, 2015). These approaches assume people are rational decision-makers with the capability of evaluating aspects of their journey before embarking on it. However, all three levels either reduce individuals to deterministic forces of control or valorise them as heroes (King, 2012b). Squire (2017) suggests that there are three ways one could approach which take a middle path: (a) forces of control and mobility decisions as ontological equals (Gidden's Approach of dualism); (b) temporal prioritisation of forces of control over mobility decisions (Archer's approach of mutual interaction); and (c) temporal prioritisation of mobility decisions over forces of control (AoM approach of the spectrum of migrants subjectivity). I follow the last approach to show the co-constitution of mobility and control.

The AoM framework (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010), highlights irreconcilable conflicts between the decisions of the people on the move and the forces of control (De Genova, 2009). Whilst the approach discusses migrants' decisions, struggles and subjectivity at the immigration regime, I highlight people's decisions, struggles and subjectivity before, within, and beyond such regimes. In this chapter, I empirically make a case for the production of *departure avenues* using the analytic of decisions. I conceptualise departure avenues as contingent trajectories along which the mobility decision originates, develops, actualises, diffuses and mutates in time and space. I highlight the importance of mobility decisions which produce departure avenues to make an empirical case of encounters between people on the move and political categories like migrants, labour migrants, irregular migrants, illegal immigrants, victims of trafficking. These encounters highlight individual and common mobility struggles along these avenues, transforming both mobility and control.

In this chapter, I conceptualise the production of the *departure avenues* through diverse decisions made from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal for labour employment. In Nepal, the prohibition of routes leading to sex work (in India) and domestic work (in the Middle East) due to the discourse of trafficking, shows pre-victimisation and pre-criminalisation of people on the move and their facilitators. Whilst (anti-) trafficking/modern slavery literature, often based on the imagination of organised crime and victimhood (Wijers, 2015) privileges a particular form of 'exploitation' in 'specific' labour relations (Chuang, 2014), and critiques politics of (anti-) trafficking which ignores exploitative labour relations (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998), and advances deportation projects of privileged state territories (Anderson and Andrijasevic, 2008), this thesis highlight mobility struggles

of people whose lives are impacted by pre-victimisation and pre-criminalisation of people on the move. I provide an account of historical mobility (after the Indo-Nepal friendship treaty of 1951) from the site. In section 4.2, I flesh out the contextual sketch provided in section 1.2 and detail mobility decisions for labour employment – sex work, seasonal work, contract work, and domestic work. In section 4.3, I explain three aspects of departure avenues – pre-production, production, and transformation.

4.2 Mobility decisions

Nepal is a labour rich country of south Asia where people move, both internally and internationally, for varied labour employment. A recent world bank report estimates that more than one third of the households in Nepal receive remittance (Bossavie and Denisova, 2018). While, for Nepali citizens, labour migration to India is unregulated (Sharma and Thapa, 2013), they need to obtain a work permit from their country to use regulated channels of mobility (Government of Nepal, 2018). However, the Government reports suggest that 90% of the women for whom the state denies or delays a work permit, prefer irregular/illegal channels to actualise their mobility decisions (ibid.). Due to high female mobility, the Sindhupalchok district of Nepal is considered as a hot spot for migration research and interventions. However, most of these research consider migration as a series of discrete steps undertaken by an individual which starts from a decision, followed by a journey, the experience of work, the value of remittance, and then a return after the contract period is over (Sharma *et al.*, 2014). Among these, decision making has attracted much attention from research and policy groups to understand causes and drivers of migration (Gill 2003; Poertner et al. 2011; Shrestha 2016; Shrestha 2017). These research have highlighted factors that influence decision making, like structural push and pull factors (Shrestha, 2017), access to agricultural lands (Bhandari, 2004), social networks (Simkhada *et al.*, 2017), ethnicity (Sharma *et al.*, 2014), environmental insecurity (Shrestha & Bhandari 2007; Massey et al. 2010), education, income, and remittance (Bossavie and Denisova, 2018).

In this section, I take a break from the causation based analysis of decision-making and make a case for the transformations in mobility decisions. I discuss transformations in mobility decisions through epochal eruptions from the earliest Snow-Girl mobility to the latest European turn. *Snow Girls* (see section 1.2) was the earliest category assigned by the community members from the research site to women who served as domestic workers, entertainers or concubines in the royal courts of Nepal. During the scoping study, I also encountered an 80 year old woman ('sex trafficking' victim/survivor) who once was a Snow Girl. During the fieldwork, I met a man whose mother, along with several others, went to the Nepal court and served for three years as a Snow girl. Recruitment of Snow Girls

stopped after the 1950s when Ranas, with many Snow Girls, escaped to India. Literature suggests Ranas 'sold' their Snow Girls (some went voluntarily to look out for jobs) in Indian brothels (Joshi and Swahnberg, 2012). These women, in coordination with agents who used to recruit them for Ranas, returned to the community to recruit women for sex work (ibid.). Sex work recruitment transformed the terrain of mobility decisions for women from the community (section 4.2.1). There was a time when at least one woman from every household worked in the sex-work sector of India. However, many national and international discourses, narratives related to morality, caste puritanism, and human trafficking denied mobility and rights to such women. In response, people devised strategies to escape the denial to move for sex work. As a result, modulations in mobility evading restrictions encountered and conflicted with modulations in forces of control rescaling border work. However due to epochal eruptions, national and international debates of trafficking, new employment avenues in the Middle East and configuration of new border work along the routes, mobility decisions of women transformed in the Middle East. Then there came a point when at least one women from every household was working in the domestic work sector in the Middle-Eastern countries (especially Kuwait) (section 4.2.4). However, several events led to the transformation of (anti-) trafficking and exploitation discourses and interventions in Nepal. These events and interventions delayed or denied mobility and rights of women on the move to these countries by configuring border works along their routes at several sites. Ironically, provisions and accessibility of justice for men who are exploited in these countries through legal channels (section 4.2.3) are largely absent from the gendered protectionist discourse of Nepal. Due to the historical injustices, both men and women have recently started to move to European countries to search for a better life and unrestricted mobility. On the basis of the historical analysis of transformations in the mobility decisions from a specific place, I now present the complexity of mobility decisions, which underpins the discussion of mobility struggles along the departure avenues (Chapters 5 and 6).

4.2.1 Sex work

The Indo-Nepal friendship treaty of 1951 brought some opportunities for the community members. Community members believe that sex work was brought to the community when some local men established links with Tamang women working in Indian brothels. These mobile men with network capital (agents), in close coordination with the family members, used to facilitate the mobility of women to Indian brothels. Soon women started to move to work in the sex work industry of India. According to my participants, at least one woman from every household was working in Indian brothels. They suggest that community members at that time considered sex work as legitimate work. During those days, many men from the community frequently travelled to Indian brothels,

brought remittance, and often assisted in the return of many women from India to the community. These returnee women brought mobility into the community. Kevin explains this,

> "…there were pimps, and then there were family members. These people used to wear many jewelleries [and nice clothes]. No villager had ever seen any kind of thing [during this era]. So, the attraction was there"

> [Interview with Kevin].

Peter, a research companion, suggests that the mobility of these objects triggered material lack and desire among community members, which most women decided to fulfil, with or without the consent of the family members. Returnee sex workers brought imaginary mobility which forced many women in the community to negotiate their mobility decisions to enter into sex work with their family members. Peter explains the point:

> "Everyone knew everything about the working conditions [in the brothels] during those days. Women used to take responsibilities for their households by going there…..most of their decisions were totally theirs."

> [Interview with Peter].

The statement challenges the dominant narrative of human trafficking which equates sex work with exploitation (Kempadoo, Sanghera and Pattanaik, 2012). Peter's agentic explanation of sex workers of the past is absent in the (anti-) trafficking discourse of Nepal. For example (anti-) sex work scholars of Nepal illuminate a distorted picture of the process of sex work mobility:

> "…Nepali girls and women are taken from their villages into the red-light districts of major Indian cities, where they are forced into prostitution to pay off the debt accumulated for their purchase and transportation… In some instances, women and girls are sold by their own families because of the wages that can be earned and sent back to their impoverished villages"

> [Kaufman and Crawford, 2011, p. 651-52].

While there is some truth in this statement, the presentation reveals symbolic violence, which requires people to prefer subsistence, poverty and unemployment to geographies of perceived opportunities in India. Due to the structural inequalities, decisions to move for sex work was sometimes imposed by family members as per the existing social norms of female labour and mobility. However, participants also suggest that, even when the decision to move was not theirs,

most of the women have a clear idea about the working conditions in the brothels. A research companion explains this:

> *"There used to be* [many] *dalals (procurers) in the village who used to take girls to Indian brothels. It would be totally incorrect to say that these people* [villagers and women] *do not have much understanding of anything. In fact, every parent in the community knew who goes where. No one will tell you this, but that is what it is"*

[A research companion during an Interview with Kevin].

The statement reveals that most of the women from the community had an idea about where they were visiting. However, they had little understanding of the degree of labour exploitation they could face in the brothel, which reveals an ever-present tension between the ability to analyse migration decision making and subjective exploitation. For example, Skyla went to the brothel with a friend. However, once she had arrived there, she didn't like the job she was doing. She explains this:

> *"I went to India with a village friend. He told me that work is nice, and I will have no issue over there. Husband consented for it as well, so I went with that person…There were* 10-15 women in the brothel, but many people used to live outside the brothel*… We used to get up at 7 am in the morning and worked till 12 pm in night. In one day I used to serve on an average of 10 customers… I used to cry a lot, but Madame used to beat us. Food was good. But some of us were not allowed to leave the house"*

[Interview with Skyla].

Like Skyla, some women interviewed in the community, despite knowing where they were going, suffered initial hardship in the brothels. Unlike Skyla, who was rescued after six months by her 'procurer', many women adapted to those circumstances. Some anti-trafficking actors interviewed during the fieldwork suggest that due to their tolerance, good behaviour, resilience, and beauty Nepali women are preferred in Indian brothels.

Soon the demand of Tamang women rose in Indian brothels due to their unrestricted mobility. During those days, the community considered sex work as proper labour employment which required international mobility. During the 90s, the 'demand' and 'supply' of Nepali sex workers met with the national and international discourse of trafficking and the local discourse of caste puritanism. Due to this, the government enhanced the existing restrictions and surveillance on sex work mobility. These developments created a need for specialised recruitment support to those wanting to work in the sex industry.

There were specialised mobility facilitators, with their respective agendas, ready to provide hassle-free border mobility. Many such facilitators started to arrive from outside the community to recruit these women. For the first time opportunities were provided by unknown people directly to potential girls and women. For example, Nancy was a teenager when a few unknown men contacted her while she and her friend were on her farmland. She explains the deception around her recruitment:

> "they gave us chocolates and started talking to us…they asked why are we doing such hard work? If we would come with them, they would take us to places where we will get opportunities to earn lots of money…. agents promised that both of us [interviewee and her friend] will be together…. All we knew was we will be going to India where we will be working and earning lots of money…. We had no idea that they will take us to wrong places [Brothels]"

> [Interview with Nancy, a trafficking victim].

Many girls and women, like Nancy, were deceived and taken to Indian brothels. Nancy did not share her decision with her family members. However, in many cases, women in the community consulted their family members to facilitate mobility. Even if they did not, they selected the most trusted agents from their network to facilitate their mobility. Many of them who wanted to leave the place were fully aware of what was waiting for them out there. Sukumaya explains this,

> "I don't want to lie to you…when I used to see other women flaunting her material accomplishments [gold, clothes, house, money] in the village, or showed us the greed, I was infatuated by that. Since they were also illiterate, I used to think, if they could earn why couldn't I? …. [some] people convinced me by saying, what's the point of living here when one [even if an illiterate woman] can earn money and live a decent life outside the village"

> [Interview with Sukumaya].

Many women like Sukumaya waited for the opportunity to strike. Once the opportunity arose, these women, with or without fully appreciating the form and degree of exploitation, took their chances. Some women, like Heidi, made plans with friends from the village without even informing their family members, because they thought that the moment they informed their parents about this, they would put up a border.

> "…all we were supposed to do was to look after buffaloes and to bring grass from the forest. It was a laborious job. Then I met a friend [a returnee migrant from India who used to work

in a brothel]. She asked me to come with us because she is not facing any problem in India. Food, clothes, movement – all will be there in India"

<div align="right">[Interview with Heidi].</div>

During those times, the facilitators of mobility, living in the community, used to help sex workers to maintain transnational relationships with their families back home. One HIV/AIDS positive person who used to sell watches, clothes, high heels, cosmetics, etc. in the Indian Brothels in Calcutta clarifies this:

"At that time everything was good… No one used to think bad about this [sex] work in the village… these sex workers used to come to the community in every three years… many men used to travel to Brothels and these sex workers used to send money through them. Once in a year maybe, but the amount used to be very big... All my friends were agents from the village who used to take women with them [to the brothels]. There were many women from this village working in Kolkata… I used to take orders from these women"

<div align="right">[Interview with Kevin].</div>

Many people in the community maintained such relationships. These relationships enabled women to decide the agent they would prefer to go with, as indicated in Peter's statement above, where the decision was 'totally theirs'.

4.2.2 Seasonal work

Seasonal mobility for work in India has always been an important mobility option for community members. Initially, men travelled to India for pilgrimage and in search of work. The mobility of men brought seasonal labour opportunities in the Northern part of the Indian Himalayas – Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir region. Since then, community members move to work in stone quarries, house construction, road construction, and horticultural plantations (Sharma and Thapa, 2013). According to research companions and participants, seasonal work offers the most assured labour mobility option for most of the middle-aged community members. Dhansing revealed an important reason behind the seasonal mobility decision to various locations in India.

"There is a problem in this village. You can have food – if you work hard – but you will never be able to have money in your hand. If you want to have money, you have to go outside the village"

<div align="right">[Interview with Dhansing].</div>

Most of the participants acknowledged that the location of the village only offers a subsistence life. According to Dhansing, if one has to earn money, then the person has to leave the community. However, Dhansing's reason is not the sole reason to move, as during that season (April – September), availability of (agricultural and labour) work is relatively less in the village. For example, for Dhansing, just like Sukymaya (explained in section 4.1.1), the hidden motivation of having material prosperity, immediate opportunities, and desires of realising the image of 'freedom' influenced his decisions:

> "... friends told me that what we could possibly achieve by studying in the village, they said, "Full enjoyment will happen in India".... and then we started making plans... and one fine day we decided to leave. We were six friends and none of them have ever been to India"
>
> [ibid].

Dhansing's desire and the immediate opportunity to act makes an important point that mobility decisions could be entirely opportunistic, devoid of any known factors. However, economic benefits and immediate opportunities are not the only reason why people from this place move for seasonal labour. For some, it is an opportunity to escape everyday village life.

For example, Cheewang visited India only because he wanted to take a break from the life of an anti-trafficker in his village. Cheewang often told me that he could not handle the pressure, frustration, and everyday resistance from his community members while working as an anti-trafficker. After he resigned, he decided to move to India. He explains,

> "There was an uncle [who was leading a troupe] who asked whether I want to go to India or not. I consented to him because I thought it would be nice if we go in groups. There was a group of seven people. There was a head mason [in the group] who knew everything. I knew that I have to work in house construction. But I think [as it was my first time] my dependency was on the other people."

Mobility decisions for seasonal labour are born out of a unique mix of personal reasons, some more prominent than others, like economic hardship, boredom, lack of proper employment, desire to travel, and opportunities. Many community members, like Cheewang, often utilise their social capital to access the labour market in India. However, in some cases, social capital works only after a certain temporal period. For example, Mateja went to India to work at a construction site for the first time after her wedding. She says,

> "My parents used to tell me, 'Don't listen to any strangers; otherwise you will be spoiled'. There were so many people who were going out of the village to work [in the sex industry],

but my parents were very strict about that and never allowed me to leave…[My] father was very strict and he used to hit me a lot whenever I went to any place without telling him, or without taking his permission. So, there was hardly any point in talking to him about it [desire to work in India]"

[Interview with Mateja].

After the initial anti-sex work campaign (section 5.2) many families prohibited females from moving to India before their weddings. While some left anyway (with other agents), some decided to stay. Research participant Mateja and companion Sitamaya were among a few of the women who did not travel to India before their wedding. These restrictions on mobility were internalised by some – like research companion Thangku – who never left Nepal for work.

4.2.3 Contractual work

During the 80s, India received more than 93.1% of Nepali labour force, which is now reduced to 37.6% (Government of Nepal, 2018). The government of Nepal predicts that currently, around 2-3 million Nepali citizens work abroad in countries other than India (Kern and Müller-Böker, 2015). The gradual transformation from seasonal labour to contractual work was primarily due to prolonged armed conflicts in Nepal (Sharma and Tamang, 2016), increased labour demand from Malaysia and the Middle Eastern countries, and the difficult working environment in India. Joel illustrates this point:

"India is a problematic place. We [generally] face lots of difficulties because of the demand of a very hard work…You have to make buildings [and roads] there, and in order to do that, you are supposed to break stones, and dig clay…"

[Interview with Joel].

Currently, the Middle East and Malaysia are the most attractive destinations for foreign employment among Nepali citizens (Government of Nepal, 2018). These new employment opportunities attracted young people from the community. Some community members suggest that the initial trend of mobility decisions towards the Middle East countries has now shifted to Malaysia, due to the unfavourable climate. Most of the youth nowadays prefer Malaysia for diverse reasons. During focused group discussions with young people (especially men) from the community, everyone acknowledged that young people avoid going to India because of the hardship, and to Qatar because of the hot temperatures. Even if they go to India, it is solely to arrange recruitment fees to Malaysia.

Another prominent reason mentioned by the community was the imagery produced on Facebook. Facebook contains a mixture of the virtual, communicative, object (some people use it to transfer important documents), imaginative, and informative mobilities (Grove, 2013) which changed the dimension of imaginative mobility in the community. In many interviews, I found that Facebook triggered mobility decisions among various people. Suraj explains the role Facebook played in his mobility decision:

> "[I] used to talk to my friends on that [Facebook] who were living outside the
> village….Facebook is good for News, and it is easy to talk to my friends… you are connected
> to everyone…."

[Interview with Suraj].

Almost everyone in the community acknowledged that Facebook influences people. The social media connectivity not only enables people to maintain transnational relationships but also plays an important part in their mobility decisions. Facebook has broadened the terrain of mobility decisions, with the opportunity to retrieve essential information to navigate different spaces, and most importantly to enable decisions to refuse exploitative labour relations (more on this in Chapter 6). During the fieldwork, many people told me that whenever they see anyone uploading any pictures on Facebook, it stirs a material lack and desire in them. For some, it was not the primary factor, but it adds to their other desires. For example, consider the statement of Samuel:

> "I have many people on Facebook who are [living] in different parts of the world. They used
> to post pictures on Facebook. It was not the major factor for [my] decision making, but it was
> mixed with the economic desire [to earn money]"

[Interview with Samuel].

Facebook, though popular, is still not accessible to everyone. For example, when Bobby decided to leave the community for work he didn't know how to use Facebook. Having spent most of his life in India (with his family as migrant labourers), he returned to the community after his father's death. He had to learn the Tamang and Nepali language upon his arrival. He enrolled in the local school, but had to simultaneously work in the agricultural fields of the Himalayan terrain. Soon his elder brother became sick and that burdened him with the responsibility of his mother. After that, family politics over land forced him to take a mobility decision to support his family. He first left school and then the village. Bobby avoided India due to it being the place where he remembered his father's death. He decided to move to a place where he could maximise his earnings.

However, the major transformation took place after the Gorkha earthquake of 2015. Some men from the community went for construction work in Qatar, only as a strategy to support their family through remittance.

> *"I've not received anything from the government. They have not passed my house initially since there were some issues with my house….. I consulted my wife, and we both agreed that I need to go to Qatar to get rid of the debt. I thought it would be a nice opportunity to start a business here"*

[Interview with Subba].

Recently the community is witnessing another transformation in mobility decisions. People are now aspiring to go to Europe to find a better life. In some of the interviews, participants mentioned that this is primarily to avoid exploitation in the Middle East and Malaysia. Consider the following interview excerpt of Cheewang's cousin, Sarki:

> *I've already applied for Poland now. Money demand is high but many of my friends are in Poland and I think life is also good out there. I have to go to the embassy (in February) to give interview. The work is to cut meat and the salary is 80-90K (650 Euro). But they are asking 8-9 lakh. I have already downloaded polish language in my mobile phone and trying to learn it on my own so that I can face the interview. Manpower people are nice, but they are asking [Fees] a lot…. I do not know much about the visa but I have heard that they give two years visa initially and renew it later. Also, they give PR card as well after a while. Future will be nice.*

[Interview with Sarki].

Sarki is in Portugal now!

However, the transformation in women's mobility decisions witnessed a similar transformation - from sex work in India, to seasonal work in India, to domestic work in the Middle East, to domestic work in Europe.

4.2.4 Domestic work

Whilst, the government of Nepal issues more than 1500 labour permits every day to its citizens (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012), only 12% of them are women. Research suggests that more than 90% of women move through illegal[34]/irregular channels to work in sex work and domestic work in

---

[34] Some community members use the word 'illegal' (or via India) to describe their route.

India and the Middle East, respectively (Sharma *et al.*, 2014). While, due to the stigma related to sex work, community members do not discuss sex work with anyone, they do not consider domestic work as illegal work and often question mobility restrictions (see Chapter 5). For them, if the government does not issue labour permits, they can always move via India. Research participants suggest that from every household at least one female is in the Middle East, which is an exact mirror image of the times when at least one woman from every household was working in Indian brothels.

Initially, some women changed their mobility decisions from seasonal work in India to domestic work in the Middle East due to financial security. For example, Rishang, a regular seasonal labourer, who recently returned from Kuwait explains

> *"[Here]…food is expensive, agriculture is expensive, no way one can do agriculture without recruiting agricultural labour – and that is very expensive, education [of children] is also expensive, so we decided to leave things and go to India. And that didn't help us either…. if there is some event in the family – death or marriage or childbirth or anything, you need to take loans from the village, and interest sometimes is so high that it becomes next to impossible for us to replay that [in one season]"*

<div align="right">[Interview with Rishang].</div>

Rishang's husband once took a loan from the village-based money lender as a contingency plan. She says it took four Indian seasonal mobility trips for them to repay the loan. Both Rishang and her husband, because of their frustration, took mobility decisions in favour of Kuwait and Malaysia respectively.

Similarly, human trafficking victims/survivors, like Nancy and Skyla, went to Kuwait to work as domestic workers via both legal and illegal channels. While Nancy's mobility decision followed family obligations, Skyla's mobility decision was based on survival. Nancy, during her interview, told me that her husband married her despite her past and that she could never be disobedient towards him or his family.[35] Skyla told me that she went to Kuwait thrice because her husband (who took her to a brothel on behalf of some other people) abandoned the family and is living in Malaysia with his new mistress. Unlike Nancy, who comes from a high political class, Skyla went to Kuwait thrice to support her three children and to escape poverty, trauma, and stigma. However, the experiences of labour relations were almost the same for them. Explaining the experience of domestic work, Nancy says, *'Kuwait was the worse. Sometimes I think the brothel was better than that'*. Skyla says that her first trip to Kuwait was difficult due to language issues, physical abuse, and the intensity of the work.

---

[35] Initially Nancy wanted to be a research companion, but her husband did not allow her to work in the project.

However, once she learnt the Arabic language, life became a bit easier for her the next time she went to Kuwait. She is planning to leave the country soon.

The transformation in mobility decisions shows a change in structures of exploitation and oppression. During a focused group discussion session, some women suggested that most of the women in the community think that if they have to do household work for free and still hear abusive words (in the village and in India where they accompany their husbands), then why don't they experience the same in those places where they can maximise their earnings.

However, for some, transformations in the mobility decisions are based on personal circumstances. Kanchi Maya, another regular seasonal migrant, wanted to build her own house.

> *"I thought if I go to Kuwait, at least we will be able to finish our unfinished house, and who knows we will have a small shop as well"*

> [Interview with Kanchi Maya].

Kanchi Maya went to India every year to bring back money and objects to build her house. Later, she decided to go to Kuwait in the hope that the remittance money would speed up the process. However, the recent 2015 earthquake destroyed her newly constructed house and triggered a strategic need to leave the place once again. After the 2015 earthquake, many women from the community went to the Middle East to support their family members to build houses.

While the earthquake not only triggered economic necessity, it also triggered emotional necessity. Several women, like Patricia, decided to escape the trauma inflicted by the recent earthquake. Patricia explains,

> *"I lost everything after the earthquake. I lost my house… We had a one month old infant whom we lost during the earthquake. Hence, I decided to leave this place. The decision was totally mine. I talked to my husband and persuaded him to let me escape from this place"*

> [Interview with Patricia].

However, everyone's life experiences are different. Some were impacted by the transformation in their parent's mobility decisions. For example, Maayan**,** a bright student, never wanted to migrate but because of the sudden pressure of household responsibilities, she decided to leave the village. She says,

> *"My parents [who were regular seasonal migrants] stayed in the household for a year because of my father' bad [mental] health. That was the time I decided that I must migrate*

for my family. The reason was simple. A regular flow of money in the household was

broken…"

<div align="right">[Interview with Maayan].</div>

However, money, loss, trauma and contingent situations were not the only reasons women from this community decided to move to the Middle East. Many women in the community acknowledged that they moved just because other people were moving. For example, Nima Dolma, who, like some of the community members, is among the richest in the village, explains:

"The only reason why I went to Kuwait was that most of the women from the village are in

Kuwait, and some of them are very good friends of mine"

<div align="right">[Interview with Nima Dolma].</div>

The desire of the 'other' to move to the Middle East became the desire of many of the research participants. Many people acknowledge that the other's desire has been the most common reason for women from this community to move (both for sex work and domestic work). They want to move to other places to work because their friends or relatives were moving. The mobility decisions from the other, produce a symbolic peer pressure, especially among young women which force them to move. Sita Tamang explains this:

"The only reason I wanted to go to Kuwait was that most of my friends were there and they

were earning money... [and] I always wanted to visit the location"

<div align="right">[Interview with Sita Tamang].</div>

A similar trend has been visible in the mobility pattern of young women who now decide to move to Europe for domestic work. The most recent transformation in mobility decisions stems from prior mobility experiences in the Middle East, and imaginaries produced due to social media. For example, Kanchi and Dolma, upon her return from Lebanon and Kuwait, contacted their friends over Facebook. While Kanchi heard good things about Turkey, Dolma heard good things about Cyprus. Kanchi explains,

"The salary was not very good in Lebanon. I wanted to have change in life. I wanted to work

in a different set-up. I heard many things about turkey from my friend who lived there. Not

from the village but from neighbourhood. I met her father somewhere, maybe in chanaute,

maybe he came to my home, and he told me about her. Then I contacted her on the

Facebook. I asked about her life, work, and salary. She said it is really nice out there. I think

she also worked in Lebanon. She told me that it is totally different there. Then I was thinking I wanted to go to Korea but then I thought to go to Turkey "

[Interview with Kanchi].[36]

4.3 Departure avenues: pre-production, production, and transformation

Drawing upon the last section on mobility decisions, I now present three dimensions of the concept of departure avenues – pre-production, production and transformation. I show that pre-production of departure avenues is linked to the terrain of decisions which looms over every mobility decision (section 4.3.1). The terrain of decisions enabled mobility decisions that produce departure avenues (section 4.3.2). However, to actualise their mobility decisions, people on the move must interact with ever-modulating forces of control at several sites along their avenues. I make a case of encounters and conflicts along the departure avenues which transform the mobility decisions of people on the move (section 4.3.3).

4.3.1 Pre-production of departure avenues

Decisions are continuous processes of multiplication of terrain of decisions (undecidability) without fixed beginnings or endings (Derrida, 1992). However, approaching decisions through a Derridean approach would be assigning ontological status to undecidability – a de-political move (Griffiths, Rogers and Anderson, 2013). Hence, for practical and political purposes, I carve out terrains of decisions following my research participant's mobility decisions to navigate international mobility. The initial mobility decisions become an overarching principle to navigate international mobility.

Departure avenues follow initial mobility decisions, which I examine as the spatial and temporal unfolding for terrain of mobility decisions. In section 4.2, I highlighted diverse mobility decisions individuals make for labour employment. I argue that mobility decisions precede and succeed a terrain of decisions. For example, before Rishang (section 4.2.4) decided to move to India, her terrain of decisions consisted of, at the very least, decisions to (1) stay in the village, go to Kathmandu, (2) go to Gorkha (a popular labour site in Nepal), or (3) to go to India. The moment Rishang make her mobility decision to go to India, she encountered a new terrain of decisions – different locations she could go to, different jobs she could do, and different people she could go with. Understanding decisions in this manner helps us to conceptualise decisions as 'a differentiated affectively registered, transformative and on-going actualisation of potential against a horizon of undecidability in which past, present and future fold together in complex ways' (Mccormack & Schwanen 2011, p. 2801). While I do not dismiss the conceptual understanding that every decision

---

[36] Kanchi and Dolma hope to have a European citizenship soon.

encapsulates elements of past, present and future in complex ways, I argue that it is important to understand whether and how people on the move actualise their mobility decisions. I highlight the spatial and temporal unfolding of terrain mobility decisions through the concept of departure avenues.

Based on 48 stories of mobility (see Appendix for the breakup), I argue that every mobility decision unfolds in a particular direction. I position these mobility decisions (to move for or from labour employment) as an overarching principle for the unfolding terrain of decisions, and encounters and conflicts. The terrain of decisions places a demand on people on the move to select decisions from the terrian presented before them. The act of selecting a decision reveals a moment of autonomy along departure avenues of an individual. However, these moments of autonomy are constrained by the overarching mobility decision. These moments of autonomy take individuals through various spaces and times to actualise their overarching mobility decision. For example, it took more than three months for Maayan to arrive at her preferred destination. During the course of her journey, she travelled through three countries (Nepal, India and Sri Lanka), encountered spaces of control at several sites - households, communities, passport offices, highways, the Indi-Nepal border, airports, train station, cities – which required her to take decisions. Based on these stories, I argue that the actualisation of decision precedes navigation of spatial and temporal sites, demands of decision, production of continuous multiplication of terrain of decisions, and moments of autonomy. I conceptualise this spatio-temporal distance after a mobility decision was made as *departure avenues*.

4.3.2 Production of departure avenues

Mobility decisions are important for the conceptualisation of departure avenues. To understand the production of departure avenues, I now briefly reflect on why an individual selects a particular mobility decision in order to understand diverse mobility practices. Migration literature attempts to unpack the rationale of these decisions to understand how migratory mobility is differentially initiated, represented and experienced (Silvey, 2004; Findlay *et al.*, 2015). Migration scholars explain mobility decisions either by using cognitive and emotional categories like aspiration and desire, or by using analytical categories like drivers of migration (Carling and Collins, 2017). While the former (aspiration and desire) implicitly highlights internal forces (or an agentic aspect), the latter (drivers) implies external forces (or structural aspect) which influence mobility decisions.

 The 'how' and 'why' of individual select mobility decisions is a subjective question encapsulated in the embodied desires and experiences of the individuals; embodied desires and experiences of the other; the history of mobility decisions; present socio-economic inequalities; contingent events, and

available opportunities. My empirical findings suggest that people move due to a variety of reasons - economic, social and political, boredom and escapism, dreams and desires, peer pressure, a sudden event, opportunism, geographical imaginations, or obligations. Based on the empirical materials, I argue that a configuration of different rationales, imaginations, and opportunities related to mobility triggers departure avenues of people on the move. Experiences along and beyond the departure avenues produced due to mobility decisions adds to the existing configuration of mobility decisions in the community.

Departure Avenues, both empirically and conceptually, reveal contingent routes of the mobility decisions. These mobility decisions could be: decisions to move for labour employment, decisions to leave exploitative labour employment, decisions to follow power, and decisions to disrupt manifestations of power. Whilst some of these decisions originate under structures of exploitation, oppression and rightlessness, it is the encounter and conflict along the departure avenues which gives the movement its meaning and representation. Following Cresswell (2006), I argue that movement becomes mobility when it is embedded with meaning and power. The meaning and power are produced along the departure avenues when people on the move encounter different regimes of mobility (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013). In Chapter 5, I explain these mobility regimes responsible for innumerable encounters between people on the move and forces of control. In Chapter 6, I show how these encounters transform into conflict when people on the move try to appropriate mobility and rights which forces of control deny or delay (Scheel, 2019). Drawing on the concept of the AoM , I politically place differential practices of people on the move before forces of control, to simultaneously discuss struggles of actualisation of the decision and moments of autonomy (Mezzadra, 2010; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018).

The concept of departure avenues includes both individual and collective mobility struggles. Departure avenues reveal embodied experiences of people on the move attempting to actualise their mobility decision. For example, while both Maayan and Patricia moved via illegal channels, their embodied experiences along the departure avenues were different. While their respective departure avenues show the singularity of mobility struggles, the experiences of Maayan and Patricia also highlights the commonality of mobility struggles at these avenues. For example, the mobility ban imposed by the emigration regime of Nepal (see Chapter 5) affects the common mobility struggles on most of the departure avenues which disobeys government rules and regulations. Hence, I argue that the emigration regime of Nepal, which aims to govern every radically different individual and their experiences by transforming them into a singular unit, is responsible for collective mobility struggles along these departure avenues.

4.3.3 Transformation in departure avenues

In section 4.2, I presented a chronological account of transformations in mobility decisions from the community. I showed how different imaginative, object, informative, and physical mobilities in the community increased the terrain of mobility decisions. These mobilities facilitated mobility decisions for sex work and seasonal work in India. During the late 90s, especially after the series of anti-trafficking events triggered after the infamous Mumbai brothel raid (see Chapter 5), mobility decisions towards sex work gradually transformed in favour of domestic work in the Middle Eastern countries (especially Kuwait) and contractual work in the Middle East and Malaysia. However, due to exploitative labour relations, a local river diversion project which negatively impacted land productivity, and a series of mobility bans imposed by the government of Nepal (see Chapter 5), people have recently started to take mobility decisions to work (and to settle) in Europe. These transformations in mobility decisions for work shows transformations in departure avenues as well.

The subjective experiences of exploitation in labour relations (see Chapter 6) and rightlessness and oppression in emigration and immigration regimes respectively (see Chapters 5 and 6), drive the transformations in departure avenues. Moreover, the entanglement of exploitation in labour relations and regimes of migration reproduce forms, sites, agents, targets, and practices of control which manifest as various forms of border(ing)s (see Chapter 5) along departure avenues. These modulations in control reveal an excess of mobility over control practices along the departure avenues. The triad of departure avenues, exploitation in labour relations, and modulations in control unevenly inform each other. For example, the government of Nepal has recently blocked departure avenues leading to domestic work in the wake of everyday abuses and exploitation in the Middle Eastern countries (Grossman-Thompson, 2019). Due to the ban, many women from the community use departure avenues imperceptible to the state power (ILO, 2015). Imperceptibility shows an excess of mobility over control and brings modulations in segments of states, institutions, discourses and actors which reconstitute to capture imperceptible avenues. The reconstitution of forces of control highlights an irreconcilable conflict between people on the move and forces of control which either denies or delays mobility and rights to the people (Chapter 5). While the embodied experience of delay and denial along such departure avenues shows individual mobility struggles, the transformation in such avenues shows collective mobility struggles.

However, transformation in departure avenues also signifies the failure of the state to support its subjects from exploitative labour relations. For example, most people acknowledged that the conditions of work (housing, health and safety, medical, vacations) in the seasonal labour sites of India is harrowing (see: Mohanty, 2017). While the community members acknowledge two common

issues: the precarious departure avenues (every year one person in the village dies on this long and perilous route) and the nature of the work (long hours, bad weather etc.), there are no provisions to address exploitation in these labour sites of India. Due to the lack of support, young members from the community have changed their mobility decisions in favour of the Middle East and Malaysia, bringing a collective transformation of departure avenues from the community. However, stories of mobility suggest that these young people are unable to access protection and justice against labour exploitation in these countries, partly due to weak bi-lateral agreements that the government of Nepal signs with these countries to safeguard their labour. Instead, the government penalises private recruitment agencies and agents in the case of deception. However, almost everyone in the community, who suffers from exploitation in these countries, is reluctant to reveal the name of the agent (facilitates both legal and illegal mobility) to the state, for various reasons.

Hence, due to the complex entanglement of the stigma related to certain forms of work, subjective forms of exploitation, the inaccessibility of justice, oppression in immigration regimes, and every changing mobility restriction in emigration regimes, the community members have recently started to collectively respond by transforming their mobility decisions and departure avenues towards European countries.

4.4 Conclusion

Mobility decision making is an important area of investigation for policymakers and researchers interested in the interplay between movement and labour. In this chapter, I presented a temporal understanding of mobility decisions for labour employment from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal. I used different categories of labour - sex work, seasonal work, contract labour, and domestic work – to show mobility decisions as complex historical, relational and contingent negotiations. I highlighted temporal understanding of mobility decisions to show the cumulative effect of symbolic order which encapsulates historical mobility decisions, subjective experiences of exploitation, and embodied encounters with ever modulating forces of control. An analysis of spatio-temporal distance following mobility decisions has the potential to reveal ways of navigation amidst the symbolic order. To empirically make sense of such navigation, I conceptualise spatio-temporal distances as *departure avenues.* Using this concept, in the subsequent chapters, I empirically discuss encounters between the people on the move and the forces of control, to make a broader conceptualisation of con-constitution of mobility and control.

In this chapter, I analysed mobility decisions at different timescales, showing a polysemy in the departure avenues from a Himalayan site in Nepal. I highlighted contingent and emergent meanings of encounters between people on the move and forces of control along departure avenues, and

argued that the production of meaning depends on the symbolic order produced in the community due to contemporary and historical mobility decisions crisscrossing the place. I used four categories of labour to represent the power of mobility decisions along with a series of epochal eruptions underscoring excess and mobility over control – central AoM arguments. I highlighted three aspects of departure avenues based on mobility decisions – pre-production, production, and transformation.

The conceptualisation of departure avenues simultaneously reveals personalised experiences of encounters and collective struggles of people on the move. I illustrated these struggles through transformations in departure avenues – transformations from sex work in India to domestic work in the Middle East, and transformation from domestic work in the Middle-East to domestic work in Europe. These transformations show simultaneity in individual and collective mobility struggles. Similarly, the exploitation in labour relations in India (for males) was one of the important motives for men in the community to move to the Middle East and Malaysia. Hence, through the conceptualisation of departure avenues, I make a holistic understanding of individual and collective rightlessness, oppression and exploitation within, before, and beyond the immigration regimes. In the next chapter, I empirically unpack how the transformation in departure avenues also signifies transformation in forces of control. I unpack encounters between forces of control and people on the move to highlight individual and collective mobility struggles from a *'trafficking prone'* area of Nepal.

Chapter Five: Encounters along departure avenues

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I discussed pre-production, production and transformation of departure avenues to make a point about individual and collective mobility struggles along these avenues. I discussed several mobility decisions from a certain place, for labour employment, as a first step to argue how the concept of departure avenues is effective in analysing how people navigate their international mobility. The concept of departure avenues provides a platform to better understand mobility practices, control practices, and moments of autonomy from the perspective of people on the move. I argue that departure avenues offer a tool to capture mobility struggles along mobility trajectories before, within, and beyond the immigration regimes.

In this chapter, I further refine the concept of departure avenues by highlighting encounters between people on the move and forces of control along these avenues. I draw upon the concepts of mobility struggles (Mezzadra, 2010; Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014; De Genova, 2015; Tazzioli, 2017) and multiplication of borders (Balibar, 2002; Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013), to elaborate how departure avenues enrich these concepts. I show multiplication and transformation in departure avenues due to modulations in mobility struggles and bordering practices. In other words, this multiplication and transformation of departure avenues takes place when people on the move are denied or delayed mobility and rights to actualise their mobility decisions. Drawing upon the AoM framework, I position mobility ahead of control, to show the inability of the forces to fully perceive the spectrum of mobility practices along departure avenues, and subsequent modulations in control practices which transform and multiply these avenues. These innumerable encounters between people on the move and forces of control along these avenues makes a broader argument for co-constitution of mobility and control.

I begin this chapter by detailing initial encounters between sex work mobility and forces of control along departure avenues (5.2.1). The encounters along these avenues diversified mobility practices towards sex work, which subsequently transformed forces of control (5.2.2). The transformation in the forces of control reflects the embeddedness of events, discourses, activities, segments of the state and interventions across various times and scales, to capture the spectrum of mobility practices of the people. For example, transformations in community members' mobility practices which draws upon overlapping local, national and international discourses on human trafficking and produces conditions for polymorphic borders (Burridge *et al.*, 2017) along departure avenues (5.5.3).

I then show how encounters between the people on the move for sex work and the forces of control along departure avenues produce new departure avenues taking people to domestic work (5.3.1). These transformations in departure avenues simultaneously rescale and respatialise border work along these departure avenues by drawing upon the national and international discussion of exploitation/trafficking in domestic work (5.3.2). For example, the government of Nepal uses mobility bans to deal with exploitation in domestic work in Middle Eastern countries. Anti-trafficking organisations of Nepal implements these bans through awareness generation, route surveillance, and emigrant detention. These border works are manifested along the departure avenues of those whose desires exceed the bordering logic and practices. I discuss how bordering practices to control mobility along these departure avenues (5.3.4) brought another transformation in the departure avenues in the community (5.3.5).

Next, I discuss departure avenues for contractual labour mobility towards the Middle East and Malaysia. The migration industry – the state, private recruitment agencies – of Nepal, structure the embodied experiences of people on the move along these departure avenues (5.4.1). I show hollow promises of protection along departure avenues and critique the double standards of the anti-trafficking and emigration regime of Nepal which does not consider labour exploitation in sectors other than domestic work and sex work are worth protection. I show how various bordering practices to protect people (mostly men) on the move fail to protect them from exploitation, both along their departure avenues and in the labour relations (5.4.2). I argue that due to a lack of proper care and interventions, people working in 'formal' but highly exploitative labour relations in the Middle East and Malaysia become what AoM scholars call 'incorrigible subjects' (De Genova, 2017). The empirical findings showing the platform of incorrigibility in sending countries contribute to the framework of AoM. However, I also show the transformation of departure avenues due to the cumulative effect of experiences within and beyond the labour relations (5.4.3).

5.2 Encounters along departure avenues towards sex work

The critical debate on human trafficking started over disagreements on sex work (see Chapter 2). While the dominant paradigm of trafficking demands the abolition of sex work, prosecution of consumers and/or traffickers as ways to end human trafficking, and protection of trafficking victims (Crawford, 2009), the critical (anti-) trafficking scholars question the politics of equating select labour relations to human trafficking and treating it as an exceptional criminal justice response category (Doezema, 2005). Some of them demand to address exploitation in all labour relations, including sex work. However, in the AoM literature, the discussion of 'trafficking' is very limited. They make conceptual arguments against the ordering and categorising women (into risky and

dangerous, and risky and vulnerable) to problematise the bordering practices in the immigration regime (Andrijasevic, 2003; Aradau, 2008). Nevertheless, majority of the discussion on sex work and 'trafficking' takes place at the borders of those states which (a) prohibit sex work or prosecute buyers, (b) restrict unwanted people to enter their territory, and (c) utilise trafficking victims as a political category to render bodies as deportable (for exception: see: Lindquist and Piper, 2007; Fernandez, 2013).

The anti-trafficking regime of Nepal produces an image of trafficking as synonymous to prostitution. While the country has not ratified UN's trafficking protocol, it legally prohibits all forms of sex work inside its territory (Joffres *et al.*, 2008), [37] and does not allow its female citizens to go to India for sex work. Anti-trafficking interventions in Nepal attempt to control mobility for sex work in India through diverse means. These interventions feed into rules and provisions of different discourses and regimes to advance their purposes. Whilst the AoM scholars offer their ethical and political insights on labour and mobility, they have not sufficiently analysed the symbiotic effect of the emigration controls and the discourse of (anti-) trafficking on the mobility practices of the people for different reasons.

In this section, I show how the (anti-) trafficking regime enables encounters between the people on the move for sex work and bordering practices of the forces of control. These encounters fragment and multiply departure avenues for women on the move, until it becomes imperceptible to the forces of control which produce conditions to deny mobility and rights to the people on the move for sex work. I argue that dynamic bordering at various sites which multiply departure avenues shows discontinuities in these bordering practices. The multiplication is a result of conflicts between people on the move trying to appropriate mobility and rights, which forces of control deny, through rescaling and respatialisation of border work. On the one hand, encountering bordering practices along a departure avenue structures the embodied experiences of an individuals' mobility struggles; on the other, the multiplication of departure avenues, due to dynamic bordering practices, shows the commonality of mobility struggles. The simultaneity and heterogeneity in mobility struggles and bordering practices show co-constitution of mobility and control.

5.2.1 Initial encounters

Majority of anti-traffickers consider sex work as the worst form of patriarchal subjugation of the women's self against men, and that it promotes human trafficking (Crawford, 2009; Kaufman and Crawford, 2011). However, critical paradigm of trafficking fight for the recognition of sex work as a

---

[37] Except in the tourist thamel area of the capital city of Kathmandu.

form of work (Kotiswaran *et al.*, 2014) and many would go so far as to consider 'human trafficking' as a fiction or a rumour, due to several ambiguities (Wong, 2005; Feingold, 2009; Montgomery, 2011). For example, in 1986, UNICEF published a report suggesting that every year, six to seven thousand Nepalese women are trafficked to Indian brothels (Poudel and Carryer, 2000).[38] While UNICEF never published the methodology, the figure is still an emblematic feature of the human trafficking discourse in Nepal (Aronowitz, 2010) and is often used to justify anti-trafficking interventions in areas where female mobility has always been high due to several cultural, and socio-economic reasons (for example, the Sindhupalchok and Nuwakot districts). These anti-trafficking interventions positioned female mobility dominated areas as 'trafficking prone' regions of Nepal (Dharel, Rai and Thapa, 2015).

I conducted fieldwork in one such 'trafficking prone' region of Nepal, where the mobility of women was high. Before the 1950s, women from the community used to go to the royal courts of Nepal for work. These women were called Snow Girls, who used to perform domestic work, care work, and sometimes sex work in the royal courts of Nepal. After the Indo-Nepal friendship treaty of 1950, the Snow Girl mobility to the royal courts stopped, which transformed women's mobility towards sex work in India (See Chapter 1 for a detailed history of mobility). A participant during a focused group discussion explains this,

> *"During Rana times, this area was highly recommended by Kings. They used to say that girls*
> *from this area were most strong and beautiful, but then it stopped, and women started*
> *going to the do dirty work [Sex work] in India"*

> *[a participant during one of the FGD].*

The departure avenues towards sex work mobility were, for a long time, approved and facilitated by the community members. However, several international and national level activities and events related to 'human trafficking' during the 90s, produced the first-ever bordering along departure avenues in the community.

During the early 90s, several shame-ridden young men instituted a 'youth club' in the community. Club members started to sensitise community members against sex work, in line with dominant puritanism based Hinduism ideologies. I argue that the awareness generation practice was the first-ever (anti-trafficking) border work along the departure avenues, in a place where sex work was an acceptable form of work. As a result, the youth club members faced community-wide resistance.

---

[38] It is estimated that nearly 5000-7000 women and girls are trafficked in India. The data first appeared in 1986 and has been the face of anti-trafficking narratives of Nepal since then (Aronowitz, 2010).

Palsang, the president of the youth club, recounts that not a single person in the community was ready to listen, since their practices were questioning the livelihood of the majority. Chewaang's father, who was the secretary of this group, elaborates on this,

> "We faced lots of resistance initially, people [from the community] used to fight with us as if we were trying to snatch their employment…"

[Interview with Cheewang's father].

While the border work followed a national and international discourse of trafficking, it was reactionary to sex work mobility. The intention of the border work along the departure avenue was to deny mobility and rights to the people for sex work. However, the hostility towards bordering agents shows encounters between people on the move and forces of control and the failure of the latter to deny mobility and rights to the former. The failure highlighted an excess of mobility over control which allowed mutations in the forces of control.

The youth club recuperated their control strategy by initially recruiting some of the most active agents with strong links in the brothels as executive members of the club (See: Vignette: The Agent). The club members then prohibited the entry of agents from other areas. While the process shows how the elements of the excess of mobility over control are used as indicators of bordering, it simultaneously created a space for imperceptible practices of other agents. However, despite these interventions, Cheewang's father acknowledges that they were only able to change a few people's mobility decisions.

The limited success meant the majority were still moving to brothels. To transform the mobility decisions of the majority, the club members started household visits which, in time, built trust and garnered support from many community members. Then came a point when youth club members physically started to block the departure avenues of all the returnee sex workers. Heidi, who heads the local trafficking survivors/victim support group in the community, shares her experience:

> "So, after 10 years, I came here to make a citizenship document[39] […] However, these people [youth club members] in the village were having sort of a social movement, and they were not allowing us [sex workers] to leave the village[…] They came to my house and told me that I can not go to Calcutta [Indian city which has a very famous brothel area] anymore[…] these people were very adamant and did not allow me to leave[…]"

---

[39] She started to think to move to the Middle East, which a recent phenomenon was happening in the community.

Despite Heidi's plea, she was not allowed to leave the village. Later she married one of the executive members of the club. Though the club controlled the mobility of some returnee sex workers like Heidi in the community, it failed to curtail women's mobility towards sex work from the community at large. However, several people on the move started encountering this contingent border work by hypermobile and vigilant youth club members along their departure avenue denying their mobility and rights. Scheel explains this phenomenon as 'embodied encounters' - a bedrock of his autonomy of migration framework,

> "What takes place in each of these embodied encounters is a conflictive dialogue of actions, in which each action forms itself as a reaction to the previous actions of the counterpart; just as it is shaped by the possible responses of the counterpart to this action"

(Scheel, 2013b, p. 282).

These embodied encounters took place along departure avenues due to the influence and reach of the youth club. Palsang says, *'it took us five years to convince a few people* [after several conflicts] *not to send women to Indian brothels to do 'dirty work'.* However, many of my research companions mentioned that even if some people showed that they were convinced by the youth club, they still maintained connections with Indian brothels. For example, Cheewang's Aunt went to the brothel with a research companion during the time when his father was one of the most active members of the club. Members of the club also acknowledge that, despite their bordering practices, people were able to find escape routes using a trust-based network to facilitate sex work (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008).

For example, Kevin, who worked as a hawker in Indian brothels, suggests that many of his friends used to help women who wanted to go to India for sex work evade the gaze of border agents. These imperceptible practices produced new departure avenues to avoid the policing by the youth club, which simultaneously transformed the bordering agents' mode of operation to appropriate, translate and digest the knowledge of such practices. The simultaneity and heterogeneity in mobility practices and forces of control reveal encounters between them, multiplication of departure avenues and rescaling and respatialisation of contingent forms, sites, and agents of polymorphic border work (Burridge *et al.*, 2017) along these departure avenues.

5.2.2 Multiplication of departure avenues

During this period, the debate of (anti-) trafficking was taking shape on a global scale, in the form of CATW (Coalition of Trafficking in Women) and GAATW (General Alliance Against Trafficking in

Women) networks (Lee, 2007). Both networks forged alliances in several countries, including Nepal. The topic of human trafficking gained momentum in Nepal after the famous 1996 raid in India, which strengthened bordering practices of the youth club and further multiplied departure avenues.

On the night of 5th February, 1996, more than 218 Nepali sex workers were rescued from the brothels of Mumbai by Indian police (Limbu, 1996). Some died in police custody, and the health status (blood report) of some suffering with HIV/AIDS was published and circulated in Nepali media (Limbu, 1996; Pradhāna, 1996). The event not only stigmatised sex work but also represented sex workers as 'disease carriers' (Nepal, 2013). As a result, the government of Nepal was reluctant to take measures to bring their citizens (or 'daughters') back to its territory, fearing the spread of the virus (Anderson, 1995). The lack of action configured a symbolic border for females, which some geographers call 'post-trafficking borders' (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel and Townsend, 2015). However, several anti-trafficking NGOs in Nepal brought back rescued women from their territories, after months of struggle (Shree and Abhurami, 2015). Meanwhile, the Nepali media regularly reported the plight of sex workers in India, cases of sex trafficking, and the effect of HIV/AIDS virus, which forever stigmatised 'sex work' as 'dirty work' and women moving for sex work as 'disease carriers'.

The image of 'women as disease carriers', and stories of trafficking, fuelled masculine anxiety in the community (given all the members of the youth club were male) and revitalised the activities of the youth club. Youth club members used media coverage as a justification to intensify their bordering at almost all departure avenues leading to sex work. However, irrespective of the media news and anti-trafficking bordering practices by the youth club, many of my participants mentioned that people in the community still thought that it might be a state-level conspiracy to problematise their mobility and labour. They continued using their personalised, imperceptible networks to facilitate the mobility of women for sex-work and debunked the HIV/AIDS virus as a rumour. Those who were showing symptoms were treated through local *Jhangaris (Himalayan Shamans).* Lakpa Dorjee, a Buddhist priest, explains that the refusal to take the disease seriously resulted in several deaths in the community:

> *"…more than 60 women and 20 men died [due to the virus]. Some people died in the Brothels while others died in the village. We were supposed to be dead, but we were lucky to have the medicine "*

> [Lakpa Dorjee during the interview with Kevin].

Lakpa Dorjee remembers how community members, including himself, initially did not believe that having sex could be fatal. Like everyone, he debunked this idea as a conspiracy, since the incubation of the virus inside his body took several years. After suffering constant drowsiness, he went to a nearby hospital for a medical check-up where he tested positive for HIV/AIDS. He says that fear of HIV gripped the community only after witnessing many deaths. The fear grew to the extent that people stopped drinking water from the households of those suffering from HIV positive, and those returning from brothels. Sukumaya, a trafficking victim/survivor, explains,

> *"There used to be a time when people of this village were extremely scared of the disease. They used to say "Do not even come in front of me, do not' even come in front of me" let alone drinking water… There were many awareness generation programmes happened in the community and slowly people stopped discriminating"*

[Sukumaya[40] during an FGD].

While the ongoing Maoist revolution in Nepal (1996-2006) halted the activities of the youth club, these developments gradually produced spaces for anti-trafficking NGOs, and HIV/AIDS based NGOs to operate inside the village. Some NGOs performed the twin role of providing free medicines and check-ups to prevent HIV, and advocating against human trafficking. Both HIV/AIDS and sex work were conflated together to control the body and mobility of people on the move (Lindquist and Piper 2007, p. 138). Lindquist and Piper argue that the conflation of the 'vector of disease' and the 'victim of trafficking' to control the body of sex workers, re-marginalises women (p. 139). In the community, the conflation brought fear, guilt and dependency, stigmatised sex-work and configured borders of trafficking along departure avenues.

Whilst the agenda of HIV based organisations was to remove discriminatory borders within and among the community members, the agenda of anti-trafficking NGOs was to conduct border work through awareness generation programmes, reinforcing stigma and fear. These interventions configured cognitive borders in the community (see: Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p. 16). To disrupt cognitive borders, some returnee sex workers started hiding their identity, despite several anti-trafficking assurances and interventions, and some HIV/AIDS positive people did not disclose their identity to the health-based NGOs working in the community in order to hide their links with brothels. For example, both Heidi and her husband (who was once a member of the youth club) mentioned during the interview that they are not suffering from HIV/AIDS. However, during an

---

[40] Later during the FGD, she said, "But then, what about those men like Kevin who are have HIV virus. No one from their family was in the brothel. Why do you stigmatise only women as disease careers?"

informal interaction, a member of the human trafficking survivors support group told me that both of them– despite being amongst the most political and economically affluent in the community – also have the disease, and secretly take medicines from NGOs operating in a different community. Similarly, a research companion told me that a woman who was present in one of the focused group discussions wanted to talk to me, but she was scared that this would reveal her identity (as a sex worker).[41] Community members employ such acts of imperceptibility as a method to escape border work. The youth club, anti-trafficking NGOs, HIV/AIDS NGOs, and research produced several forms, agents, sites, and practices of border work, targeted at blocking all the imperceptible departure avenues leading towards sex work.

Community members since then have employed 'silence' and 'performance' as responses to imperceptibly disrupting these bordering. For example, as I began my research project, *'do not use the term human trafficking in the community'* was the most frequent warning I received from many anti-trafficking NGO members, government staff, UN officials, and placement agents. In addition to this, several NGOs indicated that people would not reveal much, due to the stigma. During my first-ever meeting in the community, a participant mentioned:

> *"People know everything, but they will not reveal anything to you."*

While the statement acknowledges the overall stand of the community against anti-traffickers, they have managed to create an impression that no one goes to the Indian brothels anymore. Several NGOs working in these areas acknowledged the fact no one from these communities goes to sex work anymore. However, the standard narrative could be a tactic to resist and undo historical stigmatisation by (anti-) trafficking research and interventions, as a few participants suggested that community members still maintain transnational relations with family members living in Indian brothels.[42]

Imperceptibility is a response against the discourse of (anti-) trafficking. The multiplication of departure avenues leading to sex work is now 'incommensurable with majoritarian common sense' (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p. 157). Through imperceptible politics, community members have devised ways to undo the label of trafficking which targets their bodies, mobility and labour. Following the AoM framework, I consider the silences that I encountered in the community as an act of subversion, manifested by solidarity against 'individualising, quantifying, policing and

---

[41] During an action and reflection meeting the research companions and I decided that we will not persuade anyone who is uncomfortable with the interview or who thinks that the interview would potentially harm them. We did not contact her for the interview.

[42] The property owner of the place I was living has 5 daughters. During one informal conversation, I was told that one of his daughters is still in India working in a brothel.

representational pressures' of the anti-trafficking industry (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008).

5.2.3 Bordering practices

Mumbai brothel raids and the HIV/AIDS narrative strengthened the anti-trafficking Industry of Nepal. Immediately after the raid in Nepal, anti-trafficking measures escalated in Nepal. The event created spaces for international anti-trafficking networks organisations, like CATW and GAATW, to forge partnerships - the National Network Against Girls' Trafficking (NNAGT) and the Alliance Against Trafficking of Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN) respectively (Samarasinghe, 2008). Despite their ideological differences, both network-based organisations played a crucial role in the development and adoption of the most important legal apparatus to combat human trafficking in Nepal (Barthwal-Datta, 2012).

Anti-trafficking Act

Just like the involvement of CATW and GAATW representatives in the drafting process of the trafficking protocol (See Chapter 3), NNAGT and AATWIN partners played a significant role in replacing prostitution focused Trafficking in Human Beings (Control) Act of 1986 and drafting a new and 'improved' human trafficking Act – Human trafficking and transportation (Control) Act, 2008, which criminalised anyone who 'went in for' prostitution (GoN, 2007). While Nepal is yet to ratify International trafficking regulations, the Human Trafficking and Transportation (Control) Act, 2008, draws heavily upon the criminal justice response. The Act produces two legal criteria of prosecuting traffickers: (a) a person who engages in the selling and purchasing of people, organs and prostitution, is deemed to have committed the act of 'human trafficking', and (b) a person who facilitates the movement is said to have committed human transportation (for more details, see: Shukla, 2010, pp. 22–23).

While criminal justice responses offer different solutions to those falling under these categories, a person can be charged twice under separate provisions. The biggest gap in this law, according to some of the legal experts of Nepal is the incoherency in the victims' compensation amount and duration of punishment. While the duration of punishment goes up to a maximum of 15 years (in the case of an adult), the amount fined to the perpetrator is 100,000 NPR (825 USD), of which 50% is given to the victims. Despite the shift in the burden of proof from the victims to the perpetrators, delays in justice, fear of vendetta, internal monetary settlements, and corruption, very few cases (if any of those lodged) come to fruition.

In addition to this, the 2007 Act created several institutional structures, like a National Committee of Combatting Human Trafficking (NCCHT), 75 District Committees of Combatting Human Trafficking (DCCHT) and 753 Local Committees on Combatting Human Trafficking (NHRC, 2018) which support rehabilitation centres, family reconciliations and victims integration. However, the legal experts suggest that the recent administrative reshuffling in Nepal (see: Gautam (2018)) further complicates (if not nullifies) the functions[43] of these institutional arrangements.

Anti-trafficking Bordering Practices

The new anti-trafficking legal instruments and the global debate on Trafficking, provides a platform for bordering practices to protect people on the move. Several Anti-Traffickers draw from these discourses to produce borders along the departure avenues towards sex work in India. These include, but are not limited to, border surveillance 'chokepoints' (see Chapter 6) at several Indo/Nepal bordering areas and national/state highways, emigration detention centres at several bordering locations for the rescued or intercepted, and cognitive bordering practices like awareness generation, skill development, rehabilitation, integration of the rescued, and legal aid consultancies. These bordering practices along departure avenues are aimed at reducing the number of trafficking victims in Nepal and prosecute 'traffickers'[44] using pre-criminalisation and pre-victimisation techniques.

While none of the participants ever complained against any 'traffickers' from the community, despite their precarious journeys and exploitation in labour relations, their stories of mobility suggest that anti-trafficking interventions configure at least four forms of borders for the community members along their departure avenues:

a. Borders at the territorial limits: NGO surveillance at Indo-Nepal bordering sites. These borders follow profiling to save women and identify traffickers, based on physical features, clothes, area, ethnicity, behaviour.

---

[43] After the enactment of the recent constitution in 2015, Nepal abolished unilateral administrative systems which have existed since the 16th century, and adopted a federal governance structure. Some Legal experts of Nepal fear that the decentralisation of power effectively nullifies the already defunct LCCHTs and DCCHTs committees.

[44] As per the latest Trafficking in-person report of NHRC – Nepal, during 2017/18, only 305 trafficking cases were registered by the Nepal Police (NHRC, 2018). Data shared by Nepal Police suggest that only 1,972 cases of human trafficking were registered since 2007 (See Appendix). This only shows the number of cases registered in Nepal. NHRC report also shows that 154 'traffickers' were apprehended (NHRC, 2018). There are some good reasons to question these 'official' numbers because the petitioner often withdraws from many of these cases. Some legal experts' interviews suggest that more than half of these cases are withdrawn, and many of them are proven false; hence, the smaller number of prosecutions and failure of interventions.

b. Temporal borders: at check posts and detention centres.

c. Cognitive borders: awareness generation activities both within and beyond the community.

d. Humanitarian borders: exclusionary 'sex-trafficking victims survivor groups' for the integration of 'trafficking victims' in the community.

These bordering practices deny mobility and rights to people moving for sex work. The encounters between people on the move and forces of control multiplied departure avenues leading to sex work which, as per the community members, gradually stopped sex work mobility in India. However, since these anti-trafficking NGOs still believe that, 'these people [traffickers] think two steps ahead of us', [45] they always strive to capture all these suspected imperceptible avenues by all possible means. I now briefly introduce one such method of control, which I fully elaborate in the next section.

Liminal porocratic bordering arrangements

While the community members avoid discussing 'human trafficking' and mobility and labour for sex work, these discussions proliferate in the national and international arena. The (anti-) trafficking discourse attempts to pre-emptively block the departure avenues before their materialisation. To achieve this goal, anti-traffickers have rescaled and respatialised their bordering practices. The latest trend is that several organisations (not necessarily with the same goals) come together to forge aggregates to control mobility and plug the porosity in the bordering along departure avenues (Hudlow, 2015). The idea is to stop trafficking with new institutional aggregates of emigration controls. In Chapter 2, I discussed these institutional aggregates to highlight and block all possible imperceptible departure avenues as liminal porocratic institutional aggregates (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008), providing target-specific, contingent, polymorphic borders along the departure avenues (Burridge *et al.*, 2017).

My empirical findings suggest that while the fight against human trafficking is ideologically polarised in the scholarly debates, for project implementation, the NGOs drop their ideological borders and use the dominant ideologies of trafficking to forge a symbiotic relationship with other discourses for their survival. For example, 'Work in Freedom' is an Anti-(Labour)-trafficking project of the UK (funded by DFID) (See: Sharapov 2017), which is 'implemented' by the ILO in Nepal and other South Asian countries. The founding partner of the project is GAATW, the organisation with which the ILO implemented the project on the ground, were supporters of CATW. Also, none of the NGOs are exclusively working to eradicate 'human trafficking'. The liminality of these institutions is attributed to the fact that they are always 'evolving, merging and disseminating' (Papadopoulos, Stephenson

---

[45] I have heard this more than 5 times by different anti-trafficking NGO leads.

and Tsianos, 2008). These NGOs continually adjust to the popular discourse of human trafficking in Nepal, which enables massive funding.

The anti-trafficking industry of Nepal attracted NPR 671,487,038 (USD 56,08,931), between 2015-2017, through regular channels[46] (See Appendix for a detailed budget breakup retrieved from government departments). Apart from that, several other international anti-trafficking organisations operate in Nepal and directly implement the projects in the country. Some of the key actors are: 'AWO international – Germany; 'Free the Slaves' - the USA; 'Freedom Matters' – UK; 'Next Generation Nepal' – USA; 'Planete Enfants' – France; 'Umbrella Foundation' – Ireland; 'World Education' – USA. Then there are bi-lateral organisations or intergovernmental organisations like, USAID, UNODC, UNICEF, and ILO, which implement Anti-trafficking projects in Nepal, either directly or indirectly through local NGOs - Maiti Nepal, Shakti Samuha, ABC Nepal, Paurakhi Nepal, WOREC, NEEDS. Hence, most of these anti-trafficking NGOs in Nepal are often labelled as opportunistic business shops by some pro-migration NGOs (and the community members) with little and no knowledge of 'human-trafficking', which produces liminal porocratic arrangements to control mobility towards sex work by blocking all possible departure avenues.

These discourse-based bordering practices, which attempt to capture imperceptible avenues, multiplies the departure avenues. While the community members consider all the departure avenues leading towards sex work have been blocked, the NGO members still continuously try to reconfigure bordering to plug the porosity along these avenues. We observe a simultaneity and heterogeneity of bordering and mobility practices. While imperceptibility in mobility practices highlight individual mobility struggles, simultaneous rescaling and respatialisation in bordering practices show collective mobility struggles along the departure avenues. These simultaneous and heterogeneous modulations in border control and mobility practices make a broader argument of co-constitution of mobility and control. However, following my empirical findings and the AoM, I place mobility ahead of control in this co-constitution.

In this section, I presented an analysis of the continuous encounter between mobility and control. Understanding mobility and control together provides us with insights on the transformation in departure avenues. In the next section, I highlight the transformations that followed excessive bordering along departure avenues towards sex work in India and towards domestic work in the

---

[46] These funding details were obtained from Social Welfare Council of Nepal. However, it was told that local NGOs attract funds from other sources as well which does not include INGOs.

Middle East. I further the case of simultaneous and heterogeneous transformation in mobility and its constitutive other control.

5.3 Encounters along departure avenues towards domestic work

"The domestic worker, like the prostitute, occupies the imaginary space between the two worlds [Public and Private], symbolically ordered and imagined in very different ways"

(Anderson, 2000).

Scholars, activists, and policymakers often consider domestic work as the second most vulnerable category of work susceptible to 'human trafficking' (Ricard-Guay and Maroukis, 2017). They equate unfreedom and exploitation of (migrant) domestic workers as 'trafficking' or 'modern slavery' (Anderson, 2000; Bales, 2007). Critical paradigm of (anti-) trafficking often discuss the complex entanglement of personhood and labour-power, producing a 'hyper-precarity trap' for migrant domestic workers immigration regimes (Lewis *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, the AoM scholars highlight issues related to the precarity of the migrant domestic workers (Parreñas and Silvey, 2018), imperceptibility and common struggles for work (Wilcke, 2018), and refusal of work by non-migrant domestic workers (Apostolidis, 2018).

Nepal sends 'domestic workers' to several parts of the world .[47] In the wake of several forms and degrees of exploitation in the Middle East, the government of Nepal has recently imposed a 'total ban' on the mobility of domestic work (Grossman-Thompson, 2019) (For a chronology of bans, see section 5.3.2). However, none of the nascent literature highlights the involvement of anti-trafficking NGOs in the implementation of the ban. These anti-traffickers, who once played a role in stigmatising sex work in Nepal, use bordering practices to control (or block) the mobility for domestic workers. The effects of and responses against these bordering practices from the perspective of people impacted by control practices are yet to be examined. In this section, I bring the attention the rightlessness and oppression in the emigration regimes.

My empirical findings suggest that conflicts between people on the move for sex work and bordering practices of the forces of control transformed departure avenues towards domestic work in the Middle East. Following the discourse of (anti-) trafficking and exploitation, Nepal imposed mobility bans to secure and capture all departure avenues leading towards domestic work. The failure to fully capture departure avenues is evident in the modulation in the bans, which rescaled and

---

[47] Not anymore, at least officially.

respatialised border work along departure avenues of people moving for domestic work. Attempts by the forces of control to capture departure avenues produce several types, forms and context-specific borders to delay and deny mobility and rights to the people on the move. Encounters produced, due to bordering, further multiplied departure avenues for domestic work. While the embodied experiences of encounters highlight individual mobility struggles, the multiplication and subsequent transformation in the departure avenues highlight a common mobility struggle. I analyse simultaneous and heterogeneous transformations in both mobility and control practices to establish co-constitution of mobility and control.

5.3.1 Transformations in departure avenues

> *"India offers work in the red-light area, but gulf offers domestic work. In the former, we have to sell souls, and in the later we sell bodies"*

> [a woman during focused group discussion].

Bordering practices along departure avenues towards sex work in India produced new departure avenues towards domestic work in the Middle-East. While it is difficult to suggest who went to the Middle East for the first time (see Vignette: The Agent), a shift in the anti-trafficking interventions in Nepal suggests that the transformation in departure avenues subsequently transformed bordering practices.

The process started during the late 90s, when the narrative of HIV/AIDS and human trafficking transformed almost everyone in the community into bordering agents. While the community members incorrigibly resisted these bordering practices (5.2.2), continuous rescaling and respatialisation of anti-trafficking bordering practices produced imperceptible departure avenues towards India and led to the discovery of new departure avenues towards domestic work in Middle Eastern countries. While it is difficult to suggest when this process started, some participants believe that those who took their family members to the Middle East initially, were agents. One agent explains this:

> *"My sister was among the first woman from the village to go to Kuwait [for domestic work]. It's more than 20 years now. She went with my father [who went to the Saudi Arab]. At that time there was no mobile phone. She came back on her own after 5 years"*

> [Interview with Bales].

Some participants informed me that Bales' father, a devout national party leader, used to have a connection with brothels during those days [See Vignette]. While his daughter's mobility produced

one of the very first departure avenues towards domestic work, his son, a very respectable agent of the community, facilitated departure avenues for others.

5.3.2 Bordering practices

In 1986, the government of Nepal allowed private recruitment bodies (manpower agencies) to facilitate international migration for the first time (Government of Nepal, 2018). Immediately after the liberalisation of the Nepalese economy in the 90s, the oil boom in the Middle East and new employment avenues in Malaysia, brought new employment opportunities for Nepali citizens (Sijapati and Limbu, 2017a). Bales' father was among the early beneficiaries of such opportunities. The government of Nepal only enabled foreign employment for women after 1997, which brought sex workers like Heidi to the village (see 5.2.1). However, until 1998, women were not allowed to move for foreign employment without parental consent (ILO, 2015). Hence, Bales' sister must have encountered the border of consent which prohibited recruitment agencies from facilitating departure avenues without the consent of the guardian. While the ban reflects a very paternalistic migration policy, it transfers accountability to the household in a process structured by the state and its intermediaries.

In 1998, following a case of suicide (murder?) of a domestic worker in Kuwait, the Nepalese government imposed a total ban on the foreign employment of women (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012). The state directive produced borders along recently enabled departure avenues as a response to exploitation in domestic work sector in the Middle Eastern countries. The ban lasted till 2003, denying rights and mobility to people, and forcing them to rely on irregular channels. While I do not have the exact numbers of women from the community who left during that period, many in the community (and beyond) acknowledge that, once shifted from India to the Middle East, departure avenues have never stopped since then.

To control imperceptible departure avenues (irregular channels of mobility), in 2003, the government of Nepal lifted the ban for women domestic workers on two conditions: (a) certificates should be issued by the Nepali embassy or consulate to ensure full security at the receiving countrie; (b) returnee women should seek reapproval from the government, even if they moved imperceptibly (Pyakurel, 2018). The directive signifies that the government of Nepal did not lift the ban on the mobility of women in countries without a Nepali consulate (for example Kuwait), and that the government used a politics of visibility to control bodies of women using imperceptible departure avenues. However, women continued to move to Kuwait with or without the permission of the government.

To control illicit flows, in 2007, the government of Nepal lifted all mobility restrictions (security approvals) on the employment of women in the Middle East. An informal interview with the placement agents and trade union representatives reveals that the existing bordering arrangements made it easy to forge visa papers to enter any immigration regime, as the government partially allowed mobility in specific trades. During those periods, several women entered into the Middle East (esp. Kuwait) to work as domestic workers. However, due to exploitation[48] and abuse in household spaces where Middle Eastern governments cannot interfere, and the unavailability of representation of Nepal in Kuwait, the government of Kuwait imposed a counter immigration ban on Nepali citizens (Ahmad, 2017).

On 21st March 2010, Nepal established its Embassy in Kuwait which allowed the government of Kuwait to lift its mobility ban (Ahmad, 2017). During this period, the government of Nepal targeted the sending of more than 150,000 women to the Gulf countries to increase the remittance flow (Pyakurel, 2018). While the emigration regulation facilitated departure avenues towards countries like Qatar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman and UAE, lack of proper labour laws in these countries to safeguard domestic workers simultaneously increased cases of exploitation and abuse. These cases reveal limitations in emigration controls to address the exploitation of labour relations in immigration regimes.

Hence, in 2012, the government imposed its first 'age ban' on the mobility of women which prohibited all forms of the mobility of women below the age of 30 (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012). The age ban was based on an assumption that women over 30 would not be attractive to sexual predators and that those women should do their reproductive labour (and offer domestic and sexual labour for free) before considering domestic work (Grossman-Thompson, 2019). However, during focused group discussions, women offered a counterintuitive response to the second assumption:

> *"What is the point in staying here? When men migrate, all responsibility comes on our head. You need to take care of farmlands [in difficult Himalayan terrain], forests [everyday people go there to collect dry woods and leaves], cattle [can't move because of the terrain], children [school, food], and family members [especially if they are old] in this difficult Himalayan village. On top of it, you listen to the abuses. We are not respected for what we do here. If we have to hear abuses, work as a servant, then why we should not earn money out of it?"*

> [a participant during focused group discussion].

---

[48] According to Ahmed, most of the cases were reported to Indian Embassy at that time.

In 2014, the government of Nepal retracted the 'age-ban' and once again imposed a total ban on the movement of their female citizens for domestic work (ILO 2015). However, given the pressures to control irregular migration flow, the government of Nepal imposed another age-related ban in 2015, which denied labour permission to women under 24 years of age to work in the domestic work sector, and to women whose children were less than two years old (Grossman-Thompson, 2019). The state also imposed a mandatory bi-lateral treaty between labour seeking countries and Nepal, but allowed placement agents to send domestic workers to countries without treaties, as long as they have the agency to agency connection in the receiving country (Sijapati *et al.*, 2019). In the same year, Kuwait, for the first time, acknowledged domestic work as 'work' under its labour law. These interventions did not stop the number of complaints received at the Nepali Embassies in those countries.

In 2015, the Gurkha earthquake happened in Nepal which claimed the lives, and the livelihoods of thousands of Nepali citizens. According to several agents, immediately after the earthquake, the government stopped issuing labour permits for domestic work (I couldn't find any official evidence for this). Research participants mentioned that several women from the community left Nepal via irregular channels during this time.

In 2016, a high-profile ministerial group conducted a 'social research' on the lives of domestic workers in the Middle Eastern countries. Following its recommendations, in 2017, the government of Nepal once again imposed a total movement ban in all informal sectors unless the labour receiving country entered into a bilateral agreement with Nepal.[49] Despite several interpretations and criticisms of the logic of bordering practices, the government of Nepal always maintained that,

> *"these restrictions were imposed with the intention of protecting women from perceived dangerous and exploitative working conditions abroad, especially for domestic workers"*
>
> (ILO, 2015, p. 5).

However, empirical evidence suggests that these ever modulating bans failed to stop domestic work mobility in the Middle Eastern countries. Bales provides insights on this,

> *"These days they go a lot. I've left the work though. Initially, these people used to get proper orientation in Kathmandu. The government [DoFE office] used to issue labour permits [for domestic work] till last year. Don't know why they have stopped issuing permits now. But some people go through various illegal ways. I don't know how they do that"*

---

[49] Only Jordan has signed such an agreement among the Middle Eastern countries.

These ever-transforming emigration bordering practices shows the failure of the state, in delaying and denying mobility and rights to the people, to plug ruptures through mobility escapes control. Synthesis of most of the interviews suggests that these emigration bans means either movement from Kathmandu or movement from below (via-India). While the former highlights a following of state rules and regulations (which produces borders) along the departure avenues, the latter shows a refusal of state rules (and subversion of borders) along the departure avenues, which multiplies these avenues (Chapter 6). Almost all the interviews suggest that young people found the later mode of movement more exciting and profitable than the former, despite restrictions. The process of opportunistically moving within and beyond emigration control multiplies departure avenues.

5.3.3 Multiplication of departure avenues

Modulations in the bordering practices show the inability to control imperceptible departure avenues of women towards the Middle East. In response, anti-traffickers of Nepal demand more measures, resources, regulations and intervention to protect women from traffickers who always "think two steps ahead" of them. However, stories of mobility suggest that interventions to block departure avenues increased encounters between people on the move and forces of control and multiplied departure avenues towards the domestic work sector.

These encounters between people on the move and forces of control delaying and denying mobility, produced at least three forms of departure avenues. The first type of departure avenue finds ruptures in the existing system of emigration controls and take people directly from Kathmandu. The second type of departure avenue takes people towards India, utilising the provisions of an open border and takes people to the Middle East through a variety of means. The third type of departure avenues is produced by applying for a tourist visa and departing for work-related purposes. In addition to that, the data shows that these three different forms of departure avenues are facilitated either by unlicensed agents with links with the local registered placement agencies, or by unlicensed agents with transnational links with agents/agencies in the Middle East, or by employers who directly issue the visa to the potential worker in the community, either via personal contacts or through friends.

Despite the illegalisation of all departure avenues and criminalisation of all those who facilitate these avenues, restricting the mobility of women towards the Middle Eastern countries is a difficult task for the emigration and anti-trafficking regimes of Nepal. The inability to control mobility, despite several measures, reveals a porosity in the existing configuration of control which enables bordering practices to reconfigure itself to plug the porosity. For example, the government of Nepal

has started an initiative to register irregular returnee migrants under the Foreign Employment Act of Nepal (See: next section) (Government of Nepal, 2018). The idea is to trace and track people, who migrated using imperceptible departure avenues, upon their return. None of the interviewed domestic workers who returned to the community from the Middle East has registered with the scheme. Interventions like these are attempts to place imperceptible bodies and mobility into what AoM scholars call as 'double R' axioms of Rights and Representations (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008) which plays an integral part in the process of multiplication of departure avenues.

Process of multiplication

The recruitment process in domestic work starts with the decision of a woman to move for labour employment in the Middle East (see Chapter 4). After negotiating their decision with family members, people contact a local unlicensed agent. Choi, who is an unlicensed agent, explains this:

> *"They [agents] never ask people to move or tell them about the opportunities. It is the people who approach them, and only then do they help them."*

Almost all research participants (including agents) acknowledged this statement. These agents then assist people with citizenship and passport documents [50] (see Chapter 6 for more details). Once people have handed in their passports to the agent then, according to the conditions of the ban at that time, the agent tries to look for the best possible ways to assist. After some time, people receive a telephone call from the agent where he explains all possible risks along the departure avenues. According to participants, agents sometimes show their inability to facilitate mobility due to the existing bordering practices. They then try to find other agents who can help them circumvent bordering practices. In either case, trust underpins the relationship between aspirants and agents.

Trust is constitutive to the life, labour and mobility of my research participants. For AoM scholars, trust is a dimension of imperceptible politics.[51] Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos (2008) explain that trust is *'driven by a firm belief in the importance and truthfulness of its actions, without seeking any evidence for, or conducting any investigation into its practices'* (p. 75-76). During focused group discussions, participants mentioned that agents always mention the risks on 'illegal'

---

[50] We will see in the next chapter how and why sometimes people increase their age to disrupt the borders, and sometimes old citizenship documents and passports are disposed of to apply for a new document.
[51] Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos (2008) discuss three dimensions of imperceptible politics are objectlessness (transformation without a political aim), totality (covers both molar and molecular field of power), and trust.

(imperceptible/irregular) departure avenues before they embark on their journeys. Meghan explains:

> "And after 10 days I went to collect my passport and came back to the village. Then all four
> of us called the agent [Bales]. He told us that it would be very difficult to cross the border
> from Nepal… He was very clear with that and told us that neither we will not be able to get
> the labour permit, nor we will be able to get the police report. I said to him that, 'then we will
> go from below'. It means we will take the Indian route. I asked him to make it and he told me
> that I will be getting a visa in two days"

<div align="right">[Interview with Meghan].</div>

Meghan's statement marks the birth of an 'imperceptible politics' in the community which, for AoM theorists:

> "is driven by trust in something which seems to be absent from a particular situation.
> Imperceptible politics operates around a void, and it is exactly the conversion of this void into
> everyday politics that becomes the vital force for imperceptible politics"

<div align="right">(Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p. 77).</div>

Agents, if directly involved in the process of recruitment, send photocopies of the passport, along with pictures of the aspirant, to several recruitment agencies in Kuwait. A common practice followed by Kuwaiti recruitment agencies is to place the individual profiles in a catalogue – often hard copies – and present them to the potential employers. Employers go through the profiles and select women they would like to employ. After selection, they negotiate the amount charged by the recruitment agencies.

The international recruitment of domestic workers positions domestic work in a complicated category of work, where employers are not only buying the 'labour-power' of the people, whose production costs are met in Nepal, but at the same time are attempting to buy the personhood of the individual (Anderson, 2000). While Anderson shows that the employment of personhood challenges the political understanding of the extraction of 'surplus value' of the commodification of labour in domestic work sector (Anderson, 2000, 2007), I aim to map out the complexities of the production cost and the transportation cost, incurred along the departure avenues, before a woman transforms into a domestic worker upon her entrance into the immigration regime.

After negotiation, recruitment agencies of Kuwait contact unlicensed agents in Nepal and negotiate cost-sharing with them. A research participant told me that these agents, who are in contact with

several placement agencies, accept the best available deal they are offered. For example, most of the agents told me that the local agent settles (if working independently) for at least 50-50% cost-sharing. After the cost settlement, the money arrives, often via unregulated channels. Agents then contact the woman and ask her to prepare for the journey.

However, research companions acknowledge that a new layer of bargaining is observed between people on the move and the placement agents. For example, unlike Meghan, people contact several agents at the same time, and those who provide the best deals are preferred. Deal packages include – ticket costs, clothes costs, health check-up costs, and most importantly, the amount of money the agent will offer to the family once the aspirant leaves. For example, Meghan's husband received 10,000 Nepali rupees when she left. He says:

> *"Yes, I received 10 thousand. I know that there are some people who get 40 thousand, 50 thousand, but I did not force the agent. Though the agent was not very close, I did not pressurise him to give me more money"*

> [Meghan's husband while interviewing Meghan].

Some participants mentioned that their family received up to 70,000 rupees from the agent. While we can trace parallels between this process of recruitment and the debt-bondage labour practice in the Indian sub-continent (Lerche, 2007), both cases are very different. In the bonded labour system, the process of recruitment starts with a debt (which ties an individual to the employer) (Bales, 1999); here the process of recruitment ends with a lump-sum of money (only when the individual leaves) without any immediate obligation on the workers. Furthermore, the former recruitment process is a standard system; the latter has recently evolved, due to mobility bans and the ever-changing (often imperceptible) mobile practices of the people on the move. Most research participants acknowledge that the residual amount becomes the fees of the unlicensed agents who ensure the whole process of mobility. Josephine, who introduced me to Bales, explains this:

> *"he [Bales] is a very nice person. He is the first point in contact if anything goes wrong…It's not very difficult for him to help people to move for foreign employment as one of his relatives work in the Department of Foreign Employment office in Kathmandu"*

> [Notes from my diary - informal discussion with Josephine].

Most of the community members think that Bales charges a lot of money, and some hate him because of his political affiliation, but most of them believe that, due to his contacts, the likelihood of him helping them is much higher than the state, if anything goes wrong. Once agents like Bales help to complete the process in Nepal, women move to India (through various means), and from

there to Sri Lanka (via flights) before they arrive at their receiving countries – not necessarily in the same order. There are many informal agents in the process (who could be anyone – government officials, NGO members, placement agency personnel, relatives, or friends) who offer their services along the departure avenues to an individual. Sometimes the agents in the community directly deal with the employers, and sometimes these agents act as sub-agents of the principal agents[52] operating from India or Sri Lanka.[53] In either case, women must wait at several sites in Nepal, India, and Sri Lanka along their departure avenues. The experiences of recruitment, mobility, encounter, and waiting at various sites are embodied along the departure avenues.

The novel process of recruitment, that I highlighted, contributes to the literature of the Migration industry (Hernnandez-leon, 2013) which often struggles to capture the 'marketplace of unlicensed agents' (Kern and Müller-Böker, 2015). The marketplace of agents, which multiplies departure venues, is almost imperceptible to the bordering practices of the forces of control. Several mobile actors, funds, and objects participate in the marketplace to help people actualise their mobility decisions.

5.3.4 Bordering practices

The transformation, from sex work in India to domestic work in the Middle East, was primarily due to innumerable encounters of borders along departure avenues towards sex work due to the narrative of trafficking in Nepal. While the transformation in departure avenues mutated the mobility and bordering practices, it simultaneously mutated the discourse of 'human trafficking' in Nepal as well.

The ever-burgeoning narrative of trafficking highlights the inability of the forces of control either to perceive the departure avenues or to control the porosity in bordering practices. Issues related to poverty, illegality, exploitation in labour, child labour, livelihood, health, education, security, and early marriage brought several institutions together both to control the porosity in the existing bordering practices, and to highlight the imperceptible departure avenues. These institutional aggregates contingently transformed people into bordering agents, sites into bordering sites, and practices into bordering practices and produced liminal porocratic bordering aggregates along departure avenues (which I briefly introduced in section 5.2.3). The bordering aggregate regulates pores of existing bordering configuration and speed of the departure avenues, and sometimes they externalise camps and deterritorialised control to transgress existing bordering arrangements

---

[52] Those who are directly in touch with placement agencies in Kuwait.
[53] Apparently, Sri-Lanka is among the few care work rich countries who have not banned the movement of women in Kuwait. Nepal and Philippines has already banned the movement in Kuwait.

(Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). I now illustrate the presence of these aggregates along departure avenues.

Liminal porocratic arrangements

When Meghan first decided to move for labour employment to her husband, her mobility decision transformed her husband into a bordering agent:

> Meghan's *Husband: I said, 'if you are going from Nepal then it is okay, but if you are going from Delhi then it is very dangerous, and I am not going to help you.'*
> A: So, who went to Chaurata to make passport?
> Meghan*: I went there alone.*

Meghan's mobility decision produced cognitive borders (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) of trafficking in her household. Many women during the focused group discussions, acknowledged that the first restriction comes from family members and the first negotiation takes place at this site. The simultaneity of restriction and negotiation transforms the household into the first bordering site. Family members influenced by the history work and mobility-related stigma and exploitation on labour relations become representatives of the segments of state and discourses and perform practices of control. However, given the liberal status of Tamang women in Nepalese society, women either manage to negotiate or to disrupt the liminal bordering practice (like Meghan) only to encounter another form, site, agent, and practice of bordering.

Meghan disrupted the borders configured by her husband, but she encountered another bordering site – the community. In Chapter 4, I showed that one of the earliest anti-trafficking interventions was community-level awareness to prohibit sex work mobility from the village. Since then, many anti-trafficking NGOs have organised several awareness generation activities in the community where they discuss the dangers of illegally going to the Middle East. These practices have influenced community members, of which some are part of the government, anti-trafficking organisations, and local anti-trafficking group and committees. Due to several discourses, segments of states, and social relations, a community-wide gaze produces a liminal porocratic bordering practices along departure avenues. Some of these practices are – physical restrictions (for example, the case of Heidi**)**, surveillance (local anti-trafficking group), imparting fear (through highlighting dangers of foreign employment), restigmatising mobilities (by anti-trafficking research and interventions), and spreading rumours (highlighting sex work in Kuwait).

However, these bordering practices are contingent. Consider the statement of Maayan who explains the perception of the community regarding women's mobility towards the Middle East.

"It's a weird pattern in the community because half of them thinks that it's good, but other half thinks that it's really bad…Some people say migrating abroad is good, and some people say it is bad."

[Interview with Maayan]

Maayan's statement **reveals** the differential opinion of the community in terms of women's mobility which leads to highly contingent bordering practices. Whether and how the gaze produces borders along departure avenues leading towards domestic work at the site of community is difficult to map. As a result, several women and their family members devised a strategy to avoid such bordering. They disrupt the possibility of materialisation of liminal porocratic aggregates in the community by hiding their mobility plans until someone leaves the community.

Meghan**,** an illiterate woman, followed the same path and went to the administrative office without her husband's consent and support. When I visited that district-level administrative office, I found two check-posts (one belonged to an anti-trafficking NGO, and the other curated by a Swedish international development agency (SIDA) to counsel 'potential migrants') in the administrative campus. I attended one such process of 'counselling' where a very patronising and condescending counsellor told me that the entire landscape belonged to him, but he would not charge unlike other white migrant researchers, only because I'm from India. In the counselling session, he was asking so many questions to the aspirant – recruitment fees, debt repayment, and the name of the agent. He explained the exploitation that she may face in her receiving countries where trafficking is prevalent.

Once an aspirant arrives at this bureaucratic space, several discourses, segments of states, practices, strategies, and differentially motivated individuals create liminal aggregates of bordering for that person. People on the move encounter these practices at several national, and district level bordering sites (ex. passport office) to obtain documents like citizenship and passports along their departure avenues. These liminal aggregates control, block, and digest the porosity of trafficking borders. The promise of such porocratic institutional aggregates lies in their *'becoming and holding together a series of different actors, more akin to the pluripotence of stem cells which might develop into a valued body part or into a cancerous growth'* (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008, p. 70). For example, in the wake of the recent administrative shuffling in Nepal allowed ward offices (one recently established in the community) with power to issue citizenship document, several anti-trafficking organisations in Nepal argue that the restructuring of the administrative borders leaves several knowledge gaps to deal with 'trafficking'. As a result, they are now planning to raise funds to conduct a massive ward level institutional awareness generation programme in Nepal. These strategies of control reveal a dynamic modulation in liminal porocratic bordering arrangements.

Drawing upon, and building on the use of polymorphism in geography (see: Jones, 2016), I position (anti-) trafficking discourse as a border producing *polymorph*. The symbiotic effect of these polymorphs allows anti-trafficking organisations to look for opportunities to constitute liminal porocratic aggregates to choke all possible departure avenues. Government institutions (foreign employment, labour, police department, border security forces, and women and children), NGOs (anti-trafficking, migration), local businesses (hotel owners, bus/taxi/rickshaw drivers) international funding organisations, religious groups following different discourses and ideologies, all come together for a common purpose to plug the porosity in the existing trafficking bordering practices. These temporary non-exclusive aggregates manifest only for specific targets who use illicit or imperceptible departure avenues. These trafficking borders manifest every time people on the move encounter liminal porocratic institutions along their departure avenues to actualise their mobility decisions.

Once Meghan disrupted all liminal porocratic bordering aggregates of trafficking in the household, community, and district and national offices, she was ready to depart from the village to the Middle East. She, along with her husband, took a luxury bus from Kathmandu to Delhi.

> Meghan: We took the bus in the evening. One friend was there with me on the bus. My husband was there as well. It was an AC bus and which cost 2500 NPR.

> Meghan's Husband: Yes, I went until the border. The agent told me that there could be some issues, and in order to avoid these issues, it was important for me to go there to avoid suspicion from the Maiti people. If a husband and wife do not go together then it becomes very difficult on the border.

> Meghan: My passport later came via a flight. All I had was a citizenship document and marriage certificate to fool those people. *everyone laughs* The passport came directly to Delhi.

> Meghan: We crossed the Sunauli border early in the morning.

> A: What happened at the border?

> Meghan's Husband: Nothing happened at the border. Some people came and asked whether I have a citizenship document. We said yes and showed documents.

> Meghan: Maiti people do not bother you if you do not have your passport with you. They bother only when you have the passport. That is why the agent didn't give us the passport.

Meghan encountered another liminal porocratic bordering arrangement along her departure avenues at the territorial limits of Nepal. Anti-Traffickers of Nepal runs several chokepoints along the open Indi-Nepal political borders. These Anti-traffickers, who draw funds from diverse organisations, follow different discourses, simultaneously combatting all forms of trafficking (including drug trafficking) and implementing mobility bans to check illegality. In addition to this, they prohibit girls from 'conducting love marriages on their own' as well. They employ trafficking victims and those pre-victimised upon interception and give them behaviour training to intercept women and save them from 'human trafficking' with the help of Nepali police. Hence, producing a liminal porocratic bordering aggregate of control along the departure avenues of specific targets. The knowledge of these interceptions feeds into bordering indicators which rescales and respatialises trafficking borders. For example, anti-trafficking NGOs provide regular training to government bodies – border police, traffic police, Indian police and security service, women; mobility facilitators – rickshaw pullers, cab drivers; infrastructural mooring regulators – hotel and lodge owners to spot trafficking victims. These interventions respatialise trafficking borders by configuring liminal porocratic bordering arrangements at Indo-Nepal territorial limits.

Once a girl is intercepted, a temporal border is produced for the target. Anti-traffickers take the permission from the government authorities and take the woman to the 'emigration detention' centres from where she is deported back to their villages. NGOs and police from both India and Nepal work in close coordination to intercept, detain and deport women from these carceral chokepoints, funded by national and international funding bodies (see Chapter 6 for more details). However, none of my participants were ever detained or deported from these chokepoints. Their departure avenues highlight porosity in such dynamic arrangements and speak directly to the central debate of AoM framework – an *excess* of mobility over control (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013; De Genova, 2017; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018; Scheel, 2019).

Meghan disrupted borders along the departure avenues and safely arrived at New Delhi. Meghan's husband returned from Delhi after staying at an 'anonymous' place for a few days. In Delhi, several anti-trafficking NGOs use communication media to place cognitive borders on people to look out for 'signs' of trafficking in specific areas (for example *Majnu ka tila* – Tibetan refugee colony of Delhi). While these interventions transform bodies as sites of bordering to save 'other' people from trafficking or modern slavery, several mobility stories show that for most of the women moving through 'illegal 'channels, cities like Kathmandu, Siliguri (those crosses Kakarvitta Border), Kolkata, New Delhi, and Colombo are liminal sites of freedom, restriction, fear, deportation, raid, and exploitation. A woman during a focused group discussion summarises this:

I've migrated twice, and both times it was via Delhi. I went to Delhi. Agent's friend came to the bus station and helped me. They have many women. I was there for a week and everything was free. I didn't pay anything for that. You are free to go anywhere in Delhi but not in Colombo. That is bad […] there is always fear in our minds: fear of people, NGO, and police. But we can't stop just because we care scared, right? We pray [to lord Buddha], we talk to people like us [who are equally scared]. And once you talk you become fine because you see that everyone is equally scared but they enjoy as well. So, you also enjoy, but a small amount of fear is always there.

[a woman during a focused group discussion].

Raids and rescues are often conducted at such sites through liminal porocratic bordering aggregates of segments of Indian Government departments – labour, women and child, police and home – Intelligence services of India and Nepal, Nepali government and anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal and India. Once women are rescued in India, liminal porocratic bordering aggregates manifest temporal borders (See: Nepune, 2019). Indian authorities send these rescued women to anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal, which places them into 'emigration detention centres' which now functions as 'rehabilitation centres'. From there, they are deported back to the village in the name of family reconciliation.

However, Meghan escaped such liminal aggregates in Delhi. On a specified day, she took a flight from Indira Gandhi International Airport, Delhi. I observed four international airports in Nepal, India, Sri-Lanka and Kuwait respectively and found that these bordering sites converge migration regimes, anti-trafficking regimes, convergence of labour regimes and security regimes to produce liminal porocratic bordering aggregates of trafficking for specific targets. For example, in Kathmandu airport, one could spot a check-post run by an anti-trafficking organisation performing two duties – checking documents of those migrating to the Middle East for labour purposes and saving women from being trafficked. However, one could spot similar liminal porocratic aggregates in Delhi and Colombo airports.

None of my participants was 'saved' at airports by these liminal porocratic aggregates. The porosity in departure avenues of my participants transforms an airport into a penultimate porous space of subversion (see Chapter 6). As a result, to plug such porosity, the Nepal government has recently issued another directive, which allows Indian Immigration authorities, especially at New Delhi IGI airport, to block the departure avenues of Nepali women unless they show the non-objection-certificates issued by Nepal Embassy in Delhi at the immigration gates.

5.3.5 Transformations in departure avenues

These liminal porocratic bordering aggregates promise to protect women from getting 'trafficked' by rescaling and respatialisation of borders work along departure avenues. These bordering arrangements, along with the stigmatisation of mobility and work and exploitation in domestic work in the Middle East, have made employment opportunities in these countries less attractive among young members of the community. My empirical data suggest an ongoing transformation in departure avenues towards Europe. Several returnee women from the community told me that the transformation is taking place due to network capital assisted by social media platforms like Facebook. These 'new' mobilities have compressed time and space for the young Nepali diaspora from all over the world. Kanchi who recently returned from Turkey explained this:

> "I wanted to have a change in life. I wanted to work in a different set-up. I heard many things about turkey from my childhood friend. Not from the village but the neighbourhood… I then contacted her on Facebook. I asked about her life, work, and salary. She said it's really nice. I think she also worked in Lebanon. She told me that it is totally different here. Then I was thinking to go to Korea but then decided to go to Turkey"

> [Interview with Kanchi].

Kanchi aspires to get a 'green card' and citizenship in a European country. Kanchi contacted many of her friends through Facebook and encouraged them to move to Europe as well. Many people like Kanchi contact their friends over Facebook and discuss life and work in these countries, which significantly affects their mobility decisions. For example, Dolma, a 20-year-old woman, did the same when she returned from horrible labour employment in Kuwait. She explains her transition:

> "[Employers'] behaviour was very bad. Madame is sometimes bad sometimes good. Initially, I did not know how to speak [Arabic] so things were difficult. Once I learned the language, things become much better for me… Muslims are bad people, I do not like them. There were too many people in their families. Their behaviour is not good towards other people from other religion… The earthquake happened immediately after I came here [5 months]. I then decided to go to Cyprus… Many of my friends were in Cyprus and I've heard that the place is very good. I called all of them, and everyone was so happy in Cyprus, [that's why] I decide to go"

> [Interview with Dolma].

Dolma went to Kuwait when she was 16. She then went to Cyprus, and now she wants to settle down in Europe. Both Kanchi and Dolma are planning to take citizenship in Europe. While Dolma's

experience of Kuwait was bad, Kanchi said that her experience in Lebanon was great. However, once the interview was over, I asked Kanchi to compare and contrast her experiences of Lebanon, and Turkey.

Lebanon Experience	Turkey Experience
"Employer is nice, but they think that I'm their servant."	"They will never think that I'm a servant. They told me once that I'm like their daughter. You are not nanny, you are family"
"In Lebanon, they will eat first. And if they eat everything then we don't have food to eat."	"We used to eat together."
"You need to sleep at 1"	"You can sleep here at 9 pm."
"They don't use to give money in my hand. They used to send money to my aunt. They used to give bonuses. I bought the phone from my extra money… I can use the mobile phone only when I was sleeping"	"They used to give money in my hand. Every month they give money. "
"They never shouted at me but they were not happy with me enjoying."	"I never felt like I was working here. It was so much fun. "
"Even if I went out these people were maintaining the time and checking was done in a bad way.	"In Turkey, if I can finish my work I can go out any time I want to. You can do whatever you want to and go wherever you like."

Table 1: Comparative analysis of mobility and labour experiences of Kanchi

Upon reflection, Kanchi said that Lebanon's experience was bad for her. The change in Kanchi's narrative highlights a subjective embodied experience of exploitation, which is even hard for the people to determine. These narratives speak to three dimensions of transformations in departure avenues – embodied experiences of the encounters between control and mobility, individual and common mobility struggles along departure avenues, and embodied exploitation in labour relations.

In this chapter, I've offered an analysis of how (anti-) trafficking discourse produces, multiplies and transforms departure avenues towards sex work or domestic work. By highlighting heterogeneity in mobility practices and simultaneity in transformations in control, before an individual arrives at the receiving country, I showed co-constitution of mobility and control. Nevertheless, I have offered a selective gendered lens to conceptualise illicit or unauthorised departure avenues. However, I now

discuss the role and promise of emigration state control to facilitate safer departure avenues and its outcomes for workers who comply with rules and regulations. Highlighting the role and promise of the state, in the same frame, highlights at least two complementary points to fully understand the navigation of international mobility from a 'trafficking prone' site. First, differences in the embodied experiences of individuals along with departure avenues following the state's emigration control. Second, transformations in the emigration practices which facilitates departure avenues for the majority. Hence to further the conceptualisation of simultaneous and heterogeneous modulations in the mobility and control practices, I now analyse departure avenues of those who fully subjugate themselves to state emigration regimes to seek foreign employment. I then show various degrees and forms of exploitation taking place along the state authorised departure avenues.

5.4 Encounters along departure avenues towards contractual work

In the last two sections, I highlighted how encounters between people on the move and forces of control transform departure avenues. The transformation not only shows heterogeneity of departure avenues but also shows simultaneity of the transformation in the forces of control. These departure avenues crisscross the emigration regime, which, to an extent, shape these avenues to take people to the immigration regime. Understanding oppression, rightlessness, and exploitation along departure avenues of short term contractual labour mobility (or guest workers, circular migration, temporary migration) is important for scholars who position temporary labour migratory mobility as the 'root cause of human trafficking' in an immigration regime (see: Shamir, 2017). While Shamir (2017) analyses labour market regulations and exploitation in labour relations to come to her conclusions, I highlight the roles and promises of the emigration regime to facilitate and protect departure avenues of those who subjugate themselves to such regimes.

Migration literature, in general, has historically taken emigration policies of sending countries for granted (Fitzgerald, 2009; Lee, 2019). Recently scholars started to address this gap by highlighting policies of emigration control and its overall effect on diaspora, recruitment, and labour relations (see: Lee (2017, 2019). In this section, I advance the ongoing literature by bringing forward the perspective of the Nepali citizens in order to understand the effect of emigration control in their lives.

Nepal is a labour sending state. Most of its labour force moves through the state-regulated departure avenues to work in immigration regimes (Pyakurel, 2018). There is a promise of protection enshrined in the regulatory provisions dealing with labour and mobility. However, none of my research participants who were exploited in labour relations ever managed to access justice through such provisions. Further, I argue that exploitation and oppression that they face before entering into

exploitative labour relationships often go unnoticed or are inaccessible under these regimes. Hence, I argue that an attention to departure avenues might reveal various forms of exploitation, oppression and rightlessness encountered by those following emigration regulations. Overall, based on my empirical findings, I argue that the inaccessibility of justice in the emigration regime often structures the conditions of illegality in the 'immigration' regime.

In this section, I highlight the exploitation along state-protected departure avenues and its incommensurable justice provision. Exploitation along departure avenues produces vulnerability, which is multiplied by the exploitative labour relations in the immigration regime (Lewis *et al.*, 2015). Hence, the exploitation along the state 'protected' departure avenues transforms people into 'incorrigible' subjects in the immigration regime (De Genova, 2017; De Genova, Garelli and Tazzioli, 2018). However, the empirical findings suggest that my research participants are now trying to avoid the burden of 'incorrigibility' in the immigration regimes. To show this, I highlight an ongoing transformation in departure avenues.

5.4.1 Encountering the emigration control

The treaty of Sagauli between East India Company and the Kingdom of Gurkha, in 1816, marked the birth of emigration control in Nepal (Marshall, 2005). Initially, the government facilitated the first-ever departure avenues for foreign employment (Khatiwada, 2014). However, due to mistrust, later the state discouraged, even penalised, the recruitment of Nepali citizens in the British Army for over 50 years (Rathaur, 2001). As a response, the British opened recruitment centres near Indo-Nepal borders to 'smuggle' (to facilitate departure avenues of) Nepali people in their Gurkha battalions (Adhikari, 2017, p. 296). Since then, several events like the Indo Nepal friendship treaty, the end of Rana rule, the Chinese invasion of Tibet, the oil boom and urbanisation in the Middle East, employment opportunities in Malaysia, triggered the mobility of people from all over to Nepal to different regions. In 1985, the government of Nepal passed its first Foreign Employment Act and laid out emigration rules for obtaining labour permits for foreign employment (Sijapati and Limbu, 2017a). Since then Nepal witnessed events like the re-establishment of democracy in 1990, liberalisation in 1993, and Maoist insurgency 1996-2006 which intensified mobility both within and beyond India. To better control all forms of mobility, the state consolidated its existing emigration control measures into the Foreign Employment Act (FEA) in 2007 and its rules in 2008. (Piya and Joshi, 2016).

The transformation of emigration controls following subsequent events shaped departure avenues of my research participants towards internal labour sites, Indian labour sites, and labour sites outside India. While the internal and Indian seasonal and circular migratory mobilities are not

regulated (Poertner, Junginger and Muller-Boker, 2011), labour permits are required to move to other countries which are now regulated through bilateral agreements. The government data shows that more than 3.5 million labour permits (95% male) were issued since the enactment of the Foreign Employment Act (FEA) of 2007 (Government of Nepal, 2018).

The FEA consolidated all the existing laws related to foreign employment to ensure better management of the mobility and to deal with increased level exploitation reported at the embassies (Jones and Basnett, 2013). Departure avenues produced due to this promise opened up several forms of work for my research participants − i.e. as masons, drivers, cleaners, carpenters, electricians, security guards, painters, restaurant and hotel workers, construction labourers, factory labourers, domestic workers, and unspecified general labourers (Government of Nepal, 2018). To assure the rights and welfare of these workers, the state established the Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE) under FEA to administer foreign employment (Paoletti *et al.*, 2014) and gave itself the Foreign Employment Policy in 2012. DoFE approves the departure of the people by issuing labour permits to its deserving citizens.

Since then the government has issued several directives, agreements, memorandum of understandings, and awareness programmes to ensure the safety and security of people along the departure avenues (Government of Nepal, 2018). For example, acquiring labour permits through the individual process (in 2012), setting the standard for health examinations (in 2013), pre-departure orientation training (in 2014), sending domestic workers – age ban (in 2015), sending domestic workers – total ban (in 2017) are few of the most important directives issued by the government (Government of Nepal, 2018). The government also enforced bi-lateral agreements with labour poor countries (like the GCC and Malaysia), encouraged migrants to remit income through formal banking institutions, and strengthened the promotion board to make migration 'safe, dignified and well-managed' (p. 42) The provision of 'Free visa- Free ticket' was used to shield departure avenues.

However, many of my research participant's mobility stories highlight several incidences of fraud, deception, and abuse of vulnerability along these avenues. While there are several provisions to reduce vulnerability and to seek justice, the accessibility of such provisions is largely absent. In short, the promise of emigration control of Nepal, one of the most comprehensive in the world, has, by and large, failed to provide benefits and justice to my research participants who were exploited along and beyond their departure avenues. On the contrary, some of the provisions increase their vulnerability towards the exploitation in the immigration regimes. The increase in vulnerability is due to the involvement of various local, national, and transnational actors with different motivations who assist the state in the facilitation of departure avenues. Hence, to better understand the abuse

and exploitation along departure avenues, I now elaborate on the emigration process which facilitates departure avenues.[54]

Step 1:	Employers (in the receiving state) contact Recruitment agencies (receiving state) and place their labour demand.
Step 2:	The labour demand is transferred to several (or preferred) recruitment agencies in Nepal.
Step 3:	Once the recruitment agencies of sending countries are selected, the recruitment agency on the receiving side then submits demand letter including – nature of employment and its general terms and conditions – either to Nepal Embassy or to the chamber of commerce [55] for its authorisation.
Step 4:	Once the demand is approved, the recruitment agency transfers the sealed copies of it to the Nepali recruitment agencies
Step 5:	Recruitment agency presents all the required paper at DoFE office for approval. Here recruitment agencies' potential and goodwill is checked along with labour standards like the minimum wage in the receiving country
Step 6:	Approval is given by the DoFE (could be denied or partially given)
Step 7:	If approved, 'the demand' is advertised on various media platforms
Step 8:	Nepali recruitment agency selects a potential worker
Step 9:	Selected individuals undergo medical examinations in select Medical institutions
Step 10:	Selected individuals undergo Pre-departure/orientation training.
Step 11:	Recruitment agencies provide documents visa, passport, certificates, the contract document.
Step 12:	All documents are sent to the placement agency (in the receiving states) for further attestation by Embassy, Chamber of Commerce, or Ministry of foreign affairs (depending on the work and gender).
Step 13:	Visas are issued by the receiving state and sent to the recruitment agency in Nepal
Step 14:	Recruitment agency submits all the documents to DoFE for final approval.
Step 15:	Flight tickets, visa, passports and contracts are provided to the aspirants (usually a couple of hours before the flight).

---

[54] The table is generated on the basis of interviews with agents, recruitment agencies, and government officers
[55] For males, the demand is presented before the Chamber of Commerce for attestation, but for females it goes via the Nepalese embassy which takes a minimum of 15 days to enquire about the foreign placement agency; then it attests the copies.

Step 16:	Document check at Labour Migration Desk at Kathmandu's Airport [56]
Step 17:	Departure

Table 2 Emigration process in Nepal
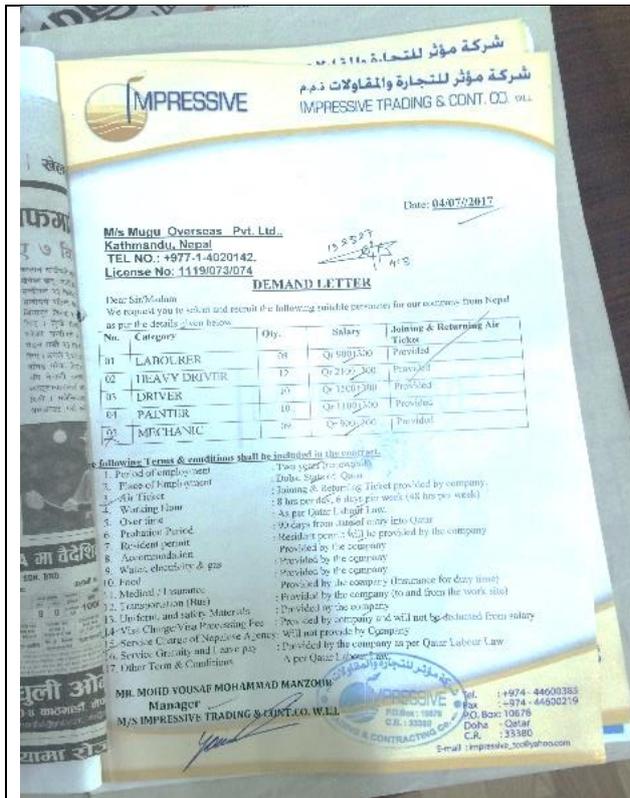
Picture 15: Demand Letter_ Placement Agency Destination	Picture 16: Inter party recruitment Agreement
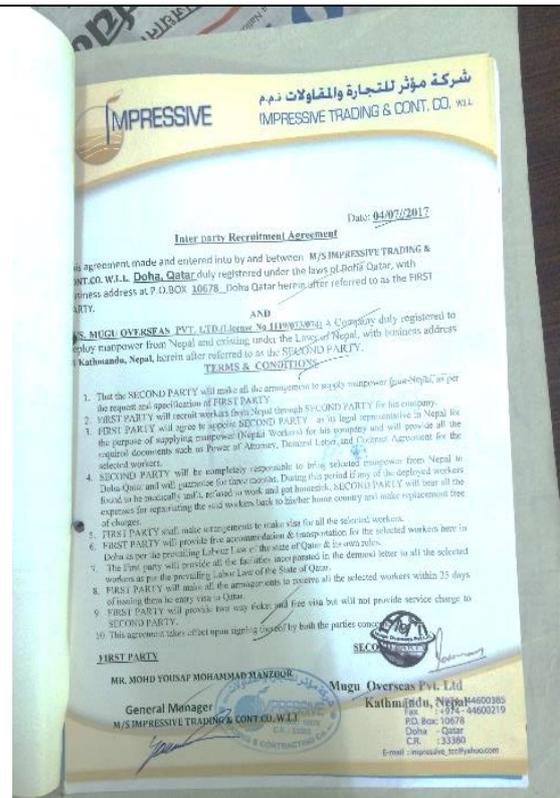
---

[56] Three documents are checked here: (1) Contract in Nepali showing minimum wage; (2) Insurance; (3) Medical certificate; and (4) stamped employment permit.
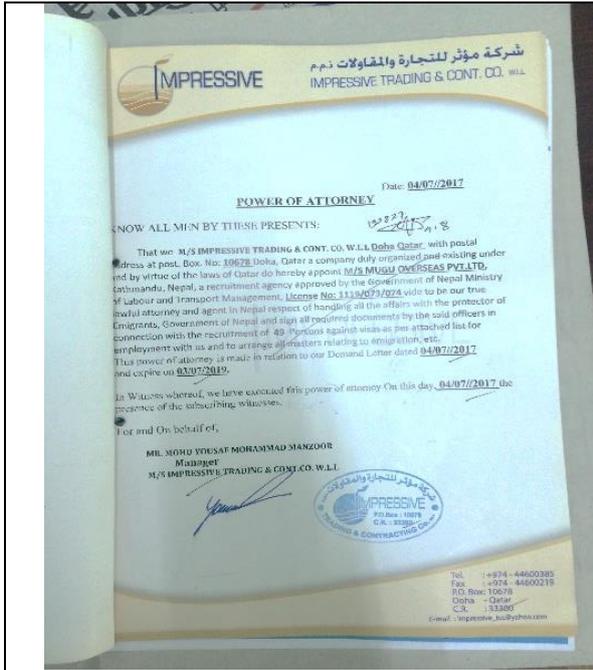
Picture 17: Power of Attorney Letter_Placement Agency Destination	Picture 18: Guarantee Letter_Placement Agency Destination
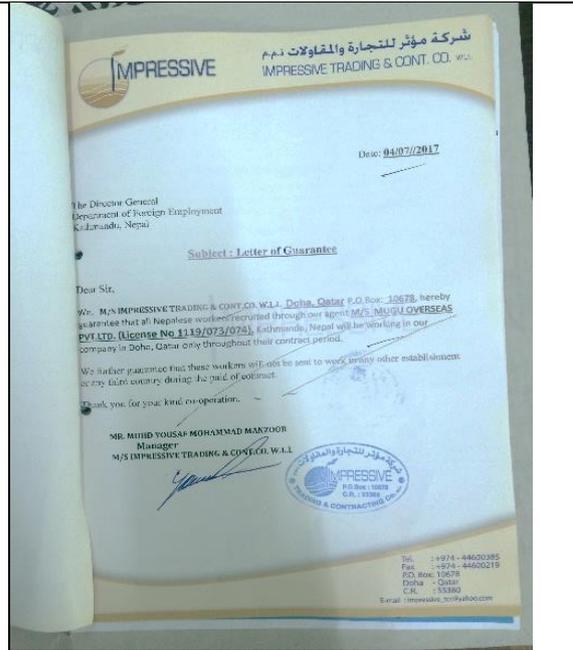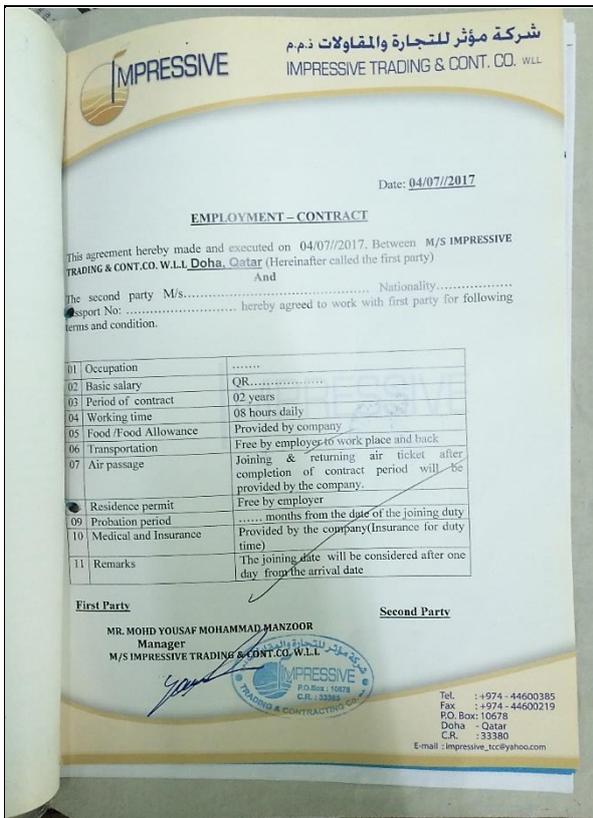
Picture 19: Contract Letter	Picture 20: Visa
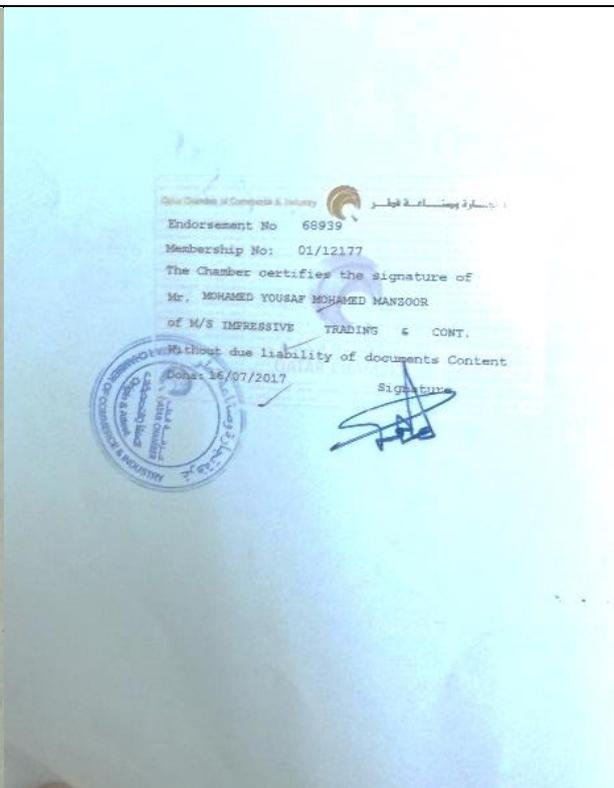
Documents used by the placement agency (sending country
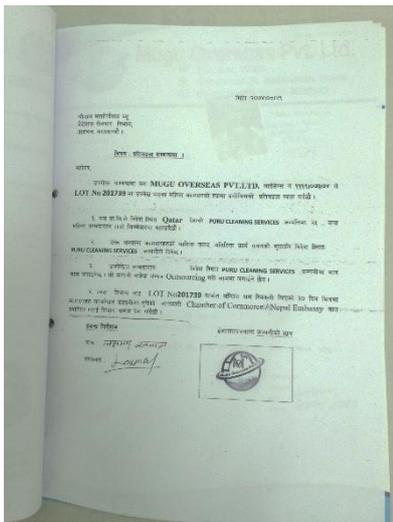
Picture 21 Cover letter for DoFE
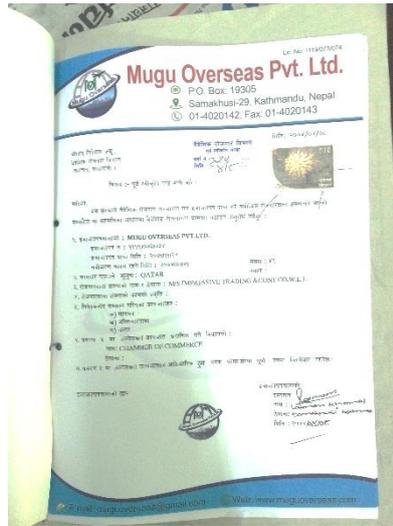
Picture 22 Demand Letter
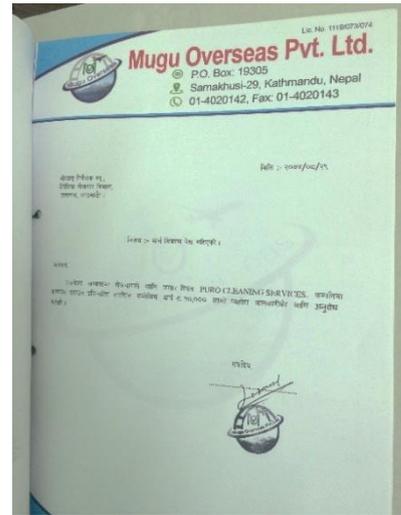
Picture 23 Declaration that total expense will not be more than 10000 NPR
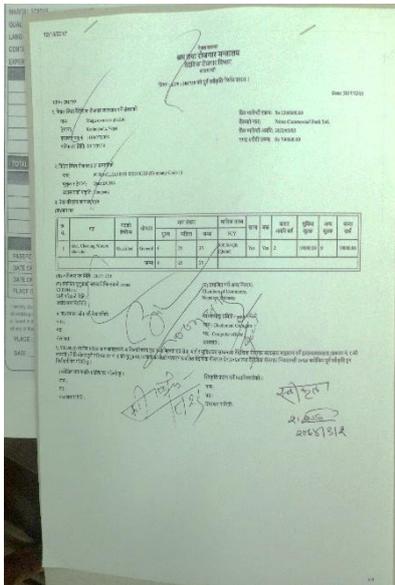
Picture 24 Accepted demand
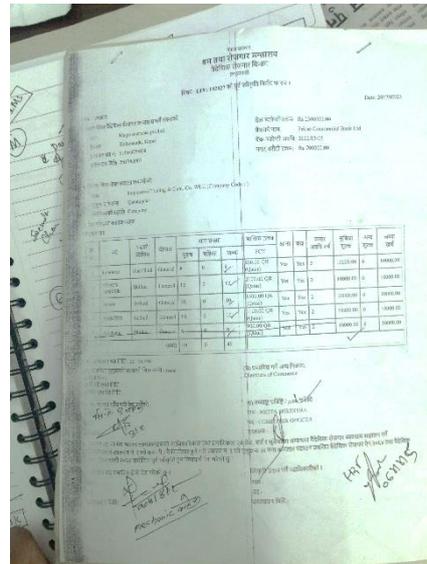
Picture 25 Partially Accepted demand
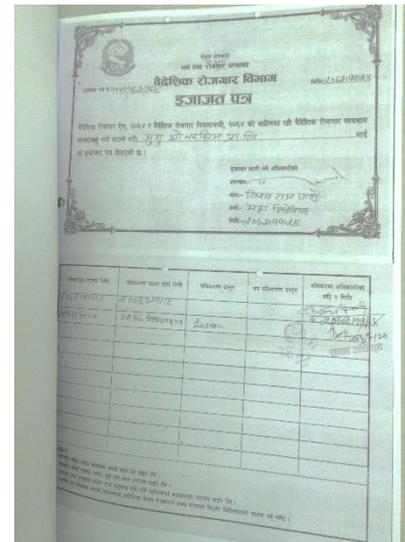
Picture 26 Permission certificate with database

Picture 27 Labour Permit

Documents needed for the state facilitated departure avenues.
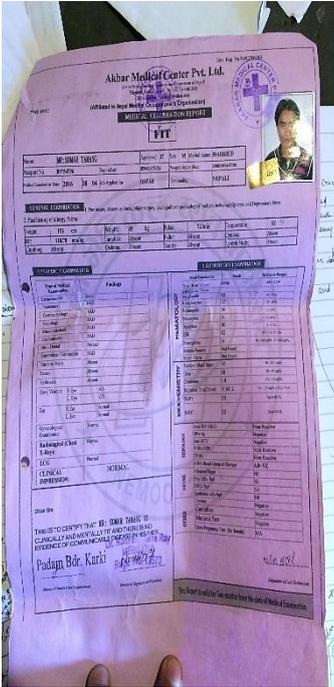
Picture 28 Medical certificate

Picture 29 Insurance certificate

Picture 30 Pre-Departure training certificate
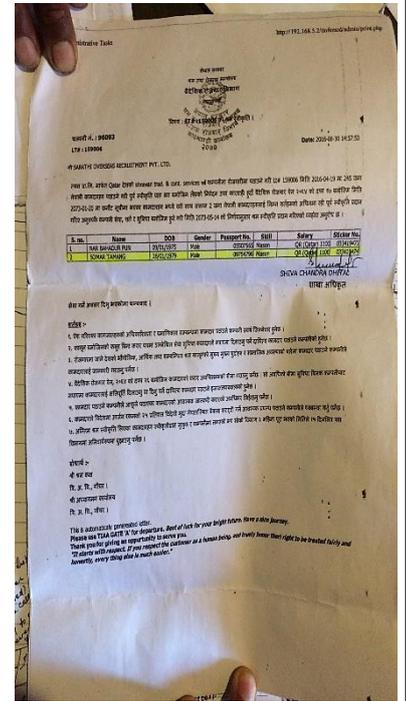
Picture 31 Labour Permit Issued by DOFE
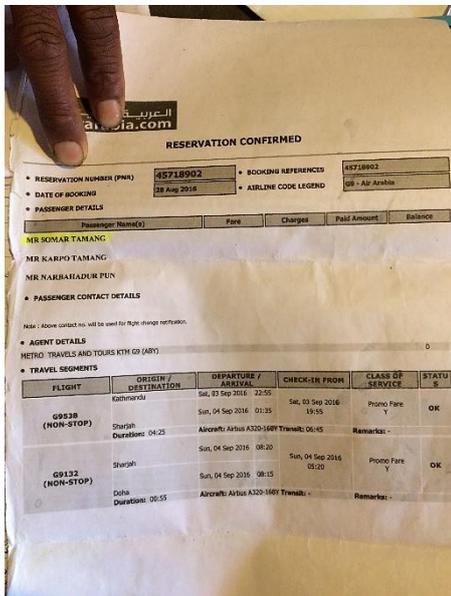
Picture 32 Flight tickets
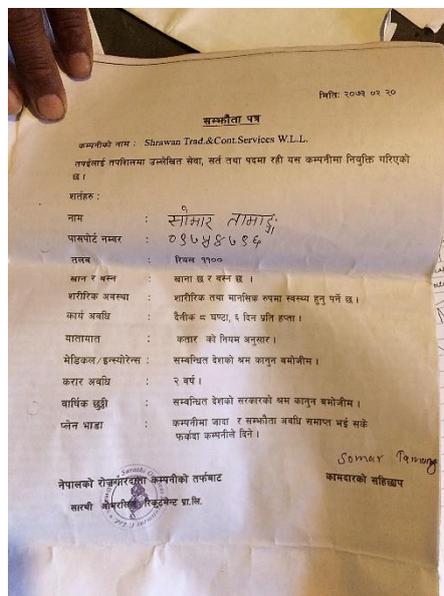
Picture 33: Labour contract in Nepali

Picture 34 Paper Visa - Qatar
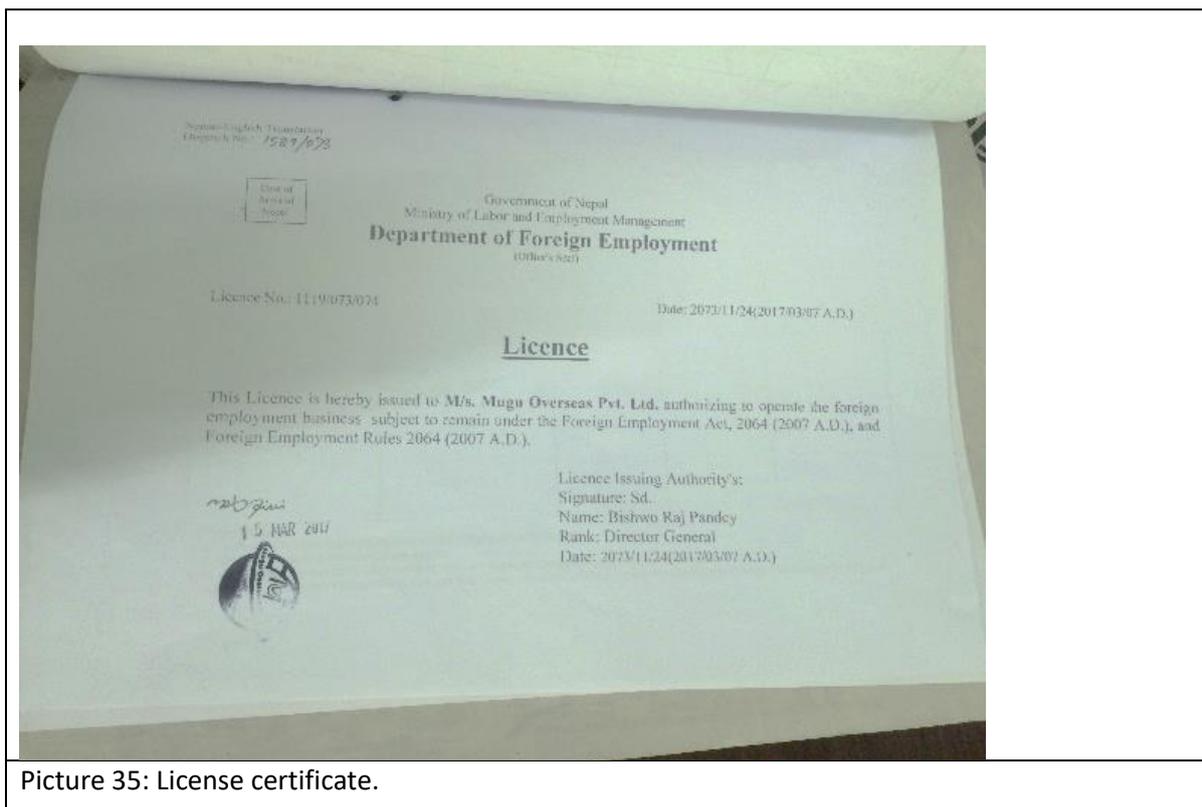
Picture 35: License certificate.

5.4.2 Encountering exploitation along departure avenues

The standard recruitment process brings three actors together – the state, the private recruitment agencies, and people on the move. While all three have their respective, sometimes non-exclusive, agendas and responsibilities, they come together for the facilitation of departure avenues. Despite shared responsibilities of protection along departure avenues, many research participants faced various forms and degrees of exploitation along their departure avenues.

Once community members decide to move for labour employment, they contact their preferred unlicensed agents (usually some known person with contacts) for the information related to job opportunities. Community members often use their trust-based network to minimise potential labour exploitation. Agents advise the first-timers to obtain citizenship and passport documents if they do not already possess them. The encounter between people and government officials produces the foremost spaces of exploitation.

Government offices

When Bobby, who returned from India after his father's death, decided to move to the Middle East due to family circumstances, his uncle (an agent) advised him to make the citizenship document and passport. He says,

"I then went to the [local administrative] office to make a recommendation. I had to bribe 500 NPR to the secretary to make a citizenship document"

[Interview with Bobby].

Many people in the community mentioned that they bribed the village Development committee's secretary to obtain a letter of recommendation for citizenship, blurring the line between regular and unregulated labour migration. Once people make their citizenship document, they apply for a passport. There are two ways to apply for a passport - from the local administrative office, and national capital. To process the document quickly, many people opt for the national capital route (an expensive one). For that, they travel to Kathmandu at least twice – to submit the application, and to retrieve the passport. While some people opt to live in a lodge or hotel, depending on their capacity to pay for it, most of them opt to live with the agent, who owns a residence in Kathmandu. Participants told me that while these agents never ask for money for their assistance, they retrieve the cost from the placement agency. For example, while Bobby said that the Manpower agency gave 20 thousand to his uncle in front of him, Cheewang had to give some money to the agent directly as he stayed with the agent for an extended period.

These agents connect people with their trusted recruitment agencies. The department of Foreign employment regulates the recruitment industry by issuing a license to the recruitment agencies, and approving the departure by issuing labour permits (see pic above) (Paoletti *et al.*, 2014). The recruitment agency deposits one-time security fees of USD 30,000, a registration cost of USD 200 USD, and the cost of USD 2,000 per agent to the government welfare board to complete the registration. The security fee is to assure the compensation to the 'migrant' if anything goes wrong along and beyond the departure avenues. At present, there are 760 registered recruitment agencies (Government of Nepal, 2018) and more than 500 registered agents in the country (Kern and Müller-Böker, 2015). However, according to the interviewed unlicensed agents in the community, tens of thousands of unlicensed agents operate in Nepal.

These recruitment agencies are supposed to implement schemes of the GON like 'Free visa- Free ticket' to reduce the exploitation and to promote 'safe, dignified and well-managed' (Government of Nepal, 2018) departure avenues. While the government's directive (and Supreme Court's Order) required the placement agency to structure departure avenues for less than 18000 NPR (which includes the cost of pre-departure orientation training, a health check-up and migrant workers' welfare fund – 8000 NPR and recruiting agencies service charge 10,000 NPR), they don't hold employers and recruitment agencies of the receiving countries accountable for the implementation. A placement agent explains:

PA: It came before two years. The provision [of 'free visa, free ticket'] was that recruitment agency should facilitate the movement of the people with 10,000 NPR.

A: Then who will take care of other costs?

PA: They said that it should be covered from the other side (placement agencies abroad). No one gives it. It is just a provision of the ILO, which says people who work should not give money for their travelling. Listening to that the government introduced this 'Zero Cost thing'

A: And no one follows this?

PA: Why would anyone follow this? This is bad for the business [from both the sides]. They ask so much money as an investment for registration. We will die if we follow this.

[Interview with a placement agency owner].

These efforts to facilitate secure departure avenues produce conditions for corruption. Another placement agent explained the marketplace logic to make his point on how these schemes are bad for the business:

"They say that on one person you are supposed to earn only 3500 NR. It is illogical since the government ask for a minimum of NPR 1 Krone investment and expects us to work on NPR 3500. There are so many elements of the breakup. Flight ticket costs: NPR 25, 000 – 30,000 NPR; and the recruitment cost charged by the other agency of Qatar is NPR 20,000 (500-1500 Riyal). Then we need to give money to those people who verify the demand and send to us. They charge on the basis of labour category and person. For example, if there are 40 demands then we need to pay NPR 50 thousand (NR 1000-1500 for demand) to those people. This money goes under the table. Every agency has its own set-up to deal with destination agencies. The process works on a profit basis. If my agency is providing them with more labour commission, then they raise the demand in the name of my agency. Then you pay government tax [NPR 1500], pre-departure orientation training [NPR 500] and insurance [NPR 3975 for three years] [and government stamping fee] as well. Then, of course, local agents. They charge from NPR 6500 to 10,000. The government wants us to earn 3500 per individual; we only try to earn NPR 10,000 per individual. In that 10,000, we take guarantee of the next two years of that person. So, whatever happens to that person we will be held accountable for that which we cannot control."

[Interview with a placement agency owner].

Due to competition and profit maximisation, several spaces of exploitation are produced along government-protected departure avenues. For example, to maximise their costs, some placement agencies sometimes present fake documents to people. Bobby explains this,

> *"Before leaving for Qatar, they showed me a duplicate visa and asked me for money. I was accompanied by my brother in law who told me that the visa is forged, and not to take it"*

<div align="right">[Interview with Bobby].</div>

Bobby refused to accept the offer and retrieved his passport from the placement agency (only because his uncle was involved) and gave it to another placement agency. According to Bobby, several people in the community couldn't retrieve their passports from the clutches of placement agencies. When I discussed these issues with some of the labour department government officials, they told me that they cannot do much unless a victim comes to the office with a complaint. I could not find anyone in the community who had ever filed an official complaint to the labour officials.

While Bobby stayed with his uncle, several participants in the community frequently travelled to Kathmandu to complete their documentation and recruitment process - passport collection, medical check-ups, training and interviews. Every time participants go to Kathmandu they bear the expenses of the transportation cost (to Kathmandu); stay cost (in a hotel); food cost, and local travel.

Medical Examinations

Health-check-ups are an important milestone along the departure avenues which everyone has to cross. Hospitals are assigned based on the visas of the receiving countries. Another 'Ethical Recruitment' agency personnel explains this:

> *"To go abroad, every country needs to have criteria for medical examination before travelling. These countries have assigned medical centres for this. Therefore, individuals have to come down to Kathmandu to the medical centre authorised by that country. For example, for gulf countries, they have to do medical testing only in the Gulf Approved Medical Centres Association (GAMcA) clinics; they cannot do it in other places. And for Malaysia, they have listed 39 medical centres, and the cost is very high, and every year they increase the cost of the test… For gulf, it is 5500 NPR + 21 Dollar, and for Malaysia – 4500 + 30 dollar. Unless you get the medical number you cannot go to the medical centre you need to have that slip. Every country has their assigned medical centres, and the cost that they charge is radically different. There is no regulation on that"*

<div align="right">[Interview with the lead of Ethical Practitioners Association of Nepal].</div>

The provision of compulsory medical examination, apart from the exorbitant costs, impacts the community in at least two ways. First, it effectively creates a border on departure avenues for HIV/ AIDS victims which produces permanent liminality (Szakolczai, 2017) along their state facilitated departure avenues. During the focused group discussion, several men and women considered medical borders as one of the reasons they could possibly never move again.

> *"We will never be allowed to leave Nepal to work in Malaysia or Kuwait or Qatar because of our disease, but even if we go there [in a sneaky manner], we will die because of lack of medicine"*

> [During a focused group discussion with an HIV AIDS infected person].

However, many people, like Bobby**,** acknowledged that they had done the medical test multiple times before they became eligible to leave the country for foreign employment. Bobby took his medical test for the Middle East initially as wanted to go to the Middle East, but when he found a placement agency who assured a job in a 'Panasonic' company in Malaysia, he took another medical examination. Once the nature of the employment is confirmed, the next step is to obtain a pre-departure orientation-training certificate.

Pre-departure training

Bobby**,** like several other participants interviewed in the community, skipped the 'pre-departure orientation training', a mandatory requirement under the foreign employment Act of Nepal (Jones and Basnett, 2013). There are 118 registered orientation institutions currently operating in Nepal (excluding 15 for domestic work) (Government of Nepal, 2018). Foreign employment regulations, 2008, provides a list of sectors where the training is mandatory [57] (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012). However, only a few participants underwent this training. Some told me that they avoid this training because is extremely annoying for them to have to travel to Kathmandu and cover the cost of staying in a hotel and lodge for a prolonged period to attend the training. These *'pre-departure training sessions are seen as a mere formality for migrating and the certificate is easily available by paying the required fee'* (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012).

Hence, not only the corruption in the system but the inconvenience of travel increases the vulnerability of the people on the move. These interventions produce spaces for the development NGOs to expand their political struggles. For example, there are several 'pre-decision orientation

---

[57] Areas covered: foreign employment law of Nepal; geographical situation, culture, life style, economic, language, social and political situation, labour immigration laws and traffic rules of the receiving country; HIV/AIDS, communicable diseases, sexual and reproductive health, occupational safety and health; easy and safe travel; treatment and safety of workers; and repatriation of earnings from receiving countries.

training' [58] led by anti-trafficking organisations in Nepal (Blanchet and Watson, 2019; Sijapati *et al.*, 2019). The community avoids both the government facilitated pre-departure training, due to the time and cost implications, and the NGOs facilitated 'pre-decision' training, out of the fear of restigmatisation. One lower-level anti-trafficking NGO staff member, under the promise of anonymity, says,

> *"I know how this is important for the people, but I am not sure why it does not work. We trained more than 618 people who were immediately supposed to leave the community. Out of them, only 10 left. We do not have a track of most of the people living in remote locations [as funding of database creation is not present], but something is not working here"*

> [Interview with a labour trafficking project implementer].

While in the next chapter, we will see the rationale behind the 'imperceptible politics' - the lack of involvement which shows that people place the trust of retrieving necessary information with the agents. The lack of trust in anti-traffickers might be the reason why not even a single participant interviewed ever officially accessed the grievance redressal mechanism and filed a complaint against any agents and agencies despite their exploitation, both along the departure avenues and in the labour relation.

Recruitment Agents and Agencies

Bobby was asked to pay a recruitment fee of 150,000 NPR with a promise of job worth 1150 Ringgit (32, 690 NPR) per month in his labour relation. Since he was given money (in cash), many of the placement agency staff asked him for a 'tip'. He told me that it is the custom, as these people provide a hassle-free process (receiving medical certificates on his behalf, obtaining pre-departure certificates, getting insurance certificate, stamping etc.). He explains:

> *"When I gave the money, these people asked for a tip since there were the people who helped me to have the visa this early. I gave 3000 tips to them; they were asking a lot"*

> [Interview with Bobby].

In most of the interviews, I noticed that people handed over money when they were about to leave (most of the times at the airport). However, some people like Bobby give money beforehand and make themselves vulnerable to exploitation.

> *"He told me to come at 3 pm (two hours before the flight) to take the passport and other documents. He also told me that 65 people will be there with me. I said okay... [Next day] I*

---

[58] Pre-departure is reserved only for the government.

went to the manpower's office alone where I found that many people were striking in front of the manpower's office. I was told that they have changed the job profile. Now no one was going to Panasonic Company, everyone was going to a place where they have to clean bird's nest. I was feeling helpless and confused because I had already given the money to these people. Everyone was tense when the company told us that there is another demand in the hotel, but the salary is much less. Most of us were very angry"

[Interview with Bobby].

The vulnerability Bobby faced, due to this last moment exploitation, made him helpless. At that time, returning to the community was not an option because of the loan he had taken to pay the recruitment cost. Bobby, like most of the people, subjugated himself to this exploitation along his departure avenue, which took him to a site which paid him less and offered fewer benefits. He says, *"I was feeling scared because this was my first time. I was very nervous and was thinking about how I will go, what kind of experiences will I be having."* Reluctantly he signed the contract and did not even bother to read the clauses. Several participants acknowledged similar illegal exploitative practices along the departure avenues which the state promises to safeguard. Sometimes they only know about the change in the initially agreement when they arrive at their labour sites. The precarious condition produced for them often increases exponentially upon their arrival at labour sites. Due to this, people like Bobby, like many others, render themselves as 'incorrigible subjects' in the immigration regime by disrupting their labour relations (see Chapter 6).

The subversions of exploitative labour relations in immigration regimes sometimes follow increased cases in Nepali embassies. While the government of Nepal used mobility bans (see in 5.3.4) to protect women from the informal sector, the only provision for people, like Bobby, is to file a complaint about their exploitation in the formal labour sector.

These mobility bans do not allow recruitment agencies to send women to the Middle East. While most recruitment agencies position the ban as harmful to the business as the demand of (female) workers in the informal economy is very high (esp. from the Middle East), most of them do not want the government to lift the ban – against the popular rhetoric in the academic literature (Anderson, 2000). Some recruitment agency members suggest that these forms of work (especially domestic work) are unregulated in most of the countries, and if something happens – which happens most of the time – then they are held accountable for the wellbeing of the worker which, for them, is almost impossible to assure.

However, despite their common narratives, the recruitment agencies of Nepal have also introduced new forms of recruitment practices in response to the mobility bans. During the interview with a trade union representative, I was told that these placement agencies have recently started to facilitate mobility of women to the Middle East through legally sanctioned channels, only to place them in informal sectors. However, if something happens along the way and in the receiving country, women seldom use a grievance redressal mechanism to cover the above-mentioned deception in the recruitment process. Most of the community members acknowledge that they do not want to expose their local agents – a shared sacrifice that community members are making to protect their mobility facilitators.

However, there are people in the community who have taken direct action – like kidnapping the placement agents and retrieving the placement cost to compensate for their deception of and exploitation in labour relation. For example, Dhansing (for full story see section 6.6.1), having returned to the community after being severely exploited and jailed in Malaysia, initially asked the placement agency to return 85,000 NPR. After months of dragging his feet, he decided to take action:

> *"We six people kidnapped him [placement agency member] brought him to my room [in Kathmandu]. I told him, "If you don't return my money then I will put a knife inside you." We didn't hit him but threatened him by saying, "If you don't give me now then I will finish you." He immediately gave me a check. Initially, he was telling us that he will not be able to refund the flight ticket. But I said no, I want the full 85,000 refunded. He then gave me a cheque. I took the cheque and deposited it in the bank to check whether the money is available or not. Once I took money out, we left him and returned to the village"*

[Interview with Dhansing].

These struggles and complexities along departure avenues secured by the state are complexly intertwined with the rightlessness, exploitation and oppression in labour relation and immigration regimes. When people, like Dhansing, became incorrigible subjects in the emigration regime, it produced more trouble. Hence, due to several stories of exploitation, people from the community have transformed their departure avenues from the Middle Eastern countries and Malaysia, to Europe.

5.4.3 Transformation in departure avenues
Almost all of the participants acknowledged that sometimes the government facilitated departure avenues which could be highly abusive and exploitative. While the complex of several actors

produces various spaces of exploitation along these avenues, the grievance redressal mechanism of the state was not accessed by the community members. During most of the interviews and focused group discussions, people expressed their concerns over the cost of these avenues and several steps which stretch the temporality of the actualisation of their mobility decisions. During a focused group discussion, one recent returnee explains:

> *"In India, there is no problem in wherever you go. There is no need to take any help in going to India – especially for men … For women, no one goes to India to do dirty work anymore, they go to the middle east to work as a servant… When you go to the company you have to pay 1-5 lakh, which is a lot, in Kuwait, you get money to go. Here people do not bother much about whether they are going via India or Nepal. What matters the most is who is giving us quick service, which way they will help us arrive at the workplace quickly. No one thinks what will happen there… For men, they generally go to Malaysia or Saudi, Qatar... In Malaysia, if your condition is bad and you have to run away. In Saudi, you might die, and if you die they will ask you to email them to get the body... Mainly there are five problems – delay and fraud here by manpower, death while working, fear of robbers, passport confiscation, and fraudulent practices in salaries"*

> [during a focused group discussion].

Most of the people in the community are aware of the spaces of exploitation, abuse and oppression along their departure avenues. Most of them acknowledge the probability of dying on unregulated and very arduous departure avenues, for the sake of seasonal work in India. Arduous journeys, extremely difficult work, poor working conditions and less pay in India transformed departure avenues from India to the Middle East and Malaysia. As a result of continuous exploitation and rightlessness - both along the departure avenues leading to the labour employment, and the labour employment –most of the young people from the community do not wish to go to the Middle East and Malaysia anymore. They now aim for Europe.

For example, I interviewed Sarki, who initially went to Saudi to work. Following his friends, he became illegal because being illegal was exciting and profitable. He then strategically waited for the amnesty to return to the village. Sarki explains his plans:

> *"I've already applied for Poland now. Money demand is high but many of my friends are in Poland and I think life is also good there… I have to go to the embassy (which is Feb) to give the interview. The work is to cut meat. Salary is 80-90 thousand (650 Euro) but they [recruitment agent] are asking 8-9 lakh (6500 Euro). I have downloaded polish language in*

my mobile phone and trying to learn it on my own so that I can face the interview… I do not
know much about the visa but I have heard that they give two years' visa initially which they
could renew later. Also, they will give the PR card as well after a while. Future will be nice"

[Interview with Sarki].

Transformation in the departure avenues has begun in the community. Several men like Sarki and women like Dolma and Kanchi (see 5.3.5) are now aspiring for Europe, after experiencing the brunt of the Middle East and Malaysia. At present, departure avenues towards Europe are facilitated by the state but are much more expensive. While illegality helped Sarki to save money to pay off the cost, for many people the only viable option is to take out a massive loan. People like Sarki,[59] Dolma and Kanchi crossed several borders and bordering along their departure avenues to arrive at the borders of Europe – which might reject them outright.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that departure avenues leading towards sex work, domestic work or contractual work always encounter forces of control in various forms. I argued that encounters between people on the move and forces of control along departure avenues enable us to understand simultaneous transformations in control and mobility practices. These transformations speak to the AoM argument of irreconcilable conflicts mobility and control (Nyers, 2015). However, the AoM framework place mobility ahead of control to show the inability of the forces to highlight, control, and digest mobility practices along the departure avenues, despite several bordering practices. When people encounter borders placed by the forces of control, they either try to escape such configurations or follow the rules of those configurations. On the one hand, mobility practices show the presence of policy interventions to control mobility along these avenues; on the other, they produce a politically fertile space for exploitation and abuses to manifest. Hence, to actualise any decision to move for foreign employment, the people on the move must enter into this active and unpredictable temporal space which I conceptualise as departure avenues. Understanding multiplication of and encounters along departure avenues allows us to examine transformations in the forces of control.

I started this chapter by highlighting encounters along departure avenues towards sex work in India. Due to several events, strategies, policies, and practices, these encounters multiplied departure avenues for sex work until it became imperceptible to the forces of control denying mobility and

---

[59] By the time I wrote this, I was told that Sarki was in Portugal (rather than Poland), and there were several people in the community who have already gone, and many who are planning to go inside the fortress of Europe.

rights to the people on the move. To highlight, control, and capture such imperceptible departure avenues, forces of control rescale and respatialise bordering practices through the anti-trafficking regime of Nepal. I observed that a simultaneity and heterogeneity in mobility struggles and bordering practices shows co-constitution of mobility and control. Due to continuous encounters, people from the community transformed their mobility to domestic work in Middle Eastern countries. However, given the increased incidences of exploitation and abuse in these countries, the government of Nepal imposed mobility bans on mobility for domestic work in these countries. The implementation of these ever-mutating mobility bans is implemented by the anti-trafficking NGOs following diverse discourses. I showed a continuous rescaling and respatialisation of anti-trafficking bordering practices through liminal porocratic bordering arrangements. I argued that the embodied experiences of encounter highlights individual mobility struggles; the multiplication and subsequent transformation in the departure avenues highlights a common mobility struggle. These simultaneous and heterogeneous transformations in both mobility and control practices makes a case for the co-constitution of mobility and control. I then discussed encounters along contractual work to highlight the exploitation along the state secured departure avenues to argue the production of vulnerability before people on the move enter into immigration regimes. Due to the rightlessness, oppression, and exploitation before, within and beyond departure avenues in India, the Middle East and Malaysia, mobility decisions are now transforming towards Europe.

Chapter Six: Conflicts and escapes along departure avenues

6.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, I showed encounters between people on the move and forces of control along their departure avenues. I discussed how forces of control rescale and respatialise bordering practices along departure avenues reworking on their inability to control the excess of mobility over control. A conflict is produced when people on the move try to appropriate mobility and rights denied or delayed to them by these bordering practices. Due to this conflict and excess, mobility and control practices established a relationship of simultaneity and heterogeneity between them which multiplies and transforms departure avenues.

In this chapter, I focus on the conflicts and excess manifesting along departure avenues cutting across different regimes of mobility in Nepal. I begin by highlighting conflicts between people on the move and citizenship (section 6.2), emigration (section 6.3) and anti-trafficking (section 6.4) regimes in Nepal. I argue that each conflict produces an in-between liminal space (Noussia and Lyons, 2009; Szakolczai, 2009, 2014; Mälksoo, 2018). In these 'betwixt and between' spaces (Turner, 1995, p. 359), people experience suffocation, boredom, anxiety, trauma and exploitation. Given the differential nature of the conflicts, we observe different forms and degrees of liminality (Thomassen, 2009) along the departure avenues. Whilst some people decide to bear the burden of the liminal conditions by following to the rules of the forces of control, some decide to leave that liminal space by disrupting (I call it as subversion) the rules which deny or delay their mobility and rights. Both following of rules (non-subversive) and disruption of rules (subversive) signify an active appropriation of different forms of mobilities (Urry, 2007) to work within or against the rules of liminality. I empirically show a variety of (subversive and non-subversive) acts that people on the move perform along their departure avenues before they enter into the immigration regime and labour relations. By highlighting mobility struggles along departure avenues and their subsequent multiplication and transformation, this chapter further strengthen the case of the co-constitution of the mobility and control.

I conceptualise a complex of interdependent human and non-human mobilities (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006) configured along departure avenues where conflicts between people on the move and forces of control manifest as *escape mobilities*. When people configure escape mobilities in an attempt to escape effects of liminal conditions, while following the rules of the forces of control, it manifests non-subversive escape mobilities. However, some people on the move

configure subversive escape mobilities to escape the liminality that is produced due to bordering practices of the forces of control. These subversive escape mobilities, on the one hand, multiply the departure avenues by exploiting porosity in those bordering practices; on the other hand, they force regimes of mobility to re-scale and re-spatialise border work to plug such pores and highlight, control, and digest escape mobilities (as highlighted in sections 2.3.2 and 2.4.3). I argue that these two forms of escape mobilities which exist before, within, and beyond immigration regimes and labour relations makes a holistic case of mobility struggles. The conceptualisation of escape mobilities empirically makes a point on 'incorrigibility' (De Genova, 2017) and 'imperceptibility' (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013) and 'fugitivity and maroonage' (O'Connell Davidson *et al.*, 2019) in immigration regimes and labour relations (section 6.5). Together, the concepts of departure avenues and escape mobilities enrich the literature of liminality by adding to the ongoing conceptualisation of materiality of such in-between spaces (Mcconnell and Dittmer, 2018). However, I show the costs of the configuration of escape mobilities to avoid valorisation of people on the move (section 6.6). I close this chapter by making the point that both the execution and non-execution of escape mobilities is a contingent lottery (section 6.6).

6.2 Conflicts within the citizenship regime

In this section, I highlight how Nepali citizens negotiate with the bordering practices of the citizenship regime of Nepal using 'escape mobilities' along their departure avenues. The case of Nepal flips the vantage of the critical citizenship studies point of 'entry' of 'the others' to the 'exit' of the 'natives'. For example, while majority of migration literature critique the production and exclusion of 'the other' in the citizenship regimes – of European countries (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010; Anderson, 2013), I highlight a case of the production of the 'otherness' among natives by their citizenship regimes (see Chapter 5).

I now highlight how citizens on the move negotiate with the bordering practices of their citizenship regimes to enter into the so-called 'monstrous' immigration regimes. These bordering practices are encountered along departure avenues, which produce liminal conditions for people on the move (section 6.2.1). I highlight how people configure non-subversive escape mobilities either to stay in such liminal conditions or configure subversive escape mobilities to end the liminality (section 6.2.2).

6.2.1 Bordering of citizenship

Nepal wrote its own Constitution in 2015. The state has historically seen several transformations in the model of governance. Amidst these transformations, bordering around obtaining a citizenship of Nepal has been a matter of concern for both policymakers and academics. Historically, only male members of the family could confer citizenship rights to their children over 16 years of age (for a

detailed review see Richardson *et al.*, 2016). While the recent constitution nullifies this form of bordering, the implementation of the previous policy still impacts mobility decisions of both females and males (for example see the case of Bobby in section 5.4.2).

Access to citizenship complicates the citizenship status of sex-trafficking victims, pregnant domestic workers, or women with children born outside the state. Richardson *et al*., (2016) highlight difficulties in access to citizenship in 'post-trafficking scenarios' (Richardson, Poudel and Laurie, 2009; Laurie, Richardson, Poudel and Townsend, 2015). They highlight bordering of the citizenship regime for those 'returning from trafficked situations', as sometimes these women lack citizenship documents and sometimes they are unable to confer citizenship rights to children 'born in trafficking situations' (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel, Samuha, 2015). While they highlight 'post-trafficking' bordering practices, I draw upon critical anti-trafficking and modern slavery literature to question 'pre-trafficking' bordering practices which pre-victimises and pre-criminalised people on the move. Nevertheless, their important research highlights an exclusionary dimension of the bordering performed due to a citizenship regime which returnee migrants/trafficking victims/trafficking survivors/returnee sex workers encounter in Nepal and adds to the literature of citizenship, a prime object for the AoM scholars.

The AoM literature problematises oppression of and resistance from an exclusionary immigration regime, which renders people as 'victims' and 'vulnerable'. The political struggle of the activist literature is to mark the presence of an individual in a nation-state where their presence is questioned, undesired or denied (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010; Genova, 2017; Hess, 2017). I add to the literature by highlighting moments of autonomy experienced along departure avenues due to the subversion of anti-trafficking bordering practices in a citizenship regime structured by age-related mobility bans (see Chapter 5) which does not allow people on the move to exit their sovereign national space and enter into the so-called 'scenario of trafficking' in immigration regimes (Laurie, Richardson, Poudel and Townsend, 2015).

Subversive escape mobilities at citizenship bordering
Meghan went to the local administration office to apply for the citizenship document in order to apply for a passport. Unlike Bobby (see section 5.4.2) and many of her friends, she did not encounter many issues in obtaining a recommendation letter from the Village Development Committee (VDC) secretary. However, many people at this site along the departure avenue encounter the citizenship regime, enter into liminality, and negotiate and escape liminality produced by the bordering. To escape the liminality, they configure subversive escape mobilities not only to disrupt bordering of citizenship but also to pre-emptively disrupt borders of trafficking along their departure avenues.

Most people on the move increase their age (by 1–10 years) when they apply for the citizenship documents. By increasing their age, they pre-emptively disrupt bordering which follows the discourse of trafficking in Nepal (see: Hudlow, 2015 for anti-trafficking borderings, and Chapter 5 for ever-transforming age related mobility bans to protect people from human trafficking). However, the knowledge of pre-emptive subversion feeds into the practices of pre-victimisation and pre-criminalisation in Nepal. Consider this official statement from the latest Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report of Nepal:

> "The Safer Migration Initiatives (SAMI) Staff in Sindhupalchok reported that when issuing the citizenship certificate, they also bring the recommendation letters from the Local Levels. If they bring the recommendation letters for issuing the citizenship certificate from the local levels, it becomes mandatory to produce the citizenship certificate by the district administration office to the applicant even if the applicant is suspected to be underage. The victims are so deeply influenced by the agents that the victims do not like to report that they are underage and do not like to report under which influence they are issuing the citizen certificate. Their parents are also deeply influenced by the agents"

(NHRC, 2018, p. 18).

There is an assumption that certain people on the move are 'victims' influenced by 'traffickers' because, otherwise, they would never commit such acts of subversion. The narrative, on the one hand, victimises individuals trying to actualise their decision to move for employment and, on the other, criminalises the facilitator of their mobility.

In contrast to the popular (anti-) trafficking narrative, most people interviewed during the fieldwork reported several reasons for applying for the citizenship document: losing their citizenship documents during the earthquake; reapplying for a passport to increase their age (to disrupt age bans); leaving their documents with employers while becoming 'illegal'. While most of the participants mentioned that they wanted to increase their age on the citizenship document to avoid any future conflicts, some suggested that they preferred to wait in liminal spaces for some years so that they could become eligible for foreign employment.

The creation of the liminality due to the bordering of (anti-) trafficking discourse in citizenship regime is negotiated in two ways. First, some people follow these borderings and stay in the liminality until they become 'eligible' to receive labour permits or the state transforms/lifts the ban. Both decisions stretch the time along the departure avenues. I argue that they use 'non-subversive escape mobilities' to work on the everyday boredom and anxiety that this temporal stretch

produces. Second, some people decide to end such liminality using subversive escape mobilities. The use of subversive escape mobilities is an act of strategically becoming a political subject to disrupt bordering of trafficking they could encounter along their departure avenues. Subversive escape mobilities help them to escape liminality they enter due to the conflict between the citizenship regime and people on the move. Furthermore, subversions enabled by escape mobilities produce a moment of autonomy and signifies their progression along their departure avenues.

For example, as described in Chapter 5, Meghan decided to go to the village administrative office to apply for the citizenship document after a month-long discussion with her husband, who did not want her to move from the dangerous 'illegal' route. Meghan entered into a month-long liminal period which ended with Meghan disrupting the liminal space structured due to cognitive borders of trafficking and deciding to act against the wishes of her husband. She went to the local administrative office to obtain the documents. In the administrative office, Meghan encountered another liminal space structured due to humanitarian borders of trafficking in the citizenship regime. Once Meghan obtained the documents, she progressed along her departure avenues.

6.3 Conflicts within the emigration regime

In this section, I analyse escape mobilities within the emigration regime of Nepal. Escape mobilities in emigration regimes highlight mobility practices and struggles of people due to the bordering practices delaying and denying their mobility and rights along their departure avenues, before they arrive at immigration regimes. I begin by analysing several liminal conditions produced due to conflicts in the bureaucratic bordering practices encountered by people on the move (6.3.1). I subsequently discuss how people negotiate bordering using non-subversive and subversive escape mobilities. I then discuss bordering practices at airports which produce liminality (6.3.2), and how people on the move deal with this liminality.

6.3.1 Bureaucratic bordering

The Foreign Employment Act of Nepal structures one of the most comprehensive emigration regimes in the world (see Chapter 4). The regime aims to manage the flow of more than 95% of its male foreign employment aspirants (Kern and Müller-Böker, 2015). Several bureaucratic institutions following the regime configure bordering for people before they cross their nation-state boundaries. Drawing on the stories of mobility, I now highlight several bureaucratic bordering along the departure avenues, liminal spaces they produce, and the responses of people on the move.

Passport submission

Once people obtain their citizen documents, they apply for a passport. There are two ways to apply for the passport document. Depending on their resources and urgency, people along the departure avenues either opt for the cheaper option (USD 50), which takes a long time via a district administrative office, or the quicker option (USD 100), which is processed via the Kathmandu passport office (Shrestha, 2016). Once they obtain the passport, they hand it over to their trusted agents and agencies.

From the time people on the move hand in their passports to the agent (licensed or unlicensed) to the time they receive a call from the agent, is an active liminal space along the departure avenues. On average, the waiting time is somewhere between one and six months – in some exceptional cases, more than a year. During this time, while most of the participants collect as much information as they can from their friends and relatives, they also go through a continuum of emotions. The faster an agent calls (within 15 days) the more positive an experience a person will have. However, when the threshold level of one month is over, their initial enthusiasm transforms into anxiety. Consider the case of Bobby.

Bobby wanted to avoid the Middle East because of the weather, so he asked a reputed placement agency – where his uncle worked – to arrange 'something' in Malaysia. Once Bobby submitted his passport, he entered into a liminal space, which according to him was a nightmare. He said, *"Once the discussion was over [with the placement agency] they asked me to wait for two months, but I did not hear anything from them for four months."*

The temporal stretch along departure avenues is due to complex bureaucracy structured by the migration industry (see Chapter 5). These bureaucratic borderings stretch the time[60], taking several people through a continuum of emotions along their departure avenues. In almost every case, this temporal stretch produced forms of anxiety and suffocation among individuals. The liminality ends with 'the phone call'.

The phone Call

While the phone call marks the end of the liminality, it does not necessarily ensure that the wait is over. The phone call which signifies the initial discussion in the household, selection of agents, arrangements of money, citizenship application (if it is not available) and passport application, only

---

[60] A placement agency owner told me that these reasons include delay in demand, delay in permission, cancelling of demand by the Department of Foreign Employment (DoFE) and cost-sharing issues with foreign placement agencies (see section 5.4).

means that a decision has been made by the migration industry. Hence, the call means that people have crossed one barrier along their departure avenues.

After the call, the departure avenue takes people towards several government sanctioned bordering practices – medical certificates, insurance certifications, training, authorisation by the state – in order to legally become a 'migrant'. Hence, to become a migrant, an individual needs to make several trips to Kathmandu, with time and money implications. While most of the agent provide accommodation every time an individual visits Kathmandu, the wait is over only when an individual receives all the documents – which is often on the day of departure. These bureaucratic borderings along departure avenues, experiences of liminality, and the responses of people on the move shapes their embodied mobility experiences.

Non-subversive escape mobilities against bureaucratic bordering
Bobby did not receive a telephone call for a few months, despite frequently calling the agent and the agency. Every time he called, they asked him to wait for a few more days, which increased his anxiety as he thought he might never be able to retrieve the passport like his other friends. After months of struggle, along with some attempts at deception (see section 5.4.2), he managed to take the passport from the placement agency with the help of his uncle and started to look out for other alternatives. While the retrieval of the passport from the agency helped him to escape anxiety, his desire for formal employment did not end that liminal condition. These are non-subversive escape mobilities people use to get some relief within the liminality. During this time, Bobby tried to contact his friends and tried to use the connections of his brother-in-law who was working in Malaysia, but nothing materialised. The period of frustration ended after several months when he received a call from his uncle regarding another opportunity.

Many people, like Bobby, have to wait in the liminal space along their departure avenues. The uncertainty during these liminal conditions produces frustrations and anxieties. While people assemble non-subversive escape mobilities to respond to the liminality during these anxious times, the way they experience these liminal conditions is very different. For example, Cheewang and his wife decided to go to the Middle East together. They handed over their respective passports to a trusted agent in the village (Cheewang's uncle), who forwarded them to two different agents – male and female mobility facilitation experts. After a few months, Cheewang received a phone call from the agent regarding the arrival of his wife's visa. Cheewang and his wife then went to Kathmandu and stayed with the agent for 28 days. Cheewang recalls:

"When I asked, how long are we supposed to stay here [at the agent's place]? He [the agent] told me that it [ticket arrangements] would not take more than 5–6 days. Then 5–6 days became 28 days … It was so frustrating"

[Interview with Cheewang].

The liminality along the departure avenues have certain cost implications. Like Cheewang, most of the people take a limited amount of money (generally cash) with them when they arrive at the agent's home. Some participants acknowledged that they spend a lot if they carry money with them in Kathmandu. However, the situation is difficult for those who take loans to cover recruitment costs. The waiting time, with borrowed money in hand, without any temporal unfolding of decisions along departure avenues often creates conditions of panic.

Unlike Cheewang, some participants deliberately prolong their mobility struggles to disrupt bordering practices. For example, Dolma, a 20-year-old (real age) woman who had recently returned from Cyprus, initially tried to move via a regular route for domestic work in Kuwait, four years ago (during the age-related ban era – see section 5.3.4). At that time, she unsuccessfully tried to disrupt the age-related ban, even after increasing her age. She said that the interviewer in the labour department rejected her labour permit because she looked very small. For a year, she collected all the information – what questions to expect, what to wear, how to look, how to answer – from her friends, relatives and agents, and successfully received a labour permit (despite the age restrictions) to move to the Middle East for domestic work. Often during such liminal spaces, some people assemble resources to disrupt the bureaucratic bordering. Once the time is right, they configure subversive escape mobilities to disrupt liminality structured by bureaucratic bordering.

Subversive escape mobilities at bureaucratic borders

After a year, Dolma presented herself to the Department of Foreign Employment office to request permission to go to the Middle East. At this time, there was an age-ban in Nepal which prohibited the foreign employment of women aged less than 24 years (see Chapter 5). Dolma's agent provided her with answers to all the questions she could expect:

"[The agent] trained me in several aspects, [he] told me what to say in front of the officials. 'If they ask about the agent, you should say "No" … if you said that you have an agent, then the police will catch him…Police should not know [about me]'. If someone asked where I am going or is there anyone I know, then I was supposed to tell them that I have a sister and that she has sent the visa. I need to say that I will be staying with my sister and will work with her.

I told them [officials] that my sister has been in Kuwait for five years. Police asked me whether I am lying. I said, 'no' [laughs]."

[Interview with Dolma].

Dolma disrupted trafficking bordering practices configured in the emigration regime along her departure avenues using subversive escape mobilities. These subversions (age increment and concocted information) highlight ruptures in the existing bordering practices. The knowledge of subversive escape mobilities are important for the rescaling and respatialisation of bordering to plug the gap. Recently, to prohibit such subversions, or to capture, control, and digest such subversive escape mobilities, the government of Nepal imposed a total ban on the movement of women to Gulf countries for domestic work.

Dolma's case offers an insight on the manifestation and deployment of subversive escape mobilities along the government facilitated departure avenues. Many research participants reported that they have employed subversive escape mobilities during the age-bans. However, given the current articulation of the total ban (section 5.3), the government protected departure avenues are permanently closed for women on the move. The permanent liminality (Szakolczai, 2014) structured by bordering in the emigration regime, multiplied departure avenues for female participants to actualise their mobility decisions. Subversive escape mobilities enable such mobility decisions.

These manifestations of departure avenues are often unchecked by the sovereign power and are often labelled as 'illegal channels' in the popular discourse of 'migration' in Nepal. However, these departure avenues which move beneath and beyond the sovereign power include several forms and sites of strategic wait times, due to the presence of bordering practices. While people experience these waiting times differently, the temporal stretch along departure avenues increases the likelihood of suffocation and anxiety.

For example, most of the participants like Cheewang and his wife, upon receiving the phone call, stayed with the agent – irrespective of whether the movement was regular or irregular. These agents, in the case of irregular movement, do not charge anything from the individuals as they are some known person (mostly distant relatives), and their labour cost is retrieved from the employers (see section 5.5). People on the move wait in this liminality until the agent indicates a final clearance. While the experiences and emotions during the wait time are highly dependent upon the situation, stories of mobilities suggest that most people moving via state facilitated perceptible departure avenues feel anxious when they have to wait for a prolonged period of time. However,

people moving via imperceptible departure avenues somehow found waiting an 'exciting' experience.

These empirical insights echoes the Autonomists' idea of imperceptibility (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). For example, a woman who was part of the 'sex trafficking victim power group' in the village told me that, while the agent was taking her to the brothel, she stayed in Kathmandu for a couple of months, which was a pleasant experience for her. However, for the dominant paradigm of trafficking, these spaces are dangerous for women as, for them, women are subject to extreme exploitation in these spaces. However, the experiences along 'illegal' departure avenues of many of my participants suggest that the liminal spaces they encountered were ironically more comfortable than those experienced by people moving via 'legal' departure avenues. Most of the people did not complain about liminal spaces (except in Sri Lanka) because of the trust they placed in the agents and the fact that it gave them an excellent opportunity to meet their relatives and friends and explore the city.

Mobility struggles followed by escape mobilities are the responses to the conflicts between people on the move and bordering practices of the forces of control along their departure avenues. Some people subjugate themselves to the liminality produced due to the conflict and work through them through non-subversive escape mobilities; some suffocate in these spaces; some fail to assemble subversive escape mobilities; and some disrupt these spaces by assembling subversive escape mobilities. Interestingly, liminality creates severe spaces of anxiety for most of the individuals who place their trust in legally sanctioned departure avenues unlike those who don't. According to most of the participants, airports are the most anxiety-producing liminal spaces used by people moving via both regular and irregular channels.

6.3.2 Airport bordering

For AoM theorists, airports are "*'mezzanine spaces of sovereignty'* which lie between the inside and the outside of the state" with detention and deportation facilities (Nyers, 2003, p. 1080). Building on the literature of liminalities (Khoshneviss, 2017), mobilities (Adey, 2006) and securities (van Liempt, 2007) which highlight the production of the emotional experiences at airports (Adey, 2008), I now show that effectual responses often depend on the bordering practices that produce liminal conditions at airports – a mezzanine space where several regimes merge to produce bordering practices (see section 5.3.4). Stories of mobility show how people on the move rework and disrupt the liminal bordering conditions (Huang, Xiao and Wang, 2018) using 'escape mobilities' at these 'apotheoses' of dystopian space (Adey, 2006) before they arrive at their receiving regions (the Middle Eastern countries and/or Malaysia).

During one focus group discussion (FGDs), everyone acknowledged that these (especially the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA)) are dreadful liminal bordering sites. Consider this FGD snippet, which provides a snapshot of experiences of liminality in such spaces:

> P1: *"Normally, the agent takes us to airport. I think it is actually the best arrangement, if you go alone then you have no idea what to do and when to do it but when you are with an agent, you are sure that there is someone to guide you."*

> P2: *"The agent often says 'Go from here to there; these are the places where you have to show the passports; these are the places where you fill in forms...'"*

> P3: *"There are lots of check-ups in the [Nepal] airport. People ask unnecessary questions which we cannot understand."*

> P4: *"We have to ask for help inside the airport about the flight details when we are inside the airport. Some of us do not know how to read and write."*

> P5: *"There are many people from this community who have stayed at the [Malaysia or Kuwait] airport [sometimes for more than 4 days] before their employer or local agent comes and takes them. Some people sit in Delhi Airport as well."*

> P6: *"Whenever we go via [an] Indian/Sri Lankan airport then there is a constant fear of deception by the dalal [61] that they will take us to [an] Indian brothel instead of Kuwait.*

> (Focus group discussion).

These testimonials highlight several bordering practices, liminal conditions, and the way people experience them. However, for the (male) participants, Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) was the most dreadful site. During the interview, Suraj elaborated on how he experienced the airport:

> *"And the moment you are in the waiting room, all you have to do is to wait for the people to arrive … There was no chair, and I sat on the ground it was so cold. I waited there for 4 hours … I was seeing people coming [inside the waiting space] and calling names of people waiting there. Maybe they were other agents of different companies"*

> [Interview with Suraj].

---

[61] Most of them use the term 'dalal', which means agent, tout, broker, pimp, procurers, whoremaster, pandar, or facilitator of movement.

According to most of the research participants, people are not allowed to stay inside the regular waiting area at KLIA airport for more than five hours. Upon their arrival, the airport police escort them to a specific waiting area where they meet people from all over the world waiting for their entry into their labour relations. Consider the case of Bobby:

> *"[We] arrived in Malaysia at 4 am in the morning. I came out of the terminal … and for the first time, I thought I do not know anyone … They [airport police] sent us to one specific chamber and told us that till [the] company people arrive you have to wait here. There was nothing to sit [on]. Everyone was supposed to sit on the ground which was very cold. Police officers were not allowing anyone to leave that place to roam in the airport. I saw the Malaysian police were beating someone up. They were not allowing anyone to sleep. Whenever we tried to sleep, they were hitting us. I felt sick there with cold, hunger, and headache"*

> [Interview with Bobby].

People experience shared immobility along their departure avenues at these airports. The immobility is enforced on them in this liminal space primarily due to the delay of agents and employers. Until someone from outside arrives and lifts the bordering, people have to wait in that liminal site. Most of the participants acknowledged that the longer the temporal stretch at this departure avenue, the greater the anxiety. Buddhi recounts,

> *"Ah! It was such a horrible experience. We entered the chamber and saw more than 100–200 bodies were already waiting out there … For three days, no one came to pick us … They never allowed us to leave that space until someone comes"*

> [Interview with Buddhi].

Many participants, like Buddhi, received their first psychological trauma at the airport – an anxiety-producing liminal space. Almost everyone expressed anxiety about being stuck at the last leg of the departure avenue before the actualisation of their mobility decisions to move for foreign employment. However, this anxiety was not only due to the wait time structured by the architecture of the space (airport), which Adey (2006) argues controls the psychological affect. This affective response was produced due to an intersection of shared anxiety of the others in that liminal space and the careless responses of the employers (or placement agencies) at the gates of receiving countries.

Non-subversive escape mobilities at airport bordering

People on the move try to escape their anxiety during the temporal stretch along their departure avenues at airports employing non-subversive escape mobilities. They take refuge in each other, forge relationships to escape the psychological effects – e.g. hope, trauma and anxiety (Anderson, 2012) – produced in such liminal site. Most of the research participants reported that sharing and caring (by offering food, clothes, mobile phones or money) at this 'horror site' helped them to bear the burden of liminality. Bobby explains,

> *"Everyone was feeling hungry over there, but not everyone has chow-chow [ramen noodles] with them. I gave to everyone but could not eat anything. I was hungry for 12 hours and was without food"*

> *[Interview with Bobby].*

The act of kindness showed by Bobby to the others made him feel better and helped him to forge some important relationships, which later helped him to employ subversive escape mobilities to leave his exploitative labour relations (more on this in section 6.5). Similarly, Subba says:

> *"I waited at the airport for 11 hours. There was no place to sit. So, if you do not have anything then you might end up being hungry unless someone [agent or employer] comes to take you. I did not have change. But then I made a friendship with a Nepali guy who gave me money to buy food"*

> [Interview with Subba].

These acts of finding refuge in each other by sharing objects (food, money, and blankets) and communication (giving mobiles to others to call family and agents)) during those spaces, are examples of non-subversive escape mobilities which help the participants to navigate the most dreadful sites along their departure avenues. However, only male participants following state facilitated departure avenues felt anxious and used non-subversive escape mobilities while waiting in this liminal space. For female participants, especially moving via 'imperceptible' departure avenues, an airport is a place of excitement, adventure and performance where they configure subversive escape mobilities.

Subversive escape mobilities at airport bordering

Most of the interviewed women using imperceptible departure avenues used Indian airports to actualise their mobility decisions. As per the instructions given by the agents, they showed their (tourist) visa documents to the airport authorities to convince the authorities they were going for a

pilgrimage in Sri Lanka. Maayan recalled her encounter with immigration officials at the airport departure gate:

> "They asked a lot of questions at the boarding gate. Since we all were together, they stopped us for more than one hour. We said that we are going to offer our respects to Buddha's idol [laughs]."

> [Interview with Maayan].

Meghan also had similar experiences, though she moved with several women at the same time:

> "At the IGI [Indira Gandhi International Airport, New Delhi] airport, the agent gave me a passport and a ticket. And he told me that someone will come outside the [Sri Lankan] airport … There were 32 girls along with me. We made a group of 15 women and were passing through the lines … The agent told me that if someone asked why I am going to Sri Lanka, then I have to tell them that I am a Buddhist and going for pilgrimage [laughs]."

> [Interview with Meghan].

Meghan, like Maayan, disrupted bordering along liminal conditions employing subversive escape mobilities. Looking back at these subversions, most of the participants laugh while remembering these acts. For some AoM theorists, laughter and joy pervade moments of autonomy along the departure avenues (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008). Following Bakhtinian arguments, they argue that "laughter and joy of those who partake in the world defies seriousness, disperses fear, liberates the word and the body and reveals a truth escaping the injustices of the present. This laughter is the prime mover of escape. Escape is joyful" (p. xx). However, several women could not perform such 'joyful' acts. Meghan recounts witnessing the detention of two girls by the immigration officials because they were not yet 15 years of age. These are the costs of escape mobilities (more in section 6.5).

During the ethnographic study at these airports, I observed similar subversions. I observed that some of these women did not speak Hindi (even if they knew it) in front of these officials to make them (Hindi-speaking officials) helpless. When I interviewed these immigration officials, they said that they know who is going where and through what route, as for them it is very easy to tell just by looking at women's faces. However, these Indian immigration officials could not stop them, as they are subjects of another country – Nepal. One official told me that, *"if we check their bags we are sure that we will find [a] paper visa of Kuwait, but we cannot do that [due to official reasons]."* Another official told me that, even if they did try to stop them, there is always someone to rescue them – an airline member, other officials, or maybe a phone call from 'above'.

After the subversion of the border, the departure avenues take these women to Sri Lanka. Sometimes a paper visa (from the Middle East) arrives at Sri Lanka, which marks the transition of irregular or illegal mobility into legal mobility as employers issue them directly using Kafala system (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012). However, before someone arrives at these departure avenues (e.g. IGI Delhi Airport) and perform such subversions, most of the women manually cross the Indo-Nepal border where they encounter the bordering practices of the anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal.

Picture 36: Kathmandu Airport.	Picture 37: Kathmandu Airport.
Picture 38: Colombo Airport.	Picture 39: Kuwait Airport.

Picture 40: Biometric Bill board (in Nepali and Malyali) at Kuwait Airport.	Picture 41: Free telephone service at Kuwait Airport.

6.4 Conflicts within the anti-trafficking regime

In this section, I highlight bordering practices and escape mobilities in the anti-trafficking regime of Nepal. I show bordering practices following (anti-) trafficking discourses which deny mobility and rights to people on the move along their departure avenues. These bordering practices pre-victimise and pre-criminalise people on the move through interception (detaining people), rescue (im)mobilising people), rehabilitation (deporting people on the move to their homes), mobility control (strict border surveillance, as in the case of Nepal), identification and punishment of traffickers, detention, and awareness generation. However, people on the move along departure avenues disrupt these bordering practices configuring subversive escape at risk of being victimised and criminalised. I unpack the presence of subversive escape mobilities in three forms of anti-trafficking bordering practices – awareness generation (6.4.1), choke posts (6.4.2), and emigration detention (6.4.3).

6.4.1 Awareness generation bordering

Awareness generation is the most popular anti-trafficking bordering practice in Nepal. NGOs employ awareness generation as a tool to provide information on labour relations, foreign employment opportunities, labour and gender rights, and safe mobilities to promote 'safe migration' amongst those deemed vulnerable to trafficking. While the critical (anti-) trafficking have recently started critiquing the awareness generation activities (Molland, 2018), little is known about how these interventions are responsible for producing bordering for the people along departure avenues, and how they disrupt these bordering practices.

Awareness generation against sex work(ers) was the first anti-trafficking bordering practices encountered by people on the move for sex work in the community (for details see Chapter 4). While these bordering practices stigmatised women's mobility – initially towards sex work, and then towards domestic work – the community, in response, stigmatised these awareness generation activities as well. I witnessed one NGO facilitated awareness generation activity in the community where the facilitator was creating awareness regarding the dangers of illegal routes and foreign employment for females. Drawing on the similar, but more intense, anti-trafficking awareness generation programmes I observed in rural India, I argue that the facilitators of these sessions have very little understanding of the complexity of the debate, and the easiest way to do their jobs is to scare people by highlighting the dangers of foreign employment. The bordering practices which draw upon the mobility bans (see Chapter 5) is (re)configured in the community with every awareness generation activity.

There are different forms of anti-trafficking awareness generation activities which is not limited to anti-trafficking regimes. For example, the state's 'foreign employment promotion board' under Foreign Employment Act of Nepal (see Chapter 5) employs diverse outlets – radio, television, newspaper – to discuss the importance of safe migration (Sijapati and Limbu, 2017b). In other words, the state uses mobilities platforms to configure borders along with the imperceptible (illegal for the government) departure avenues leading to Middle Eastern countries using the narrative of 'human trafficking'. These programmes are often assisted (funded) by several international actors following different discourses of human trafficking. I conceptualise the phenomenon which merges several actors, segments of states, practices, strategies despite their ideological differences as liminal porocratic bordering aggregates (see section 2.4.3).

For example, the ILO-DFID Work in Freedom (WiF) project, which aims to combat labour trafficking, is a classic example of a liminal porocratic bordering aggregate (see section 5.4). While GAATW supports this high profile programme to combat human trafficking, the organisation relies on the members of CATW in Nepal (for more information on GAATW and CATW see Chapter 2). The awareness generation sessions under the programme are called 'pre-decision' training targeting the decisions of girls/women who are about to leave for foreign employment (Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019). The ILO-DFID intervention which aims to empower women and transform them into active decision-makers, is based on an assumption that after the training women gain knowledge about necessary documents, relevant contact persons at the source, destination and route, alternative avenues of work, their rights, and most importantly, the awareness of 'proper routes' (Mak *et al.*, 2019). A recent evaluation report of the ILO project explicitly mentions that one of the successes of this awareness generation intervention was that it was able to successfully enhance *'[women's] understanding [of] the proper route to follow (flying out of Kathmandu airport and not travelling via India)*' (Mak *et al.*, 2019, p. 5). The statement also reveals the bordering process which discourages people from taking imperceptible departure avenues despite mobility bans in Nepal. While the ILO has nothing to say on life and livelihood of those potential women/girls they target, I now highlight how they configure 'escape mobilities' along their 'departure avenues' to disrupt bordering practices of awareness generation.

Subversive escape mobilities at awareness generation Bordering
The anti-trafficking awareness programme run by the youth club was the first bordering practice encountered by the community members (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 4). Initially, they responded with hostility or incorrigibility (physical violence) and later with imperceptibility against these bordering practices and their agents. The conflict between people on the move, and forces of control which deny their mobility and rights, produced liminal conditions for the people along their

departure avenues. To actualise the mobility decisions, people disrupted these bordering practices which simultaneously transformed mobilities and control practices (see Chapter 5).

For example, when the community members disrupted these bordering practices, we observed a reconfiguration of the bordering practices of the youth club who transformed mobility facilitators into bordering agents. Over a period of time, several national and international events on human trafficking strengthened the group, and bordering agents started restricting sex work mobility of returnee sex workers in the community. At the same time, the awareness generation programme led by the state and NGOs, strengthened these anti-trafficking bordering practices in the community. As a response, the community members transformed their mobility practices as well – from initial incorrigibility to imperceptibility, which simultaneously transformed the bordering practices. While the anti-trafficking awareness generation still tries to block imperceptible avenues, people do not reveal anything about their mobility plans before they leave the community.

The recent 'awareness generation activities' implemented by anti-trafficking NGOs inside the village is a modern articulation of the configuration of borders along imperceptible departure avenues. An implementer of one such large-scale awareness generation project told me that in one 'season' they provided 'pre-decision' training to more than 610 potential women, and out of them, only ten of them left the country. There are two explanations for this: first, these bordering successfully placed cognitive borders along the departure avenues of potential migrants and influenced their mobility decision negatively; secondly, community members did not reveal the names and bodies of those leaving soon to these anti-trafficking NGOs. Cheewang, who was once an anti-trafficker in the village explains this,

"These [NGO] people come and talk about the dangers of going via India, but community members do not take them seriously."

Community members attend and perform during these anti-trafficking awareness generation programmes and take it as a routine NGO activity of the NGOs. Those scheduled to leave the place never attend these sessions. Decisions to refuse anti-trafficking awareness generation reveals a politics of imperceptibility (Tsianios, 2007). The refusal to become a subject of 'awareness generation bordering' shows a specific form of subversion manifesting through escape mobilities. People on the move use subversive escape mobilities to navigate along their departure avenues, which are imperceptible to the forces of control. However, anti-trafficking NGOs are also aware of these imperceptible politics and consider it as one of the biggest challenges in the field, and constantly look out for innovative awareness generation programmes. Hence, the excess produced

within and beyond the anti-trafficking awareness generation bordering is responsible for the rescaling and respatialisation of bordering.

6.4.2 'Choke-posts' bordering

Dominant (anti-) trafficking paradigm influenced NGO-led border surveillance is another popular anti-trafficking intervention in Nepal, which often demands the protection of people along national borders through increased surveillance and security to combat human trafficking (Bales, 1999). However, critical (anti-) trafficking scholars often criticise such counter-productive intervention as an infringement of human rights (Andrijasevic, 2009; Lobasz *et al.*, 2009; Anderson, 2013; O'Connell Davidson, 2015). The borders are the core to the AoM framework (De Genova, 2017) which highlights the subversive power of mobility to make the important point that no border is secure (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010; Scheel, 2013a; Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias and Pickles, 2015). In this sub-section, I add to the literatures on critical (anti-) trafficking and migration by highlighting bordering processes along and beyond the political borders encountered by the people on the move, before they enter into the immigration regime. I reveal 'choke-posts', as sites of bordering which produces contingent border work for specific targets – women using 'imperceptible' departure avenues

Anti-trafficking NGOs of Nepal run manual surveillance choke-posts along the Indo-Nepal borderzones of Jhapa, Morang, Parsa, Nawalparasi, Rupandehi, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur (NHRC, 2018). These NGOs manually guard a few important national highways which connect Kathmandu to these borderzones. I traced imperceptible departure avenues of my research participants by conducting an ethnography – including participant observation and open interviews – along these 'choke-posts'.

Picture 42: Chokepost át Mahendranagar border.	Picture 43: Chokepost at Sunauli border.

| Picture 44: Chokepost at Kakarvitta border. | Picture 45: Chokepost at bus station. |

Most of the anti-trafficking NGOs have a distinctive process of manual surveillance. According to the NGO border guards, some of them are victims of human trafficking, and some of them have been intercepted in the past; they receive extensive training to analyse doubtful behaviour and the walking patterns of passing women and children. In the absence of standard operating procedures in place to perform interceptions, the bordering process, based on doubt and suspicion, becomes a 'hunch-based' surveillance system.

Anti-trafficking NGO choke-posts supplement the Nepal state checkpoints in the proximity of Indo-Nepal borderzones monitored by the border police force of Nepal. While the government permits only two choke-posts per site, my ethnographic study at four such border sites reveals that more than two NGOs (sometimes as many as eight) operate at one site. These sites are laced with uniformed NGO 'bordering agents' or 'counsellors' working in shifts. These NGO counsellors scrutinise every woman crossing the open Indo-Nepal border based on 'hunch'. While they are required to pay special attention to specific profiles of women – people from the Tamang community, particular clothes, and people from the Sindhupalchok district – they also pay particular attention to the body and eye movements of women trying to cross the border. They scrutinise every possible mobility system – buses (national and international), public jeeps, rickshaws, etc. – which women use along their departure avenues. The moment their intuition suggests something is wrong, they restrict the individual (if the woman is on a bus, she is supposed to get down for further questioning). Upon encountering anti-trafficking bordering agents, women enter into liminality. After their initial screening, the NGO counsellors take them to their NGO choke-post for further screening. If women can provide valid reasons for their movements, with sufficient back-up from their family members, then their liminal condition ends and they are allowed to move along their

departure avenues. However, if they are not able to do so, they are subject to further screening. Counsellors check documents – especially passports – and contact guardians (usually a male family member) via telephone, to confirm whether they are aware of their mobility. If they are not satisfied, they take the women to 'emigration detention centres' (see section 6.4.3).

All four Indo-Nepal political broders which I visited are used by people of the village for different reasons. Every time a participant is screened and detained, the detaining NGOs claim an interception (pre-emptive rescue) of a potential 'human trafficking victim' (Nepal, 2013). Most of the NGO counsellors told me that every day they save 20–25 women from the clutches of human traffickers. In other words, the 'anti-trafficking' NGOs of Nepal choke mobility and rights along the departure avenues of women at these choke-posts.

Subversive escape mobilities at choke-post borders
Without subversive escape mobilities, there is no way women could actualise their mobility decisions for employment and end the liminality structured by bordering practices. Despite heavily guarded border sites and the number of interceptions, none of the NGOs ever managed to detain any of my research participants. Research participants employed subversive escape mobilities along their departure avenues to disrupt bordering practices at these choke-posts. I now elaborate on three types of infrastructure, which assist in the production of subversive escape mobilities.

a. Hotels: Several small restaurants and general stores are operating as secretive free hotels at some of the border sites. Many participants stay in these hotels for five hours to three days to configure subversive escape mobilities with the help of an agent. During the ethnographic study, I noticed that many temporary lodges operate in these areas to provide free accommodation to travellers. The owners of these spaces charge only for the cost of food. Few Tamang people also operate some of these low-cost spaces. They provide fertile ground for the production of subversive escape mobilities.

b. Roadways: India and Nepal share more than 1700 km of an open stretch of land. Government checkpoints and NGO choke-posts operate only along major highways. During the ethnographic study, I explored several border sites that are without significant forms of surveillance. No choke-posts were placed on the mobility of people on the move from those locations, as there is no way to guard the open stretch of land shared between India and Nepal. Escape mobilities manifest along with these areas.

c. Vehicles: Vehicle permit regulations are different at different border sites. Vehicles like bicycles, motorbikes, cars, auto-rickshaws, manual rickshaws, vans, buses and 'tongas' (horse-drawn carts) usually flow swiftly across most of these borders. Border police officials

check all incoming cars and sometimes bikes, and NGO 'counsellors' check tongas and buses. However, NGO counsellors do not check motorbikes and bicycles. Hence, there is an opportunity for specific escape mobilities to manifest.

Picture 46: General Stores cum restaurants cum free lodges.

Picture 47: Modes of Transport – Rickshaw.

Picture 48: Modes of transport: Horsecart.

| Picture 49: Modes of Transport – E-Rickshaw. | Picture 50: Modes of Transport – Bicycle. |

| Picture 51: Modes of Transport – Motorbike. | Picture 52: Modes of Transport – Jeep. |

Facilitators of mobility employ different ways to move people across borders, without any inconvenience, using all the available infrastructures at the same time along the departure avenues. Upon their arrival at such sites, people avoid encountering bordering practices and take refuge in one of the hotels, which also marks their liminality. In this space, a negotiation occurs with different mobility providers to configure subversive escape mobilities. During my ethnographic study, I negotiated with three such mobility providers.

First, a local biker assured assistance in transferring individuals to the other side of the border, without any checks, for a nominal charge of 150 NPR per head (£1). Second, a few rickshaw-pullers assured the safe transfer of people to the other side of the border, without any checks. Finally, a van driver assured full responsibility for transferring individuals in bulk to the other side of the border for a negotiable cost. He told me that there were several 'other' ways to take people to the other side of

the border without any examination. Ironically, several anti-trafficking NGOs train these mobility providers to develop a gaze to protect women from their 'traffickers'.

While these mobility providers assist in subversions of the forms, sites and practices of bordering, subversion of profiling (used for surveillance) is necessary to end liminality and assure departure. Almost everyone interviewed disrupted these tropes of bordering, using various tools.

a. Clothes: Nepali citizens have a strong association with traditional clothes. Similarly, Tamang people have specific traditional attire. Hence, it is relatively easy to identify them by their clothes. However, many of the female participants, before they left the country, bought new western clothes from Kathmandu and wore them during their journey to disrupt the profiling of the NGO surveillance team.

b. Buses: There are several ways my participants disrupted the surveillance of bordering agents. The safest way for them is to take the most expensive direct air-conditioned bus to New Delhi. Though NGOs check these buses as well, they are low on the radar of officials as, along with their clothes, they present a higher-class status to defy the profiling of the surveillance team.

c. Documents: Counsellors thoroughly check documents. They specifically look for a passport as a confirmation of their hunch. To avoid any doubt, my participants did not take their passports with them. Agents informed them about the kinds of question they could expect from NGO counsellors. As a strategy, they took only citizenship documents with them and concocted a story – for example, they were meeting friends and family, doing seasonal labour, or taking a pilgrimage – to tell the counsellor when intercepted.

d. Husbands: Husbands act as a commodity, as a last resort to avoid any suspicion of the counsellors who are always looking for women travelling alone. They often carry their marriage certificates to show the counsellors.

A combination of these four tools, along with locally available mobility systems, assure the most robust subversion of these borders along departure avenues. The manifestation of subversive escape mobilities sometimes takes a very creative shape, which utilises all of the above. Take the example of Maayan:

> *"We already had the wedding card of a friend of the driver [who was hired by the agent], and we showed it to the guards and NGO's people patrolling in the [border] area. At the border, though we were not disturbed too much, we were stopped twice [by two anti-trafficking NGOs] … This time we send two of the girls going to India [possibly to work in brothels] via rickshaw and all three of us went in a car telling [NGO] people that we are going to attend a*

wedding. They checked our citizenship, and we told them that we are going to attend a wedding."

Along with agents and other girls, Maayan waited at a border site for a few days to assemble the subversive escape mobilities. She went to Siliguri, stayed there for a while, and then went to Kolkata. She stayed in Kolkata for some days and then took a train to Delhi where she received her passport, which came via aeroplane. After waiting in Delhi for a while, she went to Sri Lanka – narrating a story of a pilgrimage to the IGI Delhi Airport authorities – and stayed there a few days before she went to Kuwait. Maayan's imperceptible departure avenues consisted of several forms of bordering practices, liminal conditions and subversive escape mobilities. However, Maayan would have ended up in an emigration detention centre if any of the bordering practices had managed to interrupt her departure avenue.

Picture 53: Modes of Transport – Bus.	Picture 54: Border Surveillance.

6.4.3 Bordering of emigration detention

Emigration detention centres are another important anti-trafficking intervention in Nepal. In Nepal, every anti-trafficking choke-post (at highways and border sites) has its emigration detention centre. The names of these detention centres vary a lot. For example, 'transit home' for *Maiti Nepal*; 'transit safe house' for *Captivating International*; 'safe home' for *KI Nepal*; 'shelter home' for *Love Justice International; and* 'safe haven' for *3 Angels International*. However, these extensions of choke-posts reveal different degrees and forms of carcerality. Critical (anti-) trafficking scholars unfailingly problematise these carceral spaces where 'trafficking victims' are kept after the rescue (Locke, 2010; Kotiswaran *et al.*, 2014; Connelly, 2015). Horrible cases of several forms and degrees of exploitation in these spaces – mental torture, rapes, beatings – which often lead to either random escapes or suicides have been highlighted, problematised and critiqued in the (anti-) trafficking literature as

well (Biswas, 2018; Pidd, 2018). While scholars have predominantly problematised immigration detention centres in 'destination' and 'transit' states, I problematise carceral bordering practices which people on the move encounter before they cross their nation-state border. I argue that all these different names for carceral spaces should be grouped together as 'emigration detention centres' to critique the violence embedded in the exclusionary anti-trafficking bordering practices along the departure avenues.

If choke-posts successfully manage to choke the departure avenues of the intercepted women, then their liminal time is stretched indefinitely. NGO counsellors first take these women to the border security forces of Nepal. Here, the government releases an authorisation certificate to the NGO. This act transforms the intercepted woman into a detainee, whose fate depends on the exposition of a male member of her family. Detainees have to stay at the detention centre until a male family member arrives to take her home. Otherwise, she is sent to the headquarters for rehabilitation and deportation (if there is an NGO headquarter – otherwise, most of them reside in the detention centres). Though legitimisation of these unlawful detentions of women takes place on the grounds of protection, what happens inside these fenced premises reveals another side of the human trafficking discourse of Nepal. I will now highlight four observations of such spaces, which I conducted after gaining permission from the NGO counsellors and border police.

First, I noticed that one NGO counsellor stopped two girls who were walking across the border. After an initial discussion, the counsellor took them inside the choke-post for further screening. Once the screening was over, the counsellors took them to the office of the border police. I noticed that both girls were terrified and had not said anything for almost an hour, despite the questioning of the counsellors. One NGO counsellor told me that initially, they had explained that they were going to India to work in a construction site, but then they stopped talking in front of the border police force. I observed one senior police officer issue a permission certificate to the NGO. Technically the issuance of a certificate marks one interception, which is in contrast to the NGO's claim of treating every choke-post visit as one interception – perhaps due to funding purposes. After receiving the certificate, they were taken to a huge fenced detention centre. I had a conversation with one of the girls who told me that they were going to Shimla region[62] of India. The counsellor told me that if none of their family members showed up then the NGO would transfer them to a Kathmandu rehabilitation home – another carceral space of trafficking. Most of the anti-trafficking and migration organisations interviewed talked about some of the negative aspects of these rehabilitation centres operating in Kathmandu.

---

[62] Many of my participants were going to Shimla to work as labour migrants.

Second, in another similar detention space, I noticed that some girls had been working as domestic workers in the space for some years. I tried to talk to a detainee who served me water while I was talking to the director of the centre, but the director did not allow that conversation to happen. The director later told me that, if no one comes to receive these girls, the NGO will impart different educational and vocational skills to them. One manager of such a space told me that, after a few years of such training, they recruit these women as anti-trafficking NGO counsellors and send them to their choke-posts.

Third, one religiously motivated anti-trafficking NGO counsellor told me that they screen religious movies every evening and morning for these 'rescued' women to correct them. After their deportation to their village, the missionaries follow them and do religious conversions in the community (see: Shih, 2014; Shih *et al.*, 2017). I attended one such ceremony in the community of Buddhists where I conducted this research. Some NGO members mentioned that, after the 2015 earthquake, several missionaries have been using these choke-posts as a religion conversion tool.

Finally, I observed a negotiation between a police officer and detention centre leader. A border police official (in his official dress) was requesting that the director of the detention centre release a girl who was from his community. While I do not know the outcome of the process, as they asked me to leave the centre immediately after that, the police officer was convincingly trying to provide subversive escape mobilities to one of the detainees.

Here I have tried to produce an understanding of these carceral 'emigration detention centres'. Thus far, little is known about such spaces. Thorough research is needed to make claims regarding escape mobilities. However, many agents told me that, once women are returned home, they again look for other departure avenues to actualise their decision to move.

Picture 55: Emigration Detention.

6.5 Conflicts within the labour regime

In this section, I take the concept of departure avenues and escape mobilities to the immigration regime. I highlight that liminal conditions in exploitative labour relations produces conditions for (subversive and non-subversive) escape mobilities to manifest. The subversive escape mobilities reveal the subversion from highly exploitative labour relations and the production of new departure avenues, which takes people to another category – usually that of an illegal immigrant. The moment of autonomy produced here renders their bodies as 'incorrigible subjects' (De Genova, 2010, 2015, 2017), showing the 'fugitivity' of an exploited worker marooning their exploitative labour relations (O'Connell Davidson *et.* al, 2019). An understanding of (subversive/non-subversive) escape mobilities from specific labour relations and the subsequent departure avenues ground the AoM framework's insights on mobility struggles (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013; De Genova and Tazzioli, 2016) into the critical (anti-) trafficking paradigm struggle of exploitation and oppression in labour relations (Shamir, 2012; O'Connell Davidson, 2015; Strauss and McGrath, 2017). I use mobility stories to show subversive and non-subversive escape mobilities in sex work (6.5.1), domestic work (6.5.2), and contract work (6.5.3).

6.5.1 Escape mobilities and exploitation in sex work

Subversive escape mobilities

Sukumaya, a 'sex trafficking victim', initially used to resist in the brothel to which she was 'trafficked' by agents. However, the resistance only made things worse for her in a 'Nepali brothel' in Kolkata, as it often made her subject to beatings and verbal abuse. She remembers that a fellow Nepali worker, when trying to console her, told her:

> *"It's important to work silently. Otherwise, these people sometimes could kill women and throw their bodies in the gutter. These are not good people. However, what can we do if we are here? You have to work here so that you could save some money, and after that, learn the language and keep looking for an opportunity to escape from this place."*

The inability to configure the subversive escape mobilities and the hope, provided by a fellow worker, helped her to work continuously in the exploitative labour relationship towards her escape. She saved money from the tips that she used to receive from her customers - *'No money was given to me by the [brothel] owners, but I started to save it,'* said Sukumaya, who used to hide money in different clothes – her blouse collars, pyjama ties etc. Within a few years, Sukumaya collected 2,000 – 4,000 INR. Meanwhile, during this time, she learned languages (Hindi and Bengali) and started

talking to several customers, explaining her situation in the hope that someday someone would help her to escape this exploitative labour relationship.

One day she encountered a Nepali customer who helped her to escape that space of exploitation. *'He told me to leave after a week, and we planned everything – all the taxi changing places, and meeting spots,'* said Sukumaya, who was accompanied by that Nepali customer until they arrived at the Indo-Nepal Border. Sukumaya's story of her escape challenges the arguments to penalise those who buy sex. For example, Bridget Anderson and Julia O'Connell Davidson highlight Siden's work to argue:

> *"Some clients do not wish to buy sex from prostitutes they perceive to be vulnerable, and those clients are amongst those who report cases of trafficking and abuses against prostitutes to the police, as well as amongst those who offer assistance to victims of trafficking"*

> (Siden [2002] in Anderson and O'Connell Davidson, 2002, p. 32).

In our context, the act performed by the stranger (physical mobility), the languages that Sukumaya learnt (communicative mobility), the money that Sukumaya gathered (object mobility), along with her perseverance, configured subversive escape mobilities to disrupt exploitative labour relations. The moment the configuration was right she left that structure of exploitation that she encountered. The departure avenue that was produced due to such subversive escape mobilities, took her back to the village into another oppressive structure of stigma. Sukumaya disrupted the borders of stigma for a long time, using her silence in the community. However, she mentions that many avoided using 'subversive escape mobilities' in the brothel and decided to stay within the exploitative structure.

Non-subversive escape mobilities

Unlike Sukumaya, Heidi, Nimmi and Skyla chose not to disrupt their labour relations, and navigated their lives within the conditions they deemed exploitative. They used non-subversive mobility to escape the everyday trauma and exploitation which they faced in their labour relations. While some of them took refuge in each other, some took refuge in alcohol, and smoking. They communicated with their peers, customers, and mobility facilitators about their conditions. These non-subversive escape mobilities helped them to establish physical, emotional, and financial connection with the outside world.

However, unlike popular representations of sex work and sex trafficking/slavery, most of my participants enjoyed various degrees of mobility. For example, Heidi, a sex trafficking victim, frequently visited her village. According to her, after a certain period, brothel owners used to allow

women to visit their villages. Some mentioned that they used to visit places in Calcutta during festivities (under restrictions). Brothel owners took some of them to shop periodically as well.

Further, sex workers from the community maintained transnational relationships with their families and friends. For example, Kevin, an ex-brothel hawker from the village, used to sell everyday goods (heels, handkerchiefs, watches, cosmetics, etc.) in brothels of Calcutta. He mentioned that during those days, people like him used to remit money and goods from brothels to the village. These intermediaries used to exchange information as well. These mobilities are manifestations of non-subversive escape mobilities for those whose physical mobility was restricted in their labour relations.

The bordering practices of the anti-trafficking and mobility regimes mentioned earlier have direct implications on such non-subversive escape mobilities. For example, Kevin was once intercepted at Kakarvitta border, and his goods were sealed by the border police. He stopped going for sex work after that. Kevin's position as a trafficker (or smuggler of goods) is a denial of non-subversive escape mobilities for sex workers of Nepal.

6.5.2 Escape mobilities and exploitation in domestic work

Subversive escape mobilities

Kanchi Maya was among a few domestic workers who did not face any restrictions on her physical mobilities in her employer's house in Kuwait. However, once she was buying groceries in a local shop and some men groped her from behind. While one of the sons of the employer immediately intervened, the incident remains traumatic for her. The incident highlights the dangers of mobility, which is not a luxury for most of the domestic workers in the Middle-East. However, her next experience highlights the dangers of immobility which are a reality for most of the domestic workers from the community. Kanchi Maya explains the event that happened in the workplace – the house of the employer:

> *"All I was doing was cleaning the dining room, and many family members were there. The young adolescent asked, 'Maya, go and fetch a glass of water' and I brought a glass of water … The water was hot. He then called me an animal and threw the glass of hot water at me. They used to give me very light and thin clothes because of the warm climate, but when the boy did that I felt so bad about it as everyone was able to see my under-garments."*

While the first time the employer's son had helped her, this time the employer's daughter tried to intervene. However, this traumatic incident was a direct attack on the dignity of labour and

womanhood. She immediately wanted to leave the worksite, despite the employer's apologies, which slowly turned into threats:

> *"…then they started scaring me by saying, 'We will be taking you to the police rather than to the placement agency, they will apply the third degree and will beat you till you excrete.' I said I have never done anything bad, and you are the one who is cruel, unjust and exploitative towards me. I became very angry and told them, 'Do whatever you want to do – police and court, whatever."*

Showing her resistance, Kanchi Maya stopped the work altogether and demanded that her employer take her to the placement agency office. After a few days of failed negotiation, the employers took her to the placement agency. However, the placement agents refused to help, since the contract only allowed a change in employment for the domestic worker within the initial three months. However, an imperceptible event happened at that time. She elaborates:

> *"The Nepali [placement agent] told me that 'It is not in my control, we could have done something for you initially, but it has been a year now.' He said that the only option of freedom that I had is to run away from the workplace and come here. They told me (in a very low pitch) in Nepali language to run away and come here [as] what's the point in [officially] discussing with them [employers] … [laughs] And then in front of the employer they talked in Arabic and told me to go and work nicely as they cannot do anything."*

The placement agent in Kuwait, often demonised in the anti-trafficking discourse of Nepal, showed imperceptible solidarity and showed Kanchi Maya a way to mobilise subversive escape mobilities. She went back to the house of the employer. Just like Sukumaya, she started to strategise disrupting the exploitative labour relationship. She decided to work for some days to receive her salary before executing her subversive escape mobilities:

> *"I had a one-month salary in my pocket as well. I thought at least now I can give money to my taxi driver ... I was hiding in a marketplace and waiting to find a taxi. Then, I saw an Indian man. He looked at me and asked, 'Where would you like to go?' I told him everything and asked for his help, but he refused and said that his life could be in danger if he helped me … After lots of requests, he asked me to come inside the car. I was very sure I am not going to get out of the car … I said to myself that I am not going anywhere until I reach the agent's place. He said, 'I will take you to the main road, and [from there] you have to take a taxi then.' When we arrived at the main road, he asked me to get down, take a taxi and leave. I said, 'You have brought me till here, thank you so much for this, but you need to take me a*

bit further'. Somehow, we were able to find [the office] … It took us one hour to reach there. I gave him 2 dinars. He was not taking it but I forced him to take it. [The] placement agent then hid me in their office and told me to stay here for a while before they would arrange my transfer to the embassy."

Once she came to the placement agency office utilising subversive escape mobilities, the placement agent connected her to the embassy of Nepal, where she met hundreds of domestic workers who had escaped their labour relations in similar circumstances. From there, she was sent to the police station to complete paperwork. For the next 15 days, she stayed in jail before her return.

Kanchi Maya's case shows that while subversive escape mobilities from an exploitative labour relationship gave her a moment of autonomy, it transformed her into a subject of deportation which temporarily shattered her dreams of house construction (see section 4.2.4). Several women in the community avoided such repercussions of subversive escape mobilities and focused on self-care, using non-subversive escape mobilities.

Non-subversive escape mobilities

Maya, Rishang, Kanchi Maya and Dolma went to work as domestic workers in Kuwait just like several other women from the village. Their employers did not allow Maya and Dolma (in her first trip) to move from the household until their contract had ended. Restriction of movement, an ILO indicator of forced labour (ILO, 2012), was common among domestic workers in Middle Eastern countries (Bajracharya and Sijapati, 2012). Their precarity increased due to the Kafala system, which allows employers to confiscate their passports upon their arrival (another ILO indicator of forced labour). However, during the FGDs, I found that one of the reasons why women's mobility was restricted to the household was their lack of Arabic language skills. While there were cases where even language skills could not assure physical mobilities, most of the people interviewed, especially those who had been to the Middle East, did not move outside the home unless there were children in the household. However, the confinement has had detrimental physical and mental repercussions for many women who went to the Middle East.

For example, Kanchi Maya's and Rishang's physical mobility was comparatively high as they were doing care work. However, as far as experience is concerned, the first contract was horrible for Maya and Dolma, due to the blockage of their physical and communicative mobility from the outside world. Maya consensually left the labour relationship within three months because she had not agreed to work caring for the elderly and found the work 'disgusting'. Kanchi Maya suffered sexual and physical exploitation, which triggered her 'subversive escape mobilities'. Rishang's experience

was pleasant because of the physical mobility that came with the childcare job. She used to take the children to the park and drop them at school.

However, employers never allowed their domestic workers to talk or communicate with other Nepali domestic workers. Rishang said, *'[Even] if two Nepali domestic workers meet in a park, we were not supposed to talk to each other'.* The only mobility given to most of them was a once-a-month communication with their family members back home. Their vulnerability increased significantly because of the immobility and, like several women interviewed, they were subject to unfreedom and exploitation as well – in terms of food, sleep, and physical and mental suffering. One can trace a clear relationship between mobilities, restrictions and vulnerability. However, the provision of any one mobility works as 'non-subversive escape mobility', which could potentially transform the entire oppressive or exploitative labour experience.

For example, after a year of confinement, the employers gave a multi-media mobile phone to Dolma. She learned how to operate the phone, learnt about Facebook, and slowly picked up the Arabic language; she was allowed to move around as well:

> *"After one year, Madame gave me a mobile. Madame gave a sim card as well. I used to call my father [frequently], and sometimes my father used to call me as well … [A] Filipino girl [another domestic worker in the house] was there for 15 years and she taught me to use the Wi-Fi. I learned Facebook as well. I started to talk to people. I used to talk to my future husband. Everyone is connected via Facebook, Emo and WhatsApp. Everything was free and I enjoyed it a lot. When I was here, my future husband was in Kuwait, but we used to communicate via Facebook. There were many people from this village connected on Facebook."*

For Dolma, this made a massive difference to her overall experience, and this form of non-subversive escape mobilities planted a desire in her to do skilled beauty parlour work in Dubai. Once she returned, she actualised that mobility decision using a new government-structured departure avenue. Like Dolma, many young women interviewed used a mobile phone as a tool that encapsulates most of the mobilities to escape the emotional burden, intensification of work pressures, loneliness, and trauma of exploitation.

However, the communicative mobilities of several women, even in cases of restricted physical mobility, are examples of 'non-subversive escape mobilities'. For example, before the children of the household broke Nima's mobile phone, she used to communicate frequently with her sister and her

friends.[63] However, in the wake of her immobility and subsequent exploitation, her entire Nepali diasporic network in Kuwait started calling her employers and pressurising them into buying her another phone. Though Nima was both physically and psychologically exploited and abused by the employers, the connectivity helped her to escape the immediate and everyday trauma.

Lastly, the most precarious conditions are those in which employers do not allow their domestic workers to leave, even after the completion of the contract. In most cases, women take this opportunity to negotiate their labour relationship – in terms of salary and material goods – and accept the demand of employer to renew their visa, later asking for a month-long holiday. Once they are back, many decide never to return. Hence, the performance of non-subversive escape mobilities could structure departure avenues for people on the move as well, which might also disrupt the labour relations. These escape mobilities help people avoid immediate repercussions by directly subjugating the employers and finding alternative departure avenues.

6.5.3 Escape mobilities and exploitation in contract work

Subversive escape mobilities

Suraj consented to the job offered by the placement agency only because he thought the life of a carpenter in a wood manufacturing factory would be relatively easy in Malaysia. Once he started working inside the factory, however, his supervisor frequently assigned him to new and different roles. The first job was easy but after a week the manager transferred him to another section where he was supposed to operate a wood-cutting machine with sharp saws. Due to minimal safety precautions, he was scared of the dangerous job where several people had already lost limbs.

Suraj resisted and complained to his supervisor regarding the lack of safety provisions, explaining he was afraid of dying or losing a limb. After months of fights and arguments, his supervisor transferred him to another sophisticated machine, which he found hard to operate. He said, *"The first job was very dangerous, and the next was f*$^!£% hard, and the machine used to make a ridiculous amount of noise."*

Suraj's narrative shows that the escape from one configuration after resistance does not necessarily mean freedom from that labour relationship. Here, everyday escape changed the unfavourable

---

[63] While leaving Kuwait International Airport, I encountered a flight attendant from an airline which was full of Filipino domestic workers. I was told that children could be real nuisance for these domestic workers; they hit them and they complain about them to their parents who in turn physically, verbally and psychologically abuse these women since it is extremely hard for them to defend themselves because of their limited understanding of the language.

configuration for Suraj. For him, it was hard to survive in such a condition. At the same time, he faced several other forms of exploitation:

> SU: *"Initially, we were new and wanted to earn more so we did that, but in one month we found it unbearable so we complained … Who's going to do this much amount of [dangerous] work? 14 hours work is crazy … We were forced to do work on Sundays as well."*
> A: *"Who asked you to work overtime?"*
> SU: *"Come on, if someone does not show up then they cut our salary as well. We had no choices. They used to say that this is fine, and since it's a company rule, if you do not work, then you have to give [a] fine."*

The company policy was to withhold 20 days' wages from employees, and the deductions were ambiguous; they were forced to do overtime (OT) in their jobs and the company used to cut wages (by up to 500 Ringgit) if employees were not doing work or OT. However, there were also times that Suraj and his colleagues had no work for months:

> *"It was a weird company. When the pressure was high they made us work non-stop for months; when the pressure was less, we were off for 5–15 days [no salary was given]."*

After several fights with his supervisor, and paying many fines, Suraj one day asked his manager to release him from work.

> *"I asked the manager to hand over my passport and give me the ticket because I could not tolerate this place anymore. They told me that if you want to leave before the contract ends then you have to pay a fine of 3000 Ringgit."*

At that time, Suraj did not have enough money as most of his saved money had either been sent home or was in the collective funds that he was maintaining with some of his friends. Hence, he decided to work for three more months to assemble the required amount. After three months, he went to the manager with the required amount of money. He was instructed to stay there for a few more months, given the high demand. After five months, he thought that the employers would never let him leave this way. Hence, he decided to mobilise other escape mobilities to disrupt the exploitation in his labour relationship.

Many of his friends had left their workplaces in Malaysia. One of his friends was Bobby, who had recently disrupted his labour relations. Suraj contacted Bobby, who was working 'illegally' in Malaysia at that time. Bobby provided him with the details of the agents who had facilitated his escape from his labour relationship. Suraj then called the agent and planned his escape. A few days after receiving his salary, he marooned the labour relationship. Several people like Suraj and Bobby

disrupted their labour relationship when they found it exploitative. However, while the subversion transformed Suraj and others into a subject of deportation, Bobby, along with several youths of the community, became an 'incorrigible subject' and stayed in Malaysia for a prolonged period in the illegal diasporic community. However, in most cases, the configuration of subversive escape mobilities follows non-subversive escape mobilities. Almost every person interviewed followed this pattern.

Non-subversive escape mobilities

Complete satisfaction within any labour relationship is difficult to find for most of the participants. Those who decided to stay within their labour relations used 'non-subversive escape mobilities' to bear the burden of the contracted work. In some cases, these 'non-subversive escape mobilities' transformed into 'subversive escape mobilities' after certain subjective threshold or level of tolerance was crossed. For example, there is a common threat of Tamil people[64] and police in Malaysia and there is a threat of being stuck in a terrible labour relationship in the Middle East. Here, non-subversive escape mobilities comprised communicative and virtual mobilities. People used communicative mobilities to maintain their sanity during these immobile conditions. Non-subversive mobilities not only provided them with tools and techniques but also gave them various ways to save themselves from the spaces, which could become exploitative. These methods often helped individuals to forge a community to circulate information related to jobs, amnesty, and agents who facilitate subversive escape mobilities.

These non-subversive escape mobilities helped participants to resist, rework, and become more resilient (Katz, 2001) against different forms and degrees of everyday violence, trauma and exploitation. While some, like Suraj and Bobby, decided to assemble escape mobilities to disrupt the labour relationship altogether, others decided to stay within these labour relations and work their social lives within them. However, both subversive and non-subversive escape mobilities have some costs.

6.6 Cost of escape mobilities

Conflicts manifested when exploitative labour relations denied and delayed the aspirations of the people. The liminal conditions that manifest due to the conflicts enable spaces for 'escape mobilities' in the exploitative labour relations. The subjective decision to work within or disrupt that labour relation lies within the people. When people on the move decide to stay in an exploitative labour relation, it could show their inability to actualise their decision to escape the exploitation, or

---

[64] Tamil people are people from south India who, as per my interviews with participants, were 'local goons' looking for Nepali people to plunder.

it could highlight their strategic decision not to mobilise subversive escape mobilities. However, if people do mobilise escape mobilities, it signifies a direct response against the (subjective) exploitation they experience in their labour relations, or it could highlight just another (un)strategic adventure. In either case, escape mobilities are used within labour relations. However, there are always some costs of such mobilities, which I now highlight.

6.6.1 Costs of execution

Irregularity

Most of the participants increased their age to escape the bordering in the citizenship regime. The attempt here is to pre-emptively disrupt all the bordering of trafficking they would encounter along their departure avenues. Individuals try to either go through the departure avenues structured by the state, or disrupt them altogether by becoming 'irregular migrants'. An 'irregular migrant' is a category that indicates the imperceptible departure avenues which individuals take to actualise their mobility decisions for foreign employment.

For example, Meghan embarked upon an imperceptible departure avenue. After spending one month in India, she was sent to Sri Lanka. She encountered several borders at sites along her departure avenue – for example, the Indo-Nepal border where she was questioned and the IGI Delhi Airport where she witnessed the detention of some girls. When she arrived in Sri Lanka, a female agent received her and took her to a place in Colombo. She stayed in Sri Lanka for more than a month. Recalling her experience, she said:

> *"She [the agent] took our passports and took us to a room where I stayed for more than a month ... This time I started crying because there was no phone. I had no idea where I was, what I was doing. 70 girls and women were living there ... No proper food, no communication, no movement. There was no place to sleep. I used to cry a lot. They used to give us a very small plastic bag of food, which was served twice a day: 1 am in the morning, and 1 pm in the afternoon. Also, it was limited in quantity. We needed to eat as much as we could quickly. We were not allowed to leave the place."*

Many women who took imperceptible avenues suggested similar forms of exploitation in Sri Lanka. Disrupting anti-trafficking bordering practices using subversive escape mobilities along imperceptible departure avenues increase people's vulnerability. For example, the detention that Meghan witnessed at the airport is an act of everyday border work at airports. However, Meghan was most vulnerable when she was immobilised in Sri Lanka. For her, the level of exploitation that happened in Sri Lanka was difficult to handle. While, on the one hand, Meghan expected this kind of exploitation, her statement shows that she was not able to anticipate the severity of it. Many

women interviewed suffered from such forms and degrees of exploitation along and beyond the departure avenues which acknowledged that while they had ideas about the possible exploitation, they had not anticipated some of them.

Escape mobilities also increase the vulnerability of the family as well. There is a normal tendency of agents to give some money to the family once women leave via irregular channels (see Chapter 5). Whilst the phenomena suggests a marketplace of agents (as described in section 5.3.3), as per the leading anti-trafficking lawyers of Nepal, this money-giving ritual potentially transforms the family member into a 'seller' of the woman. The process of recruitment produces a double trap which does not allow the family member to file a criminal case against the agents if things go wrong in the receiving countries. In an exceptional case of any police investigation, a family member could also face charges of trafficking along with the agent, due to the profit-sharing and facilitation.

Illegality

Despite employing imperceptible departure avenues, most of the women interviewed entered into labour relations legally (from the perspective of the visa-issuing country) although some entered illegally (from the perspective of the banning country) for domestic work, and all the men entered into labour relations legally. However, some (more in the cases of men) opted to configure 'escape mobilities' and disrupt their immediate labour relations, while some remained in those relations. Once escape mobilities are mobilised in the workplace (in the Middle East or Malaysia) to escape exploitative labour relations, it takes people something which is theorised as a 'hyper-precarity trap' in immigration regimes (Lewis *et al.*, 2015). Due to the entanglement of labour and immigration regimes, this trap transforms an individual into an illegal deportable subject *(Ibid.).* Everyone who configured subversive escape mobilities, after experiencing moments of autonomy, become illegal, and the cost of being illegal is deportation.

However, if we use departure avenues to analyse the experience of being a deportable subject, we will see that individuals who escape their exploitative labour relations exclusively to reap the benefits of becoming a deportable body chose to increase their precarity. While some decide to forge several imperceptible departure avenues with the help of diasporic communities, some suffer from extreme forms of labour exploitation. In either case, they become incorrigible subjects.

For example, Sarki left his labour relationship primarily because his salary was poor, people were not assigning him work and, most importantly, he was observing that many of his friends were employing escape mobilities to leave their labour relations. He waited until he had received his identity card, hospital card and ATM card from the company. Once these were in place, he transferred most of his savings to his uncle's IME account back in the community and disrupted the

labour relationship, along with a few others, and went to his friend's place in a taxi; his friend later helped him to get work in a nearby company. He became a merchandiser.

The escape mobilities helped him to get better work and to pick up several languages – including Arabic and English – and several skills – such as communicating as a salesperson and driving cars. After two years, once the identity card became invalid, he decided to escape from that worksite as well:

> "After 35 months, my identity card expired. Then we went to an agent (my friend helped me to get in touch with the agent) who gave me a duplicate identity card, changed the numbers of the same and extended the date. If the police would have checked it, then we would have been in serious trouble. They charged 200 Riyal for that. If you see it, you won't be able to identify it. It's a sneaky business, you know … I ran away from that place as well because now I feel that my salary has been a bit less than it should have been … This identity card issue was scary. Many people were sent behind bars."

Hence, he decided to run away from the organisation before the identity card expired and, through his network, found work as a wooden door fitter which required him to travel all around the city. Due to his increased mobility, Sarki encountered the police several times, but no one ever checked his ID card. He worked extremely hard, earned a decent amount of money, made several contacts, and the moment the amnesty was granted, *"illegally opened"* in the words of Sarki, he came back to Kathmandu.

The story of Sarki shows that one of the ways individuals function within this trap is with the help of the diasporic network they forge with other illegal immigrants living in the country. The network of deportable bodies often forged amid the hyper-precarious trap produces several imperceptible departure avenues, which in some cases increases the precarious conditions.

Consider the case of Buddhi. After having a massive fight with the manager, he escaped the labour relationship and went straight to his brother-in-law's place. He had two options – to stay in Malaysia or to leave the country immediately. He decided to stay and continue his life as an 'illegal immigrant'. His brother-in-law used his Nepali diasporic contacts and got him a job as a security guard in the central area of Kuala Lumpur. His salary increased from 591 Ringgit to 1200 Ringgit. Most importantly, this job as a security guard in the busiest area of Malaysia helped him to get in touch with many people who had become illegal immigrants in that country. Over this period, he changed between several well-paying jobs, met fellow *illegal* people and, most importantly, created a diasporic community of deportable bodies:

> *"Some people work as housemates, some people work in companies; we somehow managed to create a [diasporic] network ... we exchanged numbers and connected with each other on Facebook, and we used to text each other regularly … there were more than 200 Nepali people like that. Some people used to run away and come to KL tower [a common meeting place]. Moreover, if they bumped into some people who knew us, they used to take them to us, and after hearing the person's situations, we used to call our bosses asking for any job opportunities. We used to help them negotiate. I have helped more than 20–30 people. All of this happened because of the group."*

Buddhi talked a lot about how mobilities (virtual, communicative, object, physical, imaginative, etc.) sustained the diasporic community in Malaysia. The diasporic community in Malaysia produced imperceptible departure avenues for several illegal people in that country and helped several newly illegal people, many from the same village, to have a life in the country. However, after more than 5–6 years, when he was about to settle, his flatmate, an Indonesian woman,[65] robbed him.

Buddhi's story shows that one of the costs of being an illegal immigrant is that one can never access official justice in the receiving countries. Some people know about this and they consciously choose to stay in the exploitative conditions, as in the case of Subedar.

Subedar, after becoming illegal in Kuwait, worked in several places with a constant fear of abuse. He recalled that, wherever he went to work, the employers thoroughly abused his vulnerability. He recounted his experience as a cleaner near the Iraq border:

> *"I worked there for six months, but I got only three months' salary. My boss used to tell me that they have not received money from their clients. All the illegal people were exploited like this."*

Subedar's story cautions us against the AoM framework's valorisation of the term 'imperceptibility' against the sovereign power, as the individual has to face several costs of imperceptibility. While there are several people, like Buddhi and Sarki, who played 'imperceptible politics' as they could not afford to stand in front of the sovereign power to make their claims, there are some people who claim their 'labour-power' despite illegality, and fight for their 'right' by making themselves visible to the sovereign power – in Autonomist terms, 'incorrigibility'. However, I now show that making oneself visible might put a permanent stop to all future possibilities and could be more harmful than 'imperceptibility'. Dhansing's story is a classic example showing the dangers of 'incorrigibility'.

---

[65] Later, I was told by the network that this woman was his wife.

Dhansing went to Malaysia to work in an electronics company. He used to handle a large forklift machine and considered that his work was daunting. However, he was initially not given any pay in the first month. He was not allowed to leave for holidays or days off, not even on Sundays, without risking pay cuts. After two months of suffering, many of his colleagues picketed outside the factory. He had to decide whether to run and become illegal, like other colleagues had done, or to participate in the strike and show his solidarity. He chose the latter:

> *"The Chinese agent who was coordinating our movement was called by the company [management] people. Afterwards, they called the police who caught 34 people and put them behind bars … Then they took us to jail and [from there] we went to the court. I was behind bars for 15 days. I was not able to understand anything that was happening in court. They were using the Malay language. No one helped [us]."*

Not knowing the language, legal/labour laws, and the local culture and still participating in the strike cost him 15 straight days of traumatic experience in jail. What increased his trauma was the presence of the Tamil people,[66] who used to eat half of his food. He thinks that it was an extortion amount that he was forced to pay.

Dhansing recounts how his deportation happened 'in one piece of cloth' which became the most traumatic experience of his life. He still regrets taking part in the organised struggle. The story of Dhansing cautions us against the over-valorisation of incorrigibility and the 'organised fight', which places deportable bodies in front of the disciplinary power.

6.6.2 Costs of non-execution

While subversive escape mobilities produce departure avenues and have numerous costs, sometimes not employing them comes with its costs. Most of the stories captured above indicate exploitation until the execution of escape mobilities. For example, Subba, after regularly knocking on the doors of placement agencies (at least 12 times), obtained a visa to work on a construction site in Qatar. Once he arrived in Qatar, he was told that he would get a job on a construction site after a month. He waited for three months inside the allocated hostel. By that time, he realised that some of the people living in the same hostel were not being paid even after three months. Soon, those people went on strike against the employer and filed a complaint (to the labour attaché) in Qatar.

Meanwhile, he called the employer, who was very abusive, and asked him for a letter of release and his passport. The employer told him that none of those would be given to him, and he was free to do whatever he wanted to. He called the manpower agencies in Nepal as well, but all they gave was

---

[66] Tamil is community residing in Indian state of Tamil Nadu and parts of Sri-Lanka.

shallow assurances and the hope that things would become better soon. After several months of struggle, exploitation, hunger and worklessness, he finally returned to Nepal using a state-structured departure avenue.

Subba decided not to execute subversive escape mobilities and leave that condition of precarity like his other friends, in the hope that someday he would get justice. The cost of not executing subversive escape mobilities for Subba produced a life-long trauma in his psyche. For several years, he was unsure about whether to move again or not.

6.7 Conclusion

In this final empirical chapter, I discussed how people configure 'escape mobilities' as a response to the liminal conditions produced by bordering practices or by exploitative labour relations. These escape mobilities are a complex and intertwined combination of human and non-human mobilities used to decide and actualise any mobility decisions. Some of these decisions are (a) to leave the 'place of origin' for employment, (b) to follow the rules of bordering practices manifesting at several sites, (c) to disrupt these bordering practices, (d) to enter into labour employment, (e) to disrupt the exploitative labour employment, (f) to follow the rules of the exploitative labour employment. Hence, with the concept of escape mobility, I argue for the importance of examining the temporality of mobility decisions where people configure escape mobilities in their liminal conditions structured either by bordering practices or exploitative labour relations.

People configured some escape mobilities due to the conflict between forces of control and people on the move to take them out of the liminal condition. These are 'subversive escape mobilities' manifested along the departure avenues. Although the escape mobilities provide an experience of a fleeting moment of autonomy along the departure avenues, they often take people on the move towards specific political subject positions. Hence the costs of executing such mobilities could be highly contingent. Due to this, people often avoid disrupting the liminality and utilise 'non-subversive escape mobilities'. They often decide to stay in the liminal condition in the hope that someday the borders of the forces of control will transmute, labour conditions will get better and make way for their aspirations. However, for some this liminal time can be extremely daunting to handle. These liminal conditions present with anxiety, boredom, exploitation, oppression and abuse, which are handled by those who do not seek to disrupt the liminal conditions. Here people use 'non-subversive escape mobilities' to work through the everyday challenges they face, while waiting under such circumstances.

The analysis of escape mobilities is essential for the broader conceptualisation of departure avenues. While some escape mobilities multiply these departure avenues, by producing a new route

altogether, some escape mobilities strengthen and legitimise the exploitation, rightlessness and oppression on these departure avenues. Moreover, escape mobilities not only highlights the individual struggles of people on the move, without romanticising them as 'migrants' but also offers a longitudinal understanding of the escape mobilities to explain the transformation in the departure avenues and forces of control along departure avenues (see Chapter 5). Whether and how the escape mobilities bring transformation in labour relations would be a subject of further enquiry.

Hence, together, the concept of departure avenues and escape mobilities speaks to the ongoing debate on the interplay between mobility and control. The conceptualisation sheds light on the complexity of several regimes of control, bordering practices and the liminal spaces people on the move encounter to arrive at the receiving regions, i.e. immigration regime or labour relations. The concept of escape mobilities also highlights subversion of exploitative labour relations and explains incorrigibility, imperceptibility and fugitivity in the immigration regime. With the conceptualisation of departure avenues and escape mobilities, I provide a lens to gain a holistic understanding to explain control and subversion before, within, and beyond labour relations.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I propose an empirical framework for examining the co-constitution of mobility and control in the context of the international mobility of people from a 'trafficking prone' area and the politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration control in Nepal. I argue that if *mobility* promises us to explore the content (meaning, representation and embodiment) between point A to B (Cresswell, 2006), it is the (sovereign, affective and relational) power which tries to *control* meaning and the bodies on the move through various bordering practices. This mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control creates a space for innumerable encounters and irreconcilable conflicts between them (Bojadžijev and Karakayali, 2010). Such a process impacts the mobility of the people, who sometimes, in response, try to reclaim the mobility and rights delayed or denied to them by the control. Following the empirical findings, I place mobility practices of my participants ahead of practices attempting to control their mobility to showcase excesses produced as a result of the interplay between them (Mezzadra, 2004). To capture these excessive mobilities, I empirically show how forces of control recuperate their control practices. Hence, throughout this thesis, I examine the co-constitution of mobility and control and offer new empirical analyses of these dynamics in the context of the politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration control in Nepal.

The dialectical understanding of mobility and control speaks to the current endeavours of the literatures on critical (anti-) trafficking, new mobilities paradigm, autonomy of migration, critical border studies. These bodies of work underscore, conceptualise, and critique rightlessness, oppression and exploitation faced by the people on the move in the regimes of mobility (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013). However, in this thesis, I make the case for encounters and conflicts between a spectrum of mobility practices of the people and bordering practices of forces of control. I speak to the critical (anti-) trafficking literature which discusses the impact of anti-trafficking interventions, particularly in the emigration regime (Fernandez, 2013; Howard, 2017; Okyere, 2017), and add to this burgeoning scholarship by highlighting several forms and degrees of mobility struggles within the emigration regime, looking at it through the perspective of the people.

The context of Nepal exemplifies these dynamics, where women are not allowed to navigate their international mobility for sex work and domestic work (unless there is a bilateral labour agreement in place). I prioritise the complexities of forty eight stories of navigating international mobility to analyse modulations in mobility and control practices. These stories of mobility are complemented by a diverse spectrum of participatory data to understand differential access to mobility from a

'trafficking prone' region of Nepal (See Chapter 3). In addition to this, I examine several forms, actors, sites, and practices where forces of control manifest in the life of my research participants, to get a sense of experiences of encounters between mobility and control both within and beyond Nepal. I make a case of simultaneity and heterogeneity in mobility and control practices before, within, and beyond the labour relations.

Building on my empirical findings, I conceptualize *departure avenues* to better understand the embodied experiences of encounters between people on the move and various bordering practices of the forces of control (see Chapter 2). Departure avenues are spatio-temporal distances produced when people try to actualise their mobility decisions. I ground the concept of departure avenues in the literature of migration trajectories (Schapendonk *et al.*, 2018) to examine both the singularity and commonality of mobility struggles. While the embodiment of encounters between people on the move and forces of control (Scheel, 2013b) shows the singularity of mobility struggles, the collective denial of mobility and rights shows the commonality of mobility struggles. For example, while a specific discourse-based bordering practice may be targeted to a specific community or class, the way bordering practices are experienced and responded to by each person is different. Hence departure avenues highlight particular and contingent people-centric trajectories to understand diverse mobility struggles.

In the thesis, I argued that attention to the co-constitution of mobility and control along departure avenues helps us examine embodied experiences of delay and denial of mobility. My empirical findings suggest that people on the move sometimes disrupt the spaces produced due to such bordering revealing an excess of mobility over control. Conceptually, I argue that these spaces are betwixt and in-between liminal spaces, where bordering practices are experienced (Turner, 1995; O'Reilly, 2018). To explain such spaces, I offer another concept of *escape mobilities* as power-full configurations of interdependent (human/non-human) mobilities which either take people beyond liminal spaces *(subversive escape mobilities)* or assist them in their wellbeing if they decide to follow the liminality *(non-subversive escape mobilities)*. These escape mobilities are contingent shapes of excesses of mobility over control, and prime targets of the forces of control as they potentially disrupt the immediate bordering configurations they encounter. However, whether disruptive or not, every form of escape mobilities has some cost.

I show the presence of escape mobilities in the labour and immigration regimes to expand the scope of the thesis, highlighting future research projects to capture and analyse the longer trajectory of mobility in labour employment, flights/refusal/and escapes in the labour relations and immigration regime. Hence, in this concluding chapter, I point out some of the key empirical and methodological

contributions (section 7.3). I then show how some of the limitations of the thesis opens avenues for future research.

7.2 Departure Avenues: The politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration control in Nepal.

My research prioritises the perspective of the people on the move for labour employment from a 'trafficking-prone' region of Nepal to highlight the politics of (anti-) trafficking and emigration control in Nepal. The thesis draws upon and contributes to the literatures on critical (anti-) trafficking, critical border studies, new mobilities paradigm, autonomy of migration, and migration trajectories by empirically presenting a variety of mobility practices, bordering practices, and mobility struggles that highlight the dynamic and mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

I began the thesis with a set of interrelated vignettes with an aim to provide an account of complex interconnections of people's mobile life in the spaces of 'origin' and argue the importance of prioritising people's perspective on their encounters between mobility and control practices. In order to understand and prioritise such perspectives, I adopted a participatory research approach as that would enable me to capture and navigate the sites where they encounter and escape bordering, which is often produced to delay or deny them their mobility (see Chapter 3). However, I restrict my analysis only to mapping the modulating bordering practices manifested for specific targets due to the discourse of (anti-) trafficking in Nepal. I showed how the participatory approach revealed the diversity of mobility experiences of the people along with the multiplicity of bordering practices. The empirical materials generated with the help of this participatory approach created a space for the conceptualisation of *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities* which are required to understand specific encounters between people on the move, and the discourse specific bordering practices.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the production of departure avenues. I argued that these avenues are singular pathways along which a mobility decision originates, develops, actualises, diffuses and mutates. I make a case of the production of mobility decisions by arguing that, before a mobility decision is made, people must go through a terrain of decisions. While I argue that pathways produced after mobility decisions are spatio-temporal distances, I also argue that a mobility decision alone does not assure its actualisation. Rather, these mobility decision produces *departure avenues,* and the embodied experiences of encountering control along the avenues feed into the configuration of the mobility decisions from the site. The iterative process results in the transformation of the mobility decisions which also signify transformations in departure avenues. I showed how mobility decisions

from a specific site transform from sex work to domestic work in the Middle East to domestic work in Europe.

In Chapter 5, I discuss specific encounters between people on the move and forces of control along departure avenues and argue that mobility struggles and multiplication of bordering along these avenues multiply and fragment departure avenues. I provide a detailed account of these encounters along departure avenues towards sex work, domestic work, and construction work to empirically show a dynamic multiplication of bordering along departure avenues. I then showed the presence of liminal porocratic bordering aggregates along departure avenues aimed at controlling mobility practices which sometimes are imperceptible to the forces of control. The encounter with this modulating control practices fragments the mobility practices of the people on the move, and the desire to escape such control practices multiplies the departure avenues.

In Chapter 6, I discuss conflicts and escapes along these departure avenues. I empirically show that when people on the move encounter various bordering practices of the forces of control, a liminal space is produced. These in-between spaces sometimes deny or delay the mobility and rights of the people on the move. In this in-betweenness, people subjectively decide whether they want to stay in this liminal space or leave. In either case, people use, what I conceptualise as *escape mobilities*. These are differentially intertwined human and non-human mobilities configured along the departure avenue. These escape mobilities are specific shapes of mobility practices exceeding the practices of control. People use them to escape the everyday discontents of liminal spaces along their departure avenues. I call them non-subversive escape mobilities. However, people sometimes use subversive escape mobilities to disrupt liminal conditions. These powerful configurations are important for the actualisation of the mobility decision. Paying attention to escape mobilities along departure avenues takes forward the empirical and conceptual necessity to have a nuanced understanding of their mobility struggles (Casas-Cortes *et al.*, 2014). In this chapter, I took the concept of departure avenues beyond emigration control and discuss how escape mobilities in the immigration regimes and/or labour relations produces departure avenues. The extension of departure avenues before, within, and beyond the immigration regimes makes it an important concept to holistically understand a variety of excesses of mobility over control and mobility struggles along the longer mobility trajectories of individuals.

The conceptualisation of departure avenues and escape mobilities together addresses these research questions:

1. How do people on the move from a 'trafficking prone' area navigate their international mobility?

In this thesis, I examined forty-eight stories of mobility from a 'trafficking prone' region of Nepal using participatory action research. Previous research on mobility in Nepal has predominantly been focused on push-pull factors of migration (Shrestha, 2017), the nexus between migration and remittance (Piya and Joshi, 2016), post-trafficking bordering practices due to stigma (Richardson and Laurie, 2019), changing patterns of citizenship (Richardson *et al.*, 2016), and countering trafficking vulnerability in the aftermath of disasters (Dharel, Rai and Thapa, 2015). While I do not have a major disagreement with any of these existing research, people centric analyses of these research would reveal a *control bias* in these literature (see: Scheel, 2019)*.* Scheel (2019) argues that the problem of control bias is prevalent in the majority of migration, citizenship, bordering, security studies which employ and prefers various control practices over people's mobility practices in their analyses. Following the AoM approach, I prioritised people's diverse mobility practices over control practices to make sense of excesses of mobility over control and mobility struggles. I showed how understanding international mobility from the perspective of people has the potential to make political arguments on the singularity and commonality of mobility struggles.

People from the research site start navigating their international mobility with a mobility decision. In Chapter 4, I positioned these mobility decisions as historical, relational, and contingent negotiation (Mccormack and Schwanen, 2011), and made a case that before every decision, people have to go through a terrain of decisions (Bates, 2005). Departing from a causal understanding of mobility decisions (Haug, 2008; Van Hear, Bakewell and Long, 2018), I advanced an argument for a configuration approach to better understand the rationale behind these mobility decisions. The configuration approach simultaneously transforms mobility decisions into a highly singular event signifying past, present and future in a complex manner, and at the same time, these singular events feed into the overall configuration of decisions form the specific site. In Chapter 4, I discussed several mobility decisions people take towards a variety of labour employment like sex work, domestic work, seasonal work, and contract work. However, I showed that the mobility decision alone does not assure its actualisation due to the presence of symbolic order, constituting several forces of control crisscrossing a variety of regimes of mobilities, in which the decision-maker enters, once it starts actualising the decision.

In Chapter 5, I provided an account of a symbolic order through which people actualise their international mobility decisions. People on the move either follow the order which sets rules and regulations of mobility, or people disrupt some, or all, of the rules and regulations. In either case, people on the move encounter several borders of the forces of control while navigating their international mobility. These mobility and control practices shape and are shaped by several historical events, activities, and discourses. I presented a historical analysis of all forms of control

practices in three types of work - sex work, domestic work, and contract work to highlight rapid transformation in the regimes of mobility. Amidst these dynamic regimes of control, people on the move navigate their international mobility. I highlight how these emigration control measures structure forces of control which often produces liminal porocratic bordering aggregates for the people on the move.

In Chapter 6, I highlight the irreconcilable conflict between modulating mobility practices of the people on the move and bordering practices of the forces of control. I showed how every time upon these encounters, people on the move enter a liminal space, where mobility decisions are required to further navigate their international mobility. These liminal spaces either deny or delay rights and mobility to actualise international mobility. Hence to navigate the international mobility, people always have to decide between whether to follow or to disrupt these configurations of control. However, both have their respective costs which I have highlighted in section 6.6.

Finally, I discussed the spaces where the departure avenue for the initial mobility decision diffuses – in immigration regime or labour relations. I highlighted several degrees and forms of exploitation within these labour relations. Some people decide to stay in their exploitative labour relations, while some decide to escape. I presented a case of a few of my participants who escaped their labour relations, only to render their bodies as deportable, who worked as an illegal immigrant and then returned to the community upon the amnesty given by the immigration state. Together, they highlight various ways of navigating international mobility.

2. In what ways do (anti-) trafficking discourses transform practices of mobility and control in Nepal?

In this thesis, I have examined the role of (anti-)trafficking discourses in the lives of mobile people. Most of the previous research on human trafficking in Nepal positions trafficking as a beginning point and analyse the life of the people impacted by it. For example, a juxtaposition of trafficking and earthquake (Flåte, 2018), trafficking, citizenship and stigma (Richardson, Poudel and Laurie, 2009), trafficking and sexual exploitation (Uprety, 2014), trafficking and sex trade (Sarkar, 2016), trafficking and domestic work (Devries, 2012), trafficking and mental health (Tsutsumi *et al.*, 2008), trafficking and labour migration in the Middle East (Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019; Sijapati *et al.*, 2019). While I understand the importance of these research, I have prioritised people's embodied experiences of mobility before anti-trafficking measures, and reduced the discourse of trafficking into merely one political category against the vastness of mobile lived experiences. In this thesis, I refuse to position human trafficking as the starting point and examined mobility practices of people, based on empirical findings, and position the term human trafficking as a border producing

discourse. The approach also helped me to understand how local and global discourses of trafficking strikes a symbiotic relationship with other discourses to carry out their respective agendas.

In Chapter 4, I discussed transformation in the mobility decisions from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal. In Chapter 5, I pointed out how various trafficking and anti-trafficking global and local events, activities, narratives, and discourse produced the very first anti-trafficking bordering practices in the community – in the form of a youth club. I discussed how people on the move incorrigibly refuted the bordering practices of anti-trafficking agents. I then showed how intensification of anti-trafficking discourse (both nationally and internationally) strengthened the anti-trafficking bordering practices of the youth club. As a result, the community members changed their mobile practices as well in response to ever-strengthening borders of trafficking in Nepal. As the global, national, and local discourses of human trafficking stigmatised mobility of sex work in India, people simultaneously made their mobility practices towards sex work imperceptible.

However, the community members also changed their mobility practices towards the Middle East for domestic work, to avoid the gaze in the community and beyond. However, due to several incidences of labour exploitation, the government of Nepal imposed mobility bans on the movement of women. These bans are implemented by the anti-trafficking NGOs who often use the rationale of labour trafficking in the Middle East (Shamir, 2012; Mak, Kiss and Zimmerman, 2019). These two intersections brought the narrative of trafficking closer to the narrative of illegality in Nepal. I discussed the chronology of such bans, to make a case of *excess* of mobility over control, and argue that the changing nature of bans signifies the failure of the power of (anti-) trafficking discourse to control the mobility practices of people on the move.

The involvement of anti-trafficking, which follows different national and international discourses, in the implementation of mobility bans produces several forms, sites, agents and practices of bordering to capture the imperceptible mobility practices. However, empirical findings suggest that community members, despite encountering bordering practices, managed to escape such practices. In Chapter 6, I showed different ways people on the move disrupt such bordering. If people fail to disrupt these borders, the knowledge of the attempted subversion or configuration of escape mobilities feeds into the existing bordering practices which rescale and restructure anti-trafficking bordering practices in Nepal. Hence, I make a case of simultaneity and heterogeneity in mobility and bordering practices through liminal porocratic bordering aggregates and escape mobilities.

3. How do mobility and control co-constitute each other?

This thesis advances an argument of co-constitution between mobility and control using empirical examples. Previous studies on mobility and control predominantly focus either on mobility or the control (structures, policies, and authorities) (Salter, 2013a) as any attempt to make a bridge between mobility and control, positioning two positive forces together in one analysis (Squire, 2017). Salter argues that a better understanding of the dynamic co-constitution of mobility and control focused on mobility is missing from the debate (Salter, 2013). However, there are few schools like the AoM framework which offers a conceptualisation of conflicts between the two, by positioning mobility before control (Mezzadra, 2010; Tsianos, Papadopoulos and Stephenson, 2012; De Genova, 2016). The AoM approach is embedded in specific theoretical, empirical, and political agendas intertwined within the politics of European and the US immigration regimes (see Chapter 2). This research draws from and builds on such literatures by dislocating the meaning, sites, and politics of borderings in Nepal. Through empirical findings, I showed the simultaneity and heterogeneity of ever-changing mobility practices and dynamic respatialisation, and the rescaling of bordering to establish a constitutive relationship between mobility and control.

To make sense of this co-constitution, I introduce concepts of *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities*. Understanding the lives of people on the move using these concepts both empirically and conceptually advances the understanding of co-constitution of mobility and control. Building upon the AoM approach, I showed that co-constitution of mobility and control takes place through encounters and conflicts between people on the move and bordering practices of forces of control. These bordering practices delays and denies mobility to the people on the move by producing a liminal space along the departure avenues. I showed how my research participants responded to such denial by disrupting these liminal spaces employing subversive escape mobilities. These subversive escape mobilities highlight an excess of mobility over control, and to capture this *excess* (Scheel, 2019), I showed how forces of control rescale and respatialise its bordering practices, but still fails to capture diverse mobility practices, revealing another excess. Drawing on this modulation between mobility practices and bordering practices I empirically establish their dynamic co-constitution.

The argument of co-constitution is important for the critical literature on migration which has been historically accused of romanticisation of migration and valorisation of migrants (Alabi *et al.*, 2004; Omwenyeke, 2004; Sharma, 2009). In Chapter 4, I addressed these within the approach which is not necessarily in agreement with the diverse ways of becoming a 'migrant'. I used the analytic of mobility decision and discussed three dimensions of decisions – pre-production, production and transformation. Understanding mobility decisions through a terrain of decision (Derrida, 1992) suggest that these decisions are born in certain structures of control (Mezzadra, 2010). To

understand why people make mobility decisions, I argue for a configuration approach with no specific or stable ontology of decision inextricably linked to the structures of control in which the terrain of decisions is produced. I empirically showed the transformation in the decisions from a particular site. For example, the transformation from sex work to domestic work, from seasonal work in India to contractual work in Malaysia and the Middle East, from domestic work in the Middle East to domestic work in Europe, signifies simultaneous changes in the structures of control like local anti-sex work awareness, fear of HIV/AIDS, Anti-Trafficking interventions, the community gaze, within which mobility decisions were made.

The initial mobility decision attains the overarching principle of structuring encounters between people on the move and forces of control. In Chapter 5, I showed how mobility practices become indicators of bordering, and it is in the best interest of forces of control either to throw light on imperceptible mobility practices (Wilcke, 2018) or to capture and digest incorrigible mobility practices (De Genova, 2010). The failure to capture the full spectrum of mobility practices results in a continuous respatialisation and rescaling of bordering practices. The continuous reconfiguration of bordering practices feeds into the mobile practices of the people on the move along the departure avenues within, before and beyond the bordering establishing a co-constitution of mobility and control along the departure avenues.

I debate this in my discussion of *escape mobilities* (Chapter 6)*,* and liminal porocratic bordering aggregates (Chapter 5). While I showed how escape mobilities reveal highly particular and powerful shapes of excessive mobility practices which always feeds into the elements and indicators of bordering principles. I also highlighted the knowledge of escape mobilities which allows different institutions to form liminal aggregates of control of capture and plug ruptures in which escape mobilities manifest. The knowledge of escape mobilities is present at the kernel of these contingent liminal porocratic institutions. Altogether, I empirically and conceptually establish co-constitution of mobility and control.

7.3 Key Contributions of this thesis

The major contribution of this thesis is an analytical advancement of the argument of a constitutive relationship between mobility and control by the conceptualisation of *departure avenues* and *escape mobilities*. By focusing on departure avenues and escape mobilities, I positioned mobility struggles from the perspective of people on the move, before any political categories. Empirically grounded within the participatory approach, this research highlights several forms, sites, agents, practices and targets of bordering produced by the discourse of human trafficking. This section develops key empirical and methodological advancements of this thesis.

7.3.1 Empirical contributions

Modulations of mobility practices and control practices

In this research, I empirically demonstrate a modulation in both mobility and control practices to advance an understanding of the constitutive relationship between mobility and control. I analyse the case of Nepal, where on the one hand, women are not allowed to leave to go to the Middle East for domestic work, and on the other, men encounter severe exploitation before, within and beyond their labour relations, despite a comprehensive emigration regime. I demonstrate a historical fragmentation of bordering practices which restricts the mobility of women. This fragmentation reveals the attempts of the forces of control to capture the spectrum of mobility practices which exceeds practices of control bringing simultaneous modulations in mobility practices. Modulations of mobility and control practices advance the argument of irreconcilable conflicts between mobility and control (Tazzioli and De Genova, 2020).

A detailed analysis of mobility struggles in the regimes of the mobility of Nepal

This thesis presents a comprehensive account of mobility struggles using the concepts of departure avenues and escape mobilities from a 'trafficking prone' area of Nepal. Chapter 4 discussed under what circumstances mobility decisions are made. Building on this, Chapter 5 discussed regimes of mobility (emigration, Anti-Trafficking) to make a case of mobility struggles of the people under these regimes. The thesis presents a comprehensive historical analysis of mobility bans in Nepal. These ever-transforming bans highlight the presence of collective and individual mobility struggles against practices of forces of control. Chapter 6 highlights what happens when these practices of control deny or delay mobility and rights to the people on the move. Further spaces of exception are produced during such conflicts at various sites, practices, agents of borders, and how people on the move either disrupt or follow such bordering. Together, this thesis presents a comprehensive detail of the mobility struggles in the regimes of mobility in Nepal.

Marketplace for recruitment agents or 'traffickers'

Building on the literature of migration brokers, middlemen, traffickers, and agents (Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh, 2012; Fernandez, 2013) this thesis provides a comprehensive account of several creative but "illegal" recruitment practices and makes a novel case for the marketplace of recruitment agents. Chapter 5 highlights all forms of contemporary recruitment practices in Nepal under and against the provisions of the Foreign Employment Act of Nepal. This research reveals a variety of alternative recruitment practices assisting people whose mobility and rights are delayed or denied due to the mobility bans imposed by the state of Nepal. These illicit recruitment practices facilitate imperceptible departure avenues to many. Empirical findings suggest that facilitators of such

imperceptible departure avenues are the same agents who facilitate recruitment practices laid out by the state. Most of the research participants who aspire to move for labour employment, despite government bans, select their preferred agents to maximise the benefits. The presence of so many recruitment agents has made this easier for the people to negotiate the best possible deal. As a result, there is also a competition among these agents to provide maximum benefits to the people. On the basis of this finding, this thesis presents an important case for the marketplace of recruitment agents who could be convicted as 'traffickers' due to their facilitation of mobility.

A situated analysis of the transformation in the mobility practices from a trafficking-prone area of Nepal

This thesis is among the first in Nepal which presents a chronological analysis of transformation in labour and mobility from a specific site. These transformations in mobility signify a subsequent transformation in its constitutive other – control. Following the AoM approach, this research privileges mobility over control to highlight transformation in mobility practices. Transformations in the mobility practices started from the historical events which stopped the practice of employing concubines in royal courts. Once this practice stopped, people started going to India for seasonal work. Over the period, people started going to India for sex work. When this stopped due to Anti-Trafficking interventions, the female community members started going to the Middle East for domestic work. However, the male members started to go to the Middle East and Malaysia for construction work and factory work respectively. Due to the bordering practices of anti-trafficking discourse, exploitation in labour relations, and inaccessibility of Justice, people from the community have started to move towards Europe. Through this longitudinal understanding of transformation, this thesis tries to understand longer trajectories of the people on the move.

7.3.2   Methodological contributions

Contributions to the field of Human Trafficking research

This thesis speaks to the debate on human trafficking. More specifically, using a grounded PAR, I advance most of the arguments made in the critical (anti-) trafficking literature. Some of these arguments are the ambiguity with the definitions of human trafficking, the stigma that the victimisation of trafficking carries, and the collateral damages of the Anti-Trafficking interventions. These critiques positions most of the trafficking research as shoddy research, and questions ethics of engaging with the term 'trafficking'. Understanding these nuances, and sensitivity of using the trafficking term in a community historically deemed vulnerable to it, I decided not to use the word 'trafficking' in the community unless used by a participant. While I departed from placing human trafficking as the starting point of the research, the topic of trafficking narrative emerged several

times during the research process – formation of the steering committee, negotiation of a safe space for research, participatory training, action and reflection meetings, focused group discussions, interviews. These were some of the most critical arguments made by the people whose mobilities were historically impacted by the discourses of trafficking. Based on these critical arguments posed by the community members, I conducted an ethnography, based on the stories of mobilities, to understand and observe bordering practices which follow the discourse of (anti-) trafficking, and people's response to such practices.

Contributions to the field of Participatory Action Research (PAR).
This thesis significantly contributes to the literature of participatory action research in several ways:

a. New participatory tools: Departing from the normally prescribed models of PAR, I developed several contextual research methods tools. For example, this research develops participatory tools like participatory village mapping to map out the research and select the research site.

b. Beyond NGOs: This thesis altered several unspoken practices of the PAR approach. One such practice is to anchor the research with a particular NGO. However, as I highlighted in Chapter 2, NGOs in the field of human trafficking are discourse masters. Hence understanding the importance to avoid seeing things through the lens of the NGO, this research did not anchor the research project with a particular NGO, setting an example of solo academic PAR research for a PhD project.

c. Ethics: This thesis introduces a framework of assuring ethics during the fieldwork. I tried to assure ethics at several sites of the research – body, household, group, community, national. In all these sites, I provided options of anonymity, informed consent, and confidentiality to the participants. I had a detailed conversation with research participants at all levels regarding the ethics of the research before engaging with the process. I also reflected on the ethics with research companions during every meeting to assure everyday day ethics, which required them to act ethically in their day to day encounters with the research participants.

d. Research companions: Research companion is a new term for research helpers, assistants, and peers. The term sprang up when I was reflecting on their roles in the field, and the name they gave themselves in the field – *sathi* (companion) *anusandhankarta* (researcher). The term research companions capture the essence of their work. They exceed the formal indicators of co-researchers, or peer researchers, as they are around most of the time, and most importantly, most of them become friends during the process and continue the friendship after the process.

e. Research Impact: Finally, this thesis challenges the material impact around which Participatory Action Research are commonly organised. A common practice in PAR is that the research revolves around a direct material benefit to the target participants. While this research aimed to develop a migrant information centre in the community, as the research progressed, some of the community members started to express their doubts relating to the visibility of the centre. After a series of meetings with research companions and key actors in the community and continuous contemplation, I decided to call off the material impact of the research. This research challenges the traditional understanding of the material benefits of the PAR, which might be counterproductive in the long run.

7.4 Future research directions

This section outlines some of the future research avenues in light of the key empirical findings and methodological innovations. Whilst some of these avenues were deliberately unaddressed in this thesis to maintain a sense of coherence, some avenues were too far beyond the present scope of the thesis. I attempt to address these limitations through larger research projects which expand the sites and time periods of the analysis of mobility and control practices. I aim to extend the understandings of departure avenues and escape mobilities to better understand mobility struggles. Also, I intend to unearth the analysis of people's voices and silences using participatory methods. Finally, I plan to conduct policy research at the intersection of mobility bans, labour market regulations, and bilateral treaties.

7.4.1 Expansion of times and sites to examine modulations in mobility and control practices:

In this thesis, I provide a situated analysis of the mutually constitutive relationship between mobility and control, with a small-scale case study constrained by time and resources. The findings of the present study are based on the lived experiences of people on the move from one site with specific history and geography. I conducted this research in a site where people have recently started to aim for Europe with different ambitions and dreams. Also, there are several events which are shaping the existing research site. For example, a river diversion project which cuts across the village, the ongoing Indo-Nepal political border dispute, and the emigration control following Covid-19. Hence at some point in time, I aim to return to the village to understand further modulations in control and mobility practices.

The expansion of times and sites to capture modulations in mobility and control practices has the potentiality to open new empirical avenues. For example, I aim to highlight, critique and conceptualise emigration detentions centres that I briefly touched upon in the current thesis. Further, I would like to conduct a multi-country case study where people on the move are delayed

and denied with mobility and rights, or are pre-criminalised and pre-victimised, through various discourses before they become political subjects in the immigration regime.

7.4.2 Expanding the concepts of departure avenues and escape mobilities

In this thesis, I introduced concepts of departure avenues and escape mobilities. However, I also understand these concepts are at a fertile stage which needs further development, refinement and expansion. A thorough analysis of these concepts, through several political and philosophical standpoints, is important to justify their ability to further the conceptualisation of mobility decisions, mobility struggles, refusals, porosity, subversions, imperceptibility, and incorrigibility.

For example, while I associate the concept of departure avenues with mobility decisions, I understand that mobility decisions also trigger escape mobilities which also produces departure avenues. I need to further conceptualise the configuration of mobilities to better understand the geography of mobility decisions. I aim to intersect a new mobilities paradigm with Bourdieu's concept of habitus to understand how interdependent mobilities influences the terrain of decisions, and how the existing structures norms, values, behaviours of a person who decides to move for labour employment disrupts bordering along the way or disrupts exploitative labour employment. Further, I aim to work on the materiality of liminal porocratic bordering aggregates.

Similarly, in this thesis, I have not utilised the concept of subjectivity. While migrant subjectivity is one of the most important areas of analysis of migration studies, I have restricted any exclusive discussion on subjectivity. However, the hauntology of subjectivity present in my methodological, empirical, and conceptual choices and findings demands proper unpacking. Based on my subjectivity, participant's differential subjectivity, and the subjectivity of control, I aim to discuss a conceptually nuanced understanding of subjectivity utilising the Lacanian notion of Lack and the Derridean understanding of the terrain of decisions in my future endeavours.

Empirically a lot could be added to these concepts as well. For example, differently embodied experiences along these avenues, different types of bordering encountered along departure avenues, different forms of conflicts at these avenues, different experiences of liminality along these avenues, different constitutions of escape mobilities, and different forms of subversions and non-subversions.

7.4.3 Unearthing voices and silences of people on the move using participatory methods

Methodologically, this research utilises participatory action research and ethnography to examine the lives of the people. However, there were some limitations of the research methodology which I would like to address in my future research endeavours. First, the research was conducted at one

site deemed as 'trafficking prone'. I aim to conduct similar research in another so-called 'trafficking prone' area. Secondly, in this research, I have not involved different anti-trafficking actors in the fieldwork. I would like to research with all actors (state, NGOs, recruitments, trade unions) together to co-produce knowledge with policy implications. Thirdly, there is a need to expand the time spent in Indo-Nepal political borders to highlight, critique, and conceptualise choke-posts, and emigration detentions. I aim to conduct an exclusive border ethnography along the Indo-Nepal open borders. Finally, this research reveals different types of silences that I encountered during the process. I aim to conduct similar research in different sites to conceptualise geography of silences in the critical Anti-Trafficking, mobilities, border, and securities studies.

Further, this research briefly touches upon the subversions in labour relations which demand more work related to the solidarity of workers' responses against severe forms and degrees of rightlessness, oppression, and exploitation. Building on the arguments on mobility struggles, bordering practices, and creative subversions, I aim to analyse how people navigate their lives within and beyond their labour relations, by prioritising the voice of the exploited as the starting point of analysis. Further, I aim to understand how and why some people leave their labour relations, or more importantly, remain in their exploitative relations to further the understanding of the geography of subversive and non-subversive practices in labour relations, and the ongoing theorisation of the continuum of exploitation. The idea here is to expand on the key conceptual questions raised in my doctoral thesis to enhance the solidarity of people's subversive responses to the structures of oppression, rightlessness, and exploitation. With this, I present a holistic view of forms, sites, and experiences of both subversive and non-subversive struggles against exploitative labour relations in the immigration regimes of Qatar and Malaysia. In other words, I aim to provide an empirical base of the continuum of exploitation, and moments of autonomy in the immigration regime and understand its possible links with the modulations in labour markets.

7.4.4 Policy research on mobility bans, labour market regulations, and bi-lateral treaties

There is an ongoing debate in Nepal regarding the politics, relevance, and counter productiveness of mobility bans on domestic workers. While recruitment agencies prefer the ban, due to the uncertainty in labour employment, the mobility bans force people on the move to disrupt the ever-modulating bordering produced due to such configurations. Further, the ban has produced an informal recruitment market in the community, with women as prime beneficiaries due to the high demand of Nepali domestic workers in the Middle Eastern labour markets. Due to this practice, high recruitment fees for international mobility have been transformed into compensation amounts which are negotiated by people on the move. In this thesis, I avoided any commentary over mobility

bans due to the complexities of compensation amounts which have changed the recruitment landscape in the community. Hence, there is a need to conduct policy research on the labour market regulations, emigration control measures, and bi-lateral treaties to have any say over mobility bans. Policy research could assist in a re-examination of bi-lateral labour agreements and offer analytical insights on the relationship between emigration regimes, immigration regimes, employers' perspectives and workers' rights and bargaining power.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Preliminary interview schedules

Interview schedule - source

Profile of participant	
Name:	
Ethnicity:	
Gender:	
Age:	
Household type: (Kutcha/Pucca)	
Date:	**Name of respondent:**
	Anonymity Clause: (Yes/No)
	Reasons:

Purpose of the Interview:
The purpose of this interview is to understand the participants' view/perceptions on the following:

- Their stories of mobility – motive force, place memories at various mobile systems, etc.
- The mobility pattern of the people.
- The understanding of the participants on their mobility governance. The guide will also serve as an interview schedule to map the mobility pattern before their training.

Procedure:

- *Please introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the interview and why they have been chosen to participate*
- *Ask the members of the team to introduce themselves (name, activity engaged)*
- *Please assure participants of the confidentiality of the process and that their names will not be linked to anything they may discuss, unless they want it to be. Please ensure the compensation – pre-approved with the steering-committee – is given to the participants by the peer-researchers.*
- *In case the interview is being recorded, please ensure that prior permission has been taken from the participants.*
- *Please explain the following procedures:*
    - *Length of time the interview will take*
    - *Procedure in case anyone wishes to exit the interview.*

1. Questions before the migration process:

   a. Tell me your life history before you moved to this village? (Family, any migration experience before marriage, rules of the household, nature of work, education)

   b. Can you please tell us more about your household before you left Ichok for work? (Husband/children/family, socio-economic condition of the house)

   c. What roles and responsibilities have you had before you left for work? Did you enjoy them? (Try to understand their mobility while they were in the village, movement governance in the household))

2. Questions related to the process of migration:

   a. When, for the first time, did you move out of the village for an extended period? And what was the motivating factor behind it? (Friends working abroad, TV/Media, poverty etc.)

   b. What was the role of family – did they encourage or discourage you when you decided to migrate for the first time? (mobility governance in the household)

   c. Could you please tell us who helped you with your first migration? (For the work-related migration, try to understand the number/type of people involved and the support they provided – informational, financial, visa, work permit, accommodation etc.) How did you prepare yourself for migration? What was the response of your family members?

   d. What was the reaction of the village – in general or in your case in particular – when you decided to migrate? Do they generally discourage or encourage people? Is it a good thing to go out and work with the community? (Community related mobility governance)

   e. At the time you decided to migrate, did you have all the information related to age /related to travel bans in your country? If yes, who told you? If No, when did you first came to know about it? And, in both the cases, what was your reaction? (State level governance?)

   f. At the time you were about to leave the village how many people did you know outside the village – both in the destination and in general? Can you list the most important among them? How did you keep in touch with them?

   g. Did you receive pre-departure training from anyone before you left the village by any NGO or person? What did they tell you? Did they encourage or discourage you?

      ➢ What did that orientation include?

      a. Contractual obligations

b. Terms and conditions of work: Regular wages and hours, vacations, sick and personal leave; Overtime hours and rates; Grievance procedures; Health and safety policies, Benefits and deductions, discipline and termination

c. Rights and responsibilities on the job, and those of your employer

d. Living conditions

e. Company policies

f. Grievance mechanisms that are in place for the worker on the job?

g. Laws or regulations of the destination area you were visiting?

h. Accommodation arrangement?

i. Bank account

j. Medical support

- Recruitment Fees:

    a. Did you pay a recruitment fee to the placement agency? If yes, how much? Did you also play any other fee to any person? If yes, please tell me more about it?

    b. Tell me more about that amount? Was it refundable? Did you get any itemised break-up of the expense?

    c. Who arranged the processing of work permit, visa, passport, tickets?

    d. Did you pay anything in the source country as well? If yes, please share the details?

- Contracts:

    a. Did you sign any employment contract? If yes, where and with whom was the contract signed? Was the contract in the Nepali language? Did you understand it properly? Did you read it before signing it?

    b. Did someone explain the terms and conditions of the contract? Who was that? And when did it happened?

    c. Was any copy of it handed over to you?

    d. Was the work being offered consistent with what was mentioned in the contract?

h. Do you remember the date when you first moved out? If yes, please do let me know.

i. Do you remember whether you were carrying things – clothes, bag, money, identification document, passport etc. – with you when you first moved out?

j. Analysis of mobility:

- Step 1: Where did you go after you left your house? What was the means of travel – walking/bus? Did you like travelling that way? Do you remember anything that had happened during the journey? How did you feel while travelling? Was there anyone travelling along with you? Did you meet anyone, meet new friends while travelling? Do you remember using your mobile phone here? If yes, could you please tell me whom did you call and for what purpose? Was it difficult/easy to reach the place? Did you know about this place? Did anything prevent you while arriving this place (family, NGOs, people), did you change the place where you were supposed to go in between, if yes, please let me know what/who influenced you? (Questioning mobility)
- Step 2: Tell me about this place? Did you like the place - reasons? What did you do there? What is your memory of this place? Do you remember anyone you met on the place? Probe - information about activities, interactions that happened while the person was at that place, dairy maintenance, coordination etc. (Questioning immobility)
- Step 3: Do you remember the time duration that you spent at that place? [It's better to use chart paper to plot their experience]
- Step 4: Do you remember any type of threat or abuse – physical, psychological, sexual, drugs, alcohol or any type of denial – food, water, movement, identity documents during the movement?
- Step 4: Where did you go after that?

k. Repeat Step 1-5 till the person is at the destination.

3. Questions related to the work experience:
   a. Which place did you move into (first halt – friend's, house, hotel, placement agency) in the destination area?
   b. What did you think of that destination area (image) before you arrived? And why? How did it compare with your impressions once you were there?
   c. Did you feel any homesickness (or cheated) when you arrive? How did you deal with those emotions?
   d. What was the best/worst thing about the move?
   e. Can you please tell us about the mobilities? (Physical/Communicative/Virtual/Informational) in the destination area? Did you enjoy these? (Probe general mobility in the destination area.)
   f. Tell me about your working conditions a bit more? Did you enjoy it?

g. Were you supposed to submit original copies of your work permit, passport, visa etc? To whom did you do submit these things? And what was the reason of submission of these documents?

-   What was the procedure for getting those documents back?

-   Were you given anything in return by the organization/or labour broker for your identity?

-   Were you supposed to deposit any type of money as well?

h. Did you have a free locker room to store your belongings? Did you ever feel threatened?

i. Have you ever received a threat or any type of abuse – physical, psychological, sexual, drugs, deception, alcohol or any type of denial – food, water, movement, medical, travel documents, identity documents, or wages in the destination area?

j. Were you aware of different labour rules and regulations at the destination area? If yes, what were the things you knew?

k. Had it ever occurred to you that you would like to change the employer? Why or why not?

l. How was your social life back in the place?

m. Can you please tell me some of the good experiences and some of the bad experiences or circumstances when you were working? How did you cope with those?

n. How much did you earn? Did you send money back to your family? Why, and what was the means? Was there any difficulty in sending money to the source?

o. When did you decide to return to Ichok? And why was that?

p. Did you find difficulties when leaving your workplace? How did you manage to do it anyway?

q. What was the preparation that you did before returning back to Ichok? Did you pack any gifts for family members?

r. Who booked tickets - on your own? Did you decide to come back alone?

s. Repeat Step 1- Step 5 till the person is back. [It's better to use chart paper to plot their experience]

4. Questions on Integration

1. What happened when you first moved back into the village? How were you treated by the community upon your return? Were you happy to return? Did you face any difficulty upon your arrival? How did you with cope those difficulties?

2. When did you decide to move back to the destination again? What was the motivating factor for you this time?

5. Extra Questions to be discussed on chart paper:

1. Have you ever followed any other route of migration or been to any other location? Can you please tell us the route and the destination where you faced the maximum number of problems?

2. Do you know anyone living in the destination area? Are you in touch with those people – recruiter, facilitator, friends from the village or otherwise in the source, transit or destination area? Could you please provide their contact details? Do you think I could contact them to understand their personal experiences?

3. Repeat the mapping process, if necessary!

6. Lastly, what was it like to be a part of this research? A. Stressful B. Non-stressful C. Empowering

Profile of participant

Name:

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Age:

Household type: (Kutcha/Pucca)

Date:	Name of respondent:
	Anonymity Clause: (Yes/No)
	Reasons:

Purpose of the Interview:

The purpose of this interview is to understand the participants' view/perceptions on the following:

- Their stories of mobility – motive force, place memories at various mobile systems, etc.

- The mobility pattern of the people.

- The understanding of the participants on their mobility governance. The guide will also serve as an interview schedule to map the mobility pattern before their training.

Procedure:

- *Please introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the interview and why they have been chosen to participate*

- *Ask the members of the team to introduce themselves (name, activity engaged)*

- *Please assure participants of the confidentiality of the process and that their names will not be linked to anything they may discuss, unless they want it to be. Please ensure the compensation – pre-approved with the steering-committee – is given to the participants by the resource person.*

- *In case the interview is being recorded, please ensure that prior permission has been taken from the participants*

- *Please explain the following procedures:*
  - *Length of time the interview will take*
  - *Procedure in case anyone wishes to exit the interview*

1. Questions before the migration process:

a. Tell me your life history before you moved to this village? (Family, any migration experience before marriage, rules of the household, nature of work, education)

b. Can you please tell us more about your household before you left Ichok for work? (Husband/children/family, socio-economic condition of the house)

c. What roles and responsibilities have you had before you left for work? Did you enjoy them? (Try to understand their mobility while they were in the village, movement governance in the household))

2. Questions related to the process of migration:

l. When, for the first time, did you move out of the village for an extended period? And what was the motivating factor behind it? (Friends working abroad, TV/Media, poverty etc.)

m. What was the role of family – Did they encourage or discourage you when you decided to migrate for the first time? (mobility governance in the household)

n. At the time you were about to leave the village exactly how many people did you know outside the village? Who are the most important among them? How did you keep in touch with them?

o. Could you please tell me who helped you with your first migration? (For the work-related migration, try to understand the number/type of people involved and the support they provided – informational, financial, visa, work permit, accommodation etc.) How did you prepare yourself for migration? What was the response of your family members?

p. What was the reaction of the village – in general or in your case in particular – when you decided to migrate? Do they generally discourage or encourage people? Is it a good thing to go out and work with the community? (Community related mobility governance)

q. At the time you decided to migrate, did you have all the information related to age/ related to travel bans in your country? If yes, who told you? If no, when did you first came to know about it? And, in both the cases, what was your reaction? (State level governance?)

r. At the time you were about to leave the village how many people did you know outside the village – both in the destination and in general? Can you list the most important among them? How did you keep in touch with them?

s. Did you receive pre-departure training from anyone before you left the village by any NGO or person? What did they tell you? Did they encourage or discourage you? (Awareness generation scheme)

t. Were you aware of the Laws or regulations of the destination area you were visiting? Who told you about that?

u. Do you remember the date when you first moved out? If yes, please do let me know.

v. Do you remember whether you were carrying things – clothes, bag, money, identification document, passport etc. – with you when you first moved out?

w. Can you briefly describe what happened during the journey? Was the move painful? Do you remember any type of threat or abuse – physical, psychological, sexual, drugs, alcohol or any type of denial – food, water, movement, identity documents during the movement?

3. Questions related to experiences after migration

   a. What was the first location that you moved into when you first arrived? When you arrived here, was there anyone to help you here?

   b. What did you think of the destination place when you first decided to move, and what did you find upon your arrival? How did it compare with your impressions once you were there?

   c. Did you often miss your family or village? What is the best thing about the village that you miss? How did you manage your emotions?

   d. Who or what helped you the most in adapting here in this destination area?

   e. Can you describe your living conditions here? Do you like it? Why?

   f. Did you make any friends here? Could please tell me about them?

   g. Are you in touch with people back home? Who are they? What is the medium that you use to stay in touch with them?

   h. Can you please tell me about all the important people from whom you seek help – medical, financial, emotional etc.? How do you maintain contact (communicate) with them?

   i. Are you in touch with (Nepali) people living here or in the different parts of the world? Is there unity among the community?

   j. What are the different ways of socialization that you have adopted here? Are you part of any groups here? Who told you about it?

   k. Is there any difference between life here and in Ichok? What? Do you think the current situation you are in will improve in the near future?

   l. What is the most difficult part in adjusting here? How are you adapting in a culture which is entirely different than yours? Do you ever feel lonely here?

m. How frequently do you visit your native place? What did you bring to your friends and family from here? How do you feel when you are in Nepal? How do the people, friends and family, treat you when you return? Can you feel any change in their behaviour?

n. Have you ever thought of leaving everything and going back to Nepal?

o. Where do you think your home is?

4. Questions on Remittance:

a. Do you have a bank account?

b. How many times have you sent money or goods back to your family? What is the process?

c. How much money do you send home?

d. Do you find any difficulties while sending the money back to your home?

e. How much money – in cash or in kind - do you take back when you visit your home?

5. Questions on working condition:

a. How did you learn about this job? How is your employer? Have you signed any contract with the employer? Do you have your identity documents with you?

b. Were you aware of different labour rules and regulations at the destination area? If yes, what were the things you knew?

c. Describe the working conditions of the job that you do? Probe: Monthly income, holiday, overtime payment, benefits – maternity, medical, bonus, food and water provision.

a. What are the different problems – physical, mental, sexual – do you face while working? Is there any type of threat or abuse – physical, psychological, sexual, drugs, alcohol or any type of denial – food, water, movement, identity documents?

b. Can you move out of the labour relationship the moment you want to?

d. Are you part of any Union? Are you part of any Nepali group? Is there any NGO working for Nepali (or Tamang) migrants you are in touch with?

e. Are you happy working here? Why?

6. Questions on Social protection:

a. Do you have access to public facilities like hospitals, medication, schools, food, accommodation, banks, feeding programs of government?

b. Are you aware of different welfare services and rights offered by the government and employers for you?

c. What happens if there is an emergency – death, accident, emergency at home etc.

7. Extras:

   a. Can you please list the difficult circumstances you frequently face while in this place? How do you cope when things go wrong? Who supports you during those times?

   b. Do you celebrate your festivals here?

   c. What do you hope for the future?

8. Lastly, what was it like to be a part of this research? A. Stressful B. Non-stressful C. Empowering

Interview schedule - family members

Profile of participant
Name:
Ethnicity:
Gender:
Age:
Household type: (Kutcha/Pucca)

Name of respondent:

Anonymity Clause: (Yes/No)

Reasons:

Purpose of the Interview:

The purpose of this interview is to understand the remaining migrant families' view/perceptions on the following:

- Stories of mobility of the family member living abroad.
- To understand the decision making and the awareness level of the family members.
- The understanding of how the people left behind perceive migration and mobility.

Procedure:

- *Please introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the interview and why they have been chosen to participate*
- *Ask the members – if you accompany peer researchers or perhaps the interpreter – of the team to introduce themselves (name, activity engaged)*
- *Please assure participants of the confidentiality of the process and that their names will not be linked to anything they may discuss, unless they want it to be. Please ensure the compensation – pre-approved with the steering-committee – is given to the participants by the peer-researchers.*
- *In case the interview is being recorded, please ensure that prior permission has been taken from the participants.*
- *Please explain the following procedures:*
  - *Length of time the interview will take*
  - *Procedure in case anyone wishes to exit the interview.*

General:

1. How many people are there in your family? What kind of relationship do you share with your family members? Where does each member of your family live?
2. Do you have anyone in your family living abroad – India, Middle East?
   Probe: Age, Seasonal/Long-term migrants? Duration.
3. What is your opinion of people migrating to India or to the Middle East? What are the pros and cons of both types of migration?

Decision Making:

1. What were the reasons s/he left the family? Whose decision was it to send that person? If the migrant took the decision, can you please tell me exactly what sorts of discussion happened when the person informed you about her decision to migrate. If that was the family's decision, could you please tell me what was the reaction of the person when you first brought up the subject?
2. What motivated you to allow the person to migrate? Are you happy with the decision now?

The Process:

1. Whom did you contact first when you decided to migrate? What motivated you to contact this person? Do you trust this person? What happened after that?
   Probe: Agents in the village.
2. Do you know the name of the manpower that helped with the entire process? How much did they charge? Was that too much? What was the process of communication between the manpower and you? Would you like to share the name with me?
3. Do you know whether your family member was given proper information about the ticket information, job location, contract information, salary, working and living conditions? Did you have the knowledge of this information?
4. Do you know about the pre-departure orientation which was given to the migrant worker? If yes, what was there in it? - Contractual obligations, Terms and conditions of work, Rights and responsibilities of the employee and the employer, Living conditions, Company policies, and/or Grievance mechanisms that are in place for the worker on the job?
5. Do you know the route (Various nodes) which was taken by your family member? Do you know what happened (How many people were involved) on that route? Did the person call you while on the move?
6. Was there any time when you were scared for your family member? Why and why not?

After migration:

1. How frequently do you manage to talk to your family member? What is the mode of communication? Does s/he ever complain about his situation out there?
2. What do you know about the living and working conditions of the person living abroad? Do you know how much he earns? How satisfied are you with this?
3. Has living apart impacted your relationship in any way? How did you cope with the separation of a family member who lives very far in an unknown company?
4. Do you think the person is happy to be back there? Why and why not?
5. Can you describe what kind of assistance they provide to the family here? Remittance? Do you think the assistance they give is sufficient?
6. What are the risks of living abroad and what are the questions that you might want to ask to mitigate these risks?

After return:

1. Can you tell me what change do you see (or expect) when the person returns to the village? And how did it affect you?
2. Do you think villagers speak good/evil for those people who have migrated from the village? Have you ever been scared by villagers about the working condition abroad, especially in the Middle East? How do you cope with that?
3. Do you want him/her to go back when s/he returns from abroad? Why and why not?

Lastly, what was like to be a part of this research? A. Stressful B. Non-stressful C. Empowering

Profile of the NGO	
NGO Name:	
Name of the respondent:	
Position:	
Date:	**Name of respondent:**
	Anonymity Clause: (Yes/No)
	Reasons:

Purpose of the Interview:
The purpose of this interview is to understand the participants' view/perceptions on the issues of Ichok especially related to migration.

Procedure:

- *Please introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the interview and why they have been chosen to participate*
- *Ask the members of the team to introduce themselves (name, activity engaged)*
- *Please assure participants of the confidentiality of the process and that their names will not be linked to anything they may discuss, unless they want it to be.*
- *In case the interview is being recorded, please ensure that prior permission has been taken from the participants.*
- *Please explain the following procedures:*
  - o *Length of time the interview will take*
  - o *Procedure in case anyone wishes to exit the interview.*

Q1: Tell me about your organisation? Could you please tell us about your intervention areas (before the earthquake and after the earthquake)? Which part of Sindhupalchok do you operate (before the earthquake, after the earthquake)?

Probe: what the interview participant is responsible for, how the organisation has changed or grown, how they are funded, how they decided to work in the area.

Q2: What are the different areas of concern in Ichok in particular or Helambu as a whole?

Probe: See whether they are able to raise the issue of human trafficking. Ask if they think trafficking is an issue if they fail to respond to that.

Q3: Are you present in Ichok? What are your different interventions in ichok? And what was the rationale behind selecting that area?

Q4: What is the condition of migration in these locations, especially Ichok? And how do you think your presence or interventions affect the migration scenario in the village? And why do you think of that?

Q5: Do you think migration or perhaps human trafficking has increased after the earthquake? What is the basis of such a conclusion?

Q6: It is said that human trafficking is high from Sindhupalchok. What exactly do you think of the term human trafficking? Who are those traffickers, how do they operate? And how could it be prevented? What are the different bans imposed by the state in your country? What are the other interventions of the state to protect its own people?

Q7: How does your intervention help in the prevention of trafficking in these areas?

Q8: What are the different possible interventions that could be planned against human trafficking during the heightened movement in the area?

Interview schedule - key respondents

Profile of participant	
Name:	
Ethnicity:	
Gender:	
Date:	**Name of respondent:**
	Anonymity Clause: (Yes/No) **Reasons:**
Purpose of the Interview: The purpose of this interview is to understand the participants' view/perceptions on the following: • Historical perspective of mobility and migration in the village. • Viewpoints on several issues like earthquakes, NGOs involvement, migration in the village etc.	

Procedure:
- *Please introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the interview and why they have been chosen to participate*
- *Ask the members of the team to introduce themselves (name, activity engaged)*
- *Please assure participants of the confidentiality of the process and that their names will not be linked to anything they may discuss, unless they want it to be. Please ensure the compensation – pre-approved with the steering-committee – is given to the participants by the peer-researchers.*
- *In case the interview is being recorded, please ensure that prior permission has been taken from the participants.*
- *Please explain the following procedures:*
    ○ *Length of time the interview will take*
    ○ *Procedure in case anyone wishes to exit the interview.*	

General Questions:

Q1: Tell me about the Village? What kind of people live here? Food, water, electricity, sanitation, clothing, livelihood, social life, political connection, etc.

Q2: Who are Tamangs? Are there any specific laws by which they are governed? What are the different village level arrangements in the community?

Q3: Are there any special rights or government welfare schemes for Tamang people?

Q4: What does physical movement and migration mean to Tamang people? How did people communicate and coordinate movement before the invention of the mobile phone or TV?

Q5: When did the first mobile phone/TV come to the village? What are the benefits and dangers of those? Do you think they increased the migration more than before?

To probe the mobility pattern used by the villagers

Q1: What are the different roads, or paths used by the villagers to commute from one place to other? What is the durability of the road? How do you describe the present condition of the road?

Probe: History of road construction. Condition after the earthquake. Efforts to construct – before/after the earthquake. How it affected the movement during the earthquake.

Q2: Please tell me the different modes of travel people use in the village. (Ask about history of walking, having personal vehicles – two wheelers, four wheelers, tractors, helicopters, bus). How were the modes of travel affected during the earthquake?

Q3: When and how did this bus service start in the village? What would people do before this bus service to move? Do you think having the bus increased/decreased the migration?

Q4: How was the movement/migration affected during the earthquake? How long did it take to restore the movement back to its original pace?

Q5: What were the modes of travel adopted by outsiders – NGOs/INGOS/GOVT/Rescue teams during the earthquake? How did it affect the villagers?

To understand how disaster – followed by the NGO interventions – shaped the (way community functioned) governance in the community

Q1: Can you tell me about the various community level interventions by NGOs or INGOs before the disaster? If yes, please tell us about that. Was it effective?

Q2: What happened during the disaster? Please explain everything that you've seen and observed during that time.

Q3: Who came first for the rescue? And what did they do?

Q4: What were the different interventions (by NGO/INGO/Government/CSR) that happed after the disasters? Could you please tell me about that? What is your opinion on each one of them?

Q5: Did any intervention happen on migration and human trafficking? Do you think this helped the community in any way?

Q6: Do you think the disaster increased the migration in the community? If yes, how?

Q7: Are there any changes in the way the community functioned during the disasters? Do you think the disaster or the interventions by the NGOs are responsible for that? If yes, why?

Appendix 2: Participatory training schedule

Session	Content
Arrival and Lunch	--
Session 1	a. Welcome and Introduction - Purpose of the training
	b. Participatory Action research - Assumptions - About - Process - Purpose - Ethics
	c. Mapping: Pre- and post – disaster village mapping - Presentation and Discussion
	d. Prioritization of the Problems - Identification - Prioritization
	e. Gender Mobility Mapping – Male and Female - Presentation
	f. Tends of Migration - Mapping and discussion

Tea break	--
Session 2	a. Discussion on key village level issues and finding links to the mobilities. - Setting up of context of the research.
	b. Discussion on the research project - Evolution - Scoping - Present form
	c. Reflection of the development till date
	d. Discussion on next action: - Research Timeline and phases - Community handholding and immediate impact
	e. Recap and next day's agenda
Day Break	--
Session 3	a. Recap
	b. Peer action researcher_Roles and responsibilities
	c. Formation of groups_Register maintenance
	d. Interviews – family, individual_Coordination
	e. Door to door visit. - Mock simulation via roleplay - Discussions
	f. Profiling of people – Skills and migration - Discussion on the format
	g. Everyday journal/recording.
	h. Weekly, and monthly meeting - Agenda - Place - Duration
Lunch	--
Session 4	a. Working as a research partner - Agreed ethical principles - Protocol for communications - Protocol for safety - Protocol to handling difficulties and conflict

	- Agreed aims and objectives. - Agreed methods - Agreed salaries and the process of obtaining that.
	b. Interview schedules _ Mock exercises (2), discussions, and reflections.
	c. Analysis_both interviews that just happened
Tea break	--
Session 5	a. Discussion on various group exercises to be conducted with the group. - On everyday mobility and im-mobility of people: - On Governance: Various barriers – household, community, Nepal, NGOs of movement. - On Capability and functioning's of people. - Problems people face during long-term migration and how to resolve them. - Analysis of various routes and formation of questions to be asked.
	b. Recap and next day's agenda
Day Break	--
Session 6	a. Recap of all five sessions
	b. Discussion on the way forward: Three important questions to reflect here. - How to analyse and interpret research data and findings? - How to share the research? - Impact.
Lunch and Departure	--

Table 3: Participatory training schedule.

Appendix 3: Data matrix

Interview matrix

Name	M/F	Age	Pre-Post - disaster	Category	Country	Stories of mobilities	Number of contacts	Presence in FGDs
0	F	21-22	Pre- and Post	Sex -trafficking Victim	India and Kuwait	1	5+	0
1	F	45	Pre	Sex-trafficking victim	India	1	6	1
2	F	45	Pre- and Post	Stone Quarry	India	2	1	2
3	M	21	Just before the earthquake	Factory – Illegal	Malaysia	1	2	2
4	F	32	Pre	Domestic work;	Kuwait, India	2	10+	2
5	F	22	Post-	Domestic work	Kuwait	1	1	0
6	F	40	Pre-	Domestic work	Kuwait, India	1	3	2
7	F	31	Pre-	Domestic work	Kuwait, India	1	2	2
8.	M	21	Just before the earthquake	Factory – Deception	Malaysia	1	2	0
9.	F	25	Pre- and Just before the earthquake	Domestic work	Saudi & Kuwait	2	4	2
10	F	30s	Pre	Domestic work – illegal	Kuwait	1	5	2
11	F	30s	Pre-	Domestic work	Lebanon & UAE	2	3	2
12	M	25	Pre- and Post-	Factory work (Illegal)	Saudi & Malaysia	2	2	1

13	M	40	Pre	Used to sell goods to prostitutes in Kolkatta Brothels	Saudi	1	2	1
14	F	31	Pre	Sex-Trafficking victim; Domestic work	India, and Kuwait	2	3	1
15	F	25	Just before	Domestic worker	Kuwait	1	1	0
16	M	27	Pre- and Post-	Labour, Stone Quarry, construction	Qatar, India	2	50+	15+
17	F	21	Pre- and Post-	Domestic worker; Beauty parlour	Kuwait, UAE	2	5	2
18	M	32	Pre-	Newspaper hawker	Kuwait	1	5+	1
19	M	30s	Post-	No Job	Qatar	1	2	1
20	M	30	Pre-	Several Jobs	Malaysia	1	1	1
21	F	40s	Pre-	Sex Trafficking Victim	India	1	10+	5+
22	M	30s	Pre-	Several Jobs	Saudi	1	1	0
23	F	20s	Post-	Domestic work	Kuwait	1	1	1
24	F	20s	Post-	Domestic work	Oman	1	3	2
25	F	30s	Post-	Domestic work	Kuwait	1	1	2
26	F	20s	Pre- and Post-	Domestic work	Lebanon and Turkey	2	3	1
27	M	20s	Pre- and immediately	Several Jobs	Kuwait and Malaysia	2	1	0
28	F	20	Post-	Domestic worker	Kuwait and Cyprus	2	1	0

29	M	23	Pre-	Company worker	Saudi, India	1	1	0
30	M	20s	Pre- and Post-	Stone Quarry; Company worker	India, Malaysia	2	1	0
31	M	25	Pre	Agriculture	Iraq	1	15+	15+
32	M	40s	Pre	Hotel	India	1	15+	15+
33	M	40s	Pre	Hawker	India	1	15+	15+
34	F	30s	Pre	Construction; labour	India	1	15+	15+
35	F	28	Never	-	Never went to India	1	15+	15+
Total: 36	F: 21 M: 15				Countries: 11	48		

Table 4: Interview details matrix

Data matrix

S. No	Particulars	Number of Interviews/Observations	Remarks
1.	History, Mobility, Migration of the village	6	Interviewed people from the village.

2.	Families	8	Most of them have nothing important to say but most of their wives migrated via irregular channel
3.	Focused Group Discussions	18	10 Group meeting (More than 150 people participated in them) 1 Village level meeting (More than 25 people participated) 7 Peer Researchers meeting (More than 7 people participated in every meeting)
4.	Unlicensed Agents	3	All were from the village
5.	Agent Association's President	1	
6.	Placement Agency association	1	2-3 hours long focused group discussions with three people
7.	Placement Agency (Manpower)	1	
8.	NGOs/Ministries/Departments	10+	Includes all NGOs who have presence in the village; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of foreign employment; WCD, Labour; etc.
9.	Nepal Trade Union members	2	One legal advisor cum general sec., and the most active organiser in Qatar who was recently deported
10.	NHRC Staffs	2	
11.	On the Move:	38 recordings	(Nepal Police; Border Police; Policing NGOs; People policed; Tea stall discussions; discussions at shops; Bus service operators; hotel owners; people walking on the border; Indian secret intelligence; Local people; etc.)
12	Dance Bar Owners	1	
13.	Training	10	2.5-day thing

14.	Check post observations:	5	1 out-skirts of Nepal; 4 Indo-Nepal borders
15.	Airport Observations	4	Nepal, India, Sri-Lanka, and Kuwait

Table 5: Data Matrix.

Appendix 4: Nepal government data on human trafficking and Interception

Number of human trafficking cases in Nepal (2006- 2016)

Human Trafficking case registered in Nepal Police

S.No.	Fiscal Year	Human Trafficking
1	064/065	123
2	065/066	139
3	066/067	161
4	067/068	183
5	068/069	118
6	069/070	144
7	070/071	185
8	071/072	181
9	072/073	212
10	073/074	221

Table 6: Human trafficking cases registered by Nepal Police (10 years).

Nepal government data on interception on various check posts

सिमानाकाहरूबाट उद्धार गरिएका महिला तथा बालबालिकाको आ.व ०७०-०७१ देखि ०७३-०७४ सम्मको तथ्याङ्क

सि.न		०७०-०७१				०७१-०७२				०७२-०७३				०७३-०७४		
		बालक	बालिका	महिला	जम्मा	बालक	बालिका	महिला	जम्मा	बालक	बालिका	महिला	जम्मा	बालक	बालिका	महिला	जम्मा
१	विराटनगर	४३	७७	३६१	४८१	१०१	११२	३४४	५५७	१३	५२	४१६	४८१	४८६	४२	१२६	७५४
२	हेटौंडा	६०	५०	८०	२२०	१११	१२६	१०६	३४३	१६०	६६	१०७	३३३	१०३	८०	१०१	२८४
३	पोखरा	४०	६६	१११	२१७	३२	६०	९१	१८३	४५	८७	४५	१८७	१०६	३०	१६	२२२
४	सुर्खेत	४९	११८	१५२	३१९	९१	७३	१९६	३६०	६९	९५	१०४	२६८	२१२	३८	९८	३४८
५	दिपायल	४३	१५	५४	११२	२५	२०	६२	१०७	०९	४०	११९	२३७	२२२	५१	१४२	४१५
६	उपत्यका	५	८	७	२०	४४	२८	५१	१२३	४२	२६	४६	१२४	२३	१२	९९	४८
	जम्मा	२६०	३३४	७६५	१३०९	४०४	४१९	८५०	१६७३	४००	३०३	८५७	१६३०	१३७२	२५३	५०७	२०७७

Table 7: Nepal Government's data on number of interceptions.

Appendix 5: Funding break-up on human trafficking in Nepal (2015-2017)[67]

Human Trafficking funding 2072-73 (2015 – 2016) (in NPR)

S. N.	Name of the NGO / Address	संस्थाको नाम र ठेगाना	Name of the Project	Project Site	Donor Agency	Approved Amount of External (in NPR)	Approved Amount of Internal (in NPR)	Total (in NPR)	Project Duration	Project Sector	Contact Person
1	A Little Steep, Birat 4, Parsa.	सानो पाइला, बिराट ४, पर्सा ।	Monitoring & evaluation of reintegration of trafficking children with their families.	lalitpur	Children Welfare Scheme Ltd. (CWS), Hong Kong.	2,498,760.00		2,498,760.00	17 July 2015 to 16 July 2016	Child/Education/Trafficking	Subir Ghosh, 9804209548, 51-522203
2	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN), Babarmahal, Kathmandu.	महिला तथा बालबालिका का बेचबिखन बिरुद्ध सहकर्मी समूह नेपाल, बबरमहल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Strengthening advocacy to prevent trafficking and CSEC of stakeholders will be strengthen	Kathmandu	Geneva Golbal Inc, USA and The Minderoo Foundation Trust (MFT), Australia.	5,637,500.00		5,637,500.00	01.01.2016 to 30.11.2016	Human trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung, 9851096143, 9841647926, 4229787

---

[67] Data Retrieved from Social Welfare Council, Nepal

	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal (AATWIN), Babarmahal, Kathmandu.	महिला तथा बालबालिका बेचबिखन विरुद्ध सहकर्मी समूह नेपाल, बबरमहल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Review of Human Trafficking and Transportation (Control) Act. 2207 from Child perspective and to equip provisions of Palermo Protocol 2000)	Kathmandu	Plan International Nepal, Lalitpur	1,150,300.00		1,150,300.00	4 Nov. 2015 to 31 Dec. 2015	Human Trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung, 9851096143, 9841647926
3	Asha Nepal, Dhapasi 6, Kathmandu.	आशा नेपाल, धापासी ६, काठमाण्डौ ।	See Centre (Skill, Education and Economice Empowerment) of survivor girl child.	Kathmandu	The Global Fund for Children, UK	2,056,408.00		2,056,408.00	2072/4/1 to 2073/3/31	Women trafficking	Smriti Khadka, 9841925070
	Asha Nepal, Taukhel 1, Lalitpur.	आशा नेपाल, टौखेल १, ललितपुर ।	Protect girls, women and children from human trafficking and rehabilitation.	Lalitpur	Shared Hope International, USA.	12,180,000.00		12,180,000.00	2072/4/1 to 2073/3/30	Human trafficking	Bimala Thapa, 9851059207, 9851199139

4	Center for Legal Research and Resource Development (CELRRD), Baneshwor, Kathmandu.	कानून अन्वेषण तथा स्रोत विकास केन्द्र, बानेश्वर, काठमाण्डौ ।	Combating Traffcking in Persons (CTIP) Project.	Sindhu palcho wk, Banke & Kanch anpur.	The Asia Foundation, Nepal.	5,974,482.00		5,974,482.00	1 June 2015 to 30 June 2016	Women/Children/Traffick ing	Anjan Kumar Dahal, 4483706
5	Cheli Nepal, Bharatpur 10, Chitawan.	चेली नेपाल, भरतपुर १०, चितवन ।	CHELI enterpreneur ship and education support project.	Chitwa n	EMPOWER, USA.	9,900,000.00	100,700.00	10,000,700.00	01.03.2016 to 31 12.2016	Women trafficking	Bindu Mahato, Chaudhary, 9845054031, 056534166
	Cheli Nepal, Bharatpur, Chitwan.	चेली नेपाल, भरतपुर, चितवन ।	CHELI Vocational Training Center.	Chitwa n	10/40 Connection, USA.	15,000,000.00		15,000,000.00	01.05.2016 to 31.07.2016	Women/Trafficking	Bindu Mahato Chaudhary, 9845054031, 056 534166
6	Chhori, Bagdole 14, Lalitpur.	छोरी, बागडोल, ललितपुर ।	Girls not slaves.	Kathm andu	Geneva Global, USA.	3,470,000.00		3,470,000.00	01.11.2015 to 30.10.2016	Women trafficking	Hira Dahal, 9841378495
7	Child Nepal, Kathmandu	चाईल्ड नेपाल, काठमाडौं	Combating child sexual abuse and trafficking in post disaster situation in Nepal.	Sindhu palcho wk	50 Sents Period, USA.	1,208,000.00	85,000.00	1,293,000.00	01.01.2016 to 30.12.2016	Child/Trafficking	Mohan Dangal, 9741077786, 4822002

284

8	Child Welfare Nepal (CWN), Hetauda 4, Makawanpur.	बाल कल्याण नेपाल, हेटौंडा ४, कमवानपुर ।	Prevention of child labor and human trafficking.	Hetauda	EDUCANEPAL, Spain.	9,682,573.00		9,682,573.00	01.02.2016 to 30.01.2017	Child/Women/Education/ Trafficking	Subhash Chandra Kattel, 9841255644, 057 526577
9	Forum for Protection of People's Rights Nepal (PPR Nepal), Baneshwor, Kathmandu.	जनअधिकार संरक्षण मञ्च, बानेश्वर, काठमाण्डौ ।	Combating Trafficking Persons (CTIP) program.	Kathmandu, Kavrepalanchowk & Makawanpur.	The Asia Foundation, Nepal.	6,992,234.00		6,992,234.00	1 June 2015 to 30 June 2016	Human trafficking	Satish Kumar Sharma, 9848021955, 4464100
	Forum for Protection of People's Rights, Nepal (PPR Nepal), Baneshwor, Kathmandu.	जनअधिकार संरक्षण मञ्च नेपाल, बानेश्वर, काठमाण्डौ ।	Comprehensive care to torture survivors/victims	Kathmandu	International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims, Denmark.	590,000.00		590,000.00	1 Oct. 215 to 31 Mar. 216	Women/Child	Satish Kumar Sharma, 9848021955, 4464100
	Forum for Protection of People's Rights, Nepal (PPR Nepal), Baneshwor, Kathmandu.	जनअधिकार संरक्षण मञ्च नेपाल, बानेश्वर, काठमाण्डौ ।	International conference on responding human trafficking: transnational organized crime.	Kathmandu	The Asia Foundation Nepal and Australian Government Development of Foreign Affairs and	4,145,074.00		4,145,074.00	1 Oct. 2015 to 31 Dec. 2015	Women/Child/Trafficking	Satish Kumar Sharma, 9848021955, 4464100

285

				Trade, Nepal.							
	Forum for Protection of People's Rights, Nepal (PPR Nepal), Baneshwor, Kathmandu.	जनअधिकार कार संरषण मञ्च, काठमाण डौ ।	Combatting Trafficking in Persons (CTIP) Program.	Kathmandu	The Asia Foundation, Nepal.	977,000.00		977,000.00	01.03.2016 to 30.06.2016	Human trafficking	Satish Kumar Sharma, 9848021955, 4464100
10	Forum for Women, Law and Development (FWLD), Thapathali, Kathmandu.	महिला, कानून र विकास मञ्च, थापाथली, काठमाण डौ ।	Combat Trafficking in Person (CTIP).	Kathmandu	The Asia Foundation (TAF), Nepal.	3,246,176.00		3,246,176.00	July 2015 to 30 June 2016	Justice/Trafficking	Adv. Meera Dhungana, 98413182014 242683, 4266415
11	Gospel Assembly Network Nepal, (Gan Nepal), Nepalgunj, Banke.	शुभ-सन्देश सभा नेटवर्क नेपाल, नेपालगंज , बाँके ।	Community empowerment and blind hospital support.	Banke, Bardiya, Dang, Jumla.	Church of Asia, USA, Grove Christian Center, USA., ANDAR Association de Ayuda al Nepal, Spain.	6,588,373.00		6,588,373.00	01.01.2016 to 31.12.2016	Disable/Health/incomegenerating/Trafficking	Shushila Basel, 081526207, 9848020841

12	International Institute for Human Rights, Environment and Development (INHURED International), Bhanimandal, Lalitpur.	अन्तराष्ट्रिय मानव अधिकार, वातावरा तथा विकास प्रतिष्ठान, भणिमण्डल, ललितपुर।	Migration Watch (Enhancing Safer Migration in Earthquake-hit Disaster through Counter-trafficking Initiatives).	Ramechhap, Sindhupalchowk, Makawanpur, Kavrepalanchowk, Nuwakot, Dhading, Rasuwa	The Canadian Catholic Organization for Development & Peace, Canada.	20,058,504.00		20,058,504.00	15.01.2016 to 31.12.2017	Human trafficking	Gopal Krishna Siwakoti, 9851035876, 9851095026
	International Institute for Human Rights, Environment and Development (INHURED International), Bhanimandal, Lalitpur.	अन्तराष्ट्रिय मानव अधिकार, वातावरण तथा विकास प्रतिष्ठान, भणिमण्डल, ललितपुर।	Gender empowerment and social inclusion.	Kathmandu, Kaski, Kailali, Achham, Ramechhap, Sindhuli.	The Asia Foundation, Nepal.	9,169,000.00		9,169,000.00	15.01.2016 to 31.12.2017	Human trafficking	Gopal Krishna Siwakoti, 9851035876, 9851095026
13	Kingdom Investment Nepal (KI Nepal),	किङडम इनभेष्टमेन्ट नेपाल, जावलाखे	Campaign against human trafficking	Morang, Parsa, Chitwa	Reaching the Unreached	26,250,000.00	1,570,138.00	27,820,138.00	01.03.2016 to 31.12.2016	Women trafficking	Daya Ram Pokhrel, 9851065447, 5533378

	Jawalakhel, Lalitpur.	ल, ललितपुर ।	and gender based violence.	n, Nawal parasi, Rupan dehi, Kapilv astu, Lalitpu r, Banke.	Nations Inc, USA.					
14	Legal Aid & Consultancy Centre (LACC), Manbhawan, Lalitpur.	कानूनी सहयोग तथा परामर्श केन्द्र, मानभवन , ललितपुर ।	Combating trafficking in person.	Banke, Kavre, Sindhu palcho wk, Kathm andu & Makaw anpur.	The Asia Foundation, Nepal.	6,155,482.00		6,155,482.00	Sept. 2015 to June 2016	Women/Justice/Trafficki ng	Ad. Shashi Adikary, 5542999, 5543111
15	Maiti Neial, Pingalastha n , Kathmandu.	माइटी नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थ ान, काठमाण्डौ ।	IDEA: "Intervention against Disaster to Endorse Anti- trafficking initiatives."	Rupan dehi, Jhapa, Kavrep alanch owk, Makaw anpur, Nuwak ot & Sindhu palcho wk.	Kindermissio nswerk "Die Sternsinger" , Germany.	19,822,000.00		19,822,000.00	1 Sept. 2015 to 31 Dec. 2016	Women/Child/Trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 9851022083

Maiti Neial, Pingalasthan , Kathmandu.	माइटी नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	Interventional measures to combating unsafe migration and human trafficking in Nepal.	Banke, Nuwakot.	Christi Line Ostimission, Switzerland.	3,000,000.00		3,000,000.00	01.01.2016 to 31.12.2016	Women/Child/Trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 9851022083
Maiti Neial, Pingalasthan , Kathmandu.	माइटी नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	Action at Community on Trafficking Intervention and Violence End (ACTIVE).	Sindhupalchowk & Chitwan	Awo International , Germany.	9,900,000.00		9,900,000.00	July 2015 to Dec. 2016	Women/Child	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 9801151551
Maiti Nepal, Pingalasthan, Kathmandu.	माइती नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	PAHUCH Protection and Access to Human Rights and Care to Human Trafficking Victims Migrant Domestic Workers.	Kathmandu, Rupandehi, Morang.	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Switzerland.	15,593,605.00	1,732,574.70	17,326,179.70	01.01.2016 to 30.09.2017	Women trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 4489978

289

Maiti Nepal, Pingalasthan, Kathmandu.	माइती नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	Comprehensive effort to combat human trafficking thorugh compowerment and advocacy.	Kathmandu, Makawanpur	Germany and Kindermissionwerk, Germany.	7,364,506.00		7,364,506.00	01.04.2016 to 31.03.2017	Human rights/Trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 4489979
Maiti Nepal, Pingalasthan, Kathmandu.	माइती नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	REACT:reaching out to the community to educate, aware and control human trafficking and gender violence.	Panchthar, Dhankuta, Sankhuwasabha.	Sir Peter Ustinov Stiftung,	2,027,550.00		2,027,550.00	15.01.2016 to 31.12.2016	Women/Children/Trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 4492904, 9801151551
Maiti Nepal, Pingalasthan, Kathmandu.	माइती नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	Border measure for combating trafficking in person and support the survivors through life skills development in Illam and	Ilam, Sunsari.	Profilia e.v.Germany .	9,357,712.25		9,357,712.25	01.04.2016 to 31.03.2017	Women trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 4492904

				Sunsari Districts.							
16	National Environment & Equity Development Society (NEEDS) Nepal, Mahendranagar, Kanchanpur.	राष्ट्रिय वातावरण तथा सम विकास समाज नेपाल, महेन्द्रनग र, कञ्चनपु र ।	Promotion of safe migration & prevention of human traficking in Doti District of Nepal.	Doti & Kanch anpur.	AWO International e/v/, South Asia Regional Office, Nepal.	7,700,000.00		7,700,000.00	1 Aug. 2015 to 31 Dec. 2016	Human trafficking	Bhaw Raj Regmi, 9858750128, 99525491
17	New Light Nepal, Haripur 9, Sarlahi.	नव ज्योति नेपाल, हरिपुर ९, सर्लाही ।	Stope human trafficking and educational development .	Sindhu palcho wk, Sarlahi	Frank Januszewski , Born2Fly, Diana Scimone, John Vis, Graham Baptist Church USA and J Finney Trust (CAF), UK. And Donal	2,358,321.71	172,291.35	2,530,613.06	2072.9.15 to 2073.9.15	Child/Education/Human trafficking	Tika Pd. Mainali, 9851089079

				Gardner, Singapore.						
18	Rotary Club of Durbarmarg, Durbarmarg, Kathmandu.	रोटरी क्लब अफ दरबारमार्ग, दरबारबार्ग, काठमाण्डौ ।	Child anti-frafficking education programme.	Makaw anpur	The Rotary Foundation/ The Easther Benjamins Trust Nepal, Nepal.	5,713,810.00	300,000.00	6,013,810.00	01.01.2016 to 31.12.2016	Child/Education	Chhatra Pradhan, 9851001411, 9851056576
19	Shakti Samuha, Chabahil, Kathmandu.	शक्ति समूह, चावहिल, कठमाण्ड ौ ।	Temporary protection project against trafficking of children in emergency situations.	Nuwak ot	ECPAT LUXEMBOU RG	3,107,400.00		3,107,400.00	22 June 2015 to 22 Jan. 2016	Child/Women/Trafficking	Rashmi Thapa, 9801380581, 4478117
	Shakti Samuha, Chabahil, Kathmandu.	शक्ति समूह, चावहिल, काठमाण डौ ।	Shakti Butterfly	Kathm andu	Free A Girl,	1,168,180.00		1,168,180.00	Aug. 2015 to Dec. 2015	Women trafficking/Women	Balkumari Ranamagar, 9845713043, 4478117
20	Women Forum for	महिलाको निम्ति महिला	Building indentity and	Kathm andu	The Asia Foundation	2,999,903.00		2,999,903.00	July 2015 to July 2016	Women/Trafficking	Gomawati Pun (Sirjana),

	Women in Nepal (WOFOWON), Kathmandu 28.	मञ्च नेपाल, काठमाण्डौ ।	justice through transformation project under the wider project of: Controlling Trafficking In Person (CTIP).		(TAF), Nepal.						9841426575, 4381686
21	Women Protection Center, Hetauda, Makawanpur.	नारी संरक्षण केन्द्र, हेटौंडा, मकवानपुर ।	Prevention and protection of women and children from human trafficking/safe home.	Makawanpur	Friends of WPC Nepal, USA.	10,374,000.00	1,266,120.00	11,640,120.00	01.06.2016 to 30.07.2017	Women/Child/Trafficking	Lila L.ghising, 985105654, 057527095
						253,416,853.96	5,226,824.05	258,643,678.01			

Name of NGO/Address   **21**

Name of Project   **35**

Approved Amount External   **253,416,853.96**

Approved Amount Internal   **5,226,824.05**

Total Amount   **258,643,678.01**

Table 8: Anti-Trafficking funding in Nepal 2015-16.

Human Trafficking funding 2073 (2016 – July/August to November/December)

S. N.	Name of the NGO / Address	संस्थाको नाम र ठेगाना	Name of the Project	Project Site	Donor Agency	Approved Amount of External (in NPR)	Approved Amount of Internal (in NPR)	Total (in NPR)	Project Duration	Project Sector	Contact Person
1	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal, Babarmahal, Kathmandu.	महिला तथा बालबालिका बेच बिखन बिरुद्ध सहकर्मी समूह नेपाल, बबरमहल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Communication and social mobilization for promiting recovery and resilience among earthquake affected communities.	Dhading, Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk, Kavrepalanchowk, Makawanpur.	UNICEF, Nepal.	74,415,800.00	12,188,700.00	86,604,500.00	11.07.2016 to 31.12.2017	Human trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung, 9851096143, 9841647926, 4229787
2	Caritas Nepal, Dhobitahg, Lalitpur.	कारितास नेपाल, धोविघाट, ललितपुर ।	Prevention of Human Trafficking unsafe Migration and gender Based Violence.	Morang	Caritas Korea, Korea	1,494,612.60		1,494,612.60	June 2016 to May 2017	Human trafficking	

3	Child Development Society, Kapan, Kathamndu.	बाल बिकास समाज, कपन, काठमाण्डौ ।	Building resilience and preventing trafficking through family preservation, community engagement and system strengthening.	Bhaktapur	Save the Children International, Nepal.	5,741,546.00	563,328.00	6,304,874.00	13.05.2016 to 12.05.2017	Child/Trafficking	Kiran Thapa, 9801240371, 014820938
4	Opportunity Village, Nepal, Thamel, Kathmandu.	शुभ अवसर ग्राम नेपाल, ठमेल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Promting youth power against human trafficking and sexual exploitation.	Kathmandu	Good Shepherd International Foundation Italy., DKA Austria.	33,300,308.00	118,000.00	33,418,308.00	2073.04.09 to 2076.05.08	Health/Trafficking	Taskila Nicholas, 9856027417, 015-531770
5	Opportunity Village, Nepal, Thamel, Kathmandu.	शुभ अवसर ग्राम नेपाल, ठमेल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Promting youth power against human trafficking and sexual exploitation.	Kaski	Good Shepherd International Foundation Italy.,	5,247,480.00	358,720.00	5,606,200.00	2073.5.10 to 2074.5.9	Health/Trafficking	Bimol Bhetwal, 98414059189856 027417, 015-531771

					DKA Austria.							
						120,199,746.60	**13,228,748.00**	**133,428,494.60**				

No. of NGO		**5**
No. of Project		**5**
Approved Amount External		
	120,199,746.60	
Approved Amount Internal		
	13,228,748.00	
Total		
Amount	**133,428,494.60**	

Table 9: Anti-Trafficking funding in Nepal 2016 (6 months).

Human Trafficking funding 2073 2074 (2016/17)

F.Y. 073/074 (Shrawan- Ashadh)

List of NGOs and their activities

(Supported by different donor agencies)

and approved by

Social Welfare Council as per the Social Welfare Act. 1992 'Article 16'

Human Trafficking Sector F.Y.2073.074

S.N.	Name of the NGO / Address	संस्थाको नाम र ठेगाना	Name of the Project	Project Site	Donor Agency	Approved Amount of External (in NPR)	Approved Amount of Internal (in NPR)	Total (in NPR)	Project Duration	Project Sector	Contact Person
1	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal, Kathmandu	महिला तथा बालब्बालिका बेचविखन बिरुद सहकर्मी समूह नेपाल, काठमाण्डौं ।	Strengthening Advocacy to Prevent Internal Trafficking	Kathmandu	Geneva Gloval Inc. USA	8,025,000.00		8,025,000.00	1ST December 2016 to 30th December 2017	Trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung 9841647926
	Alliance Against Trafficking in Women and Children in Nepal, Kathmandu	महिला तथा बालब्बालिका बेचविखन बिरुद सहकर्मी समूह नेपाल, काठमाण्डौं ।	Advocacy against Human Trafficking project	Kathmandu	Geneva Gloval Inc. USA	530,000.00		530,000.00	1st January 2017 to 30 December 2017	Human Trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung 9841647926

2	Amazing Namaste Nepal, Kathmandu 4.	अमेजिन नमस्ते नेपाल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Communication and social mobilization for promiting recovery and resilience among earthquake affected communities.	Dhading, Dolakha, Sindhupalchowk, Kavrepalanchowk, Makawanpur.	UNICEF, Nepal.	74,415,800.00	12,188,700.00	86,604,500.00	11.07.2016 to 31.12.2017	Human trafficking	Benu Maya Gurung, 9851096143, 9841647926, 4229787
3	Amnesty International, Nepal Kathmandu	एम्नेष्टी इन्टरनेशनल नेपाल, काठमाण्डौं ।	Protection and Promotion of Human Rights.	Kathmandu	Amnesty International, UK	17,670,000.00		17,670,000.00	Jan 2017 to Dec 2017	Human Rights	Shradha Thapa , 9841708966
4	Asha Nepal, Kathmandu .	आशा नेपाल, काठमाण्डौं	Family Protection Programme	Kathmandu	World Childhood Foundation, Sweden,			-	approval for remaining approved bu8dget	Trafficking	
	Asha Nepal, Kathmandu .	आशा नेपाल, काठमाण्डौं ।	Community Center	Kathmandu	Asha Nepal, UK	1,356,500.00		1,356,500.00	2073.6.15 to 2074.6.15	Trafficking & Children	Smriti Khadka, 9841925070
5	Asian Human Rights, Kathmandu .	एशिया मानव अधिकार तथा सांस्कृतिक विकास मञ्च, काठमाण्डौ ।	JMDI HOST-Project.	Kaski, Tanahun.	EU/SDC through UNDP Brussels.	15,119,906.26		15,119,906.26	01.03.2016 to 31.09.2016	Human rights	Shiddhi Chandra Baral, 4428044, 4427274

6	Blue Diamond Society, Dhumbarahi4, Kathmandu.	निल हिरा समाज नेपाल, ललितपुर ।	SAHRA Nepal.	Kathmandu	RFI-The Norwegian Organization for Sexual and Gender Diversity,	1,935,471.00		1,935,471.00	01.09.2016 to 31.12.2016	Human rights	Sandeep Kumar Lama, 9851079186, 4443350
	Blue Diamond Society, Dhumbarahi4, Kathmandu.	निल हिरा समाज नेपाल, ललितपुर ।	Intersex Human Rights.	Kathmandu	Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, USA.	530,000.00		530,000.00	01.09.2016 to 31.07.2017	Human rights	Parbati Regmi (Esan), 9848301870, 4443350
7	Cheli Neapl, Chiwan	चेली नेपाल, चितवन ।	Cheli Empowerment and Transformation Project	Chitwan	Kensington, 10/40 Connections, Angels House	42,115,315.80	386,374.20	42,501,690.00	Jan 2017 to Dec 2017	trafficking	Surendra Chpagain, 9855046222
	Cheli Nepal, Bharatpur 10, Chitwan.	चेली नेपाल, भरतपुर १०, चितवन ।	CHELI Vocational Training Center.	Chitwan	Kensington	2,715,500.00	296,500.00	3,012,000.00	01.07.2016 to 30.06.2017	Women trafficking/women	Bindu Mahato, 9845054031, 056-534166

299

8	Forum for Women Law and Development (FWLD), Kathmandu	महिला कानून र विकास मञ्च , काठमाण्डौ ।	Combat Trafficking in person, Strenghtening Access to Justicve in Nepal, Access to Justice and Legal Aid	Kathmandu	TAF, Open Society Justice Initiative , Foundation Open Society Institute, Switzerland	16,355,434.00		16,355,434.00	March 2017 to 31 December 2018	Justice and trafficking	Meera Dhungana, 9841318201
9	Good Friends of Nepal (GFN), Nagarjuna, Kathmandu .	नेपालका असल मित्रहरु, नार्गाजुन २, काठमाण्डौ ।	Women first concern training & help to the earthquake victms through GFN income generating project.	Nuwakot	Mr. Daniel rickeet, USA.	2,222,200.00		2,222,200.00	01.11.2016 to 31.12.2016	Human trafficking	Bhim Lal Tamang, 9851001848, 4272156
10	Maiti Nepal, Kathmandu .	माईती नेपाल, काठमाण्डौ ।	Human Trafficking: Providing services to promote safe migration and prevent human trafficking	Parsa, Banke, Nawalparasi, Sunsari, Jhapa	Speciality Drinks, UK	15,786,850.84		15,786,850.84	Jan. 2017 to Dec. 2017	Women & Human Trafficking	Bishwo Ram Khadka.

	Maiti Nepal, Pingalasthan, Kathmandu.	माइटी नेपाल, पिङ्गलास्थान, काठमाण्डौ ।	Promoting safe migration and preventing trafficking in the Nepal India border.	Morang, Jhapa, Rupandehi, Kailali, Banke.	UNICEF, Nepal.	14,911,500.00	4,955,000.00	19,866,500.00	01.07.2016 to 31.12.2017	women frafficking/Women/Child	Bishwo Ram Khadka, 9801151551, 4494816, 4492904
11	New Leaf, Jhamsi khel, Lalitpur	न्यू लिफ, ललितपुर ।	Renewing Lives	lalitpur	Efcchico, USA	3,780,000.00	10,000.00	3,790,000.00	2073/7/1 to 2074/3/31	girls Trafficking	Dhani Mahara 9808285476
12	Peace Rehabilitation Center, Lalitpur.	शान्ति पुनर्स्थापना गृह, ललितपुर ।	Rescue Care and support and Rehabilitation.	Lalitpur, Kailali, Kapilvastu.	Free For Life Int'l and World Mission Prayer League (USA), Love in Action (UK)	14,035,009.00		14,035,009.00	2073.9.1 to 2073.3.31	Trafficking	Shanta Sapkota,5570039
13	Shakti Samuha, Kathmandu.	शक्ति समूह, काठमाण्डौ ।	Provide Shelter rehabilitation support to sexually exploited child and the survivors of trafficking.	Kathmandu.	FREE A Girl/Stop Kindermuick, (GGI), USA	12,482,387.00		12,482,387.00	1 Jan. 2017 to 31 Dec. 2017	Health, HIV/AIDs and Trafficking	Narbda Sorali Magar, 9841024591

14	Sustainable Development Foundation Nepal (SDF, Nepal), Nakhipot, Lalitpur.	दिगो विकास प्रतिष्ठान नेपाल, नखिपोट, काठमाण्डौ ।	Rehabilitating and improving lives of orphans and victims of girls-women trafficking.	Lalitpur	Peace Gospel International/Houston, Texas The USA	9,838,418.00		9,838,418.00	Jan. 2017 to Dec. 2017	Women, Children, Education & Trafficking	Bir Bd. Shresth, 9849100366
15	Swatantrata Abhiyan, Jawalakhel, Lalitpur.	स्वतन्त्रता अभियान, जावलाखेल, ललितपुर ।	Advocacy Coordination and Technical Assistance to end commercial sexual exploitation of child.	Lalitipur	Geneva Global	7,753,000.00		7,753,000.00	01.08.2016 to 30.01.2018	Trafficking	Milan Raj Dharel, 9851063591, 5546746
								279,414,866.10			
						261,578,291.90	17,836,574.20				
			No.of NGO			15					
			No. of Project			20					
			Approval Amount External			261,578,291.90					
			Approval Amount Internal			17,836,574.20					

		Total Amount			279,414,866.10					

Table 11: Anti-Trafficking funding in Nepal 2016-17.

References

Adams, R. (2017) *Michel Foucault: Discourse*, *Critical Legal Thinking*.

Adey, P. (2006) 'If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities', *Mobilities*, 1(1), pp. 75–94. doi: 10.1080/17450100500489080.

Adey, P. (2008) 'Airports, mobility and the calculative architecture of affective control', *Geoforum*. Pergamon, 39(1), pp. 438–451. doi: 10.1016/J.GEOFORUM.2007.09.001.

Adey, P. (2010) *Mobility*. Oxon: Routledge.

Adhikari, J. (2017) 'Review of policies on emigration', in Rajan, S. I. (ed.) *South Asia Migration Report 2017: Recruitment, Remittances and Reintegration*. Routledge India.

Agnew, J. (1994) 'The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory', *Review of International Political Economy*. doi: 10.1080/09692299408434268.

Aguilar, F. V (2018) 'Ritual Passage and the Reconstruction of Selfhood in International Labour Migration', *Source: Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*. Yusof Ishak Institute, 33(S), pp. 87–130. doi: 10.2307/26531809.

Ahmad, A. (2017) *Everyday Conversions | Duke University Press*, *Duke*.

Ahmed, S. *et al.* (2003) *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration: Ahmed, Sara, Castada, Claudia, Fortier, Anne-Marie, Sheller, Mimi: 9781859736296: Amazon.com: Books*, *Oxford : Berg*.

Aitken, S. C. (2016) 'Locked in place: Young people's immobilities and the Slovenian erasure', *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*. Taylor and Francis Ltd., 106(2), pp. 358–365. doi: 10.1080/00045608.2015.1100059.

Alabi, A. *et al.* (2004) *No romanticization, please 'autonomy of migration' in discussion*, *The Caravan*.

Aldridge, J. (2014) 'Working with vulnerable groups in social research: dilemmas by default and design', *Qualitative Research*, 14(1), pp. 112–130. doi: 10.1177/1468794112455041.

Amilhat Szary, A.-L. and Giraut, F. (2015) *Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Amoore, L. (2006) 'Biometric borders: Governing mobilities in the war on terror', *Political Geography*, 25, pp. 336–351.

Amoore, L., Marmura, S. and Salter, M. B. (2008) 'Editorial: Smart borders and mobilities: Spaces, zones, enclosures', *Surveillance and Society*. Surveillance Studies Network, pp. 96–101. doi: 10.24908/ss.v5i2.3429.

Anderson, B. (2000) *Doing the dirty work?: the global politics of domestic labour*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Anderson, B. (2007) *Motherhood, Apple Pie and Slavery: Reflections on Trafficking Debates*. 48. Oxford.

Anderson, B. (2012) 'Affect and biopower : towards a politics of life', pp. 28–43.

Anderson, B. (2013) *Us and Them?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199691593.001.0001.

Anderson, B. and Andrijasevic, R. (2008) 'Sex, slaves and citizens: the politics of anti-trafficking',

Soundings, 40(40), pp. 135–145. doi: 10.3898/136266208820465065.

Anderson, B. and O'Connell Davidson, J. (2002) *Trafficking-a demand led problem?* Stockholm.

Anderson, B. and O'Connell Davidson, J. (2003) *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven? A Multi-Country Pilot Study*. 15. Geneva.

Anderson, B., Sharma, N. and Wright, C. (2011) *Editorial: Why No Borders?, Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*. Operation Lifeline.

Anderson, J. W. (1995) 'NEPAL'S SHAME', *The Washington Post*.

Andrijasevic, R. (2003) 'The Difference Borders Make: (Il)legality, Migration and Trafficking in Italy among Eastern European Women in Prostitution', in Ahmed, S. et al. (eds) *Uprootings/ Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Oxford: Berg, p. pp.251-272.

Andrijasevic, R. *et al.* (2005) 'Turbulent Margins. Outlines of a new migration regime in Southeast Europe', *Prokla*, 35(3), pp. 345–362.

Andrijasevic, R. (2009) 'Sex on the move: Gender, subjectivity and differential inclusion', *Subjectivity*, 29, pp. 389–406. doi: 10.1057/sub.2009.27.

Andrijasevic, R. *et al.* (2012) 'European citizenship unbound: Sex work, mobility, mobilisation', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30(3), pp. 497–514. doi: 10.1068/d10210.

Apostolidis, P. (2018) 'Day laborers and the refusal of work', in *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Duke University Press, pp. 439–448. doi: 10.1215/00382876-4374955.

Aradau, C. (2008) *Rethinking trafficking in women: Politics out of security, Rethinking Trafficking in Women: Politics out of Security*. Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230584228.

Aradau, C. (2016) 'Political grammars of mobility, security and subjectivity', *Mobilities*, 11(4), pp. 564–574. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2016.1211824.

Aronowitz, A. A. (2010) 'Overcoming the Challenges to Accurately Measuring the Phenomenon of Human Trafficking', *Revue internationale de droit pénal*, 81(3), p. 493. doi: 10.3917/ridp.813.0493.

Asman, S. (2018) *Bombay Going: Nepali Migrant Sex Workers in an Anti-Trafficking Era*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Awale, S. (2016) 'Human trafficking on the rise', *The Himalayan Times*, 25 September.

Azad, A. (2019) 'Recruitment of Migrant Workers in Bangladesh: Elements of Human Trafficking for Labor Exploitation', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 5(2), pp. 130–150. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2017.1422091.

Bærenholdt, J. O. (2013) 'Governmobility: The Powers of Mobility', *Mobilities*. Routledge , 8(1), pp. 20–34. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2012.747754.

Bajracharya, R. and Sijapati, B. (2012) *The Kafala System and Its Implications for Nepali Domestic Workers*. Kathmandu: Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility.

Bales, K. (1999) *Disposable people : new slavery in the global economy*. 1st edn. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Bales, K. (2007) 'What Predicts Human Trafficking?', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 31(2), pp. 269–279.

Bales, K. (2016) *Blood and earth : modern slavery, ecocide, and the secret to saving the world*. New York: Spiegel & grau.

Balibar, E. (2002) *Politics and the other Scene*. London: Verso.

Banks, S. and Manners, P. (2012) *Community-based participatory research A guide to ethical principles and practice*. Durham.

Barry, J. and Yilmaz, I. (2018) 'Ethnic and Racial Studies Liminality and racial hazing of Muslim migrants: media framing of Albanians in Shepparton, Australia, 1930-1955', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2018.1484504.

Barthwal-Datta, M. (2012) *Understanding security practices in South Asia: securitization theory and the role of non-state actors*. Routledge.

Basch, L. G., Schiller, N. G. and Szanton Blanc, C. (1994) *Nations unbound : transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. Amesterdam: Gordon and Breach.

Bates, D. (2005) 'Crisis Between the Wars: Derrida and the Origins of Undecidability', *Representations*, 90, pp. 1–27.

Bélanger, D. and Rahman, M. (2013) 'Migrating against all the odds: International labour migration of Bangladeshi women', *Current Sociology*. SAGE PublicationsSage UK: London, England, 61(3), pp. 356–373. doi: 10.1177/0011392113484453.

Bélanger, D. and Silvey, R. (2020) 'An Im/mobility turn: power geometries of care and migration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Routledge, pp. 3423–3440. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592396.

Benezer, G. and Zetter, R. (2014) 'Searching for Directions: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in Researching Refugee Journeys', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(3), pp. 297–318. doi: 10.1093/jrs/feu022.

Bhandari, P. (2004) *Relative Deprivation and Migration in an Agricultural Setting of Nepal*, *Population and Environment*.

Biswas, S. (2018) *The horror story inside an Indian children's home - BBC News*, *BBC*.

Blake, M. K. (2007) 'Formality and friendship: Research ethics review and participatory action research', *Acme*, 6(3), pp. 411–421.

Blanchet, T. and Watson, S. K. (2019) 'Learning to Swim in Turbulent Waters: Women's Migration at the Agency-Exploitation Nexus', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. doi: 10.1080/00472336.2019.1612935.

Blunt, A. (2007) 'Cultural geographies of migration: Mobility, transnationality and diaspora', *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(5), pp. 684–694. doi: 10.1177/0309132507078945.

Bojadžijev, M. and Karakayali, S. (2010) 'Recuperating the Sideshows of Capitalism: The Autonomy of Migration Today', *E-flux*, 17.

Borda, O. F. (2006) 'The North-South convergence: A 30-year first-person assessment of PAR', *Action Research*, 4(3), pp. 351–358. doi: 10.1177/1476750306066806.

Bossavie, L. and Denisova, A. (2018) *Youth Labor Migration in Nepal*. 13. Washington DC.

Boyd, D. S. *et al.* (2018) 'Slavery from Space: Demonstrating the role for satellite remote sensing to inform evidence-based action related to UN SDG number 8', *ISPRS Journal of Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing*. Elsevier, 142, pp. 380–388. doi: 10.1016/J.ISPRSJPRS.2018.02.012.

Boyd, Z. and Bales, K. (2016) 'Getting What We Want: Experience and Impact in Research with Survivors of Slavery', in. Springer, Cham, pp. 173–190. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-21521-1_11.

Boyden, J. and Howard, N. (2013) 'Why does child trafficking policy need to be reformed? The moral economy of children's movement in Benin and Ethiopia', *Children's Geographies*. Routledge , 11(3), pp. 354–368. doi: 10.1080/14733285.2013.817661.

Brambilla, C. (2014) 'Exploring the Critical Potential of the Borderscapes Concept', *Geopolitics*, 20(1), pp. 14–34. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2014.884561.

Brettell, C. (2015) 'Theorizing migration in Antropology', in *Migration Theory: Talking across disciplines*. 3rd edn. New York: Routledge, pp. 148–197.

Brettell, C. and Hollifield, J. F. (2015) *Migration theory : talking across disciplines*. 3rd edn. Edited by C. Brettell and J. F. Hollifield. New York: Routledge.

Bromfield, N. F. and Rotabi, K. S. (2012) 'Human Trafficking and the Haitian Child Abduction Attempt: Policy Analysis and Implications for Social Workers and NASW.', *Journal of Social Work Values & Ethics*, 9(1), pp. 13–25.

Brown, D. *et al.* (2019) 'Modern slavery, environmental degradation and climate change: Fisheries, field, forests and factories', *Nature and space £*, 0(0), pp. 1–17. doi: 10.1177/2514848619887156.

Brülisauer, M. (2015) *Human Trafficking in Post-Earthquake Nepal Impacts of the Disaster on Methods for Victim Recruitment*. NA.

Brydon-Miller, M. (2008) 'Ethics and Action Research: Deepening our Commitment to Principles of Social Justice and Redefining Systems of Democratic Practice', in Resason, P. and Bradbury, H. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Action Research Participative Inquiry and Practice*. Second. London, pp. 199–210.

Bürkner, H. J. (2018) 'Imaginaries ready for use: Framings of the bordered intersectionalised everyday provided by the EU's sectoral policies', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 66, pp. 189–198. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.06.003.

Burridge, A. *et al.* (2017) 'Polymorphic borders', *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 5(3), pp. 239–251. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2017.1297253.

Büscher, M., Sheller, M. and Tyfield, D. (2016) 'Mobility intersections: social research, social futures', *Mobilities*. Routledge, 11(4), pp. 485–497. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2016.1211818.

Cahill, C. (2007a) 'Participatory data analysis', in Kindon, S., Pain, Rachel, and Kesby, M. (eds) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Pace*. Oxon: Routledge.

Cahill, C. *et al.* (2007) 'Participatory ethics: Politics, practices, institutions', *Acme*, 6(3), pp. 304–318.

Cahill, C. (2007b) *The Personal is Political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research*, *Gender, Place and Culture*. doi: 10.1080/09663690701324904.

Cameron, J. and Gibson, K. (2005) 'Participatory action research in a poststructuralist vein', *Geoforum*, 36(3), pp. 315–331. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.06.006.

Carling, J. and Collins, F. (2017) 'Aspiration, desire and drivers of migration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp. 909–926. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384134.

Casas-Cortes, M. *et al.* (2014) 'New Keywords: Migration and Borders', *Cultural Studies*, 29(1), pp. 55–87. doi: 10.1080/09502386.2014.891630.

Casas-Cortes, M., Cobarrubias, S. and Pickles, J. (2015) 'Riding Routes and Itinerant Borders: Autonomy of Migration and Border Externalization', *Antipode*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 47(4), pp.

894–914. doi: 10.1111/anti.12148.

Cassidy, K., Yuval-Davis, N. and Wemyss, G. (2018) 'Debordering and everyday (re)bordering in and of Dover: Post-borderland borderscapes', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 66, pp. 171–179. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.04.005.

CATW (2018) *History: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women*. Available at: http://www.catwinternational.org/WhoWeAre/History

Caviglia, L. (2018) *Sex work in Nepal: The making and unmaking of a category*, *Sex Work in Nepal: The Making and Unmaking of a Category*. Oxon: Routledge . doi: 10.4324/9781315141893.

Central Bureau of Statistics (2012) *National Population and Housing Census 2011 (National Report) Central Bureau of Statistics*. Kathmandu. Available at: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sources/census/wphc/Nepal/Nepal-Census-2011-Vol1.pdf

Chambers, R. (1994) 'The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal*', *World Development*, 22(7), pp. 953–969. doi: 10.1016/0305-750X(94)90141-4.

Chan, C. (2014) 'Gendered Morality and Development Narratives: The Case of Female Labor Migration from Indonesia', *Sustainability*. MDPI AG, 6(10), pp. 6949–6972. doi: 10.3390/su6106949.

Chuang, J. (2006) 'The United States as Global Sheriff: Using Unilateral Sanctions to Combat Human Trafficking', *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 27(2).

Chuang, J. A. (2014) 'Exploitation creep and the unmaking of human traffickign law', *Source: The American Journal of International Law*, 108(4), pp. 609–649.

Cobarrubias, S. (2020) 'Scale in motion? Rethinking scalar production and border externalization', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 80. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102184.

Cockbain, E. and Bowers, K. (2019) 'Human trafficking for sex, labour and domestic servitude: how do key trafficking types compare and what are their predictors?', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 72, pp. 9–34. doi: 10.1007/s10611-019-09836-7.

Cockbain, E. and Kleemans, E. R. (2019) 'Innovations in empirical research into human trafficking: introduction to the special edition', *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 72, pp. 1–7. doi: 10.1007/s10611-019-09852-7.

Cohen, E., Cohen, S. A. and Li, X. (Robert) (2017) 'Subversive mobilities', *Applied Mobilities*. Informa UK Limited, 2(2), pp. 115–133. doi: 10.1080/23800127.2017.1305217.

Connelly, L. (2015) 'The "Rescue Industry": The blurred line between help and hindrance', *Graduate Journal of Social Science*.

Conway, D. (1980) 'Step-Wise Migration: Toward a Clarification of the Mechanism', *International Migration Review*. SAGE PublicationsSage CA: Los Angeles, CA, 14(1), pp. 3–14. doi: 10.1177/019791838001400101.

Cook, N. and Butz, D. (2015a) 'Contemporary South Asia The dialectical constitution of mobility and immobility: recovering from the Attabad Landslide disaster', *Contemporary South Asia*, 24(4), pp. 388–408. doi: 10.1080/09584935.2015.1090950.

Cook, N. and Butz, D. (2015b) 'The dialectical constitution of mobility and immobility: recovering from the Attabad Landslide disaster', *Contemporary South Asia* , 23(4), pp. 388–408. doi: 10.1080/09584935.2015.1090950.

Cook, T. (1998) 'The importance of mess in action research', *Educational Action Research*, 6(1), pp.

93–109. doi: 10.1080/09650799800200047.

Cook, T. (2009) 'The purpose of mess in action research: building rigour though a messy turn. Educational Action Research', *Educational Action Research*, 17(2), pp. 227–291. doi: 10.1080/09650790902914241.

Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (2001) *Participation : the new tyranny?* Zed Books.

CORNWALL, A. and Jewkes, R. (1995) 'What is participatory research?', *Social Science & Medicine*, 41(12), pp. 1667–1676. doi: 10.1016/0277-9536(95)00127-s.

Cousins, S. (2016) 'Nepal: Organ trafficking after the earthquake', *The Lancet*. Elsevier Ltd, 387(10021), p. 833. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00555-9.

Coutin, S. B. (2005) 'Being En Route', *American Anthropologist*, 107(2), pp. 195–206.

Crawford, M. (2009) *Sex Trafficking in South Asia: Telling Maya's Story - Mary Crawford - Google Books*. London : Routledge Research on Gender in Asia.

Crawford, M. (2017) 'International Sex Trafficking', *International Sex Trafficking*. Mary Crawford, 40, pp. 101–122. doi: 10.1080/02703149.2016.1206784.

Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the Move*. New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2010) 'Towards a politics of mobility', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(1), pp. 17–31. doi: 10.1068/d11407.

Cresswell, T. (2014) 'Mobilities III: Moving on', *Progress in Human Geography,* , 38(5), pp. 712–721. doi: 10.1177/0309132514530316.

Cresswell, T. (2016) 'Afterword – Asian mobilities/Asian frictions?', *Environment and Planning A*, 48(6), pp. 1082–1086. doi: 10.1177/0308518X16647143.

Cunningham, H. and Heyman, J. (2004) 'Introduction: Mobilities and Enclosures at Borders', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 11, pp. 289–302. doi: 10.1080/10702890490493509.

Deane, T. (2010) 'Cross-border trafficking in Nepal and India-violating women's rights', *Human Rights Review*, 11(4), pp. 491–513. doi: 10.1007/s12142-010-0162-y.

Derrida, J. (1992) 'Force of Law: The "Mystical Foundation of Authority"', in Cornell, D., Rosenfield, M., and Carlson, D. G. (eds) *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*. Routledge.

Deshingkar, P. and Zeitlyn, B. (2015) 'South-south migration for domestic work and poverty', *Geography Compass*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 9(4), pp. 169–179. doi: 10.1111/gec3.12200.

Devries, S. M. (2012) *Mobility Matters: Tamang Women's Gendered Experiences of Work, Labour Migration and Anti-Trafficking Discourses in Nepal*. The University of Guelph.

Dharel, M., Rai, W. B. and Thapa, N. (2015) *Understanding Vulnerabilities and Strengthening Response*. Sindhupalchok.

Doezema, J. (1999) 'Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women', *Gender Issues*. Springer-Verlag, 18(1), pp. 23–50. doi: 10.1007/s12147-999-0021-9.

Doezema, J. (2010) *Sex slaves and discourse masters : the construction of trafficking*. Zed Books.

Doezema, J. O. (2005) 'Now You See Her, Now You Don't: Sex Workers at the UN Trafficking Protocol Negotiation', *Social & Legal Studies*, 14(1), pp. 61–89. doi: 10.1177/0964663905049526.

Donnelly, E. A. *et al.* (2019) 'What Do EMS Professionals Know about Human Trafficking? An Exploratory Study', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 5(4), pp. 325–335. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2018.1501258.

Dorow, S., Roseman, S. R. and Cresswell, T. (2017) 'Re-working mobilities: Emergent geographies of employment-related mobility', *Geography Compass*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 11(12), pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1111/gec3.12350.

Edwards, R. and Alexander, C. (2011) 'Researching with Peer/Community Researchers Ambivalences and Tensions', in Williams, M. and Vogt, W. P. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Innovation in Social Research Methods*. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 269–292. doi: 10.4135/9781446268261.n17.

Ehrkamp, P. (2017) 'Geographies of migration I: Refugees', *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(6), pp. 813–822. doi: 10.1177/0309132516663061.

Ehrkamp, P. (2020) 'Geographies of migration III: Transit and transnationalism', *Progress in Human Geography*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 44(6), pp. 1202–1211. doi: 10.1177/0309132519895317.

Elwood, S. (2007) 'Negotiating participatory ethics in the midst of institutional ethics', *Acme*, 6(3), pp. 329–338.

Esson, J. (2020) 'Playing the victim? Human trafficking, African youth, and geographies of structural inequality', *Population, Space and Place*. John Wiley and Sons Ltd. doi: 10.1002/psp.2309.

Faist, T. (2010) 'The Crucial meso-level', in Martiniello, M. and Rath, R. (eds) *Selected Studies in International Migration and immigration Incorporation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 59–90.

Farrior, S. (1997) 'The International Law on Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution: Making It Live Up to Its Potential', *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 10.

Faulconbridge, J. and Hui, A. (2016) 'Traces of a Mobile Field: Ten Years of Mobilities Research', *Mobilities*. Routledge, 11(1), pp. 1–14.

Feingold, D. A. (2009) 'Think Again: Human Trafficking'. Foreign Policy. Available at: http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/20/think-again-human-trafficking/.

Fernandez, B. (2013) 'Traffickers, Brokers, Employment Agents, and Social Networks: The Regulation of Intermediaries in the Migration of Ethiopian Domestic Workers to the Middle East', *International Migration Review*, 47(4), pp. 814–843. doi: 10.1111/imre.12049.

Findlay, A. *et al.* (2015) 'New Mobilities Across the Life Course: a Framework for Analysing Demographically Linked Drivers of Migration', *Population, Space and Place*. Wiley-Blackwell, 21(4), pp. 390–402. doi: 10.1002/psp.1956.

Fisher, P. A. and Ball, T. J. (2003) 'Tribal participatory research: Mechanisms of a collaborative model', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 32(3–4), pp. 207–216. doi: 10.1023/B:AJCP.0000004742.39858.c5.

Fitzgerald, D. (2009) *A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages its Migration*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

FitzGerald, S. A. (2016) 'Vulnerable geographies: human trafficking, immigration and border control in the UK and beyond', *Gender, Place and Culture*. Routledge, 23(2), pp. 181–197. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2015.1013441.

Flåte, K. O. (2018) *Human trafficking following the 2015 Nepal earthquake: A case study of how a*

natural disaster impacts people´s vulnerabilities and the role disaster response and recovery plays in countering it. Norwegian University of Life Sciences.

Franck, A. K., Arellano, E. B. and Anderson, J. T. (2018) 'Navigating migrant trajectories through private actors: Burmese labour migration to Malaysia', *European Journal of East Asian Studies*. Brill Academic Publishers, 17(1), pp. 55–82. doi: 10.1163/15700615-01701003.

Fricke, T. E. (Thomas E. (1994) *Himalayan households : Tamang demography and domestic processes*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Frost, N. and Jones, C. (1998) 'Video for recording and training in participatory development', *Development in Practice*, 8(1), pp. 90–94. doi: 10.1080/09614529854043.

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von (1975) *Himalayan traders : life in highland Nepal*. J. Murray.

GAATW (2007) *COLLATERAL DAMAGE: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World*. Bangkok: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW).

GAATW (2018) *History - The Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW)*.

Gallagher, A. (2001) *Human Rights and the New UN Protocols on Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling: A*, *Human Rights Quarterly*.

Gamburd, M. R. (2000) *The Kitchen Spoon's Handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids - Michele Ruth Gamburd - Google Books*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Gardner, H. (2008) 'Secret royal concubine, 94, to remain at palace', *The National*, 13 June.

Gautam, B. (2018) 'Reforms in the administrative system of Nepal', in *Civil Service Management and Administrative Systems in South Asia*. Springer International Publishing, pp. 241–259. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-90191-6_11.

van Gennep, A. (1960) *The rites of passage*. London: University of Chicago Press.

De Genova, N. (2009) 'Conflicts of mobility, and the mobility of conflict: Rightlessness, presence, subjectivity, freedom', *Subjectivity*, 29(1), pp. 445–466. doi: 10.1057/sub.2009.22.

De Genova, N. (2010) 'The Queer Politics of Migration: Reflections on "Illegality" and Incorrigibility', *Studies in Social Justice*, 4(2), pp. 101–126.

De Genova, N. (2015) 'Border Struggles in the Migrant Metropolis', *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 5(1), pp. 3–10. doi: 10.2478/njmr-2015-0005.

De Genova, N. (2016) 'The "native's point of view" in the anthropology of migration', *Anthropological Theory*, 16(3), pp. 227–240. doi: 10.1177/1463499616652513.

Genova, N. De (2017) *The Borders of 'Europe'*. London and Durham: Duke University Press.

De Genova, N. (2017) 'The Incorrigible Subject: Mobilizing a Critical Geography of (Latin) America through the Autonomy of Migration', *Journal of Latin American Geography*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 16(1), pp. 17–42. doi: 10.1353/lag.2017.0007.

De Genova, N., Garelli, G. and Tazzioli, M. (2018) *Autonomy of Asylum? The autonomy of migration undoing the refugee crisis script*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Duke University Press. doi: 10.1215/00382876-4374823.

De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. M. (2010) *The Deportation regime : sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

De Genova, N. and Tazzioli, M. (2016) *Europe / Crisis: New Keywords of 'the Crisis' in and of 'Europe'*.

Brooklyn, New York: Zone Books.

Ghimire, M. (2014) *SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF TAMANGS Case Study of Angsarang, Nepal*. Diaconia University of Applied Sciences.

Gill, G. J. (2003) *Seasonal Labour Migration in Rural Nepal: A Preliminary Overview*. 218. London.

Glick Schiller, N. and Salazar, N. B. (2013) 'Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(2), pp. 183–200. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.723253.

Godin, M. and Donà, G. (2020a) 'Rethinking transit zones: migrant trajectories and transnational networks in Techno-Borderscapes', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Routledge. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1804193.

Godin, M. and Donà, G. (2020b) 'Rethinking transit zones: migrant trajectories and transnational networks in Techno-Borderscapes', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Routledge. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1804193.

GoN (2007) *Human Trafficking and Transportation (Control) Act, 2064*. Kathmandu: Government of Nepal.

Gorman, C. S. (2017) 'Redefining refugees: Interpretive control and the bordering work of legal categorization in U.S. asylum law', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 58, pp. 36–45. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2016.12.006.

Government of Nepal (1963) *The Muluki Ain (General Code)*. http://www.lawcommission.gov.np . Available at: http://www.lawcommission.gov.np (Accessed: 14 April 2019).

Government of Nepal (2018) *Labour Migration for Employment: A Status report for Nepal: 2014/2015*. Kathmandu.

Gray, B. (2016) 'Beyond "Migration Studies": Locating human mobility in the context of social struggle and change', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 41(2), pp. 37–54. doi: 10.1007/s11614-016-0230-x.

Gray, J. (2015) 'South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies Representations of Unity and Diversity of Women in Panchayat and Post-Panchayat Nepal', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*. John Gray, 38(2), pp. 200–215. doi: 10.1080/00856401.2015.1011734.

Griffiths, M., Rogers, A. and Anderson, B. (2013) *Migration, Time and Temporalities: Review and Prospect*. Oxford.

Grillo, R. (2007) 'Betwixt and Between: Trajectories and Projects of Transmigration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(2), pp. 199–217. doi: 10.1080/13691830601154138.

Grossman-Thompson, B. H. (2019) 'Disposability and gendered control in labor migration: Limiting women's mobility through cultural and institutional norms', *Organization*, 26(3), pp. 337–354. doi: 10.1177/1350508418812584.

Grove, K. (2013) 'On resilience politics: from transformation to subversion', *Resilience*, 1(2), pp. 146–153. doi: 10.1080/21693293.2013.804661.

Guillemin, M. and Gillam, L. (2004) 'Ethics, Reflexivity, and "Ethically Important Moments" in Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), pp. 261–280. doi: 10.1177/1077800403262360.

Halfacree, K. (2004) 'A utopian imagination in migration'sterra incognita? acknowledging the non-economic worlds of migration decision-making', *Population, Space and Place*. Wiley-Blackwell, 10(3),

pp. 239–253. doi: 10.1002/psp.326.

Halfacree, K. H. and Boyle, P. J. (1993) 'The challenge facing migration research', *Progress in Human Geography*, 17, pp. 333–348.

Hall, A. R. (1982) *Religion in Tamang Society*. SOAS, University of London.

Ham, J., Segrave, M. and Pickering, S. (2013) 'In the Eyes of the Beholder: Border enforcement, suspect travellers and trafficking victims', *Anti-Trafficking Review*. Alliance Against Traffic in Women Foundation, 2. doi: 10.14197/atr.20121323.

Hamilton, F. B. (1819) *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal: And of the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable.

Hammond, L. (2011) 'Governmentality in motion: 25 years of Ethiopia's experience of famine and migration policy', *Mobilities*. Routledge , 6(3), pp. 415–432. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2011.590038.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) 'Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings', *Mobilities*, 1(1), pp. 1–22. doi: 10.1080/17450100500489189.

Haug, S. (2008) 'Migration Networks and Migration Decision-Making', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Dr Sonja Haug, 34(4), pp. 585–605. doi: 10.1080/13691830801961605.

Van Hear, N., Bakewell, O. and Long, K. (2018) 'Push-pull plus: reconsidering the drivers of migration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(6), pp. 927–944. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384135.

Henderson, S. (2020) 'State-Sanctioned Structural Violence: Women Migrant Domestic Workers in the Philippines and Sri Lanka', *Violence Against Women*. SAGE Publications Inc., 26(12–13), pp. 1598–1615. doi: 10.1177/1077801219880969.

Hernnandez-leon, R. (2013) 'Conceptualizing the migration industry', in Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. and Sorensen, N. N. (eds) *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. Routledge, pp. 42–62. doi: 10.4324/9780203082737-11.

Hess, S. (2017) 'Border Crossing as Act of Resistance The Autonomy of Migration as Theoretical Intervention into Border Studies', in Butler, M., Mecheril, P., and Brenningmeyer, L. (eds) *Subjects, Representations, Contexts*. Transcript Verlag, pp. 86–100. Available at: https://about.jstor.org/terms (Accessed: 20 November 2019).

Hiemstra, N. and Conlon, D. (2017) 'Beyond privatization: bureaucratization and the spatialities of immigration detention expansion', *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 5(3), pp. 252–268. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2017.1284693.

Holmberg, D. H. (1989) *Order in paradox : myth, ritual, and exchange among Nepal's Tamang*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

van Houtum, H. and Bueno Lacy, R. (2020) 'The migration map trap. On the invasion arrows in the cartography of migration', *Mobilities*. Routledge, 15(2), pp. 196–219. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2019.1676031.

Howard, N. (2014) 'Teenage Labor Migration and Antitrafficking Policy in West Africa', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. SAGE Publications Inc., 653(1), pp. 124–140. doi: 10.1177/0002716213519242.

Howard, N. (2017) 'Child Trafficking, Youth Labour Mobility and the Politics of Protection', *Child Trafficking, Youth Labour Mobility and the Politics of Protection*, pp. 1–28. doi: 10.1057/978-1-137-47818-4.

HOWARD, N. (2019) 'Neither predator nor prey: What trafficking discourses miss about masculinities, mobility and work', *Anthropology Today*. Blackwell Publishing, 35(6), pp. 14–17. doi: 10.1111/1467-8322.12541.

Huang, S. and Yeoh, B. S. A. (2007) 'Emotional Labour and Transnational Domestic Work: The Moving Geographies of "Maid Abuse" in Singapore', *Mobilities*, 2(2), pp. 195–217. doi: 10.1080/17450100701381557.

Huang, W.-J., Xiao, H. and Wang, S. (2018) 'Airports as liminal space', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 70, pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1016/j.annals.2018.02.003.

Hudlow, J. (2015) 'Fighting Human Trafficking Through Transit Monitoring: A Data-Driven Model Developed in Nepal', *Journal of Human Trafficking*. Jonathan Hudlow, 1(4), pp. 275–295. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2015.1098521.

Hugo, G. J. (1982) 'Circular Migration in Indonesia', *Population and Development Review*, 8(1), pp. 59–83.

Hui, A. (2016) 'The Boundaries of Interdisciplinary Fields: Temporalities Shaping the Past and Future of Dialogue between Migration and Mobilities Research', *Mobilities*. Routledge, 11(1), pp. 66–82. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2015.1097033.

Hyndman, J. (2012) 'The Geopolitics of Migration and Mobility', *Geopolitics*. Jennifer Hyndman, 17(2), pp. 243–255. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2011.569321.

IANS (2008) *Nepal king's 90-yr-old concubine in royal distress*, *DNA*. Available at: https://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-nepal-king-s-90-yr-old-concubine-in-royal-distress-1183151 (Accessed: 8 February 2019).

ILO (2015) *No Easy Exit: Migration Bans Affecting Women From Nepal*. Geneva.

International Labour Office (ILO) (2012) *ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and methodology*. Geneva. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_182004.pdf (Accessed: 13 November 2016).

Jensen, A. (2013) 'Mobility Regimes and Borderwork in the European Community', *Mobilities*. Routledge , 8(1), pp. 35–51. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2012.747780.

Joffres, C. *et al.* (2008) 'Sexual slavery without borders: trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation in India', *International Journal for Equity in Health*. BioMed Central, 7(11), pp. 1–11. doi: 10.1186/1475-9276-7-22.

Johnson, C. *et al.* (2011) 'Interventions on rethinking "the border" in border studies Rethinking " the border " in border studies', *Political Geography*, 30, pp. 61–69. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.01.002.

Jones, H. and Basnett, Y. (2013) *Foreign employment and inclusive growth in Nepal*. London.

Jones, M. (2016) 'Polymorphic Political Geographies', *Territory, Politics, Governance*. Martin Jones, 4(1), pp. 1–7. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2015.1125650.

Jones, R. (2009) 'Categories, borders and boundaries', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33(2), pp. 174–189. doi: 10.1177/0309132508089828.

Jones, R. *et al.* (2017) 'Interventions on the state of sovereignty at the border', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 59, pp. 1–10. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.02.006.

Jones, R. and Johnson, C. (2014) *Placing the Border in Everyday Life*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing

Limited.

Jones, S., Oven, K. J. and Wisner, B. (2016) 'A comparison of the governance landscape of earthquake risk reduction in Nepal and the Indian State of Bihar', *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*. Elsevier, 15, pp. 29–42. doi: 10.1016/j.ijdrr.2015.10.011.

De Jong, G. F. and Gardner, R. W. (1981) *Migration decision making : multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Joshi, S. K. and Swahnberg, K. (2012) *Trafficking of Women and Girls from Nepal to India for Prostitution;*, *GEXcel Work in Progress Report*. 12. Linkoping.

Kalir, B. (2013) 'Moving Subjects, Stagnant Paradigms: Can the "Mobilities Paradigm" Transcend Methodological Nationalism?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(2), pp. 311–327. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.723260.

Kaneti, M. (2015) 'Metis, migrants, and the autonomy of migration', *Citizenship Studies*. Routledge, 19(6–7), pp. 620–633. doi: 10.1080/13621025.2015.1053795.

Kapur, R. (2010) *Makeshift Migrants and the Law: Gender, Belonging, and Postcolonial Anxieties*. New Delhi: Routledge.

Kara, S. (2017) *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, *Sex Trafficking*. Columbia University Press. doi: 10.7312/kara18033.

Katz, C. (2001) *On the Grounds of Globalization: A Topography for Feminist Political Engagement*, *Globalization and Gender*.

Kaufman, M. R. and Crawford, M. (2011) 'Sex Trafficking in Nepal: A Review of Intervention and Prevention Programs', *Violence Against Women*, 17(5), pp. 651–665. doi: 10.1177/1077801211407431.

Kempadoo, K. (2015) 'The Modern-Day White (Wo)Man's Burden: Trends in Anti-Trafficking and Anti-Slavery Campaigns', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 1(1), pp. 8–20. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2015.1006120.

Kempadoo, K. (2016) 'Revitalizing Imperialism: Contemporary Campaigns against Sex Trafficking and Modern Slavery', *Cadernos Pagu*. Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero - Pagu/Unicamp, (47). doi: 10.1590/18094449201600470008.

Kempadoo, K. and Doezema, J. (1998) *Global sex workers : rights, resistance, and redefinition*. London: Routledge.

Kempadoo, K., Sanghera, J. and Pattanaik, B. (2012) *Trafficking and prostitution reconsidered : new perspectives on migration, sex work, and human rights*. Paradigm Publishers.

Kern, A. and Müller-Böker, U. (2015) 'The middle space of migration: A case study on brokerage and recruitment agencies in Nepal', *Geoforum*, 65, pp. 158–169. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.07.024.

Kesby, M. (2005) 'Retheorizing Empowerment-through-Participation as a Performance in Space: Beyond Tyranny to Transformation', *Signs: New Feminist Approaches to Social Science*, 30(4), pp. 2037–2065..

Kesby, M., Kindon, S. and Pain, R. (2007) 'Participation as a form of power: Retheorising empowerment and spatialising Participatory Action Research', in Kindon, S., Pain, R., and Kesby, M. (eds) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*. London and New York: Routledge.

Khanlou, N. and Peter, E. (2005) 'Participatory action research: considerations for ethical review', *Social Science & Medicine*, 60, pp. 2333–2340. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.10.004.

Khatiwada, P. P. (2014) 'International migration and citizenship in Nepal', in *Population monograph of Nepal: Volume I (Population dynamics)* . Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics, pp. 211–239.

Khoshneviss, H. (2017) 'Accountability in a state of liminality: Iranian students' experiences in American airports', *Mobilities*, 12(3), pp. 311–323. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2017.1292028.

Kindon, S. and Elwood, S. (2009) 'Introduction: More than Methods-Reflections on Participatory Action Research in Geographic Teaching, Learning and Research', *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 33(1), pp. 19–32. doi: 10.1080/03098260802276474.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007a) 'Participatory action research: Origins, approaches and methods', in *Participatory action research approaches and methods : connecting people, participation and place*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 260.

Kindon, S., Pain, R. and Kesby, M. (2007b) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods : Connecting People, Participation and Place*, *Routledge*. London and New York: Routledge.

King, R. (2012a) 'Geography and Migration Studies: Retrospect and Prospect', *Population, Space and Place*, 18(2), pp. 134–153. doi: 10.1002/psp.685.

King, R. (2012b) *Theories and Typologies of Migration: an overview and a primer*. 3/12. Malmö.

Kinpaisby-hill, M. c (2011) 'Participatory Praxis and Social Justice', in Casino Jr, V. J. Del et al. (eds) *A Companion to Social Geography*. West sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 214–234.

Klocker, N. (2015) 'Participatory action research: The distress of (not) making a difference', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 17, pp. 37–44. doi: 10.1016/j.emospa.2015.06.006.

Konrad, R. A. (2019) 'Designing awareness campaigns to counter human trafficking: An analytic approach', *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*. doi: 10.1016/j.seps.2018.10.005.

Kotiswaran, P. *et al.* (2014) 'Beyond Sexual Humanitarianism: A Postcolonial Approach to Anti-Trafficking Law', *UC Irvine Law Review*, 4(1).

Kumar, R. (2016) 'India–Nepal Open Border: Springboard for Opportunities', *International Studies* , 50((1&2)), pp. 165–183. doi: 10.1177/0020881716654406.

Kwan, C. and Walsh, C. A. (2018) *The Qualitative Report Ethical Issues in Conducting Community-Based Participatory Research: A Narrative Review of the Literature*.

Lama, S. (2018) 'Strengthening Tamang women', *The Kathmandu Post*, April.

Larsen, J., Axhausen, K. W. and Urry, J. (2006) 'Geographies of Social Networks: Meetings, Travel and Communications', *Mobilities*, 1(2), pp. 261–283. doi: 10.1080/17450100600726654.

Larsen, J., Urry, J. and Axhausen, K. (2006) *Mobilities, Networks, Geographies*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Laurie, N., Richardson, D., Poudel, M., Samuha, S., *et al.* (2015) 'Co-producing a post-trafficking agenda: collaborating on transforming citizenship in Nepal', *Development in Practice*, 25(3), pp. 465–477. doi: 10.1080/09614524.2015.1029436.

Laurie, N., Richardson, D., Poudel, M. and Townsend, J. (2015) 'Post-trafficking bordering practices: Perverse co-production, marking and stretching borders', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 48, pp. 83–92. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2015.06.001.

Laurie, N. *et al.* (2016) 'Co-producing a post-trafficking agenda: collaborating on transforming citizenship in Nepal Co-producing a post-trafficking agenda: collaborating on transforming citizenship in Nepal', *Development in Practice*. Taylor & Francis, 24(4), pp. 465–477. doi: 10.1080/09614524.2015.1029436.

Lawson, V. A. (1988) *Work on transnationalism has also invoked 'migrancy' in order to problematize essentialist concepts of 'culture' (Clifford, 1988) and the 'nation' (Bhabha, Progress in Human Geography*. Cheah.

Lee, M. (2007) *Human trafficking*. Devon: Willan.

Lee, S. (2019) 'Migrating beyond networks: the mechanisms of sending state intervention', *Migration and Development*. Informa UK Limited, pp. 1–17. doi: 10.1080/21632324.2019.1637616.

Lee, S. K. (2017) 'The three worlds of emigration policy: towards a theory of sending state regimes', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(9), pp. 1453–1471. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1237284.

Leese, M. and Wittendorp, S. (2018) 'The new mobilities paradigm and critical security studies: exploring common ground', *Mobilities*. Routledge, pp. 171–184. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2018.1427016.

Legislature-Parliament of Nepal (2007) 'Human Trafficking and Transportation (Control) Act, 2007'. Kathmandu.

Lerche, J. (2007) 'A global alliance against forced labour? Unfree labour, neo-liberal globalization and the international labour organization', *Journal of Agrarian Change*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd (10.1111), 7(4), pp. 425–452. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-0366.2007.00152.x.

Lewis, H. *et al.* (2015) 'Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North', *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(5), pp. 580–600. doi: 10.1177/0309132514548303.

Liempt, van I. (2007) *Navigating Borders : Inside Perspectives on the Process of Human Smuggling into the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. doi: 10.5117/9789053569306.

Limbu, R. (1996) 'NEPAL: Girls "Rescued" from Brothels in Limbo in Bombay | Inter Press Service', *IPS News Agency*, May.

Lindquist, J. (2012) 'The Elementary School Teacher, the Thug and his Grandmother: Informal Brokers and Transnational Migration from Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs*, 85(1), pp. 69–89. doi: 10.5509/201285169.

Lindquist, J. (2017) 'Brokers, channels, infrastructure: moving migrant labor in the Indonesian-Malaysian oil palm complex', *Mobilities*. Routledge, 12(2), pp. 213–226. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2017.1292778.

Lindquist, J. A. (2008) *The Anxieties of Mobility : Migration and Tourism in the Indonesian Borderlands*. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press.

Lindquist, J. and Piper, N. (2007) 'From HIV prevention to counter trafficking: Discursive shifts and institutional continuities in South East Asia', in *Human Trafficking*. Devon: Willan Publishing, pp. 138–158.

Lindquist, J., Xiang, B. and Yeoh, B. S. A. (2012) 'Introduction: Opening the Black Box of Migration: Brokers, the Organization of Transnational Mobility and the Changing Political Economy in Asia', *Pacific Affairs*, 85(1), pp. 7–19. doi: 10.5509/20128517.

Lobasz, J. K. *et al.* (2009) 'Beyond Border Security: Feminist Approaches to Human Trafficking',

Security Studies, 18, pp. 319–344. doi: 10.1080/09636410902900020.

Locke, R. A. (2010) *Rescued, rehabilitated, returned: Institutional approaches to the rehabilitation of survivors of sex trafficking in India and Nepal*, *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing*. University of Denver.

Lourenço, E., Gonçalves, M. and Matos, M. (2019) 'Trafficking in human beings: Portuguese magistrates' perceptions', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 5(3), pp. 238–254. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2018.1468160.

Lu, X. (1996) *ANALYZING MIGRATION DECISION MAKING: RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION, MOBILITY INTENTIONS AND MOVING BEHAVIOR*. Indiana University.

Machura, S. *et al.* (2019) 'Recognizing Modern Slavery', *Journal of Human Trafficking*. Taylor and Francis Ltd., 5(3), pp. 201–219. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2018.1471863.

Mainwaring, Ċ. and Brigden, N. (2016) 'Beyond the Border: Clandestine Migration Journeys', *Geopolitics*, 21(2), pp. 243–262. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2016.1165575.

Mak, J., Kiss, L. and Zimmerman, C. (2019) *Pathways to prevent labour exploitation in Nepal: Do pre-migration interventions work?* London.

Malkki, L. (1992) *National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees*, *Anthropology*.

Mälksoo, M. (2018) 'Liminality and the Politics of Transitional', in Wydra, H. and Thomassen, B. (eds) *Handbook of Political Anthropology*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Manhas, N. and Sharma, M. (2014) 'The 1950 Treaty of Peace & Friendship : An Issue of Contention between India and Nepal', 4(11), pp. 1–5.

Manzo, L. C. and Brightbill, N. (2007) 'Toward a participatory ethics', in Kindon, S., Pain, R., and Kesby, M. (eds) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 33–40.

March, K. S. (2002) *"If each comes halfway" : meeting Tamang women in Nepal*. Ichata: Cornell University Press.

Marlowe, J. M. *et al.* (2015) 'Conducting post-disaster research with refugee background peer researchers and their communities', *Qualitative Social Work*, 14(3), pp. 383–398. doi: 10.1177/1473325014547252.

Marshall, J. G. (2005) *Britain and Tibet 1765-1947 : a select annotated bibliography of British relations with Tibet and the Himalayan states including Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan*. RoutledgeCurzon.

Martin, L. L. and Mitchelson, M. L. (2009) 'Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment: Interrogating Spatial Practices of Confinement, Discipline, Law, and State Power', *Geography Compass*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd (10.1111), 3(1), pp. 459–477. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2008.00196.x.

Martin, L. and Prokkola, E. K. (2017) 'Making labour mobile: Borders, precarity, and the competitive state in Finnish migration politics', *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd, 60, pp. 143–153. doi: 10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.07.009.

Massey, Douglas S *et al.* (2010) 'Environmental change and out-migration: evidence from Nepal', *Popul Environ*, 32, pp. 109–136. doi: 10.1007/s11111-010-0119-8.

Mcconnell, F. and Dittmer, J. (2018) 'Liminality and the diplomacy of the British Overseas Territories:

An assemblage approach', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(1), pp. 139–158. doi: 10.1177/0263775817733479.

Mccormack, D. P. and Schwanen, T. (2011) 'Guest editorial: The space - times of decision making', *Environment and Planning A*, 43, pp. 2801–2818. doi: 10.1068/a44351.

McGrath, S. and Mieres, F. (2014) *Mapping the politics of national rankings in the movement against "modern slavery" | openDemocracy*, *openDemocracy*.

McGrath, S. and Strauss, K. (2017) 'Unfreedom and workers' power: ever-present possibilities', in Kees van der, P. (ed.) *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Production*. Edward Elgar Publishing Staff, pp. 299–317.

McGrath, S. and Watson, S. (2018) 'Anti-slavery as development: A global politics of rescue', *Geoforum*. Elsevier Ltd, 93, pp. 22–31. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.04.013.

McIntyre, A. (2008) *Participatory action research*. California: Sage Publications.

McTaggart, R. (1991) 'Principles for Participatory Action Research', *Adult Education Quaterly*, 41(3), pp. 168–187.

Merriman, P. *et al.* (2013) 'Ideas in Motion Mobility : Geographies , Histories , Sociologies', *Transfers*, 3(1). doi: 10.3167/tranS.2013.030111.

Merriman, P. (2019) 'Molar and molecular mobilities: The politics of perceptible and imperceptible movements', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 37(1), pp. 65–82. doi: 10.1177/0263775818776976.

Mezzadra, S. (2004) 'The Right to Escape', *ephemera*, 4(3), pp. 267–275.

Mezzadra, S. (2010) 'The Gaze of Autonomy. Capitalism, Migration and Social Struggles', in Squire, V. (ed.) *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 1–236. doi: 10.4324/9780203839829.

Mezzadra, S. and Neilson, B. (2013) *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of labor*. Durham and London.

Miller, R. and Baumeister, S. (2013) 'Managing Migration: Is border control fundamental to anti-trafficking and anti- smuggling interventions?', *Anti- Trafficking Review*, (2), pp. 15–32.

Miller, T. *et al.* (2008) *Ethics in qualitative research*. Second. Edited by T. Miller et al. London: Sage.

Mohanty, A. (2017) 'Plight of Migrant Workers Needs Attention in Himachal Pradesh - The Quint', *Quint*.

Molland, S. (2018) '"Humanitarianized" Development? Anti-trafficking Reconfigured', *Development and Change*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd (10.1111), 0(0), pp. 1–23. doi: 10.1111/dech.12459.

Montgomery, H. (2011) 'Rumours of child trafficking after natural disasters. Fact, fiction or fantasy?', *Journal of Children and Media*, 5(4), pp. 395–410. doi: 10.1080/17482798.2011.587142.

Moulier-Boutang, Y. and Garson1, J.-P. (1984) 'Major Obstacles to Control of Irregular Migrations: Prerequisites to Policy', *The International Migration Review*, 18(3), pp. 579–592.

Napier-Moore, R. (2017) *Protected or put in harm's way? Bans and restrictions on women's labour migration in ASEAN countries*. Bangkok: ILO and UN Women.

Nepal, A. K. (2013) *20 years of relentless fight against human trafficking*. Kathmandu.

Nepune, S. R. (2019) '12 women rescued from New Delhi, India', *The Kathmandu Post*, March.

Newman, D. and Paasi, A. (1998) 'Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(2), pp. 186–207. doi: 10.1191/030913298666039113.

NHRC (2018) *Trafficking in Persons in Nepal*. Lalitpur.

Di Nicola, A. (2007) 'Researching into Human Trafficking: Issues and Problems', in Lee Maggy (ed.) *Human Trafficking*. Devon: Willian publishing, pp. 49–72.

Noussia, A. and Lyons, M. (2009) 'Inhabiting Spaces of Liminality: Migrants in Omonia', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(4), pp. 601–624. doi: 10.1080/13691830902765186.

Novak, P. (2017) 'Back to Borders', *Critical Sociology*, 43(6), pp. 847–864. doi: 10.1177/0896920516644034.

Noxolo, P. (2017) 'Subjectivity', in *International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment and Technology*. Oxford, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, pp. 1–5. doi: 10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg0621.

Nyers, P. (2003) 'Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-Deportation Movement', *Source: Third World Quarterly*, 24(6), pp. 1069–1093. doi: 10.1080/01436590310001630071.

Nyers, P. (2015) 'Migrant Citizenships and Autonomous Mobilities', *Migration, Mobility, & Displacement*. The Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives, 1(1).

Nygreen, K. (2009) 'Critical Dilemmas in PAR: Toward a New Theory of Engaged Research for Social Change', *Social Justice*, 36(4).

O'Connell Davidson, J. (2015) *The Margins of Freedom: Morden Slavery*. New York: Palgrave and Macmillan.

O'Connell Davidson, J. *et al.* (2019) *MODERN MARRONAGE – The Pursuit and Practice of Freedom in the Contemporary World*, *Bristol University*.

O'Reilly, Z. (2018) '"Living Liminality": everyday experiences of asylum seekers in the "Direct Provision" system in Ireland', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(6), pp. 821–842. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2018.1473345.

Okyere, S. (2017) '"Shock and Awe": A critique of the Ghana-centric child trafficking discourse', *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 0(9). doi: 10.14197/atr.20121797.

Omwenyeke, S. (2004) *AUTONOMY OF MIGRATION |- WHERE WE STAND IN THIS DEBATE.*, *The Caravan*.

Paasi, A. (2014) 'The shifting landscapes of border studies and the challenge of relational thinking', in Bufon, M., Minghi, J., and Paasi, A. (eds) *The New European Frontiers: Social and Spatial (Re)integration Issues in Multicultural and Border Regions*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 361–379.

Pain, R. (2004) 'Social geography: participatory research', *Progress in Human Geography*, 5, pp. 652–663. doi: 10.1191/0309132504ph511.

Pain, R. (2008) 'Ethical possibilities – towards participatory ethics', *Children's Geographies*, 6(1), pp. 104–108. doi: 10.1080/14733280701791975.

Pain, R. and Francis, P. (2003) 'Reflections on participatory research', *Area*, 35(1), pp. 46–54. doi: 10.1111/1475-4762.00109.

Pain, R., Kindon, S. and Kesby, M. (2007) 'Participatory Action Research: making a difference to theory, practice and action', in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods : Connecting People, Participation and Place*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis, p. 287.

Palombi, L. C., Van Ochten, H. and Patz, C. (2019) 'The Pharmacists' Role in Identifying and Supporting Victims of Human Trafficking', *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 5(3), pp. 255–266. doi: 10.1080/23322705.2018.1494486.

Paoletti, S. *et al.* (2014) *Migrant Workers' Access to Justice at Home: Nepal*. New York.

Papadopoulos, D., Stephenson, N. and Tsianos, V. (2008) *Escape Routes: Control and Subversion in the 21st Century*. London: Pluto Press.

Papadopoulos, D. and Tsianos, V. S. (2013) 'After citizenship: autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons', *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), pp. 178–196. doi: 10.1080/13621025.2013.780736.

Papastergiadis, N. (2000) *The turbulence of migration : globalization, deterritorialization, and hybridity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Parker, N. and Adler-Nissen, R. (2012) 'Picking and Choosing the "Sovereign" Border: A Theory of Changing State Bordering Practices', *Geopolitics*, 17(4), pp. 773–796. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2012.660582.

Parker, N. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009) 'Lines in the Sand? Towards an Agenda for Critical Border Studies', *Geopolitics*, 14(3), pp. 582–587. doi: 10.1080/14650040903081297.

Parker, N. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (2012) 'Critical Border Studies: Broadening and Deepening the "Lines in the Sand" Agenda', *Geopolitics*, 17(4), pp. 727–733. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2012.706111.

Parreñas, R. S. and Silvey, R. (2018) 'The precarity of migrant domestic work', *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Duke University Press, pp. 430–438. doi: 10.1215/00382876-4374944.

Pattisson, P. (2017) '"Will I ever get justice?": Nepal accused of failing trafficking survivors | Global development | The Guardian', *The Guardian*.

Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2010) 'Mobilizing policy: Models, methods, and mutations', *Geoforum*. Pergamon, 41(2), pp. 169–174. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.01.002.

Pickering, S. and Weber, L. (2006) 'Borders, mobility and technologies of control', in *Borders, Mobility and Technologies of Control*. Springer Netherlands, pp. 1–19. doi: 10.1007/1-4020-4899-8_1.

Pidd, H. (2018) *Two men guilty of trafficking girls from Welsh care home*, *The Guardian*.

Piya, L. and Joshi, N. P. (2016) 'Migration and Remittance in Nepal: A Review of the Push-Pull Factors and Socioeconomic Issues', *Journal of Contemproary India Studies: Space and Society*, 6, pp. 41–53.

Plambech, S. (2014) *Points of Departure: Migration Control and Anti-Trafficking in the lives of Nigerian Sex Worker Migrants after Deportation from Europe.*, *Institut for Antropologi, Københavns Universitet & Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier (DIIS)*. University of Copenhagen & Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS).

Platt, M. (2018) 'Migration, Moralities and Moratoriums: Female Labour Migrants and the Tensions of Protectionism in Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*, 42(1), pp. 89–106. doi: 10.1080/10357823.2017.1408571.

Platt, M., Davies, S. G. and Bennett, L. R. (2018) 'Contestations of Gender, Sexuality and Morality in

Contemporary Indonesia', *Asian Studies Review*. Routledge, pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/10357823.2017.1409698.

Poertner, E., Junginger, M. and Muller-Boker, U. (2011) 'Migration in Far West Nepal', *Critical Asian Studies*, 43(1), pp. 23–47. doi: 10.1080/14672715.2011.537850.

Poudel, M. (2009) *Dealing with Hidden Issues: Social Rejection Experienced by Trafficked Women in Nepal*. Newcastle University.

Poudel, P. and Carryer, J. (2000) 'Girl-Trafficking, HIV / AIDS, and the Position of Women in Nepal', *Gender and Development*, 8(2), pp. 74–79.

Pradhāna, G. (1996) *Back Home from Brothels: A Case Study of the Victims of Commercial Sexual ... - Gaurī Pradhāna - Google Books*, *Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre*. Kathmandu: CWIN.

Pratt, G. (2000) 'Research performances', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18, pp. 639–651. doi: 10.1068/d218t.

Pyakurel, U. P. (2018) 'Restrictive Labour Migration Policy on Nepalese Women and Consequences', *Sociology and Anthropology*, 6(8), pp. 650–656. doi: 10.13189/sa.2018.060803.

Rathaur, K. R. S. (2001) 'British Gurkha Recruitment : A Historical Perspective', *Voice of History*, 16(2), pp. 19–24. doi: 10.3126/voh.v16i2.74.

Rattray, J. (2016) 'Affective dimensions in liminality', in Land, R. and Meyer, J. H. F. (eds) *Threshold concepts in practice*. Sense Publishers, pp. 67–76.

Ravenstein, E. G. (1885) *The Laws of Migration*, *Source: Journal of the Statistical Society of London*.

Ray, N. (2008) 'Vulnerability to human trafficking: A qualitative study', *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, (August), pp. 233-n/a.

Ricard-Guay, A. and Maroukis, T. (2017) 'Human Trafficking in Domestic Work in the EU: A Special Case or a Learning Ground for the Anti-Trafficking Field?', *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*. Routledge, pp. 109–121. doi: 10.1080/15562948.2017.1310340.

Richardson, D. *et al.* (2016) 'Women and citizenship post-trafficking: The case of Nepal', *Sociological Review*, 64(2), pp. 329–348. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12364.

Richardson, D. and Laurie, N. (2019) 'Returning to sexual stigma: post-trafficking lives', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 0(0). doi: 10.1111/1468-4446.12707.

Richardson, D., Poudel, M. and Laurie, N. (2009) 'Sexual trafficking in Nepal: constructing citizenship and livelihoods', *Place & Culture*, 16(3), pp. 259–278. doi: 10.1080/09663690902836300.

Richardson, T. (2013) 'Borders and Mobilities: Introduction to the Special Issue', *Mobilities*. Routledge , 8(1), pp. 1–6. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2012.747747.

Rumford, C. (2006) 'Introduction Theorizing Borders', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), pp. 155–169. doi: 10.1177/1368431006063330.

Ryan, L., Kofman, E. and Aaron, P. (2010) 'Insiders and outsiders: working with peer researchers in researching Muslim communities', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 14(1), pp. 49–60. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2010.481835.

Salazar, N. B. (2018) 'Theorizing mobility through concepts and figures', *Tempo Social*. Universidade de Sao Paulo, 30(2), pp. 153–168. doi: 10.11606/0103-2070.ts.2018.142112.

Salter, M. B. (2007) 'Governmentalities of an Airport: Heterotopia and Confession', *International*

Political Sociology, 1, pp. 49–66. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-5687.2007.00004.x.

Salter, M. B. (2012) 'Theory of the / : The Suture and Critical Border Studies', *Geopolitics*, 17(4), pp. 734–755. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2012.660580.

Salter, M. B. (2013a) 'To Make Move and Let Stop: Mobility and the Assemblage of Circulation', *Mobilities*, 8(1), pp. 7–19. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2012.747779.

Samāddāra, R. (2005) *The politics of autonomy : Indian experiences*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Samarasinghe, V. (2008) *Female sex trafficking in Asia : the resilience of patriarchy in a changing world*. London: Routledge.

Sanchez, G. (2015) *Human Smuggling and Border Crossings* . 1st edn, *Routledge*. 1st edn. London and New York: Routledge.

Sanderson, D. *et al.* (2015) *NEPAL EARTHQUAKE RESPONSE: Lessons for operational agencies*, *ALNAP Lessons Paper*. London.

Sangroula, Y. (2001) *TRAFFICKING OF GIRLS AND WOMEN IN NEPAL*.

Sarkar, S. (2016) 'Trafficking of Women and Girls for Sex Trade from Nepal to India', *Challenge*, 59(5), pp. 434–458. doi: 10.1080/05775132.2016.1226090org/10.1080/05775132.2016.1226090.

Schapendonk, J. (2011) *Turbulent Trajectories Sub-Saharan African Migrants Heading North*. Radboud University.

Schapendonk, J. *et al.* (2018) 'Re-routing migration geographies: Migrants, trajectories and mobility regimes', *Geoforum*. Elsevier Ltd. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.06.007.

Schapendonk, J., Bolay, M. and Dahinden, J. (2020) 'The conceptual limits of the "migration journey". De-exceptionalising mobility in the context of West African trajectories', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Routledge. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1804191.

Schapendonk, J. and Steel, G. (2014) *Following Migrant Trajectories: The Im/Mobility of Sub-Saharan Africans en Route to the European Union*.

Scheel, S. (2013a) 'Autonomy of Migration Despite Its Securitisation? Facing the Terms and Conditions of Biometric Rebordering', *Journal of International Studies*, 41(3), pp. 575–600. doi: 10.1177/0305829813484186.

Scheel, S. (2013b) 'Studying embodied encounters: autonomy of migration beyond its romanticization', *Postcolonial Studies*, 16. doi: 10.1080/13688790.2013.850046.

Scheel, S. (2017) 'Appropriating mobility and bordering Europe through romantic love: Unearthing the intricate intertwinement of border regimes and migratory practices', *Migration Studies*, 5(3), pp. 389–408. doi: 10.1093/migration/mnx047.

Scheel, S. (2019) *Autonomy of Migration? Appropriating mobility within Biometric Regimes*. Oxon: Routledge.

Scheel, S. and Ustek-Spilda, F. (2019) 'The politics of expertise and ignorance in the field of migration management', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 37(4), pp. 663–681. doi: 10.1177/0263775819843677.

Schendel, W. van. and Abraham, I. (2005) *Illicit flows and criminal things : states, borders, and the other side of globalization*. Indiana University Press.

Schewel, K. (2019) 'Understanding Immobility: Moving Beyond the Mobility Bias in Migration

Studies', *International Migration Review*, pp. 1–28. doi: 10.1177/0197918319831952.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L. and Blanc, C. S. (1995) 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), pp. 48–63.

Schrader, H. (1987) 'Trading Networks in the Nepal Himalayas. The Case of Walongchung Gola', *Internationales Asienforum*, 18(3–4).

Schwarz, I. (2018) 'Migrants moving through mobility regimes: The trajectory approach as a tool to reveal migratory processes', *Geoforum*. Elsevier Ltd. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.03.007.

Shamir, H. (2012) 'A Labor Paradigm for Human Trafficking', *60 UCLA L. REV.*, 1(76).

Shamir, H. (2017) 'The Paradox of "Legality": Temporary Migrant Worker Programs and Vulnerability to Trafficking'', in Kotiswaran, P. (ed.) *Revisiting the law and governance of trafficking, forced labor and modern slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 471–502.

Shamir, R. (2005) *Without Borders? Notes on Globalization as a Mobility Regime*.

Sharapov, K. (2017) '"Traffickers and Their Victims": Anti-Trafficking Policy in the United Kingdom', *Critical Sociology*, 43(1), pp. 91–111. doi: 10.1177/0896920515598562.

Sharma, M. and Tamang, S. (2016) *A difficult transition : the Nepal papers*. New Delhi: Zubaan.

Sharma, N. (2005) *Anti-Trafficking Rhetoric and the Making of a Global Apartheid*, *Source: NWSA Journal*.

Sharma, N. (2009) 'Escape artists: Migrants and the politics of naming', *Subjectivity*, 29(1), pp. 467–476. doi: 10.1057/sub.2009.26.

Sharma, N. (2018) 'Immigration restrictions and the politics of protection', in Bract, L. and O'Connell Davidson, J. (eds) *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis*, pp. 123–147. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-90623-2_5.

Sharma, S. *et al.* (2014) *STATE OF MIGRATION IN NEPAL*. Kathmandu.

Sharma, S. and Thapa, D. (2013) *TAKEN FOR GRANTED Nepali Migration to India*. III. Kathmandu.

Sheller, M. (2012) 'The islanding effect: post- disaster mobility systems and humanitarian logistics in Haiti', *cultural geographies*, 20(2), pp. 185–204. doi: 10.1177/1474474012438828.

Sheller, M. (2015) 'Uneven Mobility Futures: A Foucauldian Approach'. doi: 10.1080/17450101.2015.1097038.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) 'The new mobilities paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), pp. 207–226. doi: 10.1068/a37268.

Shih, E. (2014) 'the anti-trafficking rehabilitation complex', *Contexts*, 13(1), pp. 21–22.

Shih, E. *et al.* (2017) *Christian evangelical organisations in global anti-trafficking networks*, *The Religious Studies Project (Podcast Transcript)*.

Shree, K. and Abhurami, D. (2015) 'HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN NEPAL – AN OVERVIEW*', *The International Review of Human Rights Law*, 1(1), pp. 1–18.

Shrestha, M. (2016) *Get rich or die tryin': Perceived earnings, perceived mortality rate and the value of a statistical life of potential work-migrants from Nepal*. Massachusetts.

Shrestha, M. (2017) *Push and pull: A study of international migration from Nepal*.

Shrestha, S. S. and Bhandari, A. P. (2007) 'Environmental security and labor migration in Nepal', *Popul Environ* , 29, pp. 25–38. doi: 10.1007/s11111-007-0059-0.

Shubin, S., Findlay, A. and Mccollum, D. (2014) 'Imaginaries of the ideal migrant worker: a Lacanian interpretation', *Society and Space*, 32, pp. 466–483. doi: 10.1068/d22212.

Shukla, R. (2010) *SEX WORK AND LAWS IN SOUTH ASIA: A MONOGRAPH*. Sangli.

Sibley, D. (1988) 'Survey 13: Purification of space', *Environment and Planning D: Socloty and Space*, 6, pp. 409–421.

Siegel, D. and de Wildt, R. (2016) *Ethical Concerns in Research on Human Trafficking*. Heidelberg: Springer International Publishing. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-21521-1.

Sijapati, B. *et al.* (2015) *MIGRATION AND RESILIENCE Experiences from Nepal's 2015 Earthquake*. Research Paper VII. Kathmandu.

Sijapati, B. *et al.* (2019) 'Nepali Women's Labour Migration: Between Protection and Proscription', *Migration Letters*, 16(4), pp. 611–624. doi: 10.33182/ml.v16i4.594.

Sijapati, B. and Limbu, A. (2017a) *Governing Labour Migration in Nepal: An Analysis of Existing Policies and Institutional Mechanisms*. Kathmandu: CESLAM.

Sijapati, B. and Limbu, A. (2017b) 'Governing Labour Migration in Nepal', pp. 1–2967.

Silvey, R. (2004) 'Power, difference and mobility: Feminist advances in migration studies', *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(4), pp. 490–506. doi: 10.1191/0309132504ph490oa.

Simkhada, P. P. *et al.* (2017) 'Identifying the gaps in Nepalese migrant workers' health and well-being: a review of the literature', *Journal of Travel Medicine*, 24(4), pp. 1–9. doi: 10.1093/jtm/tax021.

Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, self, culture*. London: Routledge.

Skrivankova, K. (2010) *Between decent work and forced labour: examining the continuum of exploitation*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF).

Smith, M. (2011) *The Tamang: A Scheduled Tribe at the Crossroads*, PURBANCHAL TAMANG BOUDHA SANGHA.

Söderström, O. *et al.* (2013) *Critical mobilities*, *Social Anthropology*. Oxford and New York. doi: 10.1111/1469-8676.12140.

Söderström, O. and Crot, L. (2010) *The mobile constitution of society : rethinking the mobility-society Nexus*. 7. Université de Neuchâte.

Squire, V. (2017) 'Unauthorised migration beyond structure/agency? Acts, interventions, effects', *Politics*, 37(3), pp. 254–272. doi: 10.1177/0263395716679674.

Strauss, K. (2017) 'Sorting victims from workers: Forced labour, trafficking, and the process of jurisdiction', *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(2), pp. 140–158. doi: 10.1177/0309132516629002.

Strauss, K. and McGrath, S. (2017) 'Temporary migration, precarious employment and unfree labour relations: Exploring the "continuum of exploitation" in Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program', *Geoforum*. Pergamon, 78, pp. 199–208. doi: 10.1016/J.GEOFORUM.2016.01.008.

Szakolczai, A. (2009) 'Liminality and Experience: Structuring transitory situations and transformative events', *International Political Anthropology*, 2(1), pp. 141–172.

Szakolczai, A. (2014) 'Living permanent liminality: the recent transition experience in Ireland', *Irish*

Journal of Sociology , 22(1), pp. 28–50. doi: 10.7227/IJS.22.1.3.

Szakolczai, Á. (2017) 'Permanent (trickster) liminality: The reasons of the heart and of the mind', *Theory & Psychology*, 27(2), pp. 231–248. doi: 10.1177/0959354317694095.

Tamang, P. (1992) 'Tamangs under the shadow', *Himal Southasian*.

Tazzioli, M. (2017) 'The government of migrant mobs: Temporary divisible multiplicities in border zones', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 20(4), pp. 473–490. doi: 10.1177/1368431016658894.

Tazzioli, M. (2019) 'The politics of migrant dispersal. Dividing and policing migrant multiplicities', *Migration Studies*, 0(0), pp. 1–20. doi: 10.1093/migration/mnz003.

Tazzioli, M. and De Genova, N. (2020) 'Kidnapping migrants as a tactic of border enforcement', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 38(5), pp. 867–886. doi: 10.1177/0263775820925492.

Temple, B. and Young, A. (2004) 'Qualitative research and translation dilemmas', *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), pp. 161–178.

Thapliyal, S. (1999) 'Movement of population between India and Nepal: Emerging challenges', *Strategic Analysis*, 23(5), pp. 777–789. doi: 10.1080/09700169908455083.

The World Bank (2012) *World Bank: Nepal- Country Overview 2012".*, *The World Bank*.

Thomas-Hughes, H. (2018) 'Ethical "mess" in co-produced research: reflections from a U.K.-based case study Ethical "mess" in co-produced research: reflections from a U.K.-based case study', *InternatIonal Journal of SocIal reSearch Methodology*, 21(2), pp. 231–242. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2017.1364065.

Thomassen, B. (2009) 'The Uses and Meanings of Liminality', *International Political Anthropology*, 2(1).

Thomassen, B. (2013) 'Revisiting Liminality: The danger of empty spaces', in Andrews, H. and Roberts, L. (eds) *Liminal Landscapes*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 22–35.

Thomassen, B. (2014) *Liminality and the modern : living through the in-between*. Ashgate.

Thompson, M. (2017) 'Migration decision-making: a geographical imaginations approach', *Area*, 49(1), pp. 77–84. doi: 10.1111/area.12292.

Treharne, G. J. *et al.* (2018) 'Traversing Ethical Imperatives: Learning from Stories from the Field', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethics in Critical Research*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 429–453. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-74721-7_28.

Tsianios, V. (2007) *IMPERCEPTIBLE POLITICS RETHINKING RADICAL POLITICS OF MIGRATION AND PRECARITY TODAY*. Department Sozialwissenschaften der Universität Hamburg.

Tsianos, V., Papadopoulos, D. and Stephenson, N. (2012) 'This Is Class War from Above and They Are Winning It: What Is to Be Done?', *Rethinking Marxism A*, 24(3), pp. 448–457. doi: 10.1080/08935696.2012.685285.

Tsutsumi, A. *et al.* (2008) 'Mental health of female survivors of human trafficking in Nepal', *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(2008), pp. 1841–1847. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.12.025.

Turner, V. W. (1967) *The forest of symbols : aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, V. W. (1995) *The ritual process : structure and anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Tyldum, G. (2010) 'Limitations in Research on Human Trafficking*', *International Migration*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 48(5), pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00597.x.

Tyszler, E. (2019) 'From controlling mobilities to control over women's bodies: gendered effects of EU border externalization in Morocco', *Comparative Migration Studies*. Springer, 7(1), p. 25. doi: 10.1186/s40878-019-0128-4.

UN (2000) 'Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime'. Geneva.

Upreti, B. C. (2003) 'India-Nepal Relations: Dynamics, Issues and Problems', *South Asian Survey*, 10(2), pp. 257–274.

Uprety, U. (2014) *Trafficking and sexual exploitation in Nepal " : A case study of post trafficked women/girls from Nuwakot and Sindupalchok districts of Nepal*. Aalborg University.

Urry, J. (2000a) 'Mobile sociology', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 51(1), pp. 185–203. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2000.00185.x.

Urry, J. (2000b) *Sociology beyond Societies: mobilities for the twenty-first century*. london: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2003) *Global Complexity*. Cambridge: UK: Polity.

Urry, J. (2005) 'The Complexities of the Global', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(5), pp. 235–254. doi: 10.1177/0263276405057201.

Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Urry, J. (2012a) *Mobile lives*. Universitat de Girona. Càtedra Ferrater Mora de Pensament Contemporani.

Urry, J. (2012b) 'Social networks and mobilities'. Universitat de Girona. Càtedra Ferrater Mora de Pensament Contemporani.

Urry, J. (2012c) *The new mobilities paradigm*. Universitat de Girona. Càtedra Ferrater Mora de Pensament Contemporani.

US (2000) *VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING AND VIOLENCE PROTECTION ACT OF 2000*, *US Department of State*. https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf.

Vandergeest, P. and Marschke, M. (2020) 'Modern Slavery and Freedom: Exploring Contradictions through Labour Scandals in the Thai Fisheries', *Antipode*. Blackwell Publishing Inc., 52(1), pp. 291–315. doi: 10.1111/anti.12575.

van der Velde, M. and van Naerssen, T. (2011) 'People, borders, trajectories: An approach to cross-border mobility and immobility in and to the European Union', *Area*, 43(2), pp. 218–224. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2010.00974.x.

Walters, W. (2006) 'Border/Control', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), pp. 187–203. doi: 10.1177/1368431006063332.

Watkins, J. (2017) 'Australia's irregular migration information campaigns: border externalization, spatial imaginaries, and extraterritorial subjugation', *Territory, Politics, Governance*. Routledge, 5(3), pp. 282–303. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2017.1284692.

Wee, K., Goh, C. and Yeoh, B. S. A. (2020) 'Translating People and Policy: The Role of Maid Agents in Brokering between Employers and Migrant Domestic Workers in Singapore's Migration Industry',

International Migration Review. SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1–24. doi: 10.1177/0197918319897570.

Wijers, M. (2015) 'Purity, Victimhood and Agency: Fifteen years of the UN Trafficking Protocol', *Anti-Trafficking Review*, 0(4). doi: 10.14197/atr.20121544.

Wilcke, H. (2018) 'Imperceptible Politics: Illegalized Migrants and Their Struggles for Work and Unionization', *Social Inclusion*, 6(1), pp. 157–165. doi: 10.17645/si.v6i1.1297.

Williams, J. M. (2017) 'Crisis, subjectivity, and the polymorphous character of immigrant family detention in the United States', *Territory, Politics, Governance*. Routledge, 5(3), pp. 269–281. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2017.1284021.

Wilson, E., Kenny, A. and Dickson-Swift, V. (2018) 'Ethical challenges of community based participatory research: exploring researchers' experience', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 21(1), pp. 7–24. doi: 10.1080/13645579.2017.1296714.

Wong, D. (2005) 'The Rumour of Trafficking: Border Controls, Illegal Migration, and the Sovereignty of the Nation State', in Schendel, W. van. and Abraham, I. (eds) *Illicit flows and criminal things : states, borders, and the other side of globalization*. Indiana University Press, p. 266.

Yea, S. (2020a) 'Prefiguring stigma in post-trafficking lives: Relational geographies of return and reintegration', *Area*, (February), pp. 1–8. doi: 10.1111/area.12620.

Yea, S. (2020b) 'Towards critical geographies of anti-human trafficking: Producing and precluding victimhood through discourses, practices and institutions', *Progress in Human Geography*, pp. 1–18. doi: 10.1177/0309132520923136.

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. (2018) 'Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation', *Sociology*, 52(2), pp. 228–244. doi: 10.1177/0038038517702599.

Zampoukos, K. *et al.* (2018) 'Mobile with an agency: Negotiating the spatiotemporalities of the temp migrant worker', *Geoforum*. Pergamon, 93, pp. 40–47. doi: 10.1016/J.GEOFORUM.2018.05.003.

Zhang, V. (2018) 'Im/mobilising the migration decision', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(2), pp. 199–216. doi: 10.1177/0263775817743972.

Zharkevich, I. (2020) '"We are in the process": The exploitation of hope and the political economy of waiting among the aspiring irregular migrants in Nepal', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. SAGE Publications Ltd, p. 026377582095487. doi: 10.1177/0263775820954877.