



Our Lives.
Vulnerability and Resilience
Among Indonesian
Trafficking Victims

2017

Rebecca Surtees

NEXUS
Institute

This research and publication were made possible through support provided by the United States Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP), under the terms of Grant No. S-SGTIP-11-GR-044. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of State.



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Publisher: NEXUS Institute
655 15th Street NW Suite 9118
Washington, D.C. 20005

Citation: Surtees, Rebecca (2017) *Our Lives. Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

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Cover photo: A village scene in West Java, Indonesia. Photo: Peter Biro.

Photographs in this report illustrate various aspects of daily life in Indonesia. Individuals in these photographs are not trafficking victims.

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Victims

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Rebecca Surtees



This study is dedicated to Indonesian trafficking victims and their family members who are in the process of recovery and reintegration. We are especially grateful to the 108 trafficking victims who graciously and generously participated in this research project and from whom we have learned a great deal about risk and resilience in their daily lives before and after trafficking.

Foreword from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection

With mercy and blessings of God. Greetings for all of us.

The criminal act of trafficking in persons is a form of modern slavery. It not only happens domestically, within Indonesia but also transnationally. The crime is committed by a chain of individual and organized perpetrators.

The modus and objective of the criminal act of trafficking in persons keeps developing and changing over time. Many perpetrators of human trafficking exploit their victims economically, physically or sexually. Perpetrator often deceive their victims, promising jobs with a large salary. However, in reality, victims often arrive in the place of exploitation where they are forced to work in prostitution and other sectors, receiving very low wages or often no salary at all. Recently, human trafficking in Indonesia has also often involved trafficking in body organs and the sale of babies.

Various regulations and/or policies have been issued as the legal foundation in the effort to prevent, treat and eradicate of trafficking in persons. This includes Law number 21/2007 on the *Eradication of the Criminal Act of Trafficking in Persons*; Government Regulation number 9/2008 on the *Procedure and Mechanism of Integrated Services for Witnesses and/or Victims of Trafficking*; Presidential Regulation number 69/2008 on the *Task Force for the Prevention and Control of Trafficking in Persons*; and other regulations. These regulations and policies state that every trafficking witness and/or victim has right of health rehabilitation services, social rehabilitation, repatriation, social reintegration, legal aid and restitution.

The publication of the book, *Our Lives. Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*, presents the experiences of surviving trafficking victims and the family members of these trafficking victims. This book is expected to offer greater understanding and sensitivity in our efforts to increase prevention and to fulfill and realize the rights of trafficking victim and/or witness.

Finally, I hope that the book *Our Lives. Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims* can offer maximum advantage to women's protection programs, especially programs for trafficking victims. I also want to express my gratitude and highest appreciation to the writers and editors, especially Rebecca Surtees, who has poured much energy and thought into the study, and to all parties who supported the preparation and publication of this book.

With mercy and blessings of God.



Dr. Wahyu Hartomo, M.Sc
Secretary

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
Jakarta, March 2017

Foreword from the Ministry of Social Affairs

We are thankful for God's blessing and grace that the research study on the reintegration of trafficked persons in Indonesia has been prepared by NEXUS Institute of the United States of America. This report is the second study prepared by NEXUS, entitled *Our Lives. Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims* and focuses on the wider dynamics in the lives of trafficking victims.

Issues and social problems are, from year to year, always increasing, along with the complexity of human life. One of the issues that is our concern is the phenomenon of human trafficking. Victims of trafficking are among those persons with social welfare problems (*Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial* or PMKS). The Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia is mandated to provide them with social welfare services. The forms of human trafficking that are handled by the Ministry of Social Affairs are, among others, child labor, forced labor, involuntary servitude, child sexual exploitation, prostitution, forced labor migration as well as other forms of violence.

The United States Department of State, in 2010, stated that Indonesia is a major source country for human trafficking. It is also a transit and destination country for women, children and men who are subjected to human trafficking, particularly for prostitution and forced labor. It occurs due to unsafe migration in Indonesia. Trafficking seems to be an integral part of the migration process itself - from falsification of legal documents to the falsification of identity and age, from prospective migrants' lack of information to the lack of protection from the State. The above empirical facts need to be seriously addressed by various elements of society to tackle trafficking.

The NEXUS Institute's research findings – on human trafficking, the melancholy experiences of the victims, the source areas of victims of trafficking in Indonesia – provide a picture of the scope of human trafficking in Indonesia. It is a sort of map which can serve as a reference and referral; a compass that can help us to be more focused and concerned in moving forward in handling cases and assisting victims of trafficking in Indonesia.

I would like give the highest appreciation for the research findings that have an important strategic value in efforts to end trafficking. Hopefully in the future we will continue our cooperation to follow up and operationalize the research findings to improve the quality of services for Indonesian victims of trafficking.

Finally, I would like to thank you for the publication these research findings. I hope that this book can inspire anti-trafficking stakeholders to provide better services to victims of trafficking in Indonesia.



Dr. Sonny W. Manalu, MM
Director of Social Rehabilitation for Socially Disadvantaged and Victims of Trafficking, Ministry of Social Affairs
Jakarta, December 2016

Preface

The vision that inspired the creation of the NEXUS Institute included addressing the need for independent in-depth research and analysis on human trafficking to support the development and implementation of more effective laws, policies and practices to combat human trafficking and to assist trafficking victims to recover and rebuild their lives. While research on human trafficking around the world has grown and improved since NEXUS began more than a decade ago, there is still a great need for thoughtful analysis of more in-depth data and evidence to provide meaningful guidance for improved laws, policies and practices.

Our Lives. Vulnerability and Resilience Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims is the second in a series of three research studies on reintegration undertaken by NEXUS within the framework of a multi-year research project in Indonesia supported by the United States Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. Despite assertions around the world that more "data" on human trafficking is needed, this type of commitment to research that involves in-depth data collection and analysis remains relatively rare. In supporting this work, the State Department demonstrates that it recognizes and appreciates that high quality and independent analysis of intensive field-based research provides the essential foundation for achieving improved long-term outcomes against human trafficking.

This series of reports advances the overall body of knowledge in at least three key ways:

First, this is among only a very few studies thus far utilizing longitudinal methodology in the field of human trafficking. The project's multi-year framework has permitted NEXUS researchers to undertake the labor-intensive and challenging process of conducting multiple interviews over time with victims of trafficking and their families. As a result, NEXUS has been able to piece together a fuller picture of the lives of trafficking victims, including important aspects of their lives before and after trafficking. In future, longitudinal studies that reveal the stories of victims of trafficking over even longer periods of time than were possible here will be recognized as essential for designing and implementing more effective and appropriate institutional responses to prevention, protection/assistance and prosecution of human trafficking cases. This research is an early meaningful step in that direction.

Second, NEXUS has expanded the pool of research participants by identifying and interviewing trafficking victims whom authorities and others – sometimes in multiple

countries – had not previously identified as having been trafficked. This approach, which is a hallmark of NEXUS’ research, strengthens the overall understanding of human trafficking by including the experiences of a broader sample population of surviving trafficking victims than occurs when research is limited solely to those officially or formally identified.

Finally, the scope of our research adopts a perspective that victims of trafficking should not be defined solely by their trafficking experience. As a result, this report sheds light on the broader contours of the lives of victims of trafficking. It looks, for example, at the existence of vulnerabilities, life challenges, and needs in the lives of individuals during a wider swath of their lives to include those that existed pre-trafficking, those that arose or were accentuated during and because of trafficking, and those that developed after the individual’s rescue or escape and return home. To help round out the picture further, this research includes the perspective of family members and members of the community, when possible and appropriate. Understanding the more all-encompassing range of vulnerabilities, life challenges and needs – as this report describes – will contribute to developing more tailored and successful assistance and care.

Governments have international legal obligations to assist and protect victims of trafficking and to work in cooperation with local organizations and civil society to accomplish this. Fortunately, there is now increasingly strong research and analysis to help guide governments toward satisfying these obligations. It is my hope that this report, and the larger body of research conducted for this project, will contribute toward purposeful implementation of better reintegration and support practices in countries around the world.

I invite those who care about human trafficking and related issues and are interested in being part of seeking solutions to follow our work at www.NEXUSInstitute.net and @NEXUSInstitute.

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Acknowledgements

The project (*Protecting the Unassisted and Underserved. Evidence-Based Research on Assistance and Reintegration in Indonesia*) is generously funded by the U.S. Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP). We are grateful for J/TIP's support and dedication to enhanced reintegration efforts in Indonesia and globally.

Thanks are also due to the Government of Indonesia – namely, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak) and the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia) – which have been supportive of the research project from the outset, recognizing the importance of an enhanced reintegration response to better assist Indonesian trafficking victims, their families and communities.

We are especially grateful to the many Indonesian men and women who participated in this research, sharing their experiences of exploitation as well as the successes and challenges they have faced after trafficking. We also thank their family members who helped us to understand life after trafficking, not only for trafficked persons but also for their families.

Thanks are also due to the many professionals working on victim assistance in Indonesia who were interviewed for this study, often on multiple occasions. Staff of the following government institutions were generous with their time, knowledge and expertise:

- Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of Indonesia), particularly Bagian perlindungan korban perdagangan orang (Victims of Trafficking Protection Unit) and P2TP2A (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak or Integrated Service Center for Protection of Women and Children) in Sukabumi, Cianjur, Bogor and Jakarta.
- Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia (Ministry of Social Affairs), including: Direktorat Rehabilitasi Sosial Tuna Sosial dan Korban Perdagangan Orang (Directorate of Social Rehabilitation for the Socially Disadvantaged and Trafficking Victims); Direktorat Perlindungan Sosial Korban Tindak Kekerasan dan Pekerja Migran (Directorate of Social Protection for Victims of Violence and Migrant Workers); RPTC (Rumah Perlindungan dan Trauma Center or House of Protection and Trauma Center) in Jakarta and Sukabumi; Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Wanita (Social Protection Home for Women); Panti Sosial Bina Remaja (Youth Center); Panti Sosial Karya Wanita (Social Homes for Women); LK3 (Lembaga Konsultasi Kesejahteraan Keluarga or Family Welfare Consultation) including LK3 Kesuma in Bogor and LK3 Dinsos Sukabumi; Dinas Tenaga Kerja, Sosial dan Transmigrasi Kabupaten Bogor (Social, Manpower and Transmigration Bureau of Bogor); Dinas Sosial Kabupaten Sukabumi (Social Bureau of Sukabumi); and TKSK (Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan or Voluntary Community Workers) of Ciawi of Bogor.

The following organizations also gave generously of their time and expertise, meeting with us on multiple occasions and discussing issues and challenges faced by victims over the course of recovery and reintegration. Our thanks to: ATKI (Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia or Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers); LBH Jakarta (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jakarta or Jakarta Legal Aid Institute); PBHI Jakarta (Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan HAM Indonesia Jakarta or Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association of Jakarta); PBM (Peduli Buruh Migran or Caring for Migrant Workers); SBMI (Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia or Indonesian Migrant Workers Union) – including SBMI DPN (Dewan Pimpinan Nasional or National Board of SBMI, SBMI DPW (Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah Jawa Barat or Regional Board of West Java), SBMI Cianjur, SBMI Sukabumi, SBMI Cirebon, SBMI


Banyuwangi; FORWA (Forum Wanita Afada or Afada Women Forum) of Sukabumi; SBMC (Solidaritas Buruh Migran Cianjur or Migrant Workers Solidarity of Cianjur); SBMK (Solidaritas Buruh Migran Karawang or Migrant Workers Solidarity of Karawang); SP (Solidaritas Perempuan or Women's Solidarity for Human Rights); SPILN (Serikat Pekerja Indonesia Luar Negeri or Overseas Indonesian Workers Union); TIFA Foundation; Solidarity Center; ICMC (International Catholic Migration Commission); IOM (International Organization for Migration); AAPTIP (Australia-Asia Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons); Bandungwangi Foundation of Jakarta; Bahtera Foundation of Bandung; Institut Perempuan (Institute for Women) of Bandung; FWBMI (Forum Warga Buruh Migran Indonesia or Citizen's Forum of Indonesian Migrant Workers of Cirebon); WCC (Women's Crisis Center Balqis of Cirebon); Yayasan Kusuma Bongas of Indramayu; Jalin CIPANNAS of Indramayu; Kesuma Foundation; APSAKI (Asosiasi Pekerja Sosial Anak dan Keluarga Indonesia or Social Worker Association of Children and Family); Bandung College of Social Work; Societa Foundation; Migrant Institute; Migrant CARE; JBM (Jaringan Buruh Migran or Network of Migrant Workers).

In addition, some organizations and institutions were of great assistance in contacting and facilitating access to the trafficked persons who have generously participated in this research project. This support was integral to the success of the research and we extend our sincere gratitude to the following organizations for their on-going support and assistance over the course of the project: Yayasan Bandungwangi Jakarta; Yayasan Bahtera Bandung; Institut Perempuan Bandung; FWBMI Cirebon; WCC Balqis Cirebon; Yayasan Kusuma Bongas Indramayu; Jalin CIPANNAS Indramayu; Dinsosnakertrans Kabupaten Bogor; TSKS Ciawi Bogor; SP; PBM; SPILN; SBMK; SBMC; IOM; SBMI DPN; SBMI Cianjur, SBMI Cirebon, SBMI Banyuwangi and SBMI Sukabumi.








This research project would not have been possible without the hard work, dedication and expertise of my colleagues at NEXUS Institute. I am very grateful to Thaufiek Zulfahary and Suarni Daeng Caya who conducted the field research over the course of this multi-year project. They travelled across Java (in all weather, across all terrain, during weekends and holidays and into distant communities) to meet with and learn from trafficking victims and a wide range of key informants. We have also spent long hours together discussing and analyzing these experiences as well as considering how reintegration efforts might be improved. They also made a substantial contribution to this study, having reviewed and provided feedback into this study at various stages of the drafting process. In addition, Thaufiek Zulfahary translated the study into Bahasa Indonesian. Laura S. Johnson contributed to the study through data analysis as well as reviewing and providing invaluable feedback into this study throughout the drafting process. She also designed and copy-edited the report and provided extensive support throughout as well as demonstrated endless patience over the course of this complex project. Pattarin Wimolpitayarat was of great assistance in cleaning and coding the transcripts as well as other important support tasks. Sheila Berman provided administrative and moral support throughout the project. Peter Biro's compelling photographs of daily life in communities Indonesia are another important contribution to this study and project. Thanks also to the translators, transcribers and assistants: Umi Farida, Gracia Asriningsih, Idaman Andarmosoko, Achmad Hasan, Santi Octaviani, Nur Yasni, Ilmi Suminar-Lashley, Elanvito, Ismira Lutfia Tisnadibrata, Ni Loh Gusti Madewanti, Ratih Islamiy Sukma, Susiladiharti, Nike Sudarman, Chandrasa Edhityas Sjamsudin, Yunda Rusman and Raymond Kusnadi. Finally, sincere thanks to Stephen Warnath, Founder, President and CEO of the NEXUS Institute for his oversight of the project and his input and technical advice on all papers in this research series. We have all benefited from his expertise and guidance throughout this complex project.

Rebecca Surtees
Senior Researcher
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Acronyms and abbreviations

AK	Akte Kelahiran (birth certificate)
BPJS	Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial (Social Security Agency)
GEBA	Group Economic Business Assistance
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
ILO	International Labour Organization
IO	international organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JKN	Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (National Health Insurance Program)
KEJAR	Kelompok Belajar (Studying Group or Working Group)
KIS card	Kartu Indonesia Sehat (Healthy Indonesia Card)
KJS card	Kartu Jakarta Sehat (Jakarta Health Card)
KK	Kartu Keluarga (Family Card)
KPPPA	Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection)
KTCLN	Kartu Tenaga Kerja Luar Negeri (Foreign Employment Identity Card)
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk (Personal Identity Card)
KUA	Kantor Urusan Agama (Office of Religious Affairs)
KUBE	Kelompok Usaha Bersama (Group Economic Business Assistance)
LK3	Lembaga Konsultasi Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Consultation)
LPSK	Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban (Witnesses and Victims Protection Agency)
LSPS	Lembaga Sertifikasi Pekerja Sosial (Social Worker Certification Agency/Body)
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
MA	Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic senior high school)
MAK	Madrasah Aliyah Kejuruan (Islamic secondary vocational education)
MBR	Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah (low-income communities)
MI	Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic elementary school)
MoSA	Ministry of Social Affairs (Kementerian Sosial Republik Indonesia)
MoWECF	Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak)
MT	Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic junior high school)
NGO	non-governmental organization
NTB	Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara)
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur (East Nusa Tenggara)
P2TP2A	Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak (Integrated Service Center for Women and Children)
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat (Community Learning Center)
PKL	Perjanjian Kerja Laut (Sea Employment Contract)
PLAT	Pusat Pelayanan Anak Terpadu (Integrated Services for Children)
PNS	Pegawai Negeri Sipil (Civil Servants)
PSBR	Panti Sosial Bina Remaja (Youth Center)

RPSA	Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Anak (Social Protection Home for Children)
RPSW	Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Wanita (Social Protection Home for Women)
RPTC	Rumah Perlindungan dan Trauma Center (House of Protection and Trauma Center)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (neighborhood)
RTLH	Rutilahu or Rumah Tidak Layak Huni (Uninhabitable Homes)
RW	Rukun Warga (harmonious citizens)
SATGAS	Satuan Tugas (Entry Point Task Force)
SD	Sekolah Dasar (elementary school)
SKCK	Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian (police reference letter)
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas (senior high school)
SMK	Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (secondary vocational education)
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama (junior high school)
SMU	Sekolah Menengah Umum (senior high school)
TKI	Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Indonesian migrant worker)
TKIB	Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Bermasalah (Indonesian migrant worker who faces problems)
TKSK	Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan (Sub-district Social Welfare Worker)
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UPPA	Unit Pelayanan Perempuan dan Anak (Women and Children Services Unit)
USD	United States Dollar

Executive Summary

1. Introduction

When trafficked persons escape their exploitation, it is often only the beginning of a complex and taxing process. Trafficked persons must recover from the very serious and debilitating effects of trafficking exploitation. They may have a range of short- and long-term assistance needs, which are directly related to and caused by their trafficking experiences, including issues related to housing and accommodation, physical and mental health, their economic situations, education and training, safety and security, legal status, legal issues and needs within the family. In addition, human trafficking is largely a function of broader, structural inequality and individual vulnerability, which means that trafficked persons must also navigate and tackle underlying and pre-existing vulnerabilities that contributed to being trafficked and have the potential to undermine reintegration. Vulnerabilities and resiliencies are also influenced by external factors such as the family and community settings into which trafficked persons seek to reintegrate, which may fluctuate and change over time.

This paper discusses what Indonesian trafficking victims have identified as vulnerabilities and resiliencies at different stages of their lives (before trafficking, as a result of trafficking and over the course of recovery and reintegration) and in relation to the family and community environment. It also explores victims' different assistance needs over the course of reintegration and makes recommendations for how these needs can best be met.

This paper is part of a research series of papers produced in the context of the NEXUS Institute's longitudinal research project, *Protecting the Unassisted and Underserved. Evidence-Based Research on Assistance and Reintegration, Indonesia*, which aims to enhance the evidence base about successful reintegration of Indonesian trafficking victims. It is one of a series of papers generously funded by the United States Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP).

2. Research methodology

2.1 Research methodology and data collection

This longitudinal research, conducted with Indonesian trafficking victims, has five data sources:

1. **Two rounds of interviews with trafficked persons (n=108)**, including 49 males and 59 females in Jakarta, West Java (Bandung, Bogor, Cianjur, Cirebon, Indramayu, Karawang and Sukabumi), Central Java, East Java and South Sulawesi. Second round interviews were conducted with 66 respondents (24 males and 42 females) typically six to nine months after the first interview.
2. **Informal communication with trafficked persons.** Researchers had informal contact and communication with 30 respondents between interviews - speaking by telephone, exchanging text messages and meeting informally during fieldwork.
3. **Interviews with family and friends of trafficked persons (with victim's consent).** We interviewed 34 family members (spouses, parents, siblings, children, grandparents, aunts/uncles, nieces/nephews and in-laws) about how they experienced and coped with their loved one's absence while trafficked, his/her return home and the process of recovery and reintegration. We also interviewed 31 persons from respondents' social environment – primarily friends and neighbors.

4. **Participant observation in the family and community environment.** The research team generally spent two of four weeks each month conducting community-based fieldwork. Interactions included informal conversations and discussions (with individuals or groups), direct observation and participation in community events.
5. **Interviews with key informants/stakeholders at national, district, sub-district and village level.** We conducted 144 interviews with key informants between October 2013 and April 2016, including representatives of the Indonesian government (32), national and international NGOs (97), international organizations (5), donors/embassies (4) and academics/researchers (6). Twenty-five (25) informants were interviewed more than once. Key informants included administrators, policy-makers, law enforcement, medical personnel, social workers, lawyers and paralegals, village chiefs, teachers/principals, trade unionists and migrant worker activists.

2.2 Research sample. About the respondents

Sex and age. Of 108 trafficking victims, 49 were male and 59 were female. Respondents were almost exclusively adults when interviewed, although two respondents were 17 years old. Twelve individuals were trafficked as children, but adults when interviewed. Respondents ranged in age from 13 to 49 when trafficked. Age varied according to the form of exploitation. Women trafficked for sexual exploitation were generally much younger than victims of labor trafficking.

Education. Most respondents (n=65) had some level of elementary school (24 males, 31 females); 17 respondents attended junior high (7 males, 10 females); 20 respondents attended senior high school (13 males, 7 females) and five respondents attended vocational school.

Family situation. Most respondents (61 out of 108) were married when trafficked and had one or two children (although some had more children). Thirty-one respondents were unmarried at the time of trafficking and did not have children, 14 were divorced or separated and two were widowed. However, trafficked persons' family situations changed after return from trafficking and, in many situations, over the course of the research project. Some had since married and had children (or more children); other marriages and families had dissolved. Some trafficked persons' marital status was in a state of flux during the project.

Area of origin and integration. Respondents originated from Jakarta (n=6), South Sulawesi (n=3), Central Java (n=15), East Java (n=1), Lampung (n=2) and seven districts in West Java (n=81), including Bandung (n=9), Bogor (n=5), Cianjur (n=11), Cirebon (n=11), Indramayu (n=16), Karawang (n=20) and Sukabumi (n=9). Most returned to live in their areas of origin after trafficking, although some were staying temporarily in Jakarta, permanently integrating in Jakarta or moving to new villages/communities in the province or district.

Most respondents (102 of 108) were Sundanese (n=58) or Javanese (n=44).

Forms of trafficking. Victims were trafficked for sexual exploitation (n=20) as well as for different forms of labor exploitation (n=88, including construction (n=3), domestic work (n=39), fishing (n=32), factory work (n=4), work on plantations (n=8) and work in a cleaning service (n=2). Some suffered multiple forms of exploitation – most commonly women trafficked for labor were also sexually abused or exploited.

Country of exploitation. Respondents were trafficked within Indonesia (n=19) as well as abroad (n=86). Three individuals were first trafficked within Indonesia and then abroad.

Those trafficked abroad were exploited in 17 destination countries including in the Middle East (n=28) – Bahrain, Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, UAE – and in Asia (n=35) – Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan (Province of China). Most men trafficked for fishing (n=23) were trafficked in less common destinations such as Ghana, Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay. Some victims were exploited in more than one destination.

2.3 Data analysis

All interviews and field-notes were cleaned, coded and entered into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10. Data was analyzed according to principles of thematic analysis and the research team worked collaboratively in the identification of critical themes and issues. Analysis was contemporaneous with data collection, which allowed the team to follow up on issues and themes that arose during on-going fieldwork over time.

2.4 Ethical issues & considerations

Conducting research in communities was undertaken with the utmost care. We selected villages where we had a working relationship with authorities or civil society and worked together to identify possible respondents. Potential respondents were only approached if we were able to identify a safe and ethical channel to do so. Respondents were first approached by an interlocutor (NGO staff, community leader, migrant worker activist, another migrant worker), who provided them with written information about the study and a verbal explanation. They were then given time to decide whether to participate in the research. Respondents were, under no circumstances, persuaded or pressured to participate. Interviews were conducted in a location chosen by the respondent. Each interview began with a detailed process of informed consent, only after which the interview took place. At the end of each interview, the researcher gave referral information about assistance options and spent time explaining possible assistance options and how to access them. Because compensation can potentially create a pressure to participate in research in ways that may compromise informed consent, compensation *per se* was not provided. Instead we reimbursed costs associated with the respondent's involvement in the project – e.g. transportation costs and meals – and a small “gift” was given to each respondent to acknowledge and appreciate his/her important contribution to the project.

Respondents were not immediately asked to participate in repeat interviews, but given time to reflect and decide about their subsequent participation. Researchers contacted respondents after several months to gauge their willingness to be re-interviewed and, if they agreed, the process detailed above was repeated.

Particular attention was paid to the privacy, confidentiality and safety of respondents. All interviews were strictly confidential; interview transcripts were shared only within the research team and secured according to NEXUS' internal data protection policies. This research was conducted in partnership with the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in Indonesia. It was overseen by a reference group comprised of two research experts with experience in longitudinal research and research with trafficking victims

3. Supporting successful reintegration

3.1 What is reintegration?

Reintegration is the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. Successful reintegration is often comprised of different components including, for example, living in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable

standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal, social and economic development, and access to social and emotional support. There are specific considerations, which may, cumulatively, indicate that a trafficked person has successfully reintegrated. These center around different aspects of an individual's life and well-being as well as the broader family and social environment and may include: having a safe, satisfactory and affordable place to live; physical well-being; mental well-being; legal status; access to justice; safety and security; economic well-being; educational and training opportunities; healthy social environment and interpersonal relationships; and well-being of victims' families and dependents. Trafficked persons may reintegrate into different settings, depending upon individual needs, interests and opportunities, including in their home communities or a new community. Reintegration also takes place at different levels – at an individual level; within the trafficked person's family environment; within the wider community; and also within the overarching formal society.

3.2 What is reintegration assistance?

A comprehensive package of reintegration assistance includes the following services: housing or accommodation, medical assistance, psychological support and counseling, education and life skills, economic opportunities, legal and administrative support, legal support during legal proceedings, family mediation and counseling, case management and assistance to family members, if needed. Trafficking victims may require a single service (e.g. transportation, emergency medical care, job placement) or multiple services (e.g. a combination of housing, medical assistance, psychological care, legal support, education and vocational training). Services may be trafficking-specific – e.g. offered by anti-trafficking organizations and institutions – or they may be more general – e.g. offered by agencies/institutions working with vulnerable persons, returned migrants, community development, child protection.

Meaningful reintegration is a complex and costly undertaking, often requiring a full and diverse set of services for victims (and sometimes their families), who themselves have widely differing short- and long-term physical, psychological, social and economic needs. Once the immediate needs of trafficked persons have been met (e.g. emergency health needs, immediate protection and so on), many victims require further assistance to reintegrate into their families and communities (e.g. vocational training, economic support, long-term access to healthcare, counseling, education, family mediation and so on). Because reintegration can take years to achieve, programs should provide a range of services and long-term case management.

Indonesian trafficking victims are exploited for different purposes (for sexual exploitation and different forms of forced labor) and their distinct experiences of exploitation inform the types and amount of services they may require, the time needed to recover and so on. Some trafficked persons need many, even all, of the services listed above at some stage of their reintegration after trafficking. Others require one or two services and are able to draw on their personal, family and community resources to support their reintegration. Not all trafficked persons will require reintegration services. And some trafficked persons will not want or need the services that are offered or are available. Many trafficked persons reintegrate without any formal assistance, drawing on their personal, family and community resources. What services are required (if any) will depend on the specific situation and needs of each trafficking victim.

4. Understanding our lives after trafficking.

Disentangling vulnerability & resilience

Trafficked persons have multi-layered vulnerabilities and resiliencies at various stages of their lives – before, during and after trafficking – which influence the support and services

they may (or may not) need. Vulnerability and resilience are also influenced and created by the family and community environments into which trafficked persons seek to reintegrate and can fluctuate over time and in response to a range of factors.

4.1 Layered & mutually reinforcing vulnerability and resilience

Addressing injuries and assistance needs related to trafficking is crucial as a first step in recovery and longer-term reintegration. However, assistance needs are not only related to the impact and consequences of trafficking. Each individual trafficking victim has a distinct experience of life before, during and after exploitation, with his/her own unique vulnerabilities as well as sources of resilience and support. As relevant, therefore, is an individual's situation preceding trafficking, as well as what happens in his/her life after trafficking exploitation ends.

This study is framed around these discrete layers of vulnerability and resilience —those directly connected with trafficking, those which were pre-existing and pre-dated trafficking and those that have emerged after and not necessarily linked to trafficking – all of which directly influence victims' assistance needs and what services and support they may (or may not) require. In some cases, victims' needs are discrete – linked to only one of these layers of vulnerability. In other cases, assistance needs are complex and tied both to the effects of trafficking and to trafficking victims' general vulnerability, often anchored in structural inequalities.

Among the respondents in this study, vulnerabilities were often mutually reinforcing and co-terminous. Many difficulties and needs were as much a result of broader social and economic vulnerabilities as a function of trafficking. Moreover, for some victims, their most pressing assistance needs were not caused by trafficking, but were linked to their social and economic exclusion and vulnerability before and/or after trafficking. Disentangling when victims' assistance needs are a consequence of trafficking or a function of social and/or economic vulnerability allows us to pinpoint when and how trafficking exploitation translates into distinct and specific needs which require a tailored response, and when trafficking victims' needs might be addressed within the existing social protection framework.

Victims' assistance needs cannot be understood separately from the socioeconomic and structural context from which trafficked persons originate and to which they return after their exploitation has ended. At the same time, while trafficking victims share many assistance needs with other vulnerable groups (and, in many cases, with the general population), this does not mean that specialized services for trafficking victims are not needed. It is also important that trafficking victims are treated sensitively and with respect by service providers.

4.2 Vulnerability & resilience within the family environment

Trafficked persons must recover and come to terms not only with their own exploitation, commonly involving multiple layers of violence and hardship, but also the reactions and responses of their family members. And the family of trafficked persons, who have also been negatively affected by the victim's trafficking, must also navigate and manage the trafficked person's reintegration. The family environment is diverse and highly complex, even contradictory. Some family environments were supportive and contributed to an individual's reintegration success. In other cases, the family environment was destructive and worked against recovery and reintegration. In addition, some trafficked persons returned to families where they faced different reactions and responses from different people within the family.

We also saw changes in the family over time and in response to different events and situations.

Supportive family – resilience & protection. While some respondents received short-term assistance (including temporary shelter) prior to returning home, the vast majority did not. Most relied on family for support (emotional, economic, physical) in the aftermath of trafficking and over the course of reintegration. Family was, for almost all victims, the primary source of support in the longer-term. And a number of respondents found this to be a safe, supportive and protected environment. They received love, support and acceptance at this very difficult and tense period of their lives; they were helped by their families to recover and reintegrate. That being said, while some families were supportive, they did not have the resources to support their loved one upon return, which meant that some victims lacked a safety net even with a positive interpersonal family situation.

Unsupportive or disruptive family environment – risk & vulnerability. Family was not always the supportive environment that victims hoped for and needed. Some faced tension and conflict, anger and hurt, disappointment and blame. In some cases, an unsupportive family environment was largely an economic issue (e.g. economic pressure translated into tense family relationships). In other instances, family tensions and problems were a function of social and interpersonal dynamics. Some problems were instigated by trafficked persons who returned home stressed and anxious and struggled to behave and interact with family members in constructive and positive ways. And family members also reacted negatively to the returned trafficking victim – feeling disappointment and anger at his/her long absence, lack of communication and so on. It can be difficult to re-establish relationships within the family after long separations, with limited or no contact over the course of trafficking. An additional complexity was when family members were involved and complicit in the individual's trafficking, making reintegration complicated and potentially unsafe.

Different reactions from different family members. The family is not a homogeneous unit and family members did react differently to an individual's return from trafficking and over the course of reintegration. Some respondents found home to be both supportive and unsupportive, positive and negative. That is, while finding support from one family member, they faced problems and recrimination from others.

4.3 Vulnerability & resilience in the community

An important contributor to reintegration success was support within one's community. In some situations, the community setting was a constructive and supportive setting; in other cases, victims were exposed to discrimination, exclusion, vulnerability and structural inequality.

Supportive & protective community setting. For many trafficked persons the community environment to which they returned was a positive and welcoming one. This was particularly the case for persons trafficked for labor, who often described receiving support and empathy upon their return home without money and often in a bad condition. In some instances, it was victims themselves who created tension by avoiding people due to shame and embarrassment about their failures. Some trafficking victims who did not have problems in the community attributed this success to the fact that they had not disclosed the exploitation they had faced, which seemingly prevented stigma or discrimination and allowed for a positive community setting.

Negative & unsupportive community setting. Some trafficked persons returned home to a less than positive community environment, facing gossip at having failed to migrate successfully. Shame was especially pronounced in situations when they knew others in their communities and social network who had migrated successfully. Some trafficked persons

returned home stressed, anxious, depressed and generally unwell. Their behavior and reactions as a consequence were the source of gossip and criticism among neighbors and friends. In other cases, community gossip and censure related to “misdeeds” that trafficked persons were believed to have committed while away – for example, speculation of involvement in prostitution, adultery (when women were raped), having carelessly spent earnings while abroad, having committed a crime (when detained as an irregular migrant) and so on. Women trafficked into prostitution faced particular challenges in the community, particularly if people knew about their trafficking. In some cases, negative attitudes were linked to the individual’s exclusion before trafficking. A number of respondents were very vulnerable and socially ostracized generally which also came into play during reintegration.

Different reactions from different community members. In many communities, reactions to and treatment of trafficked persons during reintegration differed from person to person. Trafficked persons described receiving support and understanding from some persons within their communities but not from others. That being said, it was generally possible to find someone (or some people) who were supportive in the community setting.

4.4 Vulnerability & resilience over time

Reintegration is often considered a long-term but relatively linear process, with trafficked persons passing, progressively, through stages that cumulatively result in recovery and reintegration. However, in practice, reintegration is intensely complex, impacted by a range of individual factors, as well as by the broader social and economic environment. It takes place over months and years and trafficked persons face a range of different (but interrelated) issues and obstacles that work against sustainable and successful reintegration. Over the course of reintegration trafficked persons experience “ups” and “downs”, successes and setbacks.

Vulnerability and resilience often changed quite substantially over time, at different stages of recovery and reintegration. Critical periods along the pathway of recovery included exit/escape from trafficking, during the return process, upon the return home and at various intervals over the course of reintegration, sometimes up to many years.

Improvements over time. Many respondents faced problems immediately upon their return. These included economic issues, lack of employment, interpersonal tensions and conflict, psychological issues, being physically and emotionally unwell and so on. But, in many cases, these tensions and problems gave way and were addressed and trafficked persons described improvements in their lives and relationships over time.

Deterioration over time. Not all trafficked persons could rely on the passage of time translating into improvements. Some victims returned home to their families and were initially able to cope mentally and physically, but the situation deteriorated over time.

“Ups” and “downs” over time. Interviewing respondents over time confirmed the often non-linear process of reintegration, revealing many “ups” and “downs”, “successes” and “failures” in their lives over time. Often issues and crises emerged which had the potential to derail reintegration success. Crises were particularly “risky” when individuals lacked any formal assistance or lacked a social safety net (in their families or communities).

4.5 Issues & needs borne of vulnerability & resilience

Understanding vulnerability and resilience in trafficked persons’ lives is a critical underpinning in the design of effective and appropriate reintegration policies and programs. Some issues and needs were a direct function of trafficking exploitation; others were linked to underlying social and economic vulnerabilities that preceded or followed on from trafficking. Some assistance needs were informed by vulnerability and resilience within the

family and community and by changes (“ups” and “downs”) that took place in trafficked persons’ lives over time. Indonesian trafficking victims articulated issues faced and assistance needs including:



A place to live



Health situation and physical well-being



Psychological issues and mental and emotional well-being



Financial and economic issues



Education, life skills and professional training opportunities



Protection, safety and security



Legal status and identity



Legal issues and proceedings



Family issues and needs



5. A place to live

A safe and affordable place to live was an essential foundation for recovery in the immediate aftermath of trafficking and toward reintegration in the longer-term. And yet a place to live was something that many trafficked persons lacked – both before and after trafficking.

5.1 Housing & accommodation before trafficking

Needing “a place to live” was a primary driver in many victims’ decision to migrate. This included building a new home, buying land for a future home or repairing an existing home in need of repair or upkeep. For some this was about the physical act of having a home; for others it was about living independently and having greater control over their lives.

5.2 Housing & accommodation needs as a result of trafficking

Most trafficking victims remitted or returned home with little or no money and were unable to build or renovate a home. Many lived in inadequate or substandard conditions, while others were obliged to live with family members, often with many people crowded into a small living space. Some trafficking victims had no place to live, having used their land or house as collateral when migrating or to cover family living expenses while trafficked. Others did not have a place to live after trafficking because their families did not accept them home. Some trafficking victims required temporary accommodation immediately after return or exit as they could not return home or needed support before returning home. Others needed temporary accommodation while pursuing a legal case, filing a claim or dealing with other

immediate issues and needs. There are limited options for accommodation or shelter for trafficking victims.

5.3 Housing & accommodation during reintegration

Some trafficked persons, over time, found or created a place to live, which contributed enormously to well-being for the individual and his/her family. However, many trafficking victims continued to face problems with housing. Long-term housing support or rental subsidies are not foreseen in the assistance for trafficking victims or exploited migrant workers. Some respondents moved to the capital Jakarta or other cities because they were unable to find regular employment in their home villages. This meant paying for housing both in Jakarta and for families at home. Some trafficked persons faced problems, discrimination and violence in their home environments, which interfered with and undermined reintegration. Some problems were within the family and the home itself, including domestic violence, psychological abuse and family conflict. Discrimination and stigma in the community led some victims to feel unsafe and uncomfortable; some left their home communities as a result.



6. Health situation & physical well-being

Trafficked persons, regardless of the form of trafficking, described a raft of health issues and medical needs. Many health problems were a direct result of trafficking. Other health issues were pre-existing or had arisen over the course of reintegration.

6.1 Health situation before trafficking

Some trafficking victims had health problems before they migrated which led to (or at least contributed to) their decision to migrate for work. In other cases, trafficked persons needed to pay for medical care for someone within their families, including children, spouses and parents.

6.2 Health issues as a result of trafficking

Trafficking victims commonly developed health problems while trafficked. Many victims described arriving home unhealthy and in poor condition, often to the shock and dismay of family members. Health problems were caused by different factors including poor living conditions; inadequate food and water; dangerous and hazardous working conditions; violence and abuse; and lack of medical care while trafficked.

6.3 Health issues during escape & return

In some instances, health issues arose directly before trafficked persons' return home – e.g. when individuals were arrested and detained as irregular migrants or for crimes committed while trafficked (e.g. illegal fishing, prostitution). Trafficked persons who were held in detention centers reported substandard living conditions, including inadequate or poor quality food as well as verbal abuse, threats and intimidation by guards and authorities. Some were also physically or sexually abused. The return process itself was fraught with risk; some trafficked persons were exposed to violence during this period.

6.4 Health issues during reintegration

Many trafficking victims reported health problems over the course of reintegration. Some health problems arose as a consequence of trafficking and went untreated or unresolved. Some trafficking victims also developed and faced new health issues. Some illnesses were debilitating and prevented individuals from being able to work or run businesses. Some

injuries or illnesses were long-term and continued for months and even years after trafficking.



7. Psychological issues & mental & emotional well-being

Some psychological and emotional issues preceded trafficking, others were a direct consequence of trafficking, still others emerged during reintegration. Most victims experienced the cumulative effect of multiple violations and traumas.

7.1 Psychological issues & mental well-being before trafficking

Prior to migration/trafficking many victims described being mentally or emotionally unwell – e.g. feeling stressed, anxious and even depressed. This was often a function of economic problems in the household and family. In some cases, pre-trafficking stress was linked to other issues, including personal health issues, sick family members and/or the death of loved ones.

7.2 Psychological issues & being mentally unwell as a result of trafficking

Most respondents suffered psychological violence while trafficked, including insults, threats, intimidation, verbal abuse, imprisonment, symbolic abuse, withholding of food or other basic necessities, enforced sleep deprivation and so on. This was coupled with other violations, including physical and sexual violence, restricted freedom, lack of pay and so on. All respondents described some level of mental and/or emotional distress as a consequence of trafficking, including being abused and violated, witnessing the abuse of others, suffering harsh living and working conditions, being separated from their loved ones, being unpaid for their work and being ashamed about what had happened to them.

7.3 Psychological issues during escape & return

Some trafficked persons faced frightening and dangerous escapes and returns. Some trafficking victims also navigated psychologically stressful and taxing situations after escape, including being threatened and brutalized by employment agency staff and detained for long periods of time and then deported

7.4 Psychological issues during reintegration

Many trafficking victims described suffering serious and debilitating mental health issues at various stages of their post-trafficking lives. Much had happened while they were trafficked, including illness, poverty and even death in the family. Facing these changes and losses was mentally and emotionally taxing. Mental health and well-being of trafficked persons did change over the course of life after trafficking – sometimes improving, sometimes deteriorating. Respondents expressed the need for emotional and psychological support to come to terms with trafficking exploitation. Some victims also described needing support in managing issues faced in their lives after trafficking and as part of reintegration. Emotional support was a critical need among many trafficking victims. While some were able to rely on emotional support of family or friends, others faced criticism, blame, distrust and rejection.



8. Financial & economic issues

Economic and financial concerns were paramount in almost all interviews with trafficked persons, not only immediately upon return but also in the longer-term. In some cases, trafficked persons' economic situations improved over time. In other cases, the situation deteriorated over the course of reintegration.

8.1 Economic issues prior to trafficking

Most trafficked person faced financial and economic issues before they migrated. Some economic issues created vulnerability to trafficking – e.g. when an individual was unemployed and/or had debt. Some trafficked persons were employed but did not earn enough to be able to live and/or support their family. Some were employed but wanted to be able to earn more, to realize their dreams and ambitions. Because most trafficked persons remitted or returned home with little to no money, pre-existing economic and financial problems were compounded by trafficking experiences and migration-related debt.

8.2 Economic problems as a result of trafficking

Most trafficked persons migrated for work through formal recruitment/placement agencies, which meant incurring debt for recruitment fees and travel costs. Some individuals incurred debt to family or friends; others borrowed money from moneylenders or institutions. Some debt was a consequence of trafficking victims having to pay their own travel home after trafficking.

Being in debt was a source of considerable stress for many respondents. Debt often had very real and serious implications for trafficked persons and their families including losing homes or land, individuals undertaking risky re-migration and going into further debt.

8.3 Economic issues during reintegration

Economic problems also arose after trafficking, leading to (or adding on to the existing) economic problems and pressures. Families of trafficked persons, in many instances, assumed responsibility for their loved ones. Trafficked persons described feelings of shame, discomfort and embarrassment about returning home without money and feared being blamed and rejected by their families. Some trafficked persons faced serious recriminations from family members for their perceived failure, as well within the wider social environment.

While some trafficked persons had access to loans or grants to start a business, they often lacked the skills needed to successfully design and run a business. In some situations, failed businesses amplified victims' economic problems, including indebtedness. Economic success was informed and influenced by the generally poor economic climate in victims' home communities. Many faced difficulty in finding work in their home communities even migrating to other districts, provinces and countries for work. In other cases, victims' family members migrated for work, to repay debt and/or earn money to support their family. Even those who were able to find work struggled to earn enough money to meet their economic needs and commitments.



9. Education, life skills & professional training opportunities

9.1 Education, training & life skills before trafficking

Many trafficked persons had limited education. Some lacked even the most basic literacy and numeracy. Some had attended school but were unable to complete their education due to economic problems. Lack of education was a barrier to economic opportunities, which, in turn, intersected with migration and trafficking risk. Many respondents lacked professional or vocational skills, which generally led them to pursue work as migrant workers. That being said, some respondents had higher levels of education and professional skills.

9.2 Lack of education, training & life skills as a result of trafficking

Some trafficked persons did not have access to education, training or life skills because they were trafficked. A number of girls were taken out of school by parents who forced them into prostitution and they lacked the opportunity to develop healthy life skills. Trafficking also generally involved work in unskilled work, which meant not developing professional skills.

9.3 Issues of education, training & life skills during reintegration

Many trafficked persons needed education or professional training to find a job or set up a small business. Some needed to continue their education (or obtain an equivalency certificate) to be able to apply for jobs, but faced administrative and practical barriers including the cost of the program and fear that they would not pass the exam. Other trafficked persons needed professional or vocational training to be able to find work or find a job in another field. While some vocational training is available from the state, it is targeted at young people. Other vocational training programs were not adequate to build professional skills and capacity. Some training programs were also “identifying” – e.g. the training certificate was from an institution that was recognizably assisting trafficking victims. Some victims also faced personal or practical barriers in attending school or training courses – e.g. needing to work or care for family members. Training that was offered as part of a shelter program or involved a shelter stay was unsuitable for many trafficking victims – e.g. parents with dependent children or individuals who were not comfortable to stay in a shelter.



10. Protection, safety & security

Trafficked persons faced safety and security issues in the very immediate aftermath of trafficking (during exit, escape and return) and over the course of reintegration. Some safety and security concerns were from brokers, recruitment agencies, exploiters and “employers”. Some victims faced safety and security issues in their family and community settings.

10.1 Risks during exit, escape & return

Exit and escape from trafficking were, in many instances, very risky and unsafe. Some women trafficked as domestic workers were brutalized by agency staff including suffering physical assault and rape. Trafficked persons were often detained abroad and, in some cases, held in detention centers where they faced various issues including overcrowding, sexual harassment or assault, physical violence and so on. Some trafficking victims were collected at the airport and held at the recruitment company in Indonesia for some days after arrival. The process of return itself was also often fraught with risk including extortion, violence and the risk of re-trafficking.

10.2 Risks during reintegration

Trafficked persons faced a raft of risks and safety issues over the course of reintegration – from brokers, recruiters and agencies involved in their trafficking as well as within their family and community situations over the course of reintegration.

Some trafficked persons faced threats and intimidation from brokers and recruitment companies after they returned home. Trafficked persons largely returned to live in their home villages where access to protection was limited and generally only available to persons who agreed to act as victim/witnesses. Even when traffickers were arrested and jailed, some victims faced threats and risks.

Some trafficked persons faced safety issues in their family and community settings. When family was complicit in trafficking there were more subtle pressures for victims to not disclose and to not pursue legal cases. A number of respondents suffered domestic violence – generally at the hands of husbands/boyfriends – at various stages of reintegration.

Some trafficked persons faced risks and safety issues within their communities. This was particularly common among women and included harassment, threats, intimidation, bullying and attempted rape by neighbors and others in the community.

In some instances, victims faced safety and security issues because of mistreatment and violations by authorities. A number of respondents spoke about complicity in recruitment for migration/trafficking as well as after return, which undermined trafficked persons' feelings of safety and security.

Some victims suffered violence at the hands of authorities including harassment, extortion, violence and rape. In addition, some trafficked persons faced different types of power abuses by authorities responsible for assisting them.



11. Legal status & identity

Having legal status, including identity and registration documents, was necessary to access assistance as well as undertake practical tasks like applying for a job, opening a bank account and applying for a bank loan or mortgage. Some trafficked persons did not have documents before being trafficked. Others lost or had documents confiscated while they were trafficked or faced issues with their documents during reintegration.

11.1 Civil & administrative issues before trafficking

Some trafficked persons and their families lacked documents before trafficking, which limited their ability to access assistance and rights.

11.2 Civil & administrative issues as a result of trafficking

Some civil and administrative issues were a direct consequence of trafficking including documents being held by recruitment agencies during migration and/or documents being lost, destroyed or confiscated by traffickers/“employers” while the individual was trafficked. Some trafficked persons had their documents confiscated by recruitment agencies after return when they registered a complaint about their exploitation.

11.3 Civil & administrative issues during reintegration

Lack of identity documents impeded victims' ability to access services. Many victims lacked documents either before or as a consequence of trafficking; others' documents expired

necessitating renewal. Children who were born of a mother's trafficking situation lacked identity documents upon their return to Indonesia. Issuing or renewing documents was often complicated and involved unclear administrative procedures, high costs and logistical issues.



12. Legal issues & proceedings

Most legal issues were a consequence of having been trafficked – some arose while still abroad, some after return to Indonesia and some legal issues arose over the course of reintegration.

12.1 Legal issues at escape or exit

Many trafficked persons faced legal problems as an immediate consequence of trafficking – being detained and deported as irregular migrants or charged for crimes committed while trafficked (e.g. prostitution). They generally lacked legal representation at any stage of their interactions with authorities and trafficked persons seldom received any support or guidance from Embassy staff in navigating this situation. In some cases, this meant spending long periods of time in detention centers and having deportation notifications in their passports that inhibited future migration. Even individuals who were recognized as trafficked were not typically afforded legal assistance. In addition, no respondents had had access to legal assistance in making claims for unpaid wages from employers and agencies abroad.

12.2 Legal issues as a result of trafficking

Trafficked persons faced a range of legal issues as a direct consequence of having been trafficked. While some issues emerged abroad, others were faced once in Indonesia, including:

Wage claims. Many trafficked persons described needing legal support in negotiating with a broker or recruitment agency after return, to claim their unpaid wages or to write off their unfair debts. Wage and compensation claims took quite some time to resolve. Many victims were pressured by agencies or brokers to dissuade wage claims. Trafficked persons were often obliged to sign statements not to pursue legal action in exchange for a payment after return.

Insurance claims. While migrant workers sent abroad by recruitment agencies must be insured, it was not always clear whether migrant workers/trafficking victims were officially registered for medical insurance by the agency. Some described how they had paid for insurance as part of the recruitment process but did not receive any related documents or cards. Further, migrant workers faced challenges in making claims, such as lack of information about rights and entitlements under insurance policies and administrative requirements that were difficult to realize in practice. Agencies and/or their insurance companies commonly denied insurance claims of trafficked persons, often for unclear or seemingly illegitimate reasons.

Criminal justice proceedings. Many trafficked persons expressed frustration and dissatisfaction with criminal justice proceedings. Involvement in the criminal justice process was time consuming and involved complicated legal procedures, which were taxing to navigate. Most trafficked persons who lodged a criminal complaint reported being unsuccessful. Some trafficking victims reported facing interference with the criminal justice process, being pressured by companies to withdraw the case and also, in some cases, the involvement of individual law enforcement officers. Others were pushed to bring criminal charges when they were interested only in compensation from the recruitment company and payment of wages.

12.3 Legal issues during reintegration

When legal cases were on-going for long periods of time, victims lived in “limbo”, unable to move forward with their lives. Victims were unable to find or keep work because their cases required providing statements or giving testimony. Costs for victims’ involvement in the legal process (e.g. travel costs, lost income) were borne by victims who were generally unable to afford these costs or who went into debt to do so. Uncertainty and the long time frame also negatively impacted victims and their families. Some victims needed legal support and assistance for other issues (e.g. divorce, child custody, payment of alimony or child support, land ownership/rights) but few respondents had access to this type of legal support.



13. Family issues & needs

Victims’ family members, including children, spouses, parents, siblings and other relatives, also had critical assistance needs. Some family assistance needs preceded trafficking, others were a consequence of trafficking, still others arose over the course of reintegration.

13.1 Family issues & needs prior to trafficking

Many trafficking victims migrated to support their families, including for basic needs, children’s education and medical care for a sick family member. In some cases, a particular event or crisis triggered migration – e.g. a medical emergency. Some trafficked persons migrated to avoid family problems including domestic violence, neglect and sexual abuse.

13.2 Family issues as a result of trafficking

Most trafficked persons were unable to remit or return with money, which detrimentally affected the well-being of their families. Many trafficked persons faced blame and censure from family members, including from children who felt neglected by the absent/migrant parent, spouses who felt let down by failures, parents who were disappointed with their children for not returning with money.

13.3 Family issues during reintegration

Being unable to work or being in debt meant that victims’ family members also often continued to face difficulties over the course of reintegration. Assistance is generally only available to trafficking victims, not their family members, although some assistance is available as part of general social assistance programs. Family tension and conflict were commonplace and, in some cases, rose to the level of violence and abuse within the family.

14. Conclusion & recommendations

Trafficked persons experienced multi-layered vulnerabilities and resiliencies at various stages of life – before trafficking, as a consequence of trafficking and during recovery and reintegration. Family and community settings, comprised of complex and often contradictory relationships, also influenced and impacted trafficked persons’ lives in important ways, as well as differently over time. Vulnerability and resilience changed and fluctuated over time and in response to different factors and dynamics. Reintegration was neither a simple nor linear process but instead involved “ups” and “downs”, “successes” and “failures” along the way and over time.

Assistance and services can play a vital role in being able to recover and reintegrate after trafficking. However, this requires that assistance be well-designed and appropriate for the needs of trafficked persons. Disentangling when assistance needs are a direct result of trafficking and when these needs are linked to pre-existing vulnerabilities or post-trafficking

life challenges allows for the design of appropriate and effective reintegration policies and programs. This approach also situates human trafficking in a wider context of socioeconomic vulnerability and, in so doing, pinpoints when and how trafficking involves distinct, specific needs and responses and when trafficking victims' needs might be addressed within the existing social protection framework in the country.

Understanding pre-existing vulnerabilities and structural inequalities is also an important tool in preventing trafficking and re-trafficking. The availability of services can prevent trafficking from taking place from the outset; individuals with access to education, medical care, employment and so on may not need to migrate. Access to services also prevents re-trafficking of persons who face challenges over time and who, without access to support, re-migrate to meet their needs or those of their family members. And yet too often the victims interviewed for this study did not have access to assistance and support, including over time. Assistance is needed for all trafficked persons – men and women, children and adults and victims of all forms of trafficking – and requires on-going care and case management.

Reintegration of trafficked persons is a profoundly complex process and can be both facilitated and complicated by individual, family, social and economic factors as well as the quality of reintegration programs and policies and the skills of the professionals tasked with this work. Improving the reintegration response in Indonesia requires efforts from a number of different organizations and institutions including the government (at all levels), civil society, international organizations (IOs) and donors. The following recommendations can contribute to an improved assistance and reintegration response for trafficked persons in Indonesia.



Recommendations on the provision of reintegration services

- Offer assistance to meet all needs and address all vulnerabilities, not only those caused by trafficking.
- Ensure that assistance programs and policies provide for short- and long-term services.
- Respond to assistance needs of all trafficked persons.
- Offer tailored, comprehensive services, over time.
- Recognize and take into account the needs of trafficking victims' family members as part of an assistance response.
- Include the family and community environments in all reintegration work.
- Increase identification of trafficking victims.



Recommendations on capacity-building and quality of care

- Enhance service providers' capacity to work with all types of trafficking victims.
- Train social workers on how to support reintegration of trafficking victims.
- Provide training in sensitization and anti-discrimination.
- Develop and implement professional codes of conduct and ethical guidelines/standards.



Recommendations on prevention and awareness-raising

- Improve dissemination of information about services available to trafficking victims, exploited migrant workers and the general public.
- Employ a "protection as prevention" approach.



Monitoring, evaluation and research

- Increase analysis and understanding of reintegration.
- Increase knowledge base on victims' experiences of failed reintegration and re-trafficking.
- Monitor and evaluate all assistance programs and policies.
- Engage with trafficked persons in the design, implementation and evaluation of programs and policies.



Recommendations on resources and budget allocation

- Allocate adequate resources for reintegration work.
- Ensure adequate staffing for reintegration programs.
- Allocate funds and human resources to village-level reintegration efforts.

1. Introduction

When trafficking victims escape or exit their situations of exploitation, it is often only the beginning of a complex and taxing process of recovery and reintegration. Trafficked persons must recover from the very serious and debilitating effects of trafficking exploitation. They often have a range of short- and long-term assistance needs, which are directly related to and even caused by their trafficking experiences, including issues related to housing and accommodation, physical and mental health, their economic situation, education and training, safety and security, legal status, legal issues and needs within the family.

In addition, human trafficking is largely a function of broader structural inequality and individual vulnerability. This means that trafficked persons must also navigate and tackle underlying and pre-existing vulnerabilities that contributed to being trafficked and which also have the potential to undermine integration into their social and economic environments. As such, assistance needs are not only related to the impact and consequences of trafficking but also to pre-existing vulnerabilities as well as the challenges that emerge in people's lives after trafficking and at different stages of reintegration.

In what follows, we will discuss what Indonesian trafficked persons have identified as their issues, vulnerabilities and resiliencies at different stages of their lives – before trafficking, as a consequence of trafficking exploitation and over the course of their recovery and reintegration. We will also discuss how vulnerability and resilience are influenced by external factors like the family and community setting into which trafficked persons seek to reintegrate and how vulnerability and resilience may fluctuate and change over time.

Trafficked persons have, throughout this project, shared a great depth of personal and sometimes very difficult and sensitive information in the hopes that this can improve assistance for themselves and for other trafficked persons. As one formerly trafficked man explained: “After all that I have experienced, I would like people to know the suffering I went through. Hopefully this is [information] that can be helpful in the future”. Said another trafficking victim: “Without the real experiences [of victims] the government can not do anything [to help]. [...] Maybe this could be the lesson for others because there are many benefits [to this information]”. It is hoped that by learning from trafficked persons and exploring the complexity of their lives – before, during and after trafficking – we will have the tools to better support recovery and reintegration after trafficking. This paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of trafficked persons' vulnerabilities and resiliencies, which, in turn, can translate into improved reintegration programs and policies.

This paper is part of a research series of papers produced in the context of the NEXUS Institute's longitudinal research project, *Protecting the Unassisted and Underserved. Evidence-Based Research on Assistance and Reintegration, Indonesia*, which aims to enhance the evidence base about successful reintegration of trafficked persons in Indonesia. Other papers in the research series include: *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*; *Moving On. Family and Community Reintegration Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*; *Being home. Exploring family reintegration amongst trafficked Indonesian domestic workers*; *Doing no harm. Ethical challenges in research with trafficked persons*; *Directory of Services for Indonesian Trafficking Victims and Exploited Migrant Workers*; and *Assistance and Protection for Trafficking Victims. An Overview of Policies and Programs in Indonesia*. The project is generously funded by the United States Department of State Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP).

2. Research methodology

2.1 Research methodology and data collection

This is a longitudinal research study conducted with Indonesian trafficking victims. There are five main data sources for the study:

1. Two rounds of interviews with trafficked persons (n=108);
2. Informal communication with trafficked persons between formal interviews;
3. Interviews with family and friends of trafficked persons (with victim's consent);
4. Participant observation in the family and community environment; and
5. Interviews with stakeholders from government and NGOs, at a national, district, sub-district and village level, including service providers, community/village leaders, migrant worker organization staff, local authorities and law enforcement.

Two rounds of interviews with trafficked persons

The research team conducted two rounds of formal interviews with 108 Indonesian trafficking victims between September 2014 and April 2016.¹

We interviewed 108 trafficking victims in the first round of interviews, including 49 males and 59 females. Respondents were almost exclusively adults when interviewed,² although two respondents were 17 years old. In addition, twelve respondents were trafficked while children (ranging from 13 to 17 years), although they were interviewed when adults.

The research was primarily conducted in Jakarta and seven districts in West Java (Bandung, Bogor, Cianjur, Cirebon, Indramayu, Karawang and Sukabumi). We also conducted select interviews in Central Java, East Java and South Sulawesi as a means of capturing specific trafficking experiences and diversifying the sample to ensure saturation within a sub-group of trafficked persons and/or relative to a specific issue or theme that emerged in the data.

Second interviews were typically conducted between six to nine months after the first interview.³ We chose this time frame as it allowed us to retain contact with most respondents while allowing for change and developments in their lives, which would shed light on the reintegration process. We were also concerned that too frequent contact would be taxing and intrusive for respondents. We conducted second round interviews with 66 respondents – 24 males and 42 females. We were unable to conduct second round interviews with 42 of 108 respondents (17 women and 25 men) for reasons discussed in more detail below.

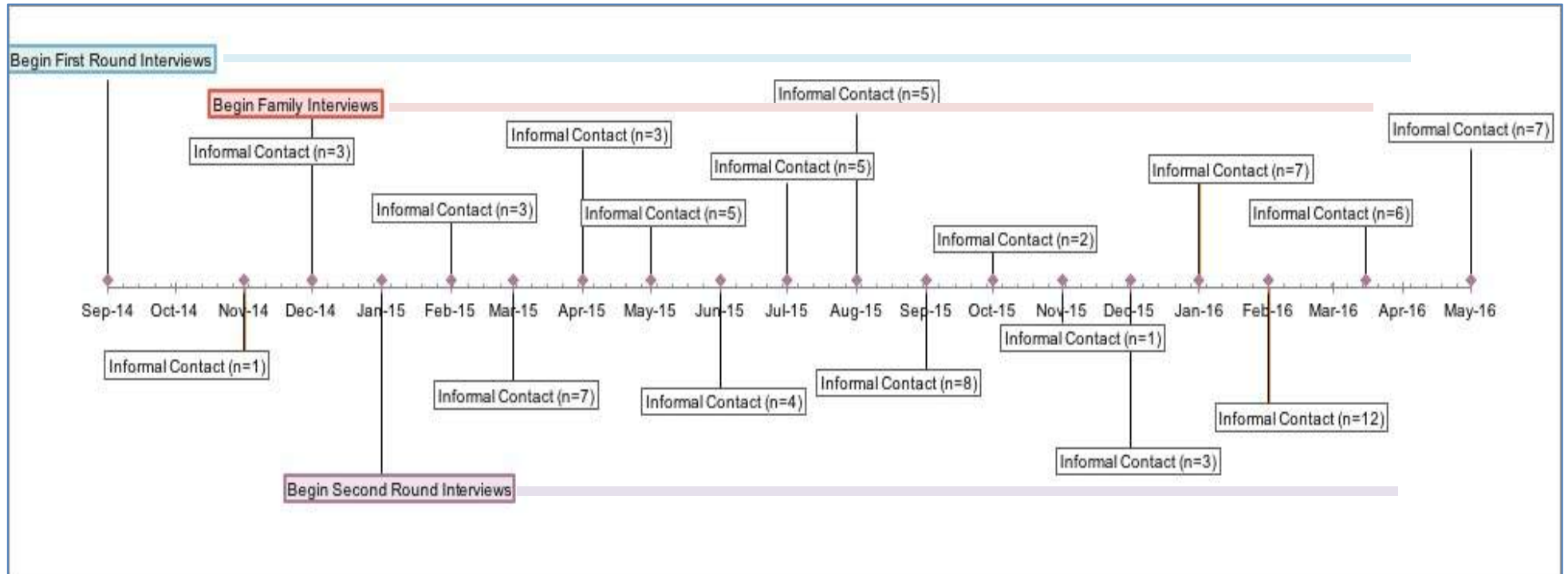
As illustrated in Diagram #1 (below), we also maintained informal communication with study participants over the course of the project and conducted interviews with trafficked persons' family members. This is discussed in more detail the following sections.

¹ The use of longitudinal research methodology is limited in the trafficking field. Exceptions include: Brennan, Denise (2014) *Life Interrupted: Trafficking into Forced Labor in the United States*. United States: Duke University Press; Miles (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) *The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project*. Cambodia: Chab Dai, with additional research reports from the Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project available at <http://chabdai.org/publications>; and Zimmerman, et al. (2014) *Health and human trafficking in the Greater Mekong Subregion. Findings from a survey of men, women and children in Cambodia, Thailand and Viet Nam*. Geneva: IOM and London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

² We focused on adult respondents due to the complicated and sensitive nature of this longitudinal study, not least the challenges of ethically gaining consent from children.

³ Interview intervals ranged from four to nine months, depending on circumstances.

Diagram #1. Timeline of interviews and informal contact⁴



⁴ The research team had informal contact with respondents beyond the official project duration and, in some cases, this contact continued at the time of publication.

Of the 42 individuals with whom we were unable to conduct second round interviews, six respondents made a conscious choice to withdraw from the study. For some, this was triggered by a significant event in their lives. One woman had recently lost a child and did not want to be re-interviewed. For others, reasons for attrition were more “banal”. One woman initially agreed to be interviewed but road conditions prevented the researcher from reaching the village and upon return a few weeks later the woman did not feel like being interviewed that day. Some “drop-outs” were because of the respondent’s family members. One woman’s husband refused to let her be re-interviewed, although she herself was willing to continue with the study. One man’s parents-in-law discouraged him from participating in a second interview as they did not want him to be distracted from his current work. Two women agreed to be interviewed but then did not show up for the interview. In both cases we scheduled a re-interview and after the second time that the woman did not attend, we viewed this as “dropping out”.

In 16 instances, “attrition” was a function of the individual’s specific circumstance. In one instance, the NGO staff who had assisted the researcher lost contact with the respondent. In another instance, the respondent left the program (essentially running away from the shelter where she was staying). One man was sick during the time of the second fieldwork, another respondent had work commitments, five respondents had moved back to their home villages in other provinces, one had moved to her husband’s home village in another province and six were working outside of their home communities when second interviews took place.

In 20 cases, “attrition” was due to practical constraints within the research project. There were individuals with whom we could not conduct a second interview due to lack of time. Because we continued to include new respondents over the course of the study, some were interviewed too close to the end of the project to be re-interviewed. In other cases, it was not always possible to conduct subsequent fieldwork trips because of limitations of time, distance and resources. This was especially the case for interviews conducted in locations beyond West Java where the study was primarily focused.

In addition, “attrition” fluctuated over time. Some respondents initially agreed to be re-interviewed but then declined. In some instances, trafficked persons consented to and arranged the second interview but cancelled at the last minute because of urgent issues like needing to help a friend or a family emergency. In most cases, it was possible to arrange and undertake the second interview at a later time and so people who initially appeared to have “dropped-out” in fact remained in the study.

We conducted in-depth interviews with two main categories of respondents – 1) trafficked persons who had been assisted in some way (either by anti-trafficking organizations or through other assistance programs) and 2) unassisted trafficking victims, including those who were never identified, those who were never offered assistance and those who declined assistance.⁵ This was to off-set the bias of sampling only among those who have been identified and assisted, allowing us to explore and understand trajectories of reintegration for trafficked persons who had to recover and cope without formal support.⁶ However, these

⁵ This was done by conducting research in high sending communities for migrant workers and through local organizations, institutions or migrant workers themselves, reaching out to migrant workers who had “bad migration experiences”. Through interviews we were able to determine whether these migrant workers were in fact trafficked and, if so, to include them in our research. This allowed us to interview and meet trafficking victims who were never in contact with the anti-trafficking framework for identification or assistance.

⁶ Most research with human trafficking victims relies on interviews with or data about trafficking victims who have been identified and/or assisted. However, the experiences of unidentified and unassisted victims are often empirically different from those who have been identified and/or received assistance. Please see Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2007) *Leaving the past behind? When victims of trafficking decline assistance*. Oslo: Fafo & Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute, pp. 150–51; Goździak, Elżbieta and Margaret MacDonnell (2007) ‘Closing the Gaps: The Need to Improve Identification and Services to Child Victims of Trafficking’, *Human Organization* 66(2); Jordan, Joni, Bina Patel & Lisa Rapp (2013) ‘Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: A Social Work Perspective

two categories of respondents were generally not mutually exclusive and victims fell into different categories during their post-trafficking lives.⁷ Interviews were conducted with trafficked persons from a cross-section of ages, sexes, ethnicities, forms of trafficking, destination countries and at varying stages of the reintegration process.⁸

Interviews were conducted using standardized questionnaires – one for the first interview and another for the second interview. Researchers adapted lines of inquiry according to the specifics of the individual's experiences, but standardized probes assisted researchers in maintaining commonality and consistency in terms of lines of inquiry. The first research tool was retrospective – documenting key stages of the respondent's life and experiences up until the present including family situation, life before trafficking, previous migration and/or trafficking experiences, reasons for migration, experiences during trafficking (including changes over time), escape/exit from trafficking, return (home or new community), experiences immediately upon return (including individual well-being, family dynamics, community relations) and experiences at the time of the first interview (including individual well-being, family dynamics, community relations). The second research tool explored the same issues after a set interval, to document what had changed since the last interview.

Interviews were conducted by two professional Indonesian researchers, after having been trained by the Lead Researcher and mentored throughout the research project. The Lead Researcher and two field researchers worked as a team over the course of the project – conducting fieldwork, regular debriefs and on-going analysis. This not only ensured quality control in terms of the data, but also meant that the team was able to discuss and address any issues faced in interviewing and data collection and to deal with any practical or ethical issues that arose during the research.

Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesian and recorded with the respondents' permission and later transcribed verbatim in Bahasa Indonesian. Professional translators then translated transcripts to English.⁹

Informal communication with trafficked persons

In addition to formal interviews, researchers had informal contact and communication with 30 respondents - speaking by telephone, exchanging text messages and meeting informally in villages during on-going fieldwork. Some contact was initiated by respondents and involved sharing recent developments in their lives (negative and positive) – including a life crisis, the birth of a child, the death of a spouse, a new marriage or problems and

on Misidentification, Victims, Buyers, Traffickers, Treatment, and Reform of Current Practice', *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 23(3); Reid, Joan (2010) 'Doors Wide Shut: Barriers to the Successful Delivery of Victim Services for Domestically Trafficked Minors in a Southern U.S. Metropolitan Area', *Women & Criminal Justice*, 20(1-2); Shigekane, Rachel (2007) 'Rehabilitation and Community Integration of Trafficking Survivors in the United States', *Human Rights Quarterly* 29(1); Surtees, R. (2013) *After Trafficking: Experiences and Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Bangkok: UNIAP and Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute; Surtees, R. (2013) 'Another side of the story. Challenges in research with unidentified and unassisted trafficking victims', in Yea, S. (Ed.) *Human Trafficking in Asia: Forcing Issues and Framing Agendas*. London: Routledge; and Surtees, R. & S. Craggs (2010) *Beneath the surface. Methodological issues in research and data collection with assisted trafficking victims*. Geneva: IOM and Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

⁷ Some trafficked persons were unidentified and unassisted in the destination country, but were identified and assisted upon their return home. Some were identified and assisted abroad, but then declined to be assisted in their own country upon return. Other trafficked persons initially declined to be identified and/or assisted but later sought out assistance. And some moved between categories over the course of the project, not least because the research protocol involved referring trafficked persons for assistance when needed and desired.

⁸ As outlined in Section 2.2: Research sample. About the respondents.

⁹ All quotations in this paper have been transcribed and translated verbatim from Bahasa Indonesian to English. We use verbatim translation to stay as true as possible to the respondent's voice and meaning.

interactions with assisting organization¹⁰ – and researchers took this opportunity to learn about these changes in their lives as well as follow-up on any key issues from the formal interview.

In some cases, informal contact with respondents was initiated by the researchers to follow-up on critical problems that the respondent shared during the interview. This included health concerns or a medical crisis, the status of a legal case, violence in the family, marital problems and so on. In a handful of cases, respondents faced emergencies in their lives and the research team assisted respondents in accessing help, including referring them for and facilitating their access to appropriate services.

Informal communication was not initially planned in the project (to avoid over burdening respondents) but it came up organically during fieldwork. It was valuable in tracking the challenges and successes realized over time and illustrated the fluid nature of reintegration, as trafficked persons face risk, but also build resiliency along the way. This informal contact, coupled with repeat interviews, was key in charting “ups” and “downs” in people’s lives after trafficking and the complexity of the reintegration and inclusion process.

Interviews with family and friends of trafficked persons

We also interviewed 34 family members, including spouses, parents, siblings, children, grandparents, aunts/uncles, nieces/nephews and in-laws. In many instances we interviewed more than one family member and sometimes as many as five or six family members. The focus of these interviews was to learn about how family members experienced and coped with their loved one’s absence while trafficked and their feelings and experiences during this time. Interviews also focused on how family members had experienced their loved one’s return home and the respondent’s process of recovery and subsequent reintegration.

We also interviewed 31 persons from respondents’ social environments – primarily friends and neighbors. These interviews and conversations focused on how the respondent had coped and reintegrated after trafficking including his/her interactions with friends, neighbors and community members. This allowed us not only to widen our lens and analytical frame to this broader social field, but also to triangulate data collected from victims and key informants.¹¹

¹⁰ For instance, one woman who was seemingly successfully reintegrated after a few years at home was in contact about three months after the first interview to request help as she faced an urgent issue in her family and she did not have access to any services. This crisis triggered a severe setback in her life, including in terms of the success of her small business, demonstrating the fragility of success and underlying vulnerability of some (arguably many) trafficked persons. In some cases, assistance was needed by the trafficking victim (e.g. finding a job or accessing health care). In other cases, assistance was needed by the children of trafficked persons (e.g. enrolling in school or accessing healthcare). A critical aspect of the project (as anticipated in the project design) was to ensure that the research team had accurate, comprehensive and up-to-date information about assistance options for trafficked persons and their family members and that the research team spent the time needed to explain available assistance and, as importantly, how to access these services.

¹¹ Few studies of trafficking victims have included interviews with family members. This data set introduced a new and different perspective on issues, challenges and opportunities for reintegration after trafficking. At the same time, it was not possible in all cases to interview family members due to ethical concerns and such interviews were undertaken only with great caution.



A woman and her family in their home community in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Interviews with family members and friends were approached carefully for fear of “outing” respondents or drawing unwanted attention to their past trafficking experiences and exploitation. We only conducted interviews with family or friends after having completed a first round interview with the respondent, which allowed us to assess the appropriateness and advisability of interacting with his/her family members or friends. If we felt that a family interview would be safe and appropriate, we discussed the prospect of such interviews with the victim/respondent. Family interviews were only conducted with the victim’s full knowledge and informed consent. In some cases, we opted not to interview a family member or a friend because of concerns that this might cause problems for the victim. In other cases, the victim expressly declined to involve his/her family or friends in the research.

Participant observation

We also undertook participant observation over the course of fieldwork. The research team generally spent two of four weeks each month conducting community-based fieldwork in different communities in Jakarta and West Java. This included interactions with various persons in the communities from which respondents originated, including respondents’ families and neighbors, community leaders, teachers, religious leaders, community members and so on. Interactions included informal conversations and discussions (with individuals or groups), direct observation and participation in community events. This allowed the research team to observe the community environment and social interactions over time, including discrepancies between what participants said and actual behaviors. All conversations and discussions were recorded by researchers and then transcribed and translated. In addition, the research team prepared detailed field-notes for each field site according to a standardized tool developed for the project.



A man working in the fields in rural West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Interviews with key informants

We also conducted 144 interviews with key informants between October 2013 and April 2016. This included government officials at the national, provincial and district level – e.g. administrators, policymakers, law enforcement, medical personnel and social workers. This also included officials at the village level – e.g. village chiefs, administrators, teachers/principals and medical personnel. We also conducted interviews with staff from NGOs and IOs assisting trafficked persons and migrant workers – at a national, provincial and district level as well as within village communities. This included social workers, lawyers, paralegals, medical personnel, trade unionists and migrant worker activists.

The research team conducted fieldwork in Jakarta as well as seven districts in West Java (Bandung, Bogor, Cianjur, Cirebon, Indramayu, Karawang and Sukabumi). The 144 stakeholder interviews were conducted with representatives of the Indonesian government (32), national and international NGOs (97), international organizations (5), donors/Embassy staff in Indonesia (4) and academics/researchers (6). Twenty-five (25) informants were interviewed on more than one occasion; some informants were interviewed on multiple occasions. In addition, NEXUS researchers participated in a number of government consultations and NGO meetings on a range of subjects that intersected with reintegration – e.g. handling trafficking cases, assistance to migrants, restitution to trafficking victims, return of migrant workers, and regulations and legislation on trafficking and migration.

Literature review

This study also benefits from a review of existing literature on human trafficking in Indonesia and on reintegration and assistance for trafficking victims more broadly. It also draws on a review of laws, policies and regulations on assistance for trafficked persons, migrant workers and Indonesian citizens generally. It merits mention that there has been very limited research on trafficking in Indonesia, with some aspects particularly under-explored (e.g. trafficking in men and trafficking for labor). Moreover, there are no studies specifically on Indonesian trafficking victims' experiences of reintegration.

2.2 Research sample. About the respondents

Respondents for this study were diverse, representing individuals of different sex, ages, family situation, education, ethnicity, area of origin, forms of trafficking, country of exploitation, as detailed below.

Sex and age of respondents

A total of 108 trafficking victims were interviewed in the first round of interviews, including 49 males and 59 females. Second round interviews were conducted with 66 respondents – 24 males and 42 females. Respondents were almost exclusively adults when interviewed, although two respondents were 17 years old. In addition, twelve individuals were trafficked as children, although they were adults when interviewed. Respondents ranged in age from 13 to 49 when trafficked.

Table #1. Age of respondents when trafficked, disaggregated by sex and form of trafficking

	Males (n=49)		Females (n=59)	
	Trafficked for fishing	Trafficked for other forms of labor	Trafficked for domestic work	Trafficked for sexual exploitation
Under 18 years	0	1	2	11
18-29 years	17	7	20	5
30-39 years	14	6	14	4
40-49 years	1	3	3	0
50+ years	0	0	0	0

Age varied to some extent according to the form of exploitation. Most women trafficked for domestic work were between 18 and 29 years of age (n=20) or in the 30-39 age range (n=14). Three women trafficked for domestic work were between 40 and 49 years of age and two women interviewed were children (16 years of age) when trafficked for domestic work to the Middle East. In these cases, the broker seemingly manipulated and falsified the girl's documents to state that she was an adult.

Women trafficked for sexual exploitation were generally younger at the time of trafficking. Of the 20 women interviewed who had been trafficked for sexual exploitation, eleven were children at the time that they were trafficked (between the ages of 13 and 17). Five women trafficked for sexual exploitation were between 18 and 29 years of age when exploited and four women were between 30 and 39 years of age.

Men trafficked for fishing were generally under 40 years of age – between 18 and 29 years of age (n=17) or between 30 and 39 years of age (n=14). One man was 41 years old when trafficked for fishing. Men trafficked for other forms of labor exploitation (e.g. in factories, construction and on palm oil plantations) ranged in age from 19 to 49 at the time of exploitation. One boy (16 years old) was trafficked for construction work in Singapore, having used fraudulent documents to enter Singapore on a tourist visa.

Education

The educational background of trafficked persons varied widely – from those who had not completed elementary school to those who had completed senior high school or vocational education.¹² The majority of respondents (n=65) had only some level of elementary education (n=24 males and n=41 females); 17 respondents had attended junior high school

¹² While the National Education Law provides for nine years of compulsory education (six years of elementary school and three years of junior high school), access to education in rural areas remains limited. USAID (2013) *Reflections on Education in Indonesia*. Washington, D.C.: USAID.

(n=7 males and n=10 females) and 20 respondents had attended senior high school (n=13 males and n=7 females).¹³

The vast majority of women trafficked for domestic work (31 of 39) had only some elementary school education. Four women trafficked for domestic work had attended junior high; only three had attended high school.

As noted in the previous section, eleven of the 20 women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation were trafficked between the ages of 13 and 17; girls trafficked for sexual exploitation only had some elementary or junior high education when trafficked. Of the women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, only four had attended senior high school.

Male respondents were generally more educated than female. Nearly twice as many male respondents had attended senior high school (n=13) than female respondents (n=7). And all respondents who were educated beyond senior high school (n=5) were men who were trafficked for fishing. These men had attended vocational schools for various fields of work including fishing, automobile mechanics and engineering.

Table #2. Education level of respondents, disaggregated by sex and form of trafficking

Level of education	Males (n=49)		Females (n=59)	
	Trafficked for fishing	Trafficked for other forms of labor	Trafficked for domestic work	Trafficked for sexual exploitation
Some elementary school (grade 1-6)	15	9	31	10
Junior high school (grade 7-9)	4	3	4	6
Senior high school (grade 10-12)	8	5	3	4
Vocational school	5	0	0	0
Did not answer	0	0	1	0

Family situation

Many respondents (61 out of 108) were married when they were trafficked. Most married respondents had one or two children, although some had more (one woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, had six children). Thirty-one respondents were unmarried when trafficked and had no children. Fourteen respondents were divorced or separated (13 women and one man) and two women were widows when trafficked.

Men trafficked for fishing were either married and had children (n=15) or unmarried (n=17) and did not have children at the time of trafficking. Men trafficked for other forms of labor were largely married (n=14) and had children. Two men trafficked for other forms of labor were unmarried and did not have children at the time of trafficking; one was only 16 years old himself when trafficked, having used fraudulent documents to enter Singapore. One man (trafficked for other forms of labor) was divorced when trafficked.

Women trafficked for domestic work were largely married when trafficked (n=26), although a handful were divorced (n=8), widowed (n=2) and unmarried (n=3). Most were mothers when trafficked and typically had between one and three children; four women had four or

¹³ The mean years of schooling is 8.2 years for Indonesian males and 7 years for Indonesian females. Approximately 40% of females and 50% of males over age 25 have at least some secondary education – i.e. junior high or high school. UNDP (2015) *Human Development Report*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

more children. Six (of twenty) women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation were married when trafficked, five were divorced or separated and nine were unmarried. Of the 20 women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation, nine had children when they were trafficked. The majority (n=11), however, did not, due, in large part, to the fact that many were under 18 years of age when trafficked (n=11).

Table #3. Family situation of respondents at time of trafficking, disaggregated by sex and form of trafficking

	Men trafficked for fishing		Women trafficked for domestic work	
Marital status (at time of trafficking) ¹⁴	Married¹⁵	15	Married	26
	Unmarried	17	Unmarried	3
	Divorced¹⁶	0	Divorced	8
	Widowed	0	Widowed	2
Number of children (at time of trafficking)	0	18	0	6
	1	9	1	12
	2	4	2	13
	3	1	3	4
	4+	0	4+	4
Marital status (at time of trafficking)	Men trafficked for other forms of labor		Women trafficked for sexual exploitation	
	Married	14	Married	6
	Unmarried	2	Unmarried	9
	Divorced	1	Divorced	5
	Widowed	0	Widowed	0
Number of children (at time of trafficking)	0	3	0	11
	1	5	1	5
	2	6	2	3
	3	2	3	0
	4+	1	4+	1

¹⁴ Marital status changed for some individuals after their return from trafficking as well as over the course of the research project and between interviews.

¹⁵ This includes individuals who were married once and still married, remarried after divorce or widowhood, as well as polygynous marriages. Approximately 4% of marriages in West Java are polygynous. Jones, G.W., Asari, Y. and T. Djuartika (1994) 'Divorce in West Java', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 25(3), p. 404. Many Javanese people of both sexes tend to view polygyny negatively and the threat of polygyny – "such as when a wife knew of her husband's intention to take another wife" – can become a reason for divorce. Nurmila, N. (2009) *Women, Islam and Everyday Life: Renegotiating Polygamy in Indonesia*. London: Routledge, pp. 21-22. Polygyny may be more acceptable among Sundanese; it is not uncommon for religious leaders or wealthy men in West Java to have more than one wife. The 1974 Marriage Law made polygyny more difficult but did not prohibit it. The law states that the foundation of marriage is monogamy but acknowledges the possibility of practicing polygyny, limiting the maximum number of wives to four and, in accordance with Islamic values, the husband must treat the wives in an equal manner and be able to support them economically. In order to engage in polygyny under the law, the husband must obtain permission in advance from the Islamic court. Polygyny without permission of the court is not legally recognized. Nasution, K. (2008) 'Polygamy in Indonesian Islamic Family Law', *Shariah Journal*, 16(2).

¹⁶ This includes separation, formal divorce and informal divorce (*talak*). Marriages may be ended formally (through divorce) or through the more informal *talak* (or *talaq*), which is a conditional divorce, distinguished in law from an official divorce. *Talak* is the ending of a marriage with the husband saying specific words to the wife, such as "I divorce you", or by the husband's actions being considered an end to the marriage ("activating the *talak*" such as through neglect or abuse). However, the 1974 Law on Marriage requires divorce to be executed in court. See Bowen, J.R. (2003) *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, pp. 205-206; and Azra, A. (2003) 'The Indonesian Marriage Law of 1974' in Salim, A. and A. Azra (Eds.) *Shari'a and Politics in Modern Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 76.

Trafficked persons' family situations changed after their return from trafficking and, in many situations, over the course of the research project. Some had married and number of respondents also had children (or more children). For example, six men trafficked for fishing had married since returning home, as had two men trafficked for labor exploitation. Twelve women trafficked for domestic work had given birth to children (some to their first child, others to additional children) since their return. Seven of the women trafficked for sexual exploitation were unmarried when trafficked but had since married. Many had also become mothers (or given birth to additional children) since being trafficked (n=12), including some women who became pregnant as a result of their trafficking experiences.

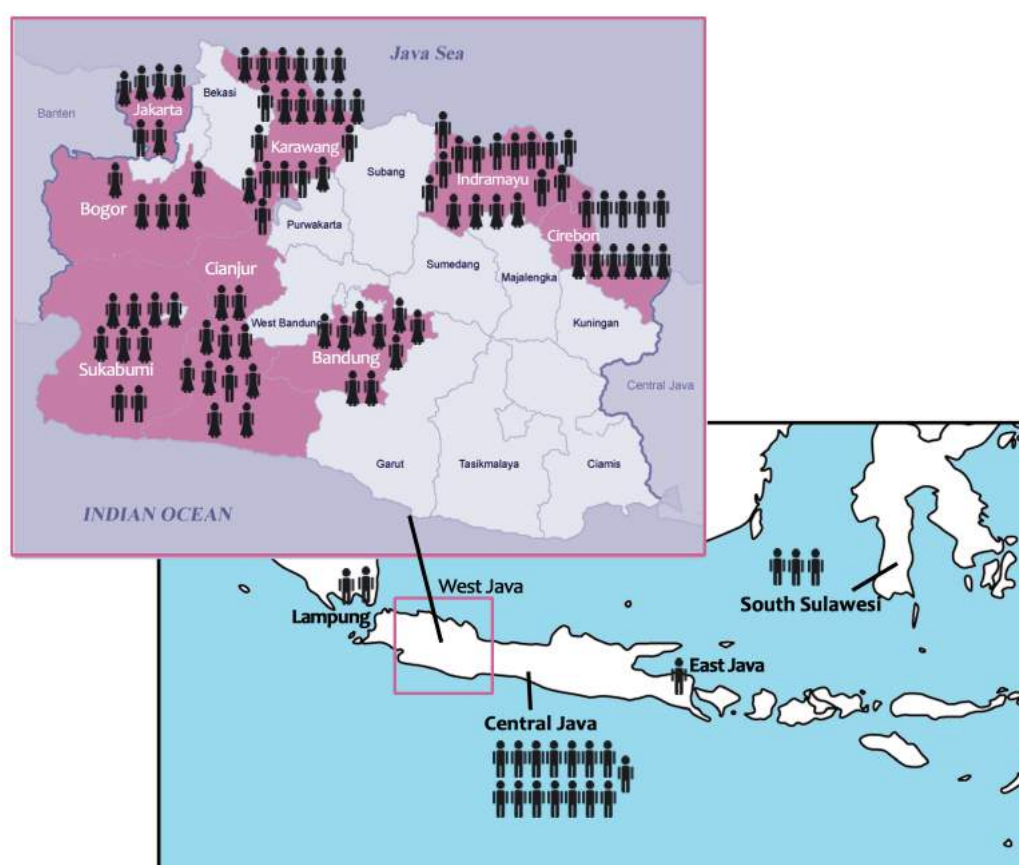
In other cases, marriages ended after trafficking, either due to divorce or spouses passing away. Three women trafficked for domestic work had divorced or separated from their husbands after returning from trafficking. Two women trafficked for domestic work were married at the time of the first interview, but had separated from their husbands by the time of the second interview. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, divorced from her husband after trafficking. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, was single when she was trafficked, married after exit from trafficking, but was divorced by the time of her first interview. Similarly, one man, trafficked for fishing, was single while trafficked, married after trafficking and separated from his wife at the time of his first interview. Another woman trafficked for sexual exploitation was single at the time of trafficking, married and then widowed by the time of her first interview.

Moreover, in some situations trafficked persons' marital status was in a state of flux over the course of the research project. A number of respondents (both men and women) were in the process of separation or divorce at some stage in the research project. Two women trafficked for domestic work were divorced when first interviewed but had remarried by the time of the second interview. One woman was married upon her return, but had recently divorced when we interviewed her the first time. She had remarried at the time of the second interview and subsequently became pregnant with her second husband. However, at the time of our subsequent informal contact with her, she and her second husband had recently separated. A number of men trafficked for fishing and labor were in the process of separation and/or divorce from their wives. One married man trafficked for fishing contacted the research team shortly after his first interview because he was in crisis over the failure of his marriage; the marriage had been formally dissolved by the second interview some months later.

Area of origin and integration

Respondents originated from Jakarta (n=6), South Sulawesi (n=3), Central Java (n=15), East Java (n=1), Lampung (n=2) and seven districts in West Java (n=81), including Bandung (n=9), Bogor (n=5), Cianjur (n=11), Cirebon (n=11), Indramayu (n=16), Karawang (n=20) and Sukabumi (n=9).

Map #1. Districts and provinces of origin for 108 respondents



Respondents originated primarily from districts in West Java and most had returned to live in their areas of origin after trafficking. However, some individuals were living in new locations when interviewed – some staying temporarily in Jakarta, some having integrated in Jakarta and others having moved to new villages/communities in the province or district after their return.

Table #4. Reintegrating in home community; integrating in new community

Reintegrating in home community	# of respondents	Integrating in a new community	# of respondents
West Java	62	West Java	14
Jakarta	3	Jakarta	15
Central Java	9		
South Sulawesi	3		
East Java	1		
Lampung	1		

Ethnicity

The majority of respondents were Sundanese (n=58) or Javanese (n=44).¹⁷ The large number of Sundanese respondents is largely a function of the research having been conducted in

¹⁷ Javanese and Sundanese are the two largest ethnic groups – accounting for 40% and 15% of the population respectively. Ananta et al. (2013) 'Changing Ethnic Composition: Indonesia 2000-2010', *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*, pp. 7-14. There are strong similarities between Sundanese and Javanese cultures. However, Sundanese culture is typically more overtly Islamic and less rigid in terms of its system of

West Java where Sundanese is the main ethnicity. Javanese respondents also came from some districts in West Java as well as from East Java and Central Java. Three respondents from South Sulawesi were Bugis, which is the main ethnicity in that province.¹⁸ Three respondents were Betawi, which is a creole ethnic group primarily from Jakarta.¹⁹

Table #5. Ethnicity of respondents, disaggregated by sex

Ethnicity	Male (n=49)		Female (n=59)	
	Bugis	3	Betawi	3
	Javanese	35	Javanese	9
	Sundanese	11	Sundanese	47

Forms of trafficking

Respondents were trafficked for sexual exploitation (n=20) as well as for different forms of labor exploitation (n=88), including construction (n=3), domestic work (n=39), fishing (n=32), factory work (n=4), work on plantations (n=8) and work for a professional cleaning service (n=2).

Some victims suffered multiple forms of exploitation – most commonly women trafficked for labor who were also sexually abused or exploited. Three of 39 domestic workers interviewed were raped while trafficked; nine suffered attempted rapes, sexual assault and sexual harassment. One man, trafficked for labor, reported sexual abuse while trafficked.²⁰

Table #6. Forms of trafficking exploitation, disaggregated by sex

Forms of trafficking	Male (n=49)		Female (n=59)	
	Fishing	32	Domestic work	39
	Plantation work	8	Sexual exploitation	20
	Factory	4		
	Construction	3		
	Other labor sector	2		

Country of exploitation

Trafficked persons were exploited within Indonesia (n=19) as well as abroad (n=86). Three were trafficked first within Indonesia and subsequently abroad. Trafficking within Indonesia was generally rural-urban migration within a province, but it also sometimes involved trafficking to other provinces. Those trafficked abroad were exploited in 17 different destination countries. Many were trafficked in the Middle East (n=28) – Bahrain, Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates (UAE) – and in Asia (n=35) – Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan (Province of China). Most men trafficked

social hierarchy, including being more egalitarian, independent and somewhat individualistic in social outlook. Hefner, R. (1997) 'Java's Five Regional Cultures' in Oey, E. (Ed.) *Java*. Indonesia: Periplus Editions.

¹⁸ Bugis is the most numerous of the three major linguistic and ethnic groups in South Sulawesi. There are approximately six million ethnic Buginese; they speak their own language and most commonly practice Islam.

¹⁹ Betawis are a creole ethnic group from various parts of Indonesia (including Malays, Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, Minangkabau, Bugis, Makassarese, Ambonese) and foreign ethnic groups (including Arab, Chinese, Dutch, Indian, Mardijker and Portuguese) who were brought or migrated to Batavia to meet labor needs. Betawi have a language and culture that is distinct from surrounding Sundanese and Javanese. Betawi is derived from Batavia, the colonial name for Jakarta, and refers to descendants of people living around Batavia, from around the 17th century.

²⁰ This is likely an underreporting as some respondents did not disclose their experiences of rape in the first interview and we only learned about such experiences in later interviews and informal conversations. It is possible that some victims chose not to share this information or that more cases would be disclosed in future rounds of interviews.

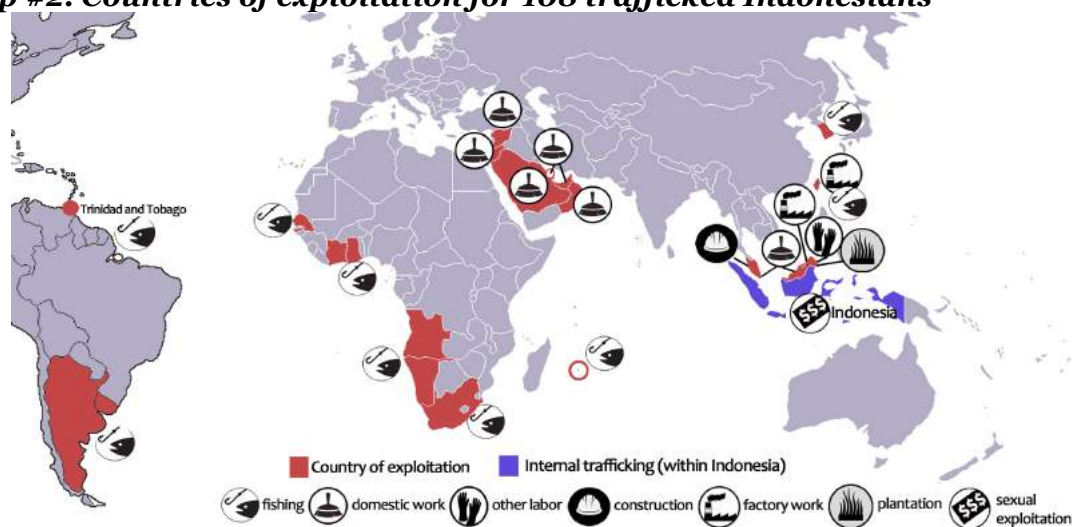
for fishing (n=23) were trafficked in less common destinations such as Ghana, Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay.

Table #7. Countries of exploitation, disaggregated by sex & form of trafficking

	Men trafficked for fishing (n=32)		Women trafficked for domestic work (n=39)	
Country of exploitation	Ghana	5	Bahrain	1
	Mauritius	1	Brunei	1
	South Africa	7	Jordan	3
	South Korea	4	Malaysia	9
	Taiwan (Province of China)	5	Oman	1
	Trinidad and Tobago	9	Qatar	4
	Uruguay	1	Saudi Arabia	15
			Singapore	1
			Syria	1
			United Arab Emirates (UAE)	3
Country of exploitation	Men trafficked for other forms of labor (n=17)		Women trafficked for sexual exploitation (n=20)	
	Malaysia	12	Indonesia	19
	Singapore	3	Malaysia & Singapore	1
	Taiwan (Province of China)	2		

Some trafficked persons were exploited in more than one destination. One woman was trafficked to both UAE and Oman for domestic work. Two of the men trafficked for labor were exploited in multiple destinations (one within Indonesia and then in Malaysia, the other in both Singapore and Malaysia). One woman was trafficked for sexual exploitation within Indonesia and then in Singapore and Malaysia. Trafficked fishers were often exploited in multiple destinations and moved through many borders and jurisdictions over the course of trafficking. Some men trafficked for fishing flew to Trinidad and Tobago where they worked before sailing onward to fishing grounds around South America (e.g. Argentina and Uruguay) and/or Africa (e.g. Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal). Others flew to West Africa before sailing to South Africa. One man was initially working in the waters off of Mauritius and then moved to vessels fishing around South Africa. Another was trafficked on a fishing vessel that moved along the coast of Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

Map #2. Countries of exploitation for 108 trafficked Indonesians



2.3 Data analysis

All interviews and field-notes were cleaned, coded and entered into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10. Data was analyzed following the principles of thematic analysis identifying key themes and patterns as well as variation within the dataset.²¹ The research team worked collaboratively on the identification of critical themes and issues faced in the reintegration process. Analysis was contemporaneous with data collection, which allowed the team to look into and follow-up on issues and themes that arose during on-going fieldwork.

2.4 Ethical issues and considerations

Conducting research in communities was undertaken with the utmost care, in close cooperation with local anti-trafficking organizations, migrant worker groups or community leaders and members. We selected villages where we had a working relationship with authorities or civil society and worked together to identify possible respondents.

We approached interviews carefully and cautiously. Potential respondents were only approached if we were able to identify a safe and ethical channel to do so. Where potential risks or concerns were identified, requests for interviews did not take place.

Respondents were first approached by an interlocutor (NGO staff, community leader, migrant worker activist, another migrant worker), who provided them with written information about the study and a verbal explanation. They were then given time to decide whether to participate in the research. Respondents were, under no circumstances, persuaded or pressured to participate in the study. Those that agreed to participate were subsequently contacted by telephone and an appropriate time and location for the interview was arranged. Interviews were conducted in a location chosen by the respondent – sometimes in his/her home, in the office of the NGO/migrant workers' association, or in the home of the community activist who arranged the interviews.

Each interview began with a detailed process of informed consent, which included an explanation of the purpose of the study, what the interview would involve, the questions that would be asked, the respondent's right to decline to answer any questions or end the interview at any time and assurances of confidentiality. Once explained, the researcher sought the respondent's consent and, if s/he agreed, commenced the interview.

Prior to commencing the research, the research team compiled and validated a comprehensive listing of referral services available to trafficking victims. This was done in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and based on consultation with civil society organizations. This referral sheet was updated every two months over the course of the project as we became aware of new services or as needed to access specific types of referrals for respondents.²² At the end of each interview, the researcher gave this referral information to each respondent and spent time explaining possible assistance options and how to access them. Given that many respondents in the study were unassisted (or under-assisted), the research team spent a great deal of time explaining the various assistance options and also researching additional

²¹ Aronson, J. (1994) 'A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis', *The Qualitative Report*, 2(1) and Braun, V. & V. Clarke (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3.

²² The referral sheet was an important part of the project as respondents generally had very limited information about what assistance they are entitled to and how to access this support. The referral sheet was expanded and developed into the *Directory of Services for Trafficking Victims and Exploited Migrant Workers (Jakarta and West Java)*, which provides information about human trafficking and services available to trafficked persons and exploited migrant workers in Indonesia. See NEXUS Institute (2016) *Directory of Services for Trafficking Victims and Exploited Migrant Workers (Jakarta and West Java)*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute. Available at <https://nexushumantrafficking.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/directory-of-services-nexus-2016.pdf>

referrals, when needed. In urgent or “in-need” cases, researchers facilitated referrals – e.g. contacting service providers on behalf of respondents (with their informed consent), providing phone credit to respondents to be able to call service providers for assistance or accompanying respondents to the agency or department to access services. The research team also followed-up with some service providers (with the respondent’s consent) to ensure that their requests had been received and needs were being addressed.

Because compensation can potentially create a pressure to participate in research in ways that may compromise informed consent, compensation *per se* was not provided. Instead we reimbursed costs associated with the respondent’s involvement in the project – e.g. transportation costs, meals and accommodation, if needed. Interviews were set up in locations and, at times, that did not interfere with working hours or other commitments. In addition, a small gift was given to each respondent to acknowledge and appreciate his/her important contribution to the project.²³

Respondents were not immediately asked to participate in repeat interviews, but rather given time to reflect and decide about their subsequent participation. Researchers contacted respondents after several months to gauge their willingness to be re-interviewed and, if they agreed, the process detailed above was repeated.

Particular attention was paid to the privacy, confidentiality and safety of research respondents (as well as researchers). All interviews were strictly confidential; interview transcripts were shared only within the research team and secured according to NEXUS’ internal data protection policies.

This research was conducted in partnership with the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection in Indonesia. Both Ministries were consulted and engaged in the research from the outset and regularly updated over the course of the research project. It was overseen by a reference group comprised of two research experts with experience in longitudinal research and research with trafficking victims.

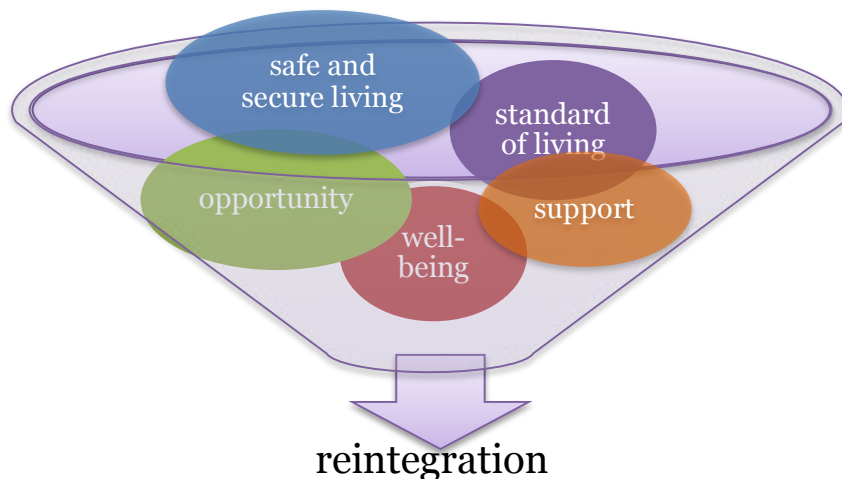
²³ This gift was typically *Sembako* – *Sembilan Bahan Pokok* – which are the nine necessities for daily living, namely, *beras* (rice), *gula* (sugar), *minyak tanah* (fuel), *garam* (salt), *ikan asin* (salted fish), *minyak goreng* (cooking oil), *kopi* (coffee), *telur* (eggs) and *gandum* (flour).

3. Supporting successful reintegration

3.1 What is reintegration?

Reintegration is the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. It is best understood as a process that trafficked persons navigate as they recover and move on from trafficking exploitation. Successful reintegration is comprised of different components including living in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal, social and economic development, and access to social and emotional support.²⁴

Diagram #2. Successful reintegration



There are specific considerations or “results” which may, cumulatively, indicate that a trafficked person has successfully reintegrated. These center around different aspects of an individual’s life and well-being, as well as the broader family and social environment.²⁵ These may include:²⁶

- **Safe, satisfactory and affordable place to live.** Access to a safe, satisfactory and affordable place to live.
- **Physical well-being.** Healthy physical condition and a general sense of physical well-being.
- **Mental well-being.** Mental well-being including self-esteem, confidence and self-acceptance.
- **Legal status.** Having legal status including access to identity documents.
- **Access to justice.** Having access to the legal process (criminal or civil) and best interests of victim/witnesses assured including informed consent.
- **Safety and security.** Being physically safe and well, including safety from threats or violence by trafficker(s) or those within the family or community.

²⁴ Surtees, R. (2008) *Re/integration of trafficked persons. How can our work be more effective?* Brussels: KBF & Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute. See also Derks, A. (1998) *Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking in Cambodia*. Geneva: IOM & Phnom Penh: CAS; and Lisborg, A. & S. Plambech (2009) *Going Back - Moving On: A synthesis report of the trends and experiences of returned trafficking victims in Thailand and the Philippines*. Geneva: ILO.

²⁵ This includes the cultural environment from which victims originate and into which they integrate or reintegrate. It also includes the broader structural and institutional framework in which victims live.

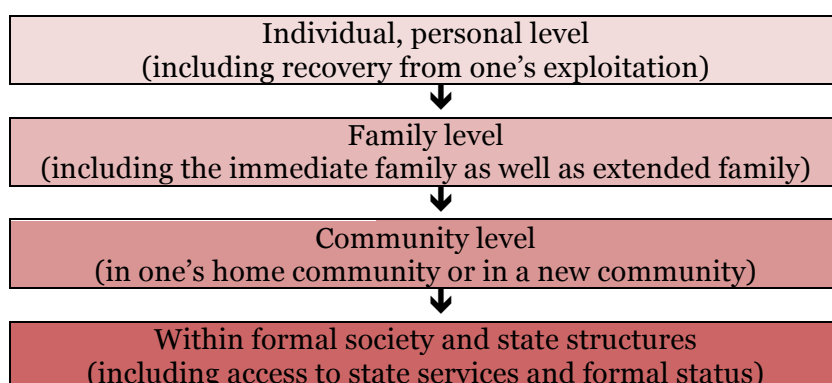
²⁶ Adapted from Surtees, R. (2010) *Monitoring anti-trafficking re/integration programmes. A manual*. Brussels: KBF & Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

- **Economic well-being.** A satisfactory economic situation and access to economic opportunities – e.g. the ability to earn money and support one’s family.
- **Educational and training opportunities.** Access to and satisfactory attainment of education, life skills and professional/vocational training opportunities.
- **Healthy social environment and interpersonal relationships.** Positive and healthy social relations vis-à-vis peers, family, spouses/intimate partners and community and not being exposed to discrimination, stigma and/or marginalization.
- **Well-being of victims’ families and dependents.** General well-being of trafficked persons’ dependents, including children, spouses, parents and/or siblings.

The specifics of reintegration vary for each individual. Trafficked persons may reintegrate into different settings, depending upon their individual needs, interests, opportunities and situations. Some trafficking victims reintegrate into their home communities, while others integrate in a new community. This paper focuses on the reintegration of trafficking victims who have returned to Indonesia (or who were trafficked within Indonesia) and who are living after trafficking either in their home communities (reintegration) or in a new community in Indonesia (integration).

Reintegration also takes place at different levels – at an individual, personal level; within the trafficked person’s family environment; within the wider social environment of the community; and also within the overarching formal society and institutions.

Diagram #3. The different levels of reintegration



3.2 What is reintegration assistance?

Reintegration assistance (or reintegration services) refers to any type of support provided to a trafficked person that supports his/her eventual social and economic inclusion. To support the reintegration process, trafficked persons may need various forms of assistance and services. A comprehensive package of reintegration assistance includes the following services: housing or accommodation, medical assistance, psychological support and counseling, education and life skills, economic opportunities, legal and administrative support, legal support during legal proceedings, family mediation and counseling, case management and assistance to family members, if needed.²⁷

²⁷ See, e.g., Delaney, S. (2012) *(Re)Building the Future: Supporting the recovery and reintegration of trafficked children. A handbook for project staff and frontline workers*. Cologne/Geneva: Terre des Hommes; ILO (2006) *Child-friendly Standards & Guidelines for the Recovery and Integration of Trafficked Children*. Geneva: ILO; IOM (2007) *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*. Geneva: IOM; Surtees, R. (2017) *Supporting the reintegration of trafficked persons. A guidebook for the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Bangkok: UNIAP & World Vision and Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute; and Surtees, R. (2010) *Monitoring anti-trafficking re/integration programmes. A manual*. Brussels: KBF & Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

Trafficking victims may require a single service (e.g. transportation, emergency medical care, job placement) or multiple services (e.g. a combination of housing, medical assistance, psychological care, legal support, education and vocational training). Services may be trafficking-specific – e.g. offered by anti-trafficking organizations and institutions – or they may be more general – e.g. offered by agencies/institutions working with vulnerable persons, returned migrants, community development, child protection. This formal assistance – e.g. from government institutions, NGOs, international organizations, religious organizations and community groups – is outlined in Indonesia's laws, regulations and guidelines.²⁸

Meaningful reintegration is a complex and costly undertaking, often requiring a full and diverse set of services for victims (and sometimes their families), who themselves have widely differing short- and long-term physical, psychological, social and economic needs. Once the immediate needs of trafficked persons have been met (e.g. emergency health needs, immediate protection and so on), many victims require further assistance to reintegrate into their families and communities (e.g. vocational training, economic support, long-term access to healthcare, counseling, education, family mediation and so on). Successful reintegration can take years to achieve. Therefore, reintegration assistance and programs for trafficking victims must provide a range of services and support and include plans for the long-term and include follow-up and case management.²⁹

Indonesian trafficking victims are exploited for a wide range of purposes (for sexual exploitation and different forms of forced labor) and their distinct experiences of exploitation inform the types and amount of services they may require and be interested in, the time they will need to recover following exploitation and so on. As a result, not all trafficked persons will require some or all of the reintegration services listed above. Some trafficked persons need many, even all, of the services listed above at some stage of their reintegration after trafficking. Others require only one or two services and are able to draw on their personal, family and community resources to support their reintegration. And some trafficked persons will not want or need the services that are offered or are available. Many trafficked persons reintegrate without any formal services or assistance, drawing on their own personal, family and community resources. What services are required (if any) will depend on the specific situation and needs of each individual trafficking victim.

²⁸ For details of these laws, policies and programs, please see Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute; and Surtees et al. (2017) *Assistance and Protection for Trafficking Victims. An Overview of Policies and Programs in Indonesia*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute

²⁹ See Surtees, R. (2010) *Monitoring anti-trafficking re/integration programmes. A manual*. Brussels: KBF & Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute. See also Ezeilo, J.N. (2009) *Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children*. New York: United Nations General Assembly, A/64/290; and IOM (2007) *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*. Geneva: IOM.

4. Understanding our lives after trafficking. Disentangling vulnerability and resilience

When trafficking exploitation ends, it is often only the beginning of a complex and taxing time for trafficking victims as they seek to recover from their exploitation and reintegrate into their families and communities. Each trafficked person's background and trafficking experience is unique; each victim has specific assistance needs, which are impacted by his/her individual and personal situation including different types of vulnerability and resilience. In what follows, we will discuss trafficked persons' multi-layered vulnerabilities and resiliencies at various stages of their lives – before, during and after trafficking – and how this influences the support and services they may (or may not) need. We will also discuss how vulnerability and resilience are influenced and created by the social environment into which trafficked persons seek to reintegrate – including the family and the community setting – and the interplay of these complex and often contradictory social relationships. As critical is the overarching dynamic of how vulnerability or resilience change and fluctuate over time and in response to a range of factors.



A former migrant worker in her home village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

4.1 Layered and mutually reinforcing vulnerability and resilience

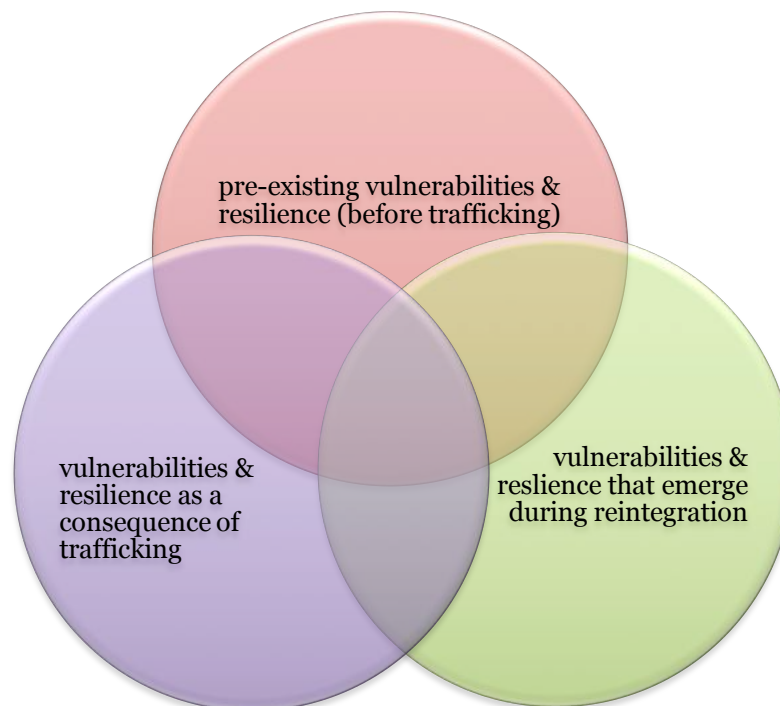
Much research, programming and policy assumes that victims' assistance needs are primarily a function of the exploitation suffered while trafficked. And certainly exploitation had a serious and debilitating impact on all trafficked persons included in this study. Addressing the impacts and injuries of trafficking is crucial, not least as a first step in recovery and longer-term reintegration. Trafficked persons reported a range of short- and long-term assistance needs, which were directly related to and often caused by their trafficking experience.

However, assistance needs are not only related to the impact and consequences of trafficking. Each individual trafficking victim's distinct experience of life before, during and after exploitation creates unique vulnerabilities, as well as sources of resilience and support. As relevant, therefore, to support successful reintegration is taking into account an individual's situation preceding trafficking, as well as what happens in his/her life after trafficking exploitation ends.

Indonesian trafficked persons interviewed for this project had three distinct but overlapping sets of vulnerabilities and resilience (detailed in Diagram #4 below):

- Pre-existing vulnerability and resilience (before trafficking)
- Vulnerability and resilience that arise as a consequence of trafficking
- Vulnerability and resilience that emerge during reintegration

Diagram #4. Intersecting vulnerabilities and resilience – before, during & after trafficking



This study is framed around these discrete, but interwoven, layers of vulnerability and resilience, which directly influence victims' needs and what services and support they may (or may not) require. In some cases, victims' needs are discrete, linked to only one of these layers of vulnerability. For example, some trafficking victims had injuries or illness that were directly caused by trafficking exploitation. In other cases, assistance needs are complex and tied both to the effects of trafficking and to a trafficked person's general vulnerability, often anchored in structural inequalities. As such, vulnerabilities are often mutually reinforcing and coterminous. Among the respondents in this study, many difficulties and needs were as much a result of broader social and economic vulnerabilities as a function of the impacts of trafficking. Moreover, for some victims, their most pressing assistance needs were not directly caused by trafficking but rather were linked to their social and economic exclusion and vulnerability before and/or after trafficking.³⁰

³⁰ See also Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) *A fuller picture. Addressing trafficking-related assistance needs and socio-economic vulnerabilities*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute.

Overlapping and intersecting needs are illustrated by the case of “Dewi”.³¹ Dewi and her husband struggled to make ends meet at home and pay for the education of their three sons, as she explained in her first interview:

I was a housewife. My husband was selling chicken noodles in the village. Our life was poor. We have three children, all boys... My husband’s income was approximately 20,000 IDR [1.8USD]³² per day. Sometimes less than that.... During the harvest season, he stopped selling chicken noodles for a while to help neighbors harvesting rice on the farm. His salary for that was around 35,000 IDR [3.2USD] per day. With three kids, we had so many daily needs... our first son went to a religious boarding school (*pesantren*³³)... We should send him 300,000 IDR [27USD] per month to pay for his school costs.

She and her husband decided together that she would migrate as a domestic worker, with remittances to be used to feed and educate their children. She migrated to Malaysia where she was badly exploited – verbally abused, forced to work long hours and not paid for her work. After two years, she received news that her husband had died. She managed to leave her employer, returning to Indonesia with only 500,000 IDR [45USD]. Her situation once home was very difficult. She was devastated by the loss of her husband and felt enormous pressure to care financially for her three young sons: “It was so difficult and full of sadness. I have three kids without a husband. I only brought 500,000 IDR [45USD] from Malaysia... I used all of that money for seven days of mourning [*tahlilan*]”.³⁴ Her father had also died while she was trafficked.

In addition, she described how the period after her return was fraught with conflict with her mother-in-law who blamed her for her husband’s death: “The reaction from my mother-in-law was terrible. She lost her beloved son and she blamed it on me... She often got mad at me. She said, ‘Because you went to Malaysia, my son got sick and died’. When I came from outside, visiting neighbors or friends, she got angry with me. Or, if somebody visited me, she also got angry”.

After a year, Dewi remarried to find help in raising her children and to avoid the stigma and gossip surrounding widowhood: “As a widow, I didn’t want the neighbors to gossip about me... I thought that if there was a man who approached me and liked me, it would be better to get married. It would be better for the kids also. After one year, there was a man who approached me and asked me to marry him. He was a relative of my husband. Then I agreed to marry him”.

This decision amplified the conflict with her mother-in-law and she described being pushed to leave her children and home, with her mother-in-law living in the family house and looking after her children:

When she knew that I would get married, my mother-in-law was angry and I was not allowed to stay at the house any longer. [She said]: “Don’t stay here anymore, just think about your new husband. Go!” All I could do was cry. That’s my house. If I go

³¹ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

³² The exchange rate from Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) to United States Dollar (USD) is calculated at a rate of 1USD = 11,000IDR. As exchange rates have varied significantly in the past years, calculations have been made using an average of the exchange rate from 2010-2017.

³³ *Pesantren* is an Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. This system offers education to Indonesian citizens at a lower cost than many schools. While some modern *pesantren* charge higher fees than previously, they are still less expensive than non-*pesantren* educational institutions.

³⁴ *Tahlilan* is a ritual/ceremony conducted by Muslims in Indonesia to commemorate and pray for the deceased. It is usually done from the first to seventh day after a death.

out from that house, to where? I was also concerned about my children. They need a parent's attention. I left them for 20 months [while trafficked] but after I came back I was not allowed to stay with them. I often cried.

Initially the marriage to her second husband was successful and she was able to work and support her three children. Over the course of the next few years, however, conflict emerged between her children and their stepfather and also between herself and her second husband, including verbal abuse on his part. She was also disturbed by and uncomfortable with the separation from her children who still lived with her mother-in-law. At the time of the second interview she had recently separated from her second husband and returned to live with her mother-in-law and children: "My children were in my house. I was in my husband's house. It felt terrible... I just wanted to return, to take care of my children. Who knows what children will be like when they don't have parents' attention, not to mention what they are growing up to be. What if something happens to them?"

Dewi's story illustrates how an individual's struggles do not trace back to one event or experience but can be part of a lengthy continuum of challenges and set-backs. Dewi had migrated as a domestic worker to support her family, due to the very poor economic situation in her family before trafficking. She faced problems as a result of trafficking, but also needed to navigate a range of interpersonal, social and on-going economic challenges that emerged over the course of her life after trafficking. Her vulnerabilities and problems were as much related to her pre-trafficking and post-trafficking experiences as to the impact of trafficking itself.

It is useful to disentangle when victims' assistance needs are a direct consequence of trafficking and when assistance needs are a function of trafficked persons' social and/or economic vulnerabilities.³⁵ This allows us to pinpoint when and how trafficking exploitation translates into distinct and specific needs that require a tailored response versus when needs might be addressed within the existing social protection framework. Such a perspective also serves to highlight the structural nature and underpinnings of trafficking as a socioeconomic issue.

Victims' assistance needs cannot be understood separately from the socioeconomic and structural context from which they originate and to which they return after their exploitation has ended. At the same time, while trafficking victims share many assistance needs with other vulnerable groups (and, in many cases, with the general population), this does not mean that specialized services for trafficking victims are not needed. This is not only because of trafficking victims' specific needs, but also because of the discrimination and stigma that sometimes surrounds having been trafficked, which can severely impede recovery and reintegration. It is also important that trafficking victims are treated sensitively and with respect by service providers, which means informing, equipping and educating service providers to work appropriately and effectively with this specific vulnerable population.

³⁵ Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) *A fuller picture. Addressing trafficking-related assistance needs and socio-economic vulnerabilities*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute.



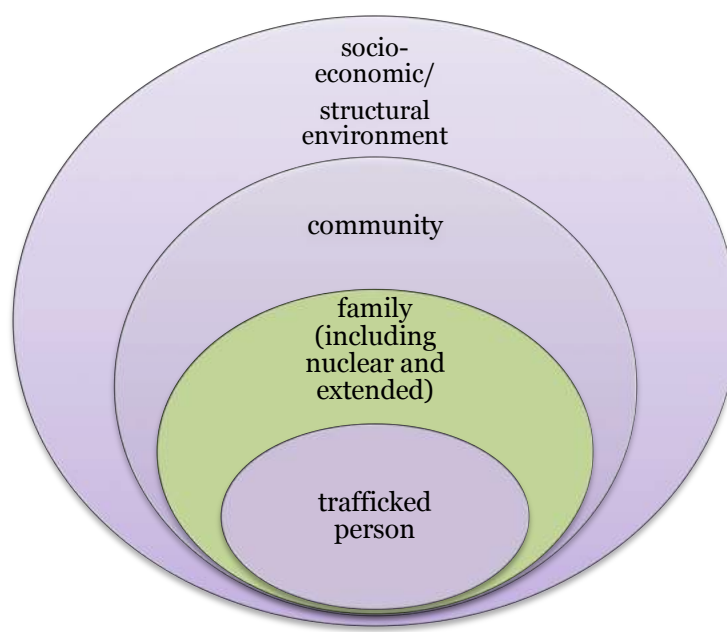
A man at work in rural West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

4.2 Vulnerability and resilience within the family environment³⁶

The process of reintegration encompasses not only individual trafficking victims, but also their family members and the family environment to which they return. Trafficked persons must recover and come to terms not only with the exploitation they suffered, commonly involving multiple layers of violence and hardship, but also the reactions and responses of their family members. Equally, trafficking victims' family members, who have also been negatively affected by the victim's trafficking exploitation, must come to terms with all that their loved one has suffered, and also navigate and manage the victim's return and reintegration, which are often fraught on many levels.

³⁶ For more detail about challenges in family reintegration, please see Surtees, R. (2017) *Moving On. Family and Community Reintegration Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

Diagram #5. Layered environments into which trafficked persons integrate



Family often provides important forms of support after trafficking – emotional, social, physical and economic – which contribute to an individual’s reintegration success. At the same time, the family environment also commonly involves vulnerabilities (and even destructiveness) that may work against recovery and successful reintegration.³⁷

Among respondents in this study we have found the family environment to be enormously diverse and highly complex, even, at times, contradictory. In addition, some trafficked persons returned to a family setting in which they faced different reactions and responses from different people within the family. Reactions of family members – both supportive and unsupportive– could be fluid over time and change in response to different events and situations.

Supportive family environment – resilience and protection

While some respondents received some initial short-term assistance (including temporary shelter) prior to returning home, the vast majority did not. Instead they relied on family for support (emotional, economic, physical, social) in the initial aftermath of trafficking and over the course of reintegration. Family was, for almost all victims, the primary source of support after trafficking and in the longer-term. And a number of respondents found this to be a safe, supportive and protective environment. They received love, support and acceptance at this very difficult and tense period of their lives; they were helped by their families throughout their recovery and reintegration.

³⁷ In discussing “family” we are referring to those whom individual respondents identify as their family members, which may include their immediate family (parents, spouses, children, siblings), the immediate family of their spouses and their extended family (grandparents, aunts/uncles, cousins). That being said, the family setting was very different among respondents.



A mother and her child in a village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

One young woman – “Dian”³⁸ – was trafficked for sexual exploitation within Indonesia. She was identified in a police raid and housed for a few weeks in a state shelter for trafficking victims. Her parents came immediately to the shelter to meet her, bringing her favorite foods. Her mother described their first meeting: “I was shocked. I was afraid something bad would happen to my daughter. At first she told us not to visit her... I told her that we were ready [to visit] anytime. I went there with my husband”. After a short shelter stay, Dian’s parents accepted her home without question or reservation, in spite of her involvement in prostitution. Her mother explained it as such: “Basically, my daughter is a good girl. She was just a victim”.

This young woman returned home to live with her mother and step-father and her mother explained that they had been supporting her throughout her reintegration, now 18 months since she was first identified: “Even if she has no job at all, but I am happy with her being home. [No matter] how difficult our situation is, it is enough that I have her here. [...] As her parent, it is my responsibility that she is home”. And both parents spoke about their concern for her well-being generally and desire not to upset her after what she had endured. Her mother explained it as follows: “I now treat her more carefully... I do not want her to feel unwelcome and leave. That is why when I am upset I keep it to myself. [...] I worry that she will not feel free at home and start to go out to her friends. So, even when she wakes up late

³⁸ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

or things like that, I will not speak angrily to her". Her step-father also expressed his gratitude that she was home and his acceptance of the family situation: "...we must always be grateful with everything we have. Sometimes we have everything and the next day we have nothing. We still have to be grateful because that is just how we are supposed to live. We cannot always get everything that we want in this world".

Another woman – "Lara"³⁹ – was trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East where she was raped and became pregnant. She was charged with adultery (rather than being treated and assisted as a victim of rape) and sentenced to several months in prison. She gave birth to her child while in prison. Lara explained that when she returned home with her child, both her husband and mother accepted her home in spite of tremendous stigma and community discrimination in the deeply religious and conservative district in West Java to which she returned: "[My husband] did not say much. My husband did not ask much about it. Other husbands may ask 'What happened? How was it?'... but not my husband. He did not question things... He did not say anything [...] My mother was also the same". And her daughter, six months old when they returned, was accepted by her husband: "He brought her in his arm. She is just like his own child. Even now, it does not matter how upset he is, he never says anything about it. My husband is a quiet man". This was the case although some extended family members (including her husband's closest sibling) encouraged him to reject her and she faced significant community censure by neighbors and being labeled "an adulteress" over the community loud speaker by the local religious leader.

In addition to emotional support (and her personal strength) this woman was able to count on a reasonably stable economic situation as her husband was working in construction and she had been able to build the family a home from a previously successful migration. She was also processing palm sugar and explained that she was experiencing an improved (although still limited) financial situation since the first interview: "Well, thank God [my economic situation] is pretty good now that the price of palm sugar is on the rise. [...] Our income is not much. It's okay as long as we earn it in a good day and a blessing from God".

Some families are supportive but do not have the same resources available to care for and support their loved one upon return. One woman, "Indri"⁴⁰ was trafficked as a domestic worker and returned home to a supportive family environment. Her aged parents, who had cared for her children in her absence, encouraged her to put her trafficking experience behind her but they lacked the financial resources to offer more than emotional support. Indeed caring for Indri's children in her absence had placed a tremendous emotional, physical and economic burden on her parents. Her father had since suffered a stroke and her mother was ailing and less able to care for her children.

Indri's economic situation was complicated by her estranged husband's refusal to help support their children. She returned from trafficking to find she had a debt to her sister-in-law who had loaned money to her mother to care for the children: "[My sister-in-law] said, 'You have a debt of three million IDR [270USD]. It was for your children when they went to see the doctor and to buy some milk'. [...] I realized that my husband never gave anything. She gave this because my mother said the milk is running out". When Indri was unable to find work to support her children, she was essentially forced to let her ex-husband have custody of their eldest child: "I want [my son] to be with me but I do not have any income... [and] my husband did not want to give any money... And he did not give anything at all to the little one [my daughter]". At her second interview Indri's ex-husband had recently passed away and the bank informed her that she was responsible for paying his debt. Nonetheless, while she lacked a financial safety net from her family, Indri still spoke about the love,

³⁹ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

⁴⁰ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

support and encouragement from her parents and siblings, which was so important to her emotional well-being: “...they are good to me and I always want to help my mother”.

Indri, like most of the respondents in this study, relied on family for support in the initial aftermath of trafficking and over the course of reintegration. As Indri's experience demonstrates, some families may not have the financial resources to provide for trafficked family members who return home (indeed, Indri's parents relied on her to provide for them), but family members are nonetheless a critical source of emotional support and protection, which can foster resiliency during the reintegration process. A supportive family environment, whether economic, emotional or social, was an important factor for many respondents in reintegration success.

Unsupportive or disruptive family environment – risk and vulnerability

Not all victims had positive homecomings and reintegration experiences. Family was not always the supportive environment that victims hoped for and needed. Some trafficked persons faced tension and conflict, anger and hurt, disappointment and blame.

In some cases, an unsupportive family environment was largely a function of economics. Financial pressure translated into tense family relationships. One man, trafficked for fishing, when asked about his biggest challenge at return, focused on the problems in his family, largely linked to his failure to remit and return with money: “[Most challenging was] the thoughts about not being able to bring happiness to my family. I went away to change our luck but it turned out that it was in vain”. He described how his wife's initially warm reception and relief at his safe return gave way over time to tension and conflict related to debt and failure to send money home.

[Our relationship when I returned] was pretty good. My wife once said that it was okay to just stay in the village, we could get by with whatever work we could find... But eventually things changed. After seven months, her attitude started to change and she brought up the problem when I was away sailing a lot. [...] That I worked for three years but never sent money home for covering our children's education, daily expenses. It always came down to that.

Another man, also trafficked for fishing, came from a poor family that was unable to provide financial support upon his return, including helping him to pay his migration debt. Because he was unable to pay off his debt to persons within his community, he was unable to return to live in his village. His family was also unable to receive him home because they lacked social capital in the community and worried about the social implications of his return without paying back his debt.

In other instances, tensions and problems within the family were a function of social and interpersonal dynamics. Trafficked persons emerged from highly stressed and traumatic experiences and many struggled to behave and interact with family members in constructive, healthy and positive ways. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, described being stressed, anxious and angry with her family when she first returned home, often fighting with her husband: “...my mind was everywhere. Sometimes I got angry with my husband... What did he do wrong that I was angry at him? But he never said a word”. However, her family relations had substantially improved over the three years since her return; she contrasted this tense period with the present: “My mind thinks normally again, unlike the first time when I returned. [...] *Alhamdulillah* [thank God] it's more harmonious now compared to how we were before. [...] When the children were little I got so irritated. Now they are bigger, the older one has grown up and understands”.

Family members themselves also demonstrated negative reactions to the returned trafficking victim – feeling disappointed and anger at his/her long absence, lack of communication

while away, or resentment at being “left behind”. The family of one trafficked man were uncertain of his fate, not having heard from him for years: “My family thought that I was dead since they never heard from me for two and a half years”. He described how the fear and uncertainty around his fate and his long silence while away caused an enormous, indeed seemingly irreparable rift in his marriage. “I kept working and tried to provide for my family but my wife felt that it wasn’t enough. We often argued. She felt that during my three years away I never gave her updates or money”.

It can be difficult to re-establish relationships within the family after long separations, with limited or no contact over the course of trafficking.⁴¹ Children may resent a parent’s absence and be hostile toward him/her upon return when s/he is seeking to re-establish parental authority and relations. One woman, trafficked to the Middle East for domestic work, was away for years at a time, leaving home when her child was very young. She explained how, upon her return, her child, who was then seven years old, would not come near her and would only stay with his grandmother: “He won’t talk to me. Won’t sleep with me. Won’t take a bath with me. Only with his grandmother. Because he doesn’t know me. ‘Go away, go away’, he said like that”. This same woman explained how even today, three years after her return, her children do not listen to her and respect her parental authority: “About my children, they do not obey me. They obey their father. If they are with me, they are against me. They fight with me... With his father [my son] is afraid. But with me, he dares. He fights me”. Another woman explained of her now teenage son: “I left him since he was so little, so he has his own mind...” One woman tearfully described the bittersweet return to her family, with her four young children who cried and “they asked why I left them”. Parents who have looked after children in the trafficked parent’s absence may also be upset and disappointed with the returning victim.

Tensions also emerged in relations with spouses. More than one woman returned home from a trafficking situation to find that her husband was having an affair. One woman described her great sadness over this betrayal: “When I was in [the Middle East], we had no contact for one and a half years. When I came home he informed me that he had another woman. He said, ‘Better you know directly from me, than from others’. I was hurt. I have been hurt until now. He said, ‘I am confused I love you and I love her as well’”. Another woman explained how she learned about her husband’s infidelity and remarriage from her young son while she was still working abroad to support the family: “I received news that my husband married for the second time. I could not concentrate on my work there... The reason why I migrated was to fulfill the needs of my family and also I wanted to maintain the integrity of the family”. Yet another woman described constant tension and fighting with her husband after her return because of his infidelity while she was exploited.

We have very bad fights every day but we did not divorce. One day, he felt regret and asked me, “Why did you not send me money? Why did you not call me? Since you did not do that, that’s why I looked and dated another woman...”. I replied, “You know I was dying there. I was just loyal to you and I hoped you did the same thing. I wanted you to watch and take care of our child. Stay at home. But you did not...”

In some cases, family members were involved and complicit in the individual’s trafficking, which made for a complicated (and potentially unsafe) situation over the course of reintegration. It was not always (or, arguably, often) the case that trafficking victims who had been pressured (or literally pushed) by family into trafficking necessarily severed ties with family members or confronted them about their violation.⁴² One woman was trafficked

⁴¹ Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) *No place like home? Challenges in family reintegration after trafficking*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute.

⁴² See also Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) *No place like home? Challenges in family reintegration after trafficking*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute.

into prostitution at the age of 13 by her father and forced to serve clients to repay the money he had borrowed. She explained that she had not felt able to extricate herself from this situation until she had paid her father's debt: "... my [madam] said 'Your dad went home to the village but he borrowed my money, about 1.5 million IDR [136USD]...' I couldn't say anything, my dad borrowed the money and he was in the village, so all I can do was to pay that money first". Neither had she felt able to break ties with her family in spite of this severe violation and was, at the time of our interviews with her, still supporting her mother who had been aware of (and, arguably, complicit in) her forced entry into prostitution.

Family complicity is complicated by the primacy of family in Indonesian society and the importance of smooth and positive family relationships. Moreover, the family is the primary social unit in Indonesia and an important source of economic and emotional support generally and certainly in times of crisis or need. Filial responsibility is also a strong social underpinning and some young women trafficked into prostitution spoke about being unable to leave prostitution precisely because it was the only means they had to support their parents and contribute to their family. One young woman, trafficked into prostitution as a girl, described her difficulty in leaving prostitution because of family pressure and responsibility: "The most important thing for my mother was that I came home with the money. I worked there but she didn't tell anyone that her child worked in that place as a prostitute".⁴³

Family members were sometimes also involved in recruitment and facilitation of labor migration that ended up as trafficking. One man explained how he was recruited by his brother-in-law (his wife's brother) to work on a plantation in Malaysia, but was deceived by about the conditions and terms of the work and also had his salary withheld: "I was angry at [my brother-in-law] because his words [promises] were different here [in Indonesia] and there [in Malaysia]. His attitude [and action] was also different". But he did not feel able to disclose what his brother-in-law had done, even to his wife many years after return, because of his "inferior" place within the family: "I was just the son-in-law. I did not say anything, it was my personal secret". He never confronted his brother-in-law, choosing instead to avoid him during his visits home.

Some trafficked persons returned home to an unsupportive environment. Sources of tensions and conflict centered around financial problems, blame and hurt at having been "left behind" and frustration over long absences and silences. In some instances, the family environment was unhealthy precisely because one or some family members were complicit in the victim's exploitation.

Different reactions from different family members

The family is not a homogeneous unit and family members react differently to trafficking victims' return and over the course of their reintegration. As such, some respondents found "home" to be both supportive and unsupportive, healthy and destructive, positive and negative.

One woman, trafficked for prostitution, described her reception by her mother as warm and supportive, including her mother's willingness to house her and her children. Since her return, her mother had been very worried about her well-being and supportive in all ways: "Everywhere I go she always worries about me... She is afraid that I will be lost". At the same time, this woman was disliked by her siblings because she borrowed money from them to help pay back her estranged husband's debt and she had been unable to repay her debt to

⁴³ Filial responsibility is critical in Javanese and Sundanese culture. Children owe deference, obedience and respect to their parents, even when grown and financially independent. In daily life, children are expected to pay their parents deference and provide support and assistance. Children assume responsibility for a variety of tasks as necessity dictates, including caring for younger siblings or grandparents while mothers work.

them. This had poisoned their perception of and attitude toward her and she described tense relationships, especially with her sister when she first returned: “My sister was angry at me.... They were angry because they helped me to pay my credit to the bank”. Fortunately this had eased somewhat over time and her sibling would now visit their mother, with whom this woman was staying: “[My sister] sometimes visits us again but before that she didn’t visit us because she hated me”.

Similarly, one man, trafficked for fishing, described a good relationship with his sister who was living in Jakarta, but poor relations with his sibling in his home village because of his debt. He had borrowed money to migrate and was unable to repay the debt because he had not been paid while trafficked. He explained that he was unable to return to live in his home village because of this debt:

If I went back, [my brother] would ask, “Do you have any money, to pay your debt?” In the beginning they were good but after they knew that I could not get my money, they were also stressed... They felt pressure. They were upset because I could not get my salary. [...] They just said if you get your salary, the most important thing is to pay your debt [...] I will go home when I can pay my debt.

One woman, trafficked for domestic work, was the mother of three children and a widow. She migrated after her husband’s death to support her children and when she returned home she had problems with her youngest son who blamed her for abandoning him to work abroad. She also faced recrimination from her eldest son who said to her after her return: “We did not need your money, we needed your attention”. This woman did have positive relations with her daughter at the time of the first interview, although this deteriorated shortly after our second interview with her. Nonetheless she was able to draw on support from her husband’s family, especially her brother-in-law, his wife and their children, who supported her emotionally and financially after her return

Another man described how he was accepted by his wife but was rejected by many within his family, including his parents, because of his time in prison abroad as an irregular migrant:

...the first time I came home, I just only met my wife because my family was indifferent. They knew that I came from the prison [abroad]. Only my wife still accepted me [...] even my own biological parents did not want to accept me at all. I did not know what the problem was. I visited them but they talked about different things. And other relatives did not comfort me. They stayed away from me.

Trafficked persons experienced a variety of reactions from family members during reintegration. Not only did individual family members react differently to the trafficked person’s return, but reactions also changed over time. Some respondents described how, for them, the family environment was both supportive and unsupportive, as some relationships seemed to encourage resilience in the reintegration process and other relationships threatened to undermine reintegration.

Overall, the respondents in this study reported a wide range of family environments following trafficking. For many trafficked persons, family was an important foundation for successful reintegration, with family members providing emotional, social and/or economic support. Other respondents described unhealthy and negative (sometimes even dangerous) family relationships, which added challenges to their reintegration. And some trafficked persons faced mixed reactions from different family members, which were fluid and changed over time. Some aspects of the family environment seemed to support successful reintegration while relationships with some family members seemed to undermine reintegration success.



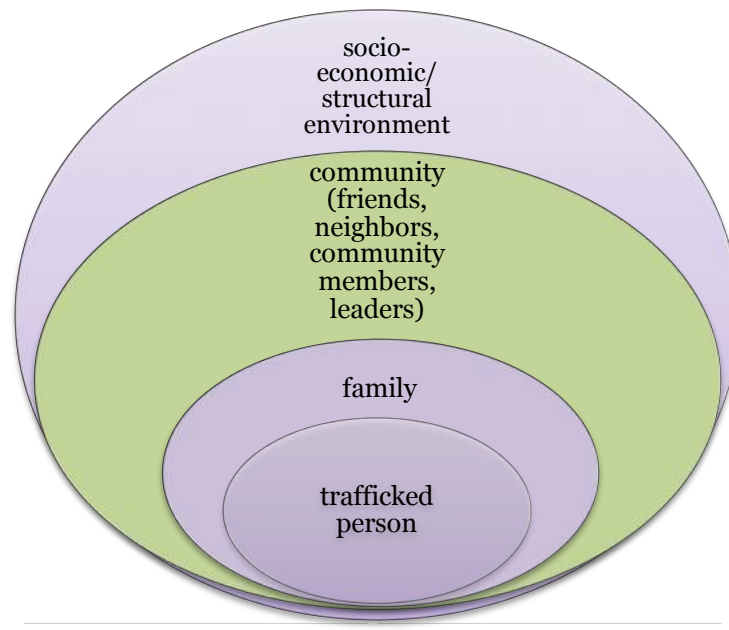
A family having their evening meal in a small village near in West Java. Photo; Peter Biro.

4.3 Vulnerability and resilience in the community⁴⁴

Most reintegration takes place within victims' home communities. An important contributor to reintegration success is having support within one's community. As with the family environments described above, in some situations, the community setting is a constructive and supportive setting, which offers fertile ground for recovery and reintegration. In other cases, victims are exposed to discrimination, exclusion, vulnerability and structural inequality.

⁴⁴ For more detail about challenges in community reintegration, please see Surtees, R. (2016) *Moving On. Family and Community Reintegration Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

Diagram #6. Layered environments into which trafficked persons integrate



Supportive and protective community setting

For many trafficked persons the community environment to which they returned was a positive and welcoming one. This was particularly the case for women trafficked for domestic work, who often described receiving support and empathy when they returned home without money and often in a bad condition:

All of my neighbors came to visit me. Even though my house was far away, they still came to visit me. [...] They usually gave me money. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work*)

They treated me well. We are fine and never have problems. They are nice to me. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work*)

The neighbors are good. They have always treated me well. Neighbors, relatives, *Alhamdulillah* [thank God] they stay the same, never change. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work*)

[The neighbors] came over and greeted me [when I came home]. If people came over I told them my story. They said it was okay, the most important thing is that you came home safely and healthy. “We can get money fortune somewhere else”, they said. People came, I told them my story and they gave me support. That’s what happened... There were no [negative reactions]. They were nice, *Alhamdulillah* [thank God]. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work*)

A supportive community environment was less common among men trafficked for labor, some of whom faced criticism within the community for their “failed migration”. But such criticism was not inevitable and some men described being well treated and supported at home and among their friends and neighbors:

They treat me well, I mean normal. Just as they treated me before I left to work abroad. (*Man trafficked for labor*)

The neighbors were kind to me. Many came and visited me, just checking in on me.
(*Man trafficked for labor*)

The neighbors are the same [as in the past]. They never mocked me. No one did.
(*Man trafficked for labor*)

In some instances it was not the community that was unsupportive but victims who avoided friends and neighbors because of shame and embarrassment about their failed migration, as one man, trafficked on a fishing boat, explained: “Now we [the neighbors and I] are better. It was not my family nor friends nor neighbors who avoided me. I avoided them. I was too embarrassed. I did not bring home money. [...] They did not have negative thoughts about me. I just assumed they did because I was embarrassed”. Explained another formerly trafficked man: “When I came back home, it was me who kind of secluded myself from activities in the community. I felt ashamed being in such a situation. It was just me. People were good to me, they supported me. But I was still recovering from the bad experience so I wanted to be with those I felt comfortable”.

Some trafficking victims were able to count on a supportive community setting precisely because they did not (or had not fully) disclosed the problems and exploitation they had faced while trafficked. This was often done strategically to avoid discrimination or reactions within their communities and was effective in many cases. Many women who were trafficked for sexual exploitation settled into new communities and did not disclose their sexual exploitation to neighbors, which seemingly prevented stigma or discrimination and allowed for a positive community setting, as one woman explained: “They treated me and my family just fine. After getting married I moved to a new neighborhood where my new neighbors didn’t know my background”. Some men and women trafficked for labor also avoided revealing their exploitation to avoid issues and censure within the community.



A group of women stand outside their houses in a village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Many respondents returned to positive and welcoming communities. Some trafficked persons described encountering a supportive community, but still felt ashamed or embarrassed. Some victims did not disclose their trafficking experience to avoid stigma and help smooth community relationships.

Negative and unsupportive community setting

Many trafficked persons returned home to a less than positive community environment, as one woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained of her return home: “[The neighbors] didn’t help or assist me. They just badmouthed me...” There were different triggers and causes of negative and unsupportive reactions from friends and neighbors in victims’ home communities.

Some trafficked persons faced gossip at having failed to migrate successfully, as illustrated by the experience of one man, trafficked for fishing: “The relationship with the community is not so good. I was a little bit intimidated by how they treated me. They teased me because I went abroad and did not bring money home. They said I was stupid.... That’s why honestly I don’t like to be in the village”. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, also described how neighbors gossiped about her, saying that she had selfishly spent all of her money while abroad: “I heard rumors [in the village] that I went overseas not to work for money, that I spent it”. The shame felt by victims of trafficking was especially pronounced in situations when they knew others in their communities and social networks who had migrated successfully.

Some trafficked persons returned home stressed, anxious, depressed and generally unwell. Their behavior and reactions as a consequence were the source of gossip and criticism among neighbors and friends. One woman faced rumors that she was crazy when she was often upset after her return: “...sometimes people said things to me. When I was still crying a lot, they said I was half crazy. I prayed. What if the same thing happened to them?... I let them insult me”. Another woman, who managed a dangerous and dramatic escape, returned home in a stressed condition and behaved out of character and erratically. She was treated as crazy within the community: “When I just arrived at the village I was in shock. People in my village thought that I was a crazy person. They heard the news that I was stressed, escaped and hid in the jungle”.

One man, trafficked twice for labor, faced extreme censure from his neighbors and peers when he returned home to his critically ill wife who died shortly after his return. Community members blamed him for his absence, saying that he had not cared for his wife and not supported his young family. He described the heavy recriminations faced in his community:

...the moral burden came from neighbors [...] Finally when I came home, facing the neighbors was the most difficult thing. It was the heaviest part, that my neighbors blamed me. Did I have to tell the neighbors too about my condition? I had an obligation to tell and explain to my family but until today, sometimes [the neighbors] still blame me for what happened. They accuse me of being irresponsible.

This man eventually left the community and currently lives in a new community with his new wife. He seldom goes back to the village even today because he is blamed still: “When I visit the village then there is a response from the community which is less positive. It hurts me here. In fact, according to me, I did not do anything wrong... I am a victim but they did not want to know”.

In other cases, community gossip and censure related to “misdeeds” that trafficked persons were believed to have committed while away. One woman, initially trafficked for domestic work, managed to escape and stay on in the destination country working in a beauty salon. She was able to save and send money home and also buy gold jewelry with her earnings.

While abroad she met one of her relatives who observed that she was well dressed and wore gold jewelry. The woman explained that the relative spread rumors once home that she was a prostitute: “When [my relative] came home, she said to everyone, to the [other] relatives and to my family at home that I worked as a prostitute. My mother was shocked and had a stroke”.

One woman (“Lara”⁴⁵) trafficked for domestic work, returned home pregnant as a consequence of rape. While her husband and mother were supportive, she faced problems and censure in her community including from the religious teacher who announced her alleged adultery over the community loudspeaker.⁴⁶ She described how she and her family also faced a great deal of gossip and insults from neighbors: “I tried to make my face thicker [to have thick skin]. But the problem was what they said to my mother. My mother was a vendor selling around the village. They told my mother, ‘You have a thick face [thick skin], having a child like that, but still dare to sell things around’. Many people told my mother that. [...] Someone said, ‘If I were you, I would have hung myself’”.

A number of victims trafficked for labor were detained as irregular migrants before being deported to Indonesia. They were physically and mentally scarred by this experience and, moreover, faced problems because community members misunderstood and thought that they were arrested for crimes committed abroad. These victims were stigmatized as “criminals” rather than victims and spoke about the stigma of being treated like a criminal among friends and neighbors:

... my wife came home crying. The [neighbors] said I was an ex-convict.

...my father, in the village, heard that I was in prison [while abroad]. [...] ...my father was shocked and then my father passed away.

One man, trafficked for labor, described jealousy and lack of support among the neighbors in his home community: “If [others, like me] are in a bad situation, they would be happy. If [others, like me] are happy, they would be upset”. Another man trafficked for labor explained how he experienced negative comments in his community upon return due to his “ambition”: “[They said] ‘Don’t aim too high, it’s like aiming for the moon or something like that’. ‘Don’t be arrogant, just stay and seek your fortune here’ [...] I told my friend about going [abroad] and the desire to own a house. Apparently that was perceived as something [arrogant]”.

Women and girls trafficked into prostitution faced significant challenges in terms of the community environment. They were particularly unlikely to experience a supportive and protective community setting, either when returning to their home villages or when integrating into a new community. Community relations were often a problem for these women and girls if they returned to their home communities, specifically if people in the community knew about the individual’s involvement in prostitution. Some women opted to integrate in Jakarta after leaving prostitution but still described facing problems in the new community when their past prostitution was known:

...people around us... talked about us. They said there were many prostitutes, not married yet living together. [...] One day there was a man who stayed around my house who... tried to rape me.

They called me a widow and discriminated against me as an ex-prostitute.

⁴⁵ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

⁴⁶ As noted in Section 4.2: Vulnerability and resilience within the family environment.



Women in prostitution by the railroad tracks. Photo: Peter Biro.

In some cases, negative attitudes were linked to the individual's social exclusion before trafficking. A number of respondents were very vulnerable and socially ostracized generally, which also came into play during reintegration. One young woman, trafficked for prostitution, came from a very poor family. The family members worked as scrap scavengers to earn money and she described how the community did not accept her family due to their low work and status: "They do not like me... [My father] is a waste material collector. We are humiliated".

Many respondents returned to an unsupportive community environment, facing gossip or discrimination from friends and neighbors. Some experienced gossip about their trafficking experiences, with community members blaming them for their exploitation and failed migration or accusing them of untoward behavior while away. Other individuals faced gossip from community members regarding their mental or physical state after trafficking. Women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation faced particular challenges and censure in the community environment due to their involvement in prostitution.

Different reactions from different community members

In many communities, reactions to and treatment of trafficked persons during reintegration differed from person to person. Trafficked persons described receiving support and understanding from some within their communities but not others. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained her differing interactions with community members during her reintegration:

Some were badmouthing, but some were not. Some neighbors understood me. Some said what happened to me was just a bad luck because I went far away and did not succeed like the others. I told myself to just listen to them. But not all of them were like that. Some said I did something wrong there. I don't understand why people talked like that about bad things that happened to other people. People's destiny is in the hands of the Almighty. But some of my neighbors also think like that. Even the bad destiny is in the hands of God.

One woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained how she returned home to a positive reception from some neighbors who offered support and advice. However, she also had other neighbors who were more negative and blamed her for being trafficked and exploited: “[The neighbors] across from us are under the impression that I did not want to work and that I was too picky”.

Even in the midst of a negative response within the overall community, it was often possible to find someone (or some people) who were supportive in the community setting. One man, trafficked for labor, described how many neighbors would speak about his failed migration, but how his next-door neighbor provided him with help and support:

[The didn’t talk] in front of my face but I could sense from their tones, a bit insulting. So they talked behind my back, I guess. “He came home just like that despite all the efforts spent to migrate”. Well, what could I say? That’s just what the neighbors did since many of them had succeeded with their [migration] endeavor. [...] There was our next-door neighbor. We helped each other in times of need. If I had rice, we shared and the other way around. I am not a local, [I am] a migrant from another village, so I wasn’t so close with the other neighbors.

One man, trafficked for fishing, described how some neighbors were encouraging and supportive when he came home: “They were good, they gave advice. It’s better that you stay home, don’t go abroad”. Others, though, spread rumors and lies about him: “... [The neighbors] didn’t say it directly to me, they said it to my wife, ‘Ah your husband must have become a drunkard abroad, a womanizer, that’s why he returned without any money’. It was like that ...I was to be blamed. Even though I had explained [what happened], I was to blame”. Time was also an element though in reactions from friends and neighbors and two years after his return, relations had improved, as he explained: “Well it is much better now because we are much closer now. Previously we were distanced, so we rarely talked. Now we do, we often communicate, to find information as well. Perhaps if there are many friends, there will be many fortunes”.⁴⁷ This man also experienced negative reactions from neighbors living close to his mother and those in his parents-in-laws’ community: “Thank God [the neighbors close to my mother] still welcome me. They still accept me... if there is any work that I could do, they did invite me... But in my parents-in-laws’ hometown, no one is like that”. He went on to explain that he was negatively perceived: “About the community around my parents-in-law, I could not communicate with them. I also could not get along with them too... because of their impression that I am jobless and I am a lazy man. [...] Those surrounding my parents-in-laws’ house are farmers, all of them. They are farmers and, in other words, they are tough. When they look at me, they are cynical”.

Some trafficked persons experienced mixed reactions from community members after trafficking. Some friends and neighbors were a source of support or comfort while others were unsupportive. Victims experienced gossip, criticism, censure and discrimination from some persons in the community.

⁴⁷ Please see Section 4.4: Vulnerability and resilience over time, for a further discussion of changes over time.



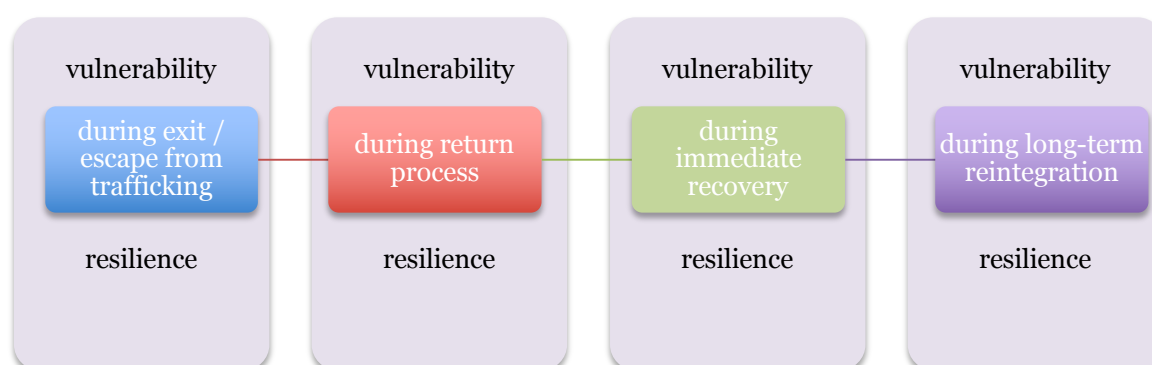
A young woman walks through her home community in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Overall, trafficked persons returned to different community environments. For some respondents, the community played an important role in supporting successful reintegration, even though in some cases maintaining positive community relationships required not disclosing one's trafficking experience. Many trafficked persons experienced negative community reactions, which caused stress and complications as they sought to reintegrate. Some respondents faced mixed reactions within their communities, receiving support and understanding from some friends and neighbors, but not others.

4.4 Vulnerability and resilience over time

Reintegration is often considered a long-term but relatively linear process, with trafficked persons passing, progressively, through stages that cumulatively result in recovery and reintegration. However, in practice, reintegration is intensely complex, impacted by a range of individual factors, as well as by the broader family, social and economic environments in which trafficking victims live. The process of recovery and reintegration generally takes place over months and years and trafficking victims often face a range of different, but interrelated, issues and obstacles along the way. Over the course of reintegration trafficked persons experience “ups” and “downs”, successes and setbacks.

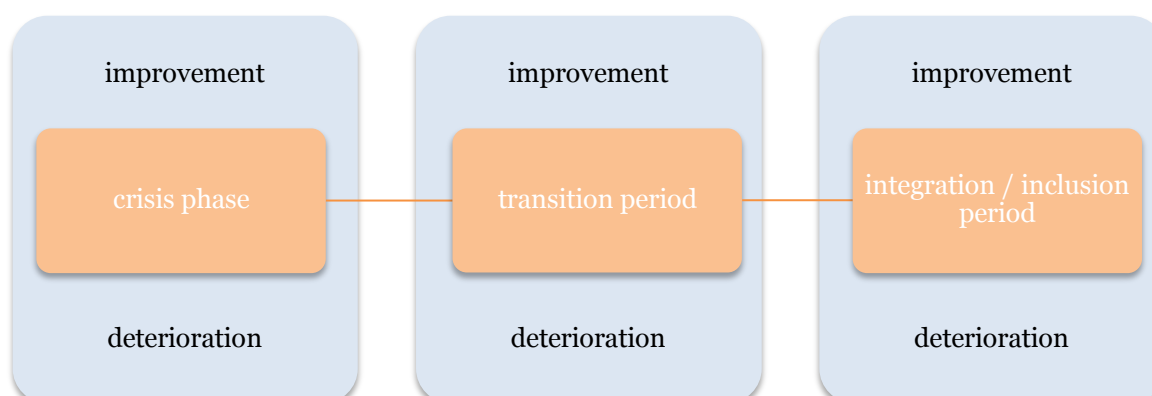
Diagram #7. Critical periods along the pathway to reintegration



Vulnerability and resilience often change quite substantially over time, at different stages of recovery and reintegration. Critical periods include exit/escape from trafficking, during the return process, upon return home (during immediate recovery) and at various intervals over the course of recovery and reintegration, which can sometimes take many years.

Over the course of this longitudinal research project some trafficked persons' lives improved progressively over time, whereas others faced more problems and challenges over the course of their lives. And, for many Indonesian trafficking victims, the reintegration process was non-linear and involved “ups” and “downs” at different stages of their lives and in response to different life events.

Diagram #8. Stages of recovery and reintegration⁴⁸



Improvements over time

Many respondents faced problems and “crises” immediately after escaping or exiting their trafficking exploitation. This was often a very fraught period of victims' lives and they faced

⁴⁸ The process of recovery and reintegration may be divided into three main phases – crisis, transition and integration/inclusion. The crisis phase generally refers to the period when a trafficking victim has escaped or exited trafficking and when he/she may be in a state of shock or crisis. In this period, emergency intervention may be needed to address urgent issues and problems. The transition phase refers to the period after initial crises have been addressed and victims may be more stable (physically, mentally, economically, socially). This phase generally involves “transitioning” back into “normal life” – finding work, realizing physical and mental well-being, working toward resolving family issues and so on. The integration/inclusion phase involves galvanizing and expanding these successes and achievements toward successful reintegration. How victims experience and move through these phases differs from person to person, as reintegration is a highly individualized process. Given that each victim is unique, the length and nature of each phase may differ quite substantially. Some victims may be in crisis for a short period of time; others may be in crisis for many months. Some victims may progress quickly toward integration/inclusion whereas others will experience a longer period of transition. These phases provide an overarching framework for conceptualizing recovery and reintegration, while recognizing wide variations among victims as well as the complexity and diversity of the reintegration process for different victims.

many crises, including debt and having no money, lack of employment, interpersonal tensions and conflict, psychological issues, being physically and emotionally unwell and so on. In many cases, these tensions and problems were addressed or gave way over time. Many trafficked persons described improvements in their lives and relationships as time passed.

Most victims returned home without money and often in debt and initially faced a very critical financial situation. However, over time many were able to find some work and earn money to support or contribute to the household income. Urgent medical problems were also sometimes resolved over time, with victims slowly recovering from injuries or illnesses caused by trafficking. And, while many victims returned home in states of stress and anxiety, even trauma, over time many were also able to recover and restore their mental well-being.

Victims also experienced improvements in their family and community relations over time. One woman who returned home to an unfaithful husband described a tense and difficult family environment after trafficking. However, over time, the family situation improved including in her relationship with her husband: “After I knew that I was pregnant, he changed a lot. He left the mistress and after our child’s birth, he helped me taking care of the baby”. When asked about her current situation, she described continuing economic issues but family relations that are “harmonious”: “He’s already asked for forgiveness. If he has money he gives it to me, for our child, not like before when he gave it to his mistress”.

Similarly, one woman, trafficked for domestic work, described how her relationships with her family had improved since her return and over the course of her reintegration. Indeed, she described quite marked improvements, including in her relationship with her ex-husband’s family who had previously disliked her:

Maybe they saw me differently before my departure, maybe because they saw my husband. But after I came back, they have changed. My sister-in-law who did not like me, now she is kind... My family is not complicated. They are happy to see me healthy like this, to see my condition. [My family] feels sorry for everything. My mother, my sister, my sister-in-law, everyone is close to me now.

One man, trafficked for fishing, described facing negative and critical reactions within his community upon his return: “I overheard how [my neighbors] made me an example of someone who worked abroad but never brought any money home. They thought that I was just spending my money for fun. It’s a common perception here that if you don’t bring money home, that you spent it abroad for fun”. While this man’s relationships with his neighbors had improved somewhat over time, his relationship with his family members had deteriorated, as discussed in the next section.

One woman, trafficked for domestic work, was initially treated very badly in her community after she returned from trafficking. Because she returned with two children born to a man she married while away, her family was mocked and treated poorly initially after her return: “I did not really go out at that time for about ten days. People were talking bad about it. They thought I did a really bad thing. [...] People talked, that hurt me. [...] Sometimes they called them out-of-wedlock kids”. But she observed that the situation improved over the two years since her return: “Thank God. I do not think people are still gossiping about me now. [...] It’s been two years”.

Trafficked persons described facing problems when they first returned to their homes and communities including economic issues (like debt and having no money), being physically and emotionally unwell, interpersonal conflicts and so on. For some respondents these tensions and problems were resolved or improved with time.

Deterioration over time

Not all trafficked persons could rely on the passage of time translating into improvements in their lives and relationships. Some victims returned home and were initially able to cope mentally, physically and economically but the situation deteriorated over time. Initial relief and gratitude surrounding victims' return from trafficking often gave way to worries and tensions around the family economy. One man, trafficked for fishing, described how his relationship with his family had changed since he came home and he felt they were no longer supportive of him: "At first my family still very much cared about me. But now they seem very reluctant to give out their money to me. Back then, okay for them... but now if I asked for their favor they seem very reluctant. Even my father said I have to get some work".

And many victims struggled to find work and earn income, which further jeopardized the family economy, especially when they were already in debt.

Moreover, not all victims were able to recover physically and mentally after trafficking. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, was very ill upon her return and never recovered from this illness. She was unable to access the necessary treatment and this made her susceptible to other illnesses. Sadly, this woman died several months after our second interview with her. Another woman who was blinded by her employer while trafficked to the Middle East was unable to receive treatment to reverse her blindness and she was unable to work as a result, further compromising her family's economic situation.

And some victims also reported deteriorations in their relationships with family members, friends and neighbors. One man, trafficked on a fishing vessel for three years, returned home to his wife and children and his initial reception was warm and welcoming. But over the next several months, the relationship with his wife deteriorated to the point that he left to work in Jakarta and they were barely communicating:

I kept working and tried to provide for the family but my wife felt that it wasn't enough. We often argued. She felt that during my three years away I never gave her updates or money, even my family thought I was dead since they never heard from me for two and a half years. [Our relationship when I came home] was pretty good. My wife once said that it was okay to just stay in the village, we could get by with whatever work we could find. Live moderately. But eventually things changed. [...] In seven months. Her attitude started to change and she brought up the problem when I was away sailing a lot. [...] That I worked for three years but never sent money home for covering our children's education, daily expenses, etc. It always came down to that. So I thought that was because I went away sailing. It never became a problem previously when I was still working at the gas station even though the salary was not much.

One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, initially described how her husband was calm and supportive after what she had endured while trafficked. But over time tensions emerged and whenever he was angry he brought up her trafficking experience.

In other instances, new issues, tensions and disappointments emerged within the family over the course of reintegration. One man, trafficked for labor, described how he was treated poorly by his brother-in-law when he returned, which led to tension in his relationship with his wife: "...my brother-in-law, he was so cocky and I didn't like to be commanded. I told my ex-wife that I cannot hold on if it always went on like that..." He and his wife eventually divorced, with the conflict at the core of the marriage break-up. Another man, trafficked for labor, explained that because he had been sick since his return from trafficking, his wife had migrated to support their family. In the second interview, he described how he had become depressed with their separation and general family situation: "My wife left for work. We used to be very harmonious when we still lived together. I just feel different now... I actually feel

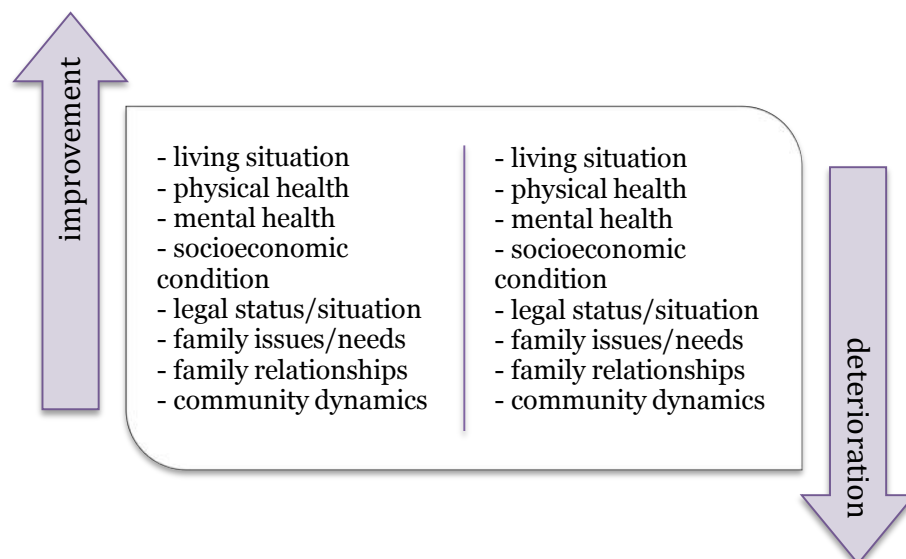
sadder now... I have to take care of my youngest child and the household now... So my responsibility and my wife's have been exchanged".

Some victims returned home to a positive environment, but tensions and problems arose over time, resulting in problems and deterioration in the longer-term.

"Ups" and "downs" over time

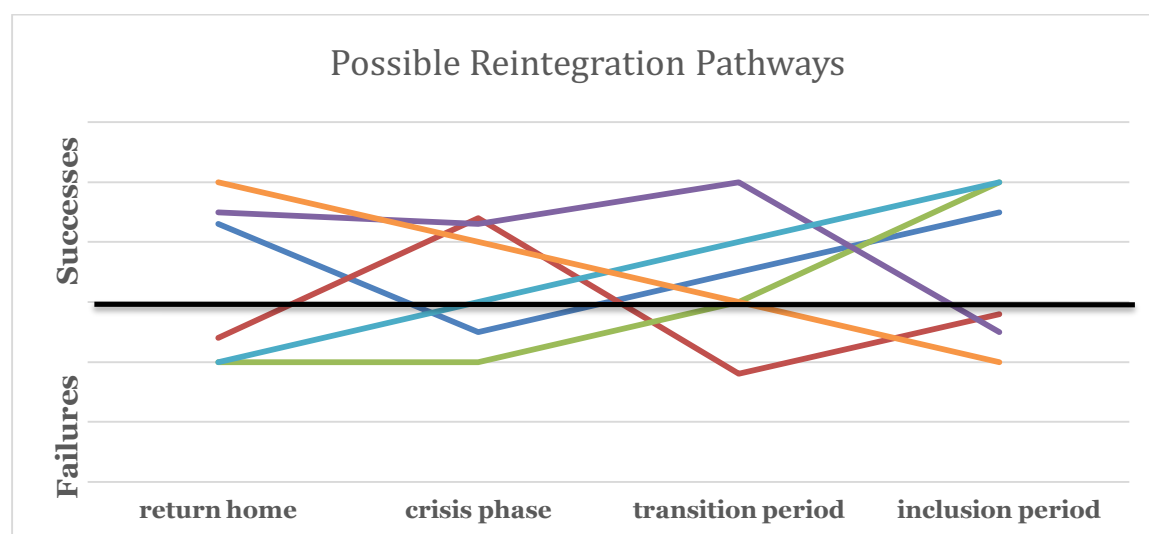
Interviewing respondents over time confirmed the often non-linear process of reintegration and revealed many "ups" and "downs", "successes" and "failures" in their lives over the course of reintegration. Many victims faced problems in some or all aspects of their lives, including in terms their living situation, physical and mental health, socioeconomic condition, legal status and the needs of their family members. Victims also faced "ups" and "downs" in their relationships with family, friends and neighbors over the course of their reintegration.

Diagram #9. Aspects of victims' lives that may improve or deteriorate over time



Often issues and crises emerged in victims' lives at various stages of the reintegration process, depending on the victim's individual, family and community background. In many instances, these issues and crises had the potential to derail the successes and achievements that trafficking victims had realized to date. Crises were particularly "risky" when individuals lacked any formal assistance or lacked a safety net (e.g. in their families or communities).

Diagram #10. “Ups” and “downs” faced by trafficking victims over time



The experiences of “Tara”⁴⁹ illustrate the “ups” and “downs” that trafficked persons may face over the course of reintegration. Tara, trafficked for domestic work, was in a difficult stage of her life when she was first interviewed, eight months after her escape. She was severely injured and scarred, having being tortured by her employers. Her body was covered in scar tissue that had not fully healed and was itchy and sensitive. She was unable to walk properly because her legs had been several beaten. She worked as a farmer but was struggling to make ends meet as a divorced mother of a teenage daughter. At the time of her second interview though her life had substantially improved. She had recently remarried to a man whom she loved and who treated her and her daughter well. They were all living together in their new house from which they were running a small shop: “My last goal was to have a husband and it came true now. That’s all. To have a house. If we have some funds, we wish to make a permanent shop, separated from the house”. Her relationship with the community was also improved: “They already accepted [me]. Happily I have a husband now, they have said so, thanks to God”.

Meeting her seven months since the second interview, however, she was facing a new crisis that seemed likely to undermine much of her reintegration success to date. She had learned that she was pregnant just prior to her husband’s departure for work in another province and had not told him about her pregnancy because she wanted to surprise him. However, when he came home for a visit, he accused her of being unfaithful and that the child was not his. He left again and had not been in touch since. She was devastated by his behavior and stressed by her situation as a pregnant woman living on her own. She was extremely depressed and uncertain of what to do. Moreover, she was unable to concentrate on her shop and the business was at risk of collapsing, leaving her without resources to support her family.

Reintegration is a non-linear process and, over time, trafficked persons experienced both successes and failures in their efforts to reintegrate. Many victims experienced and navigated both “ups” and “downs” over the course of reintegration.

Victims’ experiences demonstrated that there is no one path to successful reintegration and that the reintegration process is fraught with challenges. Some respondents experienced problems or challenges when they first arrived home, but described a general improvement

⁴⁹ Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

in their lives over time. Other respondents faced problems and challenges that arose over time and in response to specific events. And many respondents experienced both “ups” and “downs”, “successes” and “failures” in their lives after trafficking.

4.5 Issues and needs borne of vulnerability and resilience

Understanding vulnerability and resilience in trafficked persons’ lives is a critical underpinning in the design of effective and appropriate reintegration policies and programs.

The following sections discuss the different issues faced and needs articulated by Indonesian trafficking victims over the course of their reintegration. These include:



A place to live



Health situation and physical well-being



Psychological issues and mental and emotional well-being



Financial and economic issues



Education, life skills and professional training opportunities



Protection, safety and security



Legal status and identity



Legal issues and proceedings



Family issues and needs

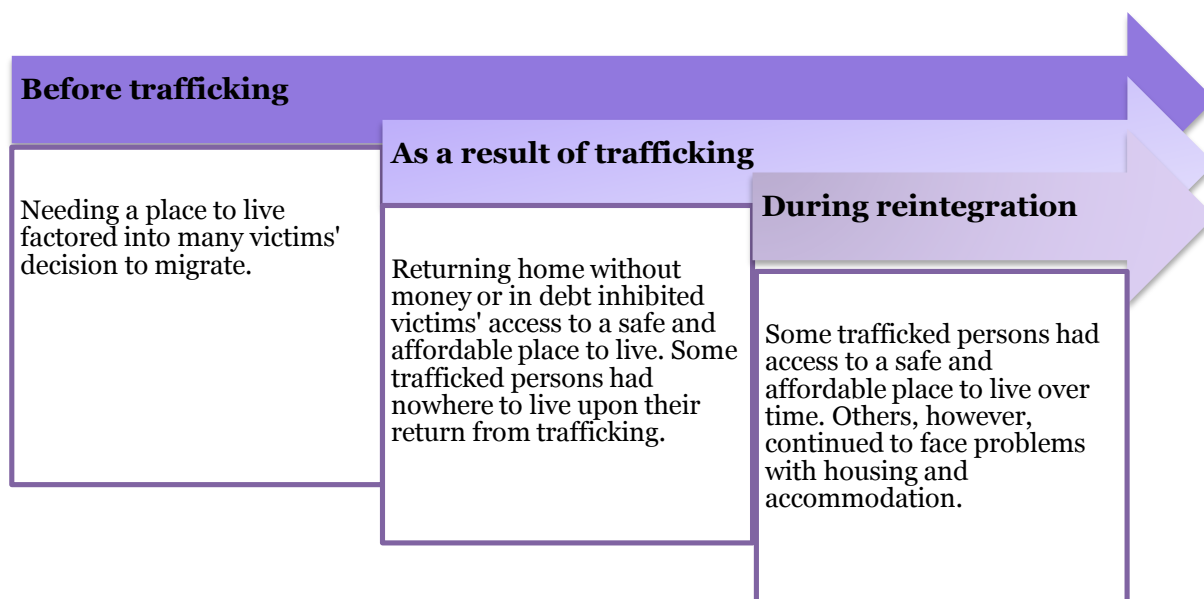
The following sections address issues and needs that were caused by and a direct function of trafficking exploitation, as well as those linked to underlying social and economic vulnerabilities that preceded or followed on from trafficking. In addition, the following sections will also address how assistance needs were informed by vulnerability and resilience within the family and community and the changes (“ups” and “downs”) that took place in trafficked persons’ lives over time.



5. A place to live

A safe and affordable place to live was an essential foundation for recovery in the immediate aftermath of trafficking and for reintegration in the longer-term. And yet a place to live was something that many trafficked persons lacked – both before and after trafficking.

Diagram #11. Housing and accommodation needs over time



5.1 Housing and accommodation before trafficking

For many Indonesian migrant workers (including those who end up trafficked), a place to live is a primary driver in the decision to migrate. This includes building a new home, buying land for one's future home,⁵⁰ or repairing an existing home in need of repair or upkeep. One man, who ended up trafficked for fishing, described it this way: "My plan was that after returning home from abroad... I would be able to buy land. That was my dream".

In some cases, trafficked persons wanted to build a home for their immediate families. This was the motivation of one woman, trafficked for domestic work, who explained it as such: "All I knew was that if I was successful after working in Malaysia, I would have money so that I can buy a house for my family".

⁵⁰ This is consistent with Indonesian migrant workers generally; remittances were primarily used toward the acquisition of land and housing and housing improvements. One survey of 100 overseas contract workers from Java identified the following uses for remittances: 45.8% – housing; 27.1% – land purchase; 24.2% – daily family needs; and 2.7% – business enterprises. Hugo, G. (1995) 'International Labor Migration and the Family: Some Observations from Indonesia', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 4(2-3), pp. 290-292. Another study found remittances were used for schooling costs and day-to-day necessities for family. Mantra et al. (1986) *Movement of Indonesian Workers to the Middle East*. Yogyakarta: Population Studies Center, Gadjah Mada University, p. 128.



A former migrant worker in her home in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

A handful of respondents wanted to build or repair homes as part of their filial responsibility to their parents. One man, 20 years old and unmarried when he applied to work on a fishing vessel abroad, explained how his decision to migrate was informed by the desire to renovate his parent's home:

Actually my family did not want to let me go abroad because my body looked small and as I'm the oldest in the family, my parent felt that it was not easy if I would live far away. [...] I told them I wanted, like others, to buy some things, to make them happy, to build a house, to renovate the house. Then my parents gave their approval and advised me to be careful.

For some trafficked persons having a place to live was about the physical act of having a home. For others, having their own place to live was about having greater control over their lives. This meant, for example, living independently of parents or parents-in-law, as one woman explained: "I saw my friends were successful. They could build their own house and buy a farm. I wanted to try. Maybe I would be like them. I really wanted to have my own house and be separated from my father-in-law so that I could be free".

Similarly, one man, trafficked for labor, was living with his parents-in-law prior to his decision to migrate. He described facing on-going verbal abuse from his mother-in-law, which made him desperate to have his own home: "I was always insulted by my mother-in-law. She once kicked me out of the house. [...] I got home [from work] around 9pm and my mother-in-law accused me of doing bad things. I got scolded each day before I went to work in the morning. She swore bad words, like 'You're a dog' at 6am in the morning". He broke down in tears when describing this oppressive home environment and how desperately he wanted a home for his family: "[I migrated] because I wanted to have my own house. People always looked down on me. [...] Sorry, I am in tears now [...] I went [abroad] to change my life. I always got insulted by my mother-in-law... Then my older sibling insulted me constantly so that is why I made up my mind to [migrate for work]".

Some trafficked persons had homes that they could live in, but the home environment was not safe. Seven respondents described being victims of domestic violence before being trafficked. Six others suffered violence in the home as children, including child abuse from parents (n=4), sexual abuse by an uncle (n=1) and extreme neglect by a grandparent (n=1).

5.2 Housing and accommodation needs as a result of trafficking

Many individuals remitted or returned home with little or no money because of being trafficked. Trafficking meant that these individuals were unable to build up the financial resources to, among other important life goals, build or acquire a home. Many, as a result, lived in inadequate or substandard conditions after trafficking. Others were obliged to live with family members, often with many people crowded into a small living space. One trafficked fisher described his sadness and frustration that he came home and was unable to build a home: "...the feeling was, my friends have returned home and brought some money to buy a motorcycle and they could build a house for their parents. They could live independently... They could build a house for themselves... I was thinking, 'Why did this happen to me?'".

In some instances, trafficking victims literally had no place to live after their return. Some victims or their families lost their homes as a consequence of trafficking. Some had borrowed money for migration by using their land or house as collateral and lost it when they were unable to repay the debt. Some victims' families had mortgaged (and eventually forfeited) their homes to cover living expenses while they were trafficked. One young man, trafficked for labor, described the tremendous pressure he felt upon his return to earn money to be able to pay off his debt so that his parents did not lose their home. Another man spoke about the precarious situation he and his family faced after his return. He returned home with no money and was unable to work because of his poor physical and mental condition after trafficking. The family came close to losing their home as a result: "[My mental condition] was in a bad shape. I was sick for a long time. That was why I didn't do any work. That was my lowest point. The house was almost sold".

Some trafficking victims did not have a place to live after trafficking because their families did not accept them home. One young girl, trafficked for sexual exploitation, returned home pregnant and was rejected by her family. Her father would not allow her to live at home and none of her relatives accepted her because of the shame of her pregnancy. She described being literally cast out on the street by her family: "I was thrown out in a big rainstorm with a suitcase, with just 500,000 IDR [45USD]. I just went to the [bus] terminal. I did not know where to go and no relatives wanted to take care of me". While she was frightened about being on the street, the impact went beyond not having a place to live. She was deeply scarred by her family's rejection:

[After trafficking] everything was heavy but the most hurtful was that I was cast out by my father. I did not know where to stay. I was sent from one place to another by my own parents. They did not seem to care at all. With my difficult condition, my stepmother, my father, nobody wanted to take care of me. I did not know if I would be harmed.

Victims of labor trafficking also faced family members who were unwilling to accommodate and house them after their trafficking experiences. One trafficked domestic worker was very ill upon her return home and unable to care for herself. She stayed with her sister and her sister's family for one week, after which her sister asked her to leave as her presence was causing problems with her husband. With no other option she found a place to live on her own where she struggled to care for herself and manage her illness, relying on her neighbors

for support and assistance. She cried when she described being sent home alone: “[My sister] cried a lot. She was so concerned about my condition, but I just stayed there for a week. I was forced to leave... She asked me to leave, ‘You better not stay long here. You will give me many troubles’. [...] I stayed alone, I rented a small room”.

Another woman who was trafficked abroad as a domestic worker was widowed while still trafficked and returned home to care for her three young boys.⁵¹ She initially lived with her mother-in-law in the home that she and her husband had shared. But this home was not healthy as her mother-in-law blamed her for her son’s death: “Sometimes I stay at my aunt’s house just to avoid my mother-in-law’s anger”. She was eventually driven away from this home by her mother-in-law when she decided to remarry:

...she was very sad because her son died. She often got mad at me. She said, “Because you went [abroad], my son got sick and died”... When she knew that I would get married, my mother-in-law was angry and I was not allowed to stay at the house any longer. [She said]: “Don’t stay here anymore, just think about your new husband. Go!” All I could do was cry. That’s my house. If I go out from that house, to where? I was also concerned about my children. They need a parent’s attention. I left them for 20 months but after I came back I was not allowed to stay with them. I often cried.

Some trafficking victims required temporary accommodation immediately after return or exit from trafficking as they did not have a safe place to return to or required support and services before returning home. Other victims needed temporary accommodation while pursuing a legal case, filing a claim against the recruitment agency or dealing with other immediate issues and needs. One man, trafficked for fishing, described how, for him, having a place to live temporarily in Jakarta while pursuing a legal case against the crewing agency was the most vital assistance he received: “The most helpful is accommodation. To be able to survive in Jakarta it is a matter of where can you find a place to sleep”.

While Indonesia’s laws and regulations provide for temporary shelter for returned trafficking victims⁵² and exploited migrant workers,⁵³ in reality, there are limited shelter and accommodation options for trafficking victims. While the government does provide temporary shelter for trafficking victims, this is generally only available for some types of trafficking victims (typically women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation) and is usually only available in larger cities.⁵⁴ Some NGOs offer temporary shelter, generally while a

⁵¹ This woman’s experience is also discussed in Section 4: Understanding our lives after trafficking. Disentangling vulnerability and resilience.

⁵² Indonesia’s *Law on the Eradication of the Criminal Act of Trafficking in Persons (Number 21, Year 2007)* provides for temporary shelter to trafficking victims. Articles 46 and 52 require national and provincial governments to establish shelters and trauma centers to provide medical and social rehabilitation, return assistance, and social reintegration. Under Article 52(3), communities and social organizations may also establish shelters and/or trauma centers.

⁵³ The Ministry of Social Affairs *Regulation Regarding Repatriation of Migrant Workers and Problematic Indonesian Labor (Number 22, Year 2013)* has provisions for temporary shelter and other forms of support. Under *Regulation 22/2013*, task forces – Santuan Tugas (SATGAS) – must accept and register exploited or “problematic” migrant workers (TKIB) and provide support, including temporary shelter and meals. The *Presidential Regulation on Coordination of the Repatriation of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Koordinasi Pemulangan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia) (Number 45, Year 2013)* established a team to coordinate and synchronize the return of migrant workers to Indonesia. This regulation has provisions for temporary shelter as well as some forms of psychological support and counseling for migrant workers. This regulation is not yet fully implemented.

⁵⁴ In Jakarta, temporary shelter is provided at the Protection Homes for Women (*Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Wanita* or RPSW) by the Ministry of Social Affairs for female victims of trafficking. Short-term shelter and services are provided to children (boys and girls), including trafficking victims, at the Protection Homes for Children (*Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Anak* or RPSA) in Jakarta and Bandung (West Java). Temporary shelter (and short-term services) is also available through House of Protection and Trauma Centers (*Rumah Perlindungan Trauma Center* or RPTC). While shelter is most commonly for female victims, men and boys can be accommodated in some shelters. Boy victims can be assisted in RPSAs or PLAT (Pelayanan Anak Terpadu or

victim's legal case or insurance claims are being processed. And NGO shelter programs differ in terms of the types of victims they assist. Some NGOs focus on victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation; others focus on victims of labor trafficking; others assist mixed populations – e.g. exploited migrants and trafficked persons, victims of violence and sexual exploitation. Some NGOs provide accommodation on an informal and *ad hoc* basis to meet the urgent accommodation needs of some victims, particularly while staying in Jakarta. This is short-term and unsystematic and is not a shelter program *per se* but more housing assistance in short-term and emergency cases.



5.3 Housing and accommodation during reintegration

In some cases, trafficked persons were able, over time, to find or create a place to live. Having a house contributed enormously to physical and mental well-being, both for the individual and for his/her family. One woman, trafficked for prostitution, was initially stressed about her economic condition and the lack of security in her life when first interviewed. Owning land and a house was something with which she was very concerned and preoccupied. When she was interviewed again several months later she had managed to save money to buy a small piece of land in her home village and was planning to build a house. She described how this gave her a sense of stability, not only for herself, but also for her family: “...Now thanks to God I have bought a piece of land in my village. There is progress. I have something as an asset. It is everything... As we are growing old, there must be a place to live permanently”. She also described how this would positively impact relations in her family as her husband did not like to stay in her family's home:

...when my husband went to my village he never wanted to stay overnight at home. [He said] “It is not your house. It's your parent's house. It's other people's house”. Well, fine. Now I already have land and I have to think about the materials only. It's good. When *Eid al-Fitr*⁵⁵ comes we could already live in our own house.

Similarly, one man, trafficked for labor, described how his situation was much improved over the period since his return as he had been able to build his own house:

I was living there [in the past] but the house still belonged to my in-laws. It was not under my ownership. The house was not mine. Now the house belongs to me. [...] It's a very, very different feeling. When I was living with my in-laws, sometimes I felt uncomfortable and not that free. Now, by having our own residence, things are much more comfortable.

However, many trafficking victims continued to face problems with housing over the course of reintegration. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, returned to her dilapidated home where she lives with her elderly mother and young children. She spoke of the poor condition of the house and the need for a better place for her family to live: “My current house is very bad. If it rains, it will leak. Yesterday when the rain came, my mother went to fix the leak. Then my mother was sick because of the rain, she has been sick for three days. My mother is old”. Another woman, trafficked for domestic work, continued to struggle to house her family. She describe how she was living in her mother-in-law's house with her

Integrated Services for Children). However, these are few in number. Adult men can be accommodated in RPTC and P2TP2A but these are available in only a few locations in Jakarta and West Java. In addition, temporary shelter is provided to trafficking victims through P2TP2A (*Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak* or Integrated Service Center for Women and Children) in Bandung, Jakarta, Sukabumi and Cianjur. In Jakarta, trafficking victims can also be temporarily accommodated at the Panti Bakti Kasih, a shelter for trafficked persons who are from Jakarta and which is administered by Jakarta's *Dinas Sosial* (Department of Social Affairs).

⁵⁵ *Eid al-Fitr*, also known as Lebaran, means the “festival of breaking of the fast”. It is an important Muslim holiday celebrating the end of the holy month of Ramadan.

husband and children five years after she first returned from trafficking and how assistance to buy land was the most important form of assistance she could receive: “I really want to have a house for my children so that we do not have to stay at the mother-in-law’s house any longer. [...] If there is any [assistance], I need some money to buy land. I have no land yet”. One man trafficked for fishing also highlighted the need for a home for her and his family: “I want to have my own place to reside. This is a must. [...] I would have to rent a house. I have a wife and child and cannot just sleep on the street”.



A former migrant worker in her home in a district of West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Long-term housing support or rental subsidies are not foreseen in services available to trafficking victims or exploited migrant workers.⁵⁶ One recent public housing initiative – *Program Perumahan Rakyat* (One Million House Program) – does provide for subsidized housing for low incomes families and civil servants.⁵⁷ However, it was only set up in April 2015 and, as of the project end, no respondents in this study had access to this program. Another government program – *Rumah Tidak Laya Huni* or *Rutilahu* (Restoration of Uninhabitable Homes) – assists impoverished Indonesian citizens with improving their housing and this support can, in principle, be accessed also by a trafficking victim if his/her home is deemed uninhabitable. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, described how she was assisted to repair her house through such a program: “They supported the

⁵⁶ *Regulation 22/2013* has provisions for temporary shelter only as well as some other forms of support. Article 12 states that migrant workers who have been exploited (and/or trafficked for labor exploitation) should be provided with social assistance at the entry point including clothing; food; health services; temporary shelter; psychosocial rehabilitation services; financial assistance; and/or assistance with the execution of a funeral and funeral expenses. MoSA (2013) *Regulation Regarding Repatriation of Migrant Workers and Problematic Indonesian Labor*, Number 22, Year 2013, articles 12-20.

⁵⁷ This housing initiative will provide one million houses in nine provinces (Jakarta, South Sumatra, North Sumatra, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, Central Kalimantan and South Sulawesi). It is intended for Civil Servants (PNS) and Low-Income Communities (MBR) such as fishermen and laborers. Prospective buyers may earn a maximum of 4 million IDR [364USD] per month.

renovation of the house. They provided us with the tools, woods, lay the ceramic floor and repaired the house”. Among our respondents, only this woman benefitted from this housing support.⁵⁸ In practice, such support would only be relevant when trafficking victims own their home or land, which many respondents did not. One respondent had built her home on state-owned land, which meant she was ineligible to benefit from such a program and, moreover, risked losing her home if the land was, at some stage, reclaimed.

Some respondents moved to the capital Jakarta and other cities to find work because they were unable to find regular employment in their home villages. This, however, meant paying for housing both in Jakarta and for their families at home, which consumed a large percentage of their income. Further, the cost of housing in Jakarta was often prohibitively expensive and a large portion of salary was spent on housing, preventing some trafficking victims from being able to save or send money home to their families.

For some trafficked persons “home” was not safe. Some trafficking victims faced problems, discrimination and violence in their living environments, which interfered with and undermined successful reintegration. In some situations, these were problems within the family and the home itself, including domestic violence, psychological abuse and family conflict. Fifteen (n=15) respondents (victims of both trafficking for sexual exploitation and labor) described suffering domestic violence at the hands of their intimate partners – seven before trafficking and eight after trafficking.⁵⁹ One woman, when asked what her life is like now, six years after she left trafficking, described a violent and frightening home environment for herself and her children:

[My husband] often hits me... Neighbors talk, they said I can get someone better than [him] but I never listen to that... I thought [he] can change, not be drunk like now... Now when he has money, he buys alcohol for himself... Just yesterday, he strangled me and spat on me. My children knew and they were screaming to stop it. [He] does not want to change. Of course we are tired of a life like this. I am often sick and now I suffer violence. I feel alone.

Family conflict – often multigenerational – also made home unsafe or uncomfortable for many trafficked persons, both men and women. One man, trafficked for labor, migrated to be able to build a home for his family and escape the verbal abuse that he suffered from his mother-in-law.⁶⁰ After trafficking, he and his wife lived with his parents and also suffered abuse from his mother who resented their presence in her home. He described a difficult and abusive home environment for himself, his wife and their young son and yet having no other place to live:

My mother would make a fuss if my boy watches the TV, like, “Buy your own TV” or something. She often tries to kick me out of the house. [...] It is my wife who becomes an easy target for my mother’s anger... For example if my wife throw yesterday’s food away because she thinks that it’s getting old, my mother would make a big fuss. If my wife mops the floor, my mother would be angry for whatever reason. It’s difficult.

⁵⁸ In some cases, this may be a function of the limited budget available for this program and the high level of need generally within the population. In 2014, the head of the Ministry of Housing (*Kemenpera*) stated that there were more than 7.9 million homes considered uninhabitable (RTLH – *Rumah Tidak Layak Huni*) in Indonesia and that number was expected to increase. Selasa (2014) ‘Rumah Tak Layak Huni 7,9 Juta Unit’, *SumutPos*, June 3. In other cases, trafficked persons (and service providers) did not know about this program or did not know how to access this support.

⁵⁹ There are likely more cases of domestic violence than were reported. While some respondents did not speak about this issue, we learned of other instances of domestic violence through participant observation in the community and interviews with family and friends.

⁶⁰ This case is also discussed in Section 5.1: Housing and accommodation before trafficking.

For some victims, the environment surrounding their homes was not safe or comfortable. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, spoke about discrimination within her neighborhood: “There were so many challenges [after trafficking], there’s some neighbors who bullied me and talked about me, that I’m a whore. [...] They called me a widow and discriminated against me as an ex-prostitute”. She also faced sexual harassment from some of her male neighbors, which make her feel unsafe and uncomfortable: “...I do not like to go out...I do not want to because I know what the men will say to me”.

Another woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, was discriminated against and abused by neighbors, although she had not told them about her trafficking exploitation. In this instance, the neighborhood was quite tense generally and there was much gossip and conflict among neighbors. When she started work as a domestic worker and returned home late from work, neighbors gossiped that she was a prostitute. Not only was she abused and harassed, but so too were her small children:

There are good and bad [neighbors]. The worst I never talk to them, just greetings. I never disturb them, never ask anything. Why they are jealous anyway? I have a difficult life too. They just don’t like me. [...] For example, they are throwing things at my children... [...] When I was washing clothes, they threw something at me, like gravel. [...] Adults [did this] and they teach children to do the same. [...] Some neighbors are good. They give me jobs, give us food, but most of them are bad. [...] They spread rumors so I would be cast out. Like yesterday when I was working, they spread the rumor that a prostitute lives here [and] will bring bad luck. [...] I had excrement in a plastic bag in front of my door. I do not know what the problem is. I never spent time with them, just greetings. I never talk about them. I do not know why they are so cruel to me.

One woman, trafficked for prostitution, described an attempted rape by a neighbor who forced his way into her home. She narrowly escaped, due to the intervention of a friend: “One day there was a man who stayed around my house, who came to my house and asked me to have sex and tried to rape me. Maybe he thought that I worked at a cafe so I would serve him. Fortunately, it did not happen because a friend of mine lived next door”.

Women living on their own (either divorced or widowed) often experienced homes and surroundings that were not safe or comfortable. One divorced woman living in her home village with her children described being harassed by men in her community who sent her text messages or made flirtatious comments to her, which made her feel unsafe. This had the additional complication of creating tension with women in the community who were concerned that she would “steal” their husbands. She described the gossip about her in the community: “[They say] mostly negative things..., either in the program that I manage or in my life because I am a single parent. The problem is that I don’t like other people’s wives to get jealous of me. [...] I do not have any such intentions but other people [gossip]... That is why I cannot stand staying at home”.

In some instances, discrimination and stigma within the community led to people feeling uncomfortable at home and, in some situations, moving to live elsewhere. One man, trafficked for labor, returned home to his very ill wife who died shortly thereafter. After her death, he faced stigma and blame from his neighbors, who accused him of leaving home to pursue his own interests and not caring for his wife and children. Some neighbors, he explained, spread rumors, including that he had married another woman while he was abroad: “They had negative thoughts like I got married again. Some considered that I was dead... Neighbors had many wild thoughts about me”. This led him, in the long run, to leave the community and, even today, he seldom visits his home village. When he does go home he often goes in the evening when there are less people about and so he is less visible and less exposed to censure.

Some respondents also did not feel safe or comfortable at home because of threats and intimidation from brokers and recruitment agents who knew where they lived. In some instances, these brokers lived in or around the victim's home community.⁶¹



5.4 Summary

A safe and affordable place to live was as essential foundation for recovery in the immediate aftermath of trafficking and toward reintegration in the longer-term. And yet a place to live was something that many trafficked persons lacked – both before and after trafficking. Needing a place to live was a primary driver in many victims' decision to migrate. For some trafficked persons having a place to live was about the physical act of having a home. For others it was about living independently and having greater control over their lives. Most trafficking victims returned with little or no money and were unable to build or renovate a home. Many lived in inadequate or substandard conditions; others were obliged to live with family members. Some trafficking victims had no place to live, having used their land or house as collateral when migrating or to cover family living expenses while trafficked. Others did not have a place to live after trafficking because their families did not accept them home.

Some trafficked persons, over time, found or created a place to live, which contributed to their overall well-being. However, many trafficking victims continued to face problems with housing during reintegration. Some respondents moved to the capital Jakarta or other cities because they were unable to find regular employment at home, which meant paying for housing in two locations. For some trafficked persons "home" was not safe or comfortable due to discrimination and violence in their home and community environment.

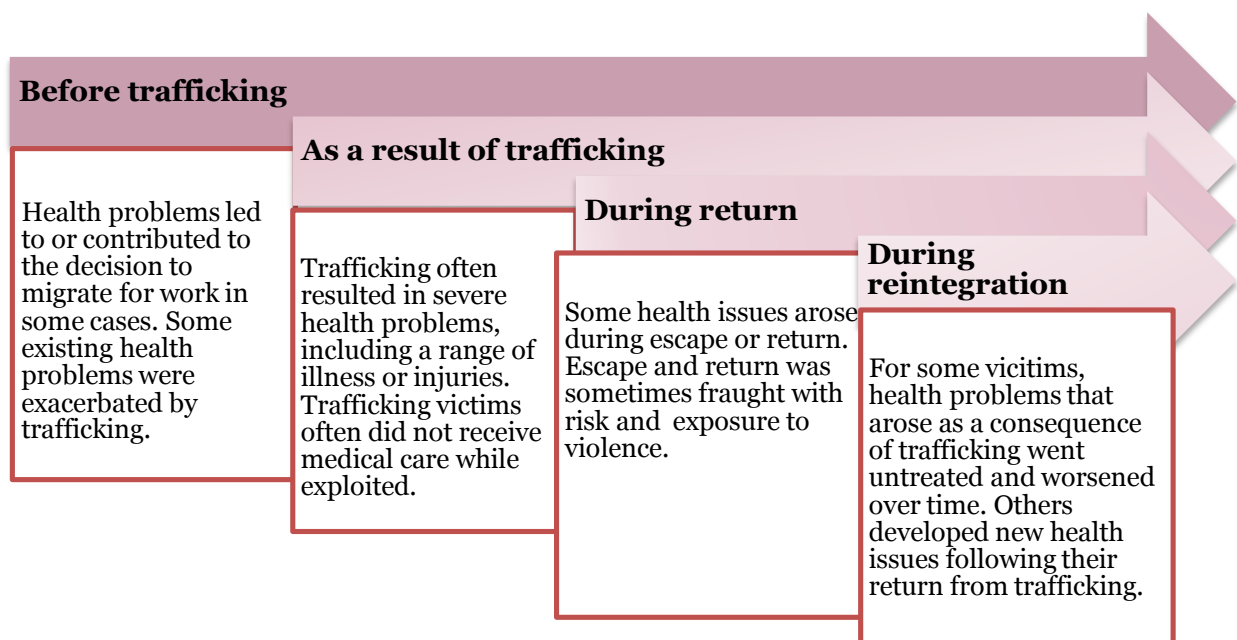
⁶¹ Please see Section 10: Protection, safety and security, for more details about safety and security issues faced by victims during reintegration.



6. Health situation and physical well-being

Being physically well was a key factor in trafficked persons' ability to recover and reintegrate after trafficking. By contrast, being physically unwell negatively impacted many aspects of victims' lives and, in many situations, impeded or undermined reintegration. Being unhealthy directly and deeply informed trafficked persons' senses of well-being and led, in some cases, to stress, anxiety and even depression.

Diagram #12. Health and well-being needs over time



Trafficked persons, regardless of the form of exploitation, described a raft of health issues and medical needs. Many health problems were a direct result of trafficking – a consequence of poor living conditions, inadequate food and water, dangerous and hazardous working conditions, violence and abuse and lack of medical care while trafficked.⁶² Trafficked persons also described medical needs that were not directly related to trafficking. Some health issues were pre-existing; others had arisen since their return home and were not caused by or specifically linked to their exploitation.

⁶² This is consistent with previous research on the health impacts of trafficking on victims. Please see, for example, Beyrer, Chris and Julie Stachowiak (2004) 'Health Consequences of Trafficking of Women and Girls in Southeast Asia', *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10(105); Zimmerman, et al. (2014) *Health and human trafficking in the Greater Mekong Subregion. Findings from a survey of men, women and children in Cambodia, Thailand and Viet Nam*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration and London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine; and Zimmerman, Cathy, Mazeda Hossain and Charlotte Watts (2011) 'Human trafficking and health: A conceptual model to inform policy, intervention and research', *Social Science & Medicine* 73(2).



6.1 Health situation before trafficking

In a few instances, trafficking victims had health problems before they migrated, which led to (or at least contributed to) the decision to migrate for work. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker within Asia, described being diagnosed with an illness, which required surgery that she could not afford with her salary working at the local factory. This led her to migrate in an attempt to earn money for her medical treatment: “During my work in the factory, I always got sick, usually lost consciousness. The doctor diagnosed that I had a liver infection. He said that I must have surgery. I knew that the cost was 90 million IDR [8,182USD]. I couldn’t afford that...”.

In other instances, illness led to vulnerabilities that may have contributed to the individual’s trafficking. One woman explained how she was sick for nearly eleven years and unable to work, which prevented her son from being able to attend school:

He wanted to go to school. But we did not have the money to send him to school. And I was sick, for eleven years... my skin was shedding, like snake, my hair was falling [out]... every recurrence, it would last one and a half or two years...I had a rash and then puss came out of it. I got some blisters like chicken pox. When they dried, the skin would peel off. My fingernails fell off.

She explained that she eventually accepted a job in a restaurant, which led her to be trafficked for sexual exploitation: “I went to [that province] because my husband was not working, yet we had to pay rent and buy food. We also had many children who needed to go to school. So I decided to go to [that province] instead of staying home, not doing anything. It was hard for me to get a job”.



A man receives medical care at a clinic in a village in West Java. All Indonesian citizens are entitled to healthcare under the law. Photo: Peter Biro.

In some cases, it was health issues of family members (children, spouses, parents) that preceded trafficking.⁶³ The need to pay for medical care or medicine was a primary driver in the decision to migrate for some trafficking victims. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, described how her husband had been ill and unable to work, which led her to migrate abroad: “He was sick for six months. After he recovered, he could not run his business because we don’t have the capital. So I thought about helping him to earn money to get capital. That’s my plan. However, my plan did not happen”. Another woman migrated for domestic work because of her son’s illness and the need to pay his medical expenses, as the son explained: “She left again for around two years... Then because I was sick at that time, my mother needed some money. She owed some money then [for medical care] then she left again”. Another woman sought work while still a girl (and ended up trafficked for sexual exploitation) to be able to care for her mother who had advanced brain cancer: “At that time, I was taking care of my mom who was sick. She had stage four brain cancer. I was taking care of her in hospital. I was taking care of everything”.



6.2 Health issues as a result of trafficking

Trafficking victims commonly developed health problems while trafficked. Many victims described arriving home unhealthy and in poor condition, often to the shock and dismay of family members. One woman described returning home so ill that the flight attendant seemed to recognize that she had been exploited: “When I was on the way to go home, on the airplane the stewardess asked about my condition, ‘What’s wrong with you? Did your employer torture you?’ She gave me a blanket, since I had such chills and could not sleep”. Her son described how she was so ill that she needed to be carried through the airport by a security officer and how he barely recognized her when he saw her:

When she returned from [the Middle East], she was sick. At that time from the airport she was being carried by the security guard. Even I, when she returned home, [thought]: “who is that person?” No, [I did not recognize her] because she lost a lot of her weight. She looked so different. [I thought], “Who is this person?” The difference was a lot. She was skinny, even more, she was scrawny.

Health problems were caused by different factors including poor living conditions, inadequate food and water, dangerous and hazardous working conditions, violence and abuse and lack of medical care while trafficked.

Poor living conditions; inadequate food and water

Living conditions for most trafficked persons were inadequate and substandard. Trafficking victims lived in unhygienic and sometimes deplorable conditions for months and even years. Living quarters for most trafficked persons, regardless of form of exploitation, were attached to the workplace, limiting options for free movement and contact with others.

Women trafficked as domestic workers often lived in small rooms within their employers’ houses, sometimes with other domestic workers or household staff. They were commonly prevented from leaving household premises and were often locked in these small rooms when not working.

Similarly, women trafficked for sexual exploitation described very poor living conditions, often in rooms attached to the brothels and cafés where they were forced to work. These rooms were frequently crowded, unsanitary and unsafe, as one woman described: “It was dirty and shabby. It was like a slum”.

⁶³ Please see Section 13: Family issues & needs for further discussion of the assistance needs of victims’ family members.

Men trafficked for construction and plantation work generally lived at the worksite and reported substandard living conditions. Sleeping quarters were crowded, uncomfortable and often did not contain beds. Living conditions on fishing vessels were unhygienic and unhealthy, with fishers sharing the same beds and bedclothes with other fishers and moving only within very limited space. Limited access to bathing water onboard vessels was another issue, as one man described: “We did not take a bath. We could not”. Some fishermen were forced to bathe in saltwater, which aggravated existing injuries and/or caused skin problems. One man was severely burned while working on a fishing vessel and lack of fresh water meant that he was unable to care for his wound: “We took a bath with sea water, not fresh water, so my wounds would not heal quickly”.

Box #1. Living conditions while trafficked

This is the worst. When I was sleeping, I was locked from the outside. At that time I had a headache but I could not take a pill. I could not take the medicine because the medicine cabinet was put outside the room, above the refrigerator. I cried and cried. There was nothing to drink as well, only water in the shower. So inhumane. I don't know why they treated me like a prisoner. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East)*

[The worksite] was a house that was still under construction. We were taken there directly. That's where we slept. We were surprised because the agreement was we would sleep at a hotel. We slept on the floor with some cardboard that we found ourselves. [...] We barely had enough money to buy food. [...] We barely had enough to eat. We were always hungry, let alone having coffee in the morning, which we craved. *(Man trafficked for construction in Malaysia)*

I slept outside in the living room. Sometimes the room was not locked by the female employer. I asked, “Can you give me the key to the room?” She said, “You do not have any belongings, why should I give you a key?” *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East)*

We slept in an improper place. I slept in a hole in front of the diesel fuel. I slept outside, and at that time the weather was not good, snow was falling, ice, rainy. I was extremely cold. I used a tent as a blanket because the vessel was so full and there was no room anymore. I slept in the hole with other friends. Eating and drinking was also there [in the hole]. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

...the bed was inadequate. It was only a tiny thing put on there. The diameter was not even one square meter... the size only fit our body for sleep. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

One shed was like a dormitory with many rooms. The tenants were not just from my group, but also from other groups. Some of them had been there a long time. There was no light back then... [There were] no beds, just mats, five people in one room. *(Man trafficked for work on a palm oil plantation)*

They made a place for us to stay... the factory located at the bottom of the hill, the mess hall placed on top of it. We had to stay there for weeks ...it was uncomfortable... one room for 17 people... we only used a mat for sleeping. *(Man trafficked for work in a factory in Malaysia)*

There was no room. I slept in the living room under the dinner table... Sometimes I fell asleep in the bathroom while I washed the clothes. I worked. I did not sleep. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East)*

Regardless of the form of exploitation, trafficking victims generally received poor quality and insufficient food and, in some cases, limited access to drinking water. One man, trafficked for labor, described his parents' shock when they saw him upon his return from having been trafficked abroad: "I was so skinny when I returned. My parents cried. [...] Yes, my parents and wife cried after I was back from [abroad], super skinny". A number of women exploited as domestic workers described being inadequately fed and often going hungry. One woman described literally being starved by her employer, forced to eat kitchen garbage to abate her hunger. This was also a common complaint among men trafficked on fishing boats who described generally poor quality food, an inadequate supply of food and being forced to eat foods like pork which are forbidden (*haram*) in Islam. Women forced into prostitution often had food withheld if they did not earn enough money or serve enough clients, according to their "employer"/controller.

Box #2. Inadequate and poor quality food and water

I was starving. I suffered inner torment. My employer was really stingy. I took food from the trash because I was really hungry. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East*)

I was fed once a day and only with a rotten *tempeh* [fermented soya bean cake]. [It was] just like being in jail. If we wanted to have food, we had to be booked [by a client]. (*Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation*)

[The food was] far from nutritious. It was really bad. I ate porridge in the morning. It was like rice with a lot of water in it. It tasted weird. It took its toll on my body in just one week of eating that. It wasn't rare also that we had to eat pork [...] Once I threw away a piece of pork meat and the chef caught me in the act. He reported that to the captain and the captain slapped me [...] So eventually I had no choice but to eat it even though I didn't want to. I couldn't dwell on what was *halal* and *haram* since we need to eat a lot. Otherwise we would not be able to do all the hard work. (*Man trafficked for fishing*)

Often times we drank sea water since there was no fresh water onboard. We didn't have the machine for making fresh water since we were on a small ship. Usually only the big ship had [this machine]. (*Man trafficked for fishing*)

The water was untreated. It was like water from the dirt. It was not mineral water or bottled water so we drank that kind of water. [...] The quality of the food was very poor and the food was not enough. (*Man trafficked for fishing*)

They gave us food [in the factory] but it didn't taste good... so I often ate instant noodles [instead]... we used our salary to buy clothes and food. (*Man trafficked for work in a factory*)

I bought [food] by myself...[but] it was considered as a debt. (*Man trafficked for work on a palm oil plantation*)

I could only eat once a day, only dinner. That is why I got sick. [...] I got really sick and I threw up a lot. [...] I could not stop vomiting and I became extremely thin. [...] My body was [trembling], [I was] cold all of the time. (*Woman trafficked for domestic work*)

Ten crates of drinks must be sold in one night. If we could sell only five [crates], then we would not get any food. (*Woman trafficked at age 13 for sexual exploitation*)

If I was thirsty, I [was not allowed] drinking water. I could only drink water from the tap... I drank that water and the food was only *tempeh* [fermented soya bean cake] and a

little rice... My body was thin when I came home. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

We ate improperly. We Indonesians do not eat pork but pork was the main dish... After they finished cooking pork, they cooked fish or chicken or vegetables using the same cooking oil. When they cooked soup, there was pork in it. Whatever they were cooking, they put pork in it. We did not have a choice. We ate it or we did not get any meals. If we did not eat, we would not have energy to do the work and we would be sick. At first we did not know that it was pork but after some time we found out. We ate pork not deliberately. [...] For six months I never tasted hot water except soup, because they did not serve us hot water. There was a dispenser with a heater in the Captain's room and in the Chinese crew's room. We could not have hot water or make coffee. If we tried to steal it, they hit us. Even if we asked for the water, we would be hit. For six months I only drank raw water that we pumped ourselves. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

They did provide food but only in the mornings and evenings. Even then, it would only be provided when we were in a gathering and when we have the courage to ask for our food from our foreman. If we didn't, then we were not given. So we had to go to the foreman and request, "Where is our meal?" Only then would he give out our share. *(Man trafficked for work on a palm oil plantation)*

Working conditions; occupational health and safety

Without exception, trafficking victims (both male and female) were overworked, often inhumanely so. Domestic workers reported working between 14 to 23 hours per day, with almost half of the domestic workers interviewed forced to work more than 20 hours each day. Women and girls trafficked for prostitution typically worked from the evening (6pm or 7pm) until the very early morning (2am to 4am). Men trafficked on fishing boats worked hours ranging from ten to 24 hours each day, with about one third forced to work more than 20 hours each day. Men trafficked for other forms of labor – e.g. palm oil plantations, factory work, construction – commonly reported working shifts of twelve-hours, with one man working up to 20 hours each day in a factory.

Rest was limited and often in brief intervals with regular interruptions, meaning that many trafficked persons never had proper sleep while trafficked. Most trafficking victims did not have any holidays or days off.

Box #3. Working conditions while trafficked

...around 2am the bell rang. That meant we had to wake up and cast the fishing lines. After that was finished around 6am or 7am we rested. Later at 12pm we were woken up to pull the fishing lines. Mostly pulling was manually done. To pull the fish was also manually done. Everything was done manually, only the hauler to roll the [main cable fishing line] was a machine. It was dangerous too. When we pulled the fish manually, they were still alive, especially a very large shark. We pulled with our hands. We had to be strong or else the fish would pull us. Tuna fish were the most dangerous. When they came up and we didn't pull, we would get carried away. [...] There weren't any [days off]. A day off was a possibility when we transferred the fish. Sometimes that was a day off. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I worked in two houses. I asked permission to leave. They did not give me permission. My weight dropped drastically, from 63kg [140lbs] to only 49kg or 50kg [110lbs] when I arrived home. [...] I worked overtime and there were so many things to do. My employer always watched me and said that I could not sleep. I picked up the broom and start to sweep the yard. But it was 1am, after midnight, and then I had to prepare the food. At dawn prayer I could take a rest but I had to get up again in the morning to clean the

house. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I worked [in the factory] for twelve hours, 7am until 7pm, and then overtime until 10pm. [...] We didn't get any days off and we worked until noon on Friday. We worked for twelve hours and took a break for 20 minutes. When we worked, we kept silent otherwise our supervisor would get mad at us, like animals. *(Man trafficked for factory work in Malaysia)*

I worked from 8pm sometimes until 1am. When there was a guest during the day, I also worked. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

I woke up at 5am and prayed first and then did the laundry, cleaned the house and prepared breakfast at 8am. After breakfast I laundered the clothes and ironed. I made lunch at 12pm and waited for the boss to come home at 2pm... If they finished at 3pm I washed the dishes... I cleaned up again at 6pm and ironed clothes again until 8pm. Then I took care of the grandchild until they slept. Then I made dinner. [...] I slept at 2am. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East)*

I slept at 2am and only slept for two hours. I wept... When doing the dishes, I was told not to make any noise, although when spoons were placed on their plate, surely they would make sounds. But the family talked too much. The father slept at 4am. I was not allowed to sleep before he went to bed. I often slept at 4am so I had headaches. *(Woman trafficked in the Middle East for domestic work)*

I worked really hard. I kept silent in public. I worked at night and I kept working until morning came. Then in the evening I went to sleep and had some food. When I woke up, I worked again and again. *(Woman trafficked at age 13 for sexual exploitation)*

Indonesian trafficking victims were not provided with materials or equipment needed for their work, including appropriate work clothes and protective equipment. Domestic workers commonly suffered injuries from exposure to detergents and cleaning agents. Some domestic workers suffered injuries from domestic accidents. One woman was severely burned in a fire while she was cooking a meal for her employer and her family.

Some women trafficked into prostitution were forced to consume drugs and alcohol while trafficked, which later led to substance abuse and addiction after trafficking ended. They did not generally have access to condoms or other means of protection during sexual intercourse with clients.

Men trafficked on fishing boats seldom had any protective equipment or suitable clothing in spite of working in hazardous conditions and intense climates. Men working on plantations and in factories also lacked protective equipment and were exposed to workplace injury.

Box #4. Occupational health and safety while trafficked

There were gloves but they weren't distributed everyday so we had to maintain ours carefully. It was difficult to ask for a new pair. Our work safety wasn't guaranteed. Medication wasn't guaranteed since there were no medicines. When we asked at times we weren't given any. We asked for gloves for our own safety but we weren't given those as well. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

Someone [at my current work] asked me if I am tired. I said I used to work 20 hours straight. I worked in the winter. It is nothing [to work] here. It was ten times colder [working on a fishing boat]. I used three sets of clothes and a jacket and I was still cold. I got hit by waves. I was at the end of vessel standing there. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

We were in a section [of the factory] that dealt with heavy lifting. It was dangerous. The tools that we used for checking were so sharp, like a samurai sword. We bled spontaneously if our hands got scratched slightly. It was so sharp and dangerous. If we got just a bit sloppy, our hands bled. [...] The boss did not care. What was important was that I had to work fast. So I was forced to continue until my hands were swollen. It took three months for my hands to heal after I was sent home. My hands were exposed to toxic chemicals. It hurts when I do this with my hands (moving his hands). I could not sleep for a month because of the pain. *(Man trafficked for factory work)*

No, never [did we receive special clothing]. It was just regular clothing...No [special glasses]. No noise protector, no helmet, we just wore our own shoes and were never given anything to wear. Regular gloves. No mask. My hands got in contact with some toxic chemicals from wet painted metals... It got through the pores. When we got our health checked, there were side effects due to the toxic chemicals. *(Man trafficked for factory work)*

...lots [of accidents] – cases of broken legs, loss of an eye, pierced by metal, hot liquid lead running down a thigh. The last one happened to my friend... It was treated when we saw him. He said it was healing but it later turned out [the leg] got amputated. There were many cases of accidents. *(Man trafficked for factory work)*

They didn't give us a uniform. They only gave us two shirts, with no shoes. As you know it's dangerous work so we need to be equipped with safety clothes. I worked there for at least six years and there was one person that died each year. [...] Sometimes we got treatment outside. I broke my leg because of an accident. [...] Yes, accidents happened almost everyday. We lost our fingers there. A lot of workers died there. My female co-worker... died when she picked up some materials and the forklift hit her. Her eyes popped out when she died. [...] There were no safety clothes like gloves or anything. We bought it ourselves. [...] I can't hear really well because back then I did not wear earplugs, mask and gloves. I am like that because we did not wear a helmet or hat. They didn't prioritize work safety. *(Man trafficked for factory work)*

When we pulled the rope the boat is moving. That made the job even harder... The skin on our hands, because of the friction with the rope, was torn off, resulting in loose flaps of skin on our fingers. Sometime when we woke up we couldn't even move our fingers because of that. One time my thumb was torn off this big (showing the injury).... There were two worms inside the wound... The bones of my fingers were visible but I still had to work. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

If someone lends me money, I want to have treatment in the hospital... I went to the doctor [here in Indonesia] a few times. [In Saudi Arabia] I had to wash dishes with chemical stuff (bleach) and they got angry if I did not use it. So my hands were hurt and they had redness. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

The clients did not use condoms and I did not understand because I [was] just a kid so I did not understand... I kept the pain to myself. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

Violence and abuse while trafficked

Violence and abuse were commonplace for the vast majority of trafficking victims interviewed for this study. This included physical, psychological and sexual violence, inflicted on male and female victims. In many cases, trafficking victims suffered multiple forms of violence over the course of their exploitation, sometimes at the hands of more than one person. For example, it was not uncommon for domestic workers to be abused by

various family members in the houses where they were employed and sometimes, in addition, by recruitment agency staff. Women trafficked into prostitution often suffered violence at the hands of pimps/madams, security guards, police and clients.

Physical violence was used prolifically against male and female trafficking victims, for all forms of exploitation. It was used as a means of control and intimidation, as well as a form of punishment. It was often very severe and cruel in nature.

Box #5. The use of physical violence – by “employers”/exploiters, controllers, job agents

I worked so hard there with strict discipline. If we were late by only a minute, we were beaten up. They beat us using a baseball bat. [...] I was beaten up using stick. [...] It could be [a beating until we were bloody]. That’s why no one could stand it any longer. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I was beaten with high heels, until I was bleeding [from my head] ... I was tortured with a cable and broom until the stick was broken... the boss woke me up and flushed my eyes with soap, it was Clorox, a chemical substance. I went directly to bathroom; I could not see anything. Even though I was blind, the boss did not believe it and told me to work and work all the time. She did not send me back directly. I was told to work so I broke everything [because I could not see], then they beat me again. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

There was a woman who was tortured by a client until her ear could not hear [...]. There was an incident to another woman. Her [vagina] was sliced [by the trafficker] ... She was bleeding. I was the one who cleaned her. I cried, I hugged her. She said: “I want to go home. I remember my children. I don’t want to be sold”. [...] Every time there was someone who wanted to book her, she didn’t want to. She was tortured until her body was bluish. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

They hit me with a hot iron if I did not want to [serve clients]. [...] The bodyguards put it in the stove first. They said if I did not want to serve more, this is the torture. [...] ... they did it to my hand. [...] The place was so strict. They tortured us if we did not want to serve clients. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation as a girl)*

[My female employer] often tortured me. [She] beat my head with a beer bottle, until the bottle was broken. My blood was everywhere. She often beat me while her husband was not at home. I wanted to report to her husband, however, she threatened me and made me scared. She said, “If you report to my husband, then I will kill you!” She often beat me while asking me to work. One time, I made a mistake because I was so tired and fell asleep at 8pm on the stairs with a broom in my hand. She was so angry and tortured me, undressing me and beating me with a white cable. They asked me to crawl on the floor and my back was beaten so hard with the big white cable... It’s not really painful anymore but there are so many scars on my body – on my neck, my back, my ears, my lips. I was beaten, ironed, beaten. My tooth as also broken after being beaten with a big glass. *(Woman trafficked as a domestic worker)*

Working conditions were hard. Yes it was hard... [If we were] working slowly we normally got hit with a hammer. [...] The one who tortured us, they called him the foreman. *(Man trafficked onto a palm oil plantation)*

I told my employer that I wanted to go home. They brought me to the agency office. One of the staff slapped me. My employer interrogated me and she said bad thing to the agency staff. [...] I was slapped by the agency staff. He asked me, “Why did you want to

work here, if you want to return home?”. Then I answered in Arabic, “Are you a Muslim or not? If you are a Muslim, don’t judge me like this. You have to ask me what the real problem was!” Then I explained what the problem was and why I wanted to go home. *(Woman trafficked as a domestic worker)*

Many people were beaten up by the pimp..., the person might be beaten up by the pimp until the person was unconscious, bruised... The pimp sold me to a man but I did not want it and then I was beaten... If I did not want to go with the man, I would be beaten. I wanted to report to police but I was threatened to be killed. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

...at sundown I was awoken and was told to wear a mini dress. I didn’t want to so I protested. I was told that I was going to work in a restaurant. [I asked], “Why was it like this? [She said], “Don’t ask too many questions!” Apparently when I said that to the madam... when we were talking, the bodyguard came. I didn’t want to wear that dress so I was beaten and locked up in the bathroom. I was not fed that night until the next sundown, I was let out again and was asked to wear that dress again. I was beaten again because I didn’t want to. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

[The madam] hit me with wood... she hit me and said “Wake up, you said you want to search for clients”... I felt sad because she was my relative but she did that to me. *(Woman trafficked at age 13 for sexual exploitation)*

The job agent was the one who was violent to me. I was beaten... because I deliberately asked to return home. [He beat me] in the temple area... It was a hard beating... I fought back. I told my employer that I didn’t have the strength to work there because I was sick. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

Sexual violence was also inflicted prolifically against trafficked persons,⁶⁴ most commonly against women and girls. Of 59 female respondents, 27 reported suffering sexual violence and rape while trafficked. This included women trafficked for domestic work (n=12) and women trafficked for prostitution (n=15).

Women exploited for domestic work were often sexually harassed or raped by employers. One woman described being raped by her employer’s son but being too afraid to tell her boss for fear of what he might do as revenge against her: “The son of the boss was fierce. He wanted to rape me a few times. He tore off my clothes but I did not tell my boss because I did not want him to be angrier. I was hit by the son of my boss. He is big and I was small.” Some trafficked domestic workers were also raped by recruiters, brokers and agency staff at various stages of recruitment or work placement. One woman was raped by her employer, the job agent and the security guard at the placement agency: “I was raped by my male boss... and in the [job] agency too... I was alone with the security guard in the agency and it happened again...”

⁶⁴ Sexual violence, also called sexual assault, refers to sexual contact or behavior that occurs without explicit consent of the victim. Rape, which is penetration of the victim’s body, is a form of sexual violence. Sexual violence may also refer to other forms of sexual assault, such as sexual harassment, forcing a victim to perform sexual acts, fondling and/or unwanted sexual touching, sexual activity with a minor or incest. Force does not always refer to physical pressure, as perpetrators of sexual violence may also use emotional coercion, psychological violence, intimidation or manipulation to commit the acts of sexual violence. See RAINN (2009) ‘Types of Sexual Violence’, *Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network*. Available at <https://rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault>.

Some trafficked men also suffered sexual violence while trafficked.⁶⁵ One man, trafficked for fishing, described being sexually abused by senior staff on his vessel. Another man described sexual abuse against others on the vessel where he was trafficked.⁶⁶ And more than one service provider described assisting men who had suffered sexual violence on fishing vessels. In addition, a number of men reported seeing or knowing about sexual violence perpetrated against other men on their vessels or on other vessels. Men trafficked for other forms of labor (factory work, construction, plantation) did not report suffering or witnessing sexual violence while trafficked. However, the perpetration of sexual violence against males may be higher than reported as men may be particularly reluctant to report this form of violence.⁶⁷

Box #6. Sexual violence while trafficked

I was raped by two people in a car... They raped me inside the car and after that they threw me out onto the highway. (*Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation who was raped by clients*)

[The man who offered me a job] was drunk. I asked “You said you will give me a job. I really need it”. He said, “Wait for the boss”. Maybe because he was drunk, he grabbed me, took me to a room, raped me. [...] I was locked up in that house for two months... I was locked up, rarely ate and I defecated in a plastic bag. I could not go out... He gave me a plastic bag and water, as long as I did not get out. I screamed but nobody heard me because the houses were far away. (*Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation in Indonesia who was raped by her pimp*)

[A male friend] knew my employer was not [at home]. I was alone so he tried to push [into the house] and finally he made it. He closed the door... I fought back. I fought him. I had to break all the three hand-phone chargers... I used the charger to hit him [but he raped me inside the house]. (*A woman trafficked in the Middle East for domestic work who became pregnant as a result of the rape and was imprisoned for adultery*)

⁶⁵ Sexual violence against women and girls can result in a range of physical injuries (genital and non-genital) and even, in extreme cases, death. The health effects of sexual violence against women and girls include: genital injuries (tears, bruising, abrasions, redness, swelling); unwanted pregnancy; unsafe abortion; sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/AIDS); sexual dysfunction; infertility; pelvic pain; pelvic inflammatory disease; and urinary tract infections. See WHO (2003) *Guidelines for medico-legal care for victims of sexual violence*. Geneva: World Health Organization. See also Oram et al. (2012) ‘Prevalence and Risk of Violence and the Physical, Mental, and Sexual Health Problems Associated with Human Trafficking: Systematic Review’, *PLOS Medicine* 9(5).

⁶⁶ Sexual violence against men and boys can also result in any number of serious (long-term) health effects including: ruptures of the rectum; damage to the penis and testicles; penile/testicular/anal/rectal pain; genital infections; abscesses; sexually transmitted infections (including HIV/AIDS); chronic pain (in the head, back, stomach, joints, pelvis or heart); problems urinating or defecating; high blood pressure; loss of appetite and weight; exhaustion; heart palpitations; high blood pressure; weakness; sleeplessness; and sexual dysfunction (including impotence and premature ejaculation). See Russell et al. (2011) *Care and Support of Male Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence*. South Africa: Sexual Violence Research Initiative.

⁶⁷ In a study of Cambodian fishers trafficked to South Africa, none of the men reported experiencing or witnessing sexual abuse on fishing vessels while exploited. However, service providers in Cambodia reported assisting some male victims who had been sexually assaulted while trafficked for fishing. Disclosure of such incidents may be inhibited by social perceptions that men cannot be raped or men’s own fear of stigma, discrimination and blame should they report such incidents. Please see Surtees, R. (2014) *In African waters. The trafficking of Cambodian fishers in South Africa*. Geneva: IOM and Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 102. Sexual violence has been documented among trafficked fishers in other studies. Please see Stringer et al. (2013) ‘Not in New Zealand’s waters, surely? Labour and human rights abuses aboard foreign fishing vessels’, *Journal of Economic Geography*. In addition, sexual violence against males has been documented in other trafficking settings, including in factories and on farms. See Global Freedom Center (n.d.) *Overlooked: Sexual Violence in Labor Trafficking*. California: Global Freedom Center; and Kiss et al. (2015) ‘Health of men, women, and children in post-trafficking services in Cambodia, Thailand, and Vietnam: an observational cross-sectional study’, *Lancet Global Health*.

The husband of my employer touched me [on my body]... At first he was kind but after four months he touched me here and there. I jumped off of the stairs. I did not want him to touch me anymore. I almost fell from the stairs. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work who was raped by her employer)*

My employer's elder brother was already naked on top of my belly, not wearing anything. I was sleeping and tired... I wanted to scream but he put his hand over my mouth, [saying] "Don't say anything to anybody"... the next morning I told my employer. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East who was raped by her employer's brother)*

I was raped by my male boss... and in the [job] agency too... I was alone with the security guard in the agency and it happened again... For about six month or seven month, it happened with male boss. [...] It was awful... *Alhamdulillah* [thank God], I always had menstruation even when my boss did that to me. [...] Four times with the boss, twice in the agency and the security staff wanted to do it again before I returned but I told the agent and they fired him so he did not do it again to others. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work who suffered multiple rapes)*

There was this crazy guy, the ship's engineer. He liked to pluck pubic hairs... I was stripped naked by him and then he plucked my pubic hair. [...] Perhaps he was abnormal, I don't know. That did not happen only to me but to others around as well. [...] It was more than hurt. [...] [He plucked] with his hand, I called him a crazy guy, uncommon craziness, that was unnatural. *(Man trafficked for fishing who was sexually abused)*

I heard about [sexual violence] when I gathered with crews from other countries and other vessels, but not with Indonesians. [...] Sometimes there were only five Indonesians in one vessel and there were ten to 15 [of another nationality] so they treated the Indonesians like slaves. They told them to do anything, sometimes eat their own feces or they would throw him to the sea. *(Man trafficked for fishing who witnessed sexual abuse)*

I don't know how much he got from selling me. But the man said he gave the money to my friend. I was shocked and said I didn't want any of that, I was still a virgin. Then he said it's good that I was still a virgin. He took me to a hotel. I don't know where it was. It was underground so no one could hear me if I screamed. Then they tied me and raped me. I cried and they left me. That money was given to my friends. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation who was raped by a client)*

Lack of medical care while trafficked

Few trafficked persons had access to medical care while trafficked, even when seriously injured or ill. This was especially common on isolated work sites such as on fishing boats, in homes for domestic work and on plantations. On fishing boats there were no medical personnel nor were senior staff like captains trained to provide even the most basic first aid. Most men used medicine that they brought from home or borrowed from other fishers. Those who did not have medicine risked receiving inappropriate, even dangerous, medicine from the captain. Men trafficked for labor on plantations were unable to go to a doctor when needed. Women in domestic work also had only limited access to medical care and many illnesses and injuries, often very serious, were left untreated until they returned home. Those who did receive medical care did not receive adequate medical care to address their health problems.

Box #7. Limited or no medical care while trafficked

...the medicine was given carelessly and was given not in accordance with the illness. When you got diarrhea, the medicine given was for headaches. The captain didn't know anything about medicine... When you fell ill you were still told to work. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

... I never went to a doctor [when I got sick]... There was no one who would take me to the doctor. We didn't know where to go and also there was no money. *(Man trafficked on a palm oil plantation)*

...usually all of us would request the medicines from the captain. He gave improper medicines though [...] If we had headaches, we were given rheumatic medicines or for diarrhea. [...] Usually if we got wounds, for example, like our hands were grazed by a knife or other things, it would be left as it was... *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

Yes, they had [medicine], but we did not know what it was. It was Chinese medicine. My friend took it and he got worse. [...] He was injured by the fishing equipment. [...] The wound was infected because he got the wrong medicine. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

My hands were swollen and hardened but I got the answer that I couldn't go see a doctor because it was expensive. We paid the health insurance so why couldn't we get treatment. Not until I came home did I get treated on my own. *(Man trafficked to a factory)*

I worked overtime and there were so many things to do. My employer always watched me and said that I could not sleep... I was so sick. I only took Panadol medicine and a traditional rub... Then my employer took me to the hospital. They checked my blood and gave me medicine for a month. But I did not recover. It was getting worse after three months. They forced me to work.... *(Woman trafficked as a domestic worker in the Middle East who recently died)*

When I was about to go home, I got sick for two days. But I was not being taken care of at all. [The agency in the destination country] did not provide any medicine whatsoever. I had a friend there... an elderly person who had some pain in the hips because the agent kicked her. There was also no medicine given as well... The point is that the agency had no heart at all. *(Woman trafficked in Malaysia for domestic work)*

[My friend] got hit by a roller that fell down. His toe was wounded badly. After some months, the wound began to rot. But he stayed on the boat. There was nothing to do. There is an accident and someone died because of it. We could not go anywhere. We could only wait for the collecting ship to come to us. Only then would the injured be moved to be treated... When an accident happened, we could not be taken directly to land. The boat would need a month to reach the land. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

[My] friend got sick. We were so sad. He could not eat or drink. He got really sick. Fortunately, some people were nice enough to cover for him. The supervisor and captain were looking for me. We told them that he was working somewhere else, instead of sleeping. He did not have energy to work. The captain and supervisor checked his room. Some of my friends already moved him to the stockroom. If the captain found out that he was sleeping, he would drag him out to work. The captain finally checked every room, and found him. He dragged him to his workstation and made him work. He could not stand, so he worked sitting, while the captain was yelling at him... He had lung problems. He was hemorrhaging. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*



6.3 Health issues during escape and return

In some instances, health issues arose during escape or return. Escape was sometimes fraught with risk and some trafficked persons were exposed to violence during this period. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, escaped her exploiters only to narrowly escape being raped, but not before being physically attacked. Some women experienced sexual violence following their escape from trafficking. One woman escaped the home where she was exploited as a domestic worker but ended up sexually harassed and abused by passers-by on her way for help:

When I walked by, there was a car horn at me. The driver then asked why I didn't answer his *salaam* [greeting]. [...] He told me that maybe my employer will find me... Then he said, "Don't be afraid, we will not do any harm to you". [...] They said, "Don't go back home. Come to my place first"... But I refused and asked them to please take me back home, if not, I would jump out from the car.... I said to them, "You are Muslim, why do you do harmful things to me (touching me sexually) , remember there is *Allah* [God] that sees". [...] I did not want them to touch me. It's harmful things... I prayed that it would stop then. But after that he touched and grabbed [me].

A number of trafficked persons were arrested and detained as irregular migrants or for crimes committed while trafficked (e.g. illegal fishing, prostitution).⁶⁸ They reported substandard living conditions during this time in detention, including inadequate or poor quality food. Many were exposed to verbal abuse, threats and intimidation by guards and authorities. Some were also physically or sexually abused in detention centers.

Men trafficked for fishing who were held in a detention facility for irregular migrants described terrible living conditions in this facility, including lack of food and threats, intimidation and violence among detainees as well as by the guards. One man still had a physical injury many months after his return as a result of having been electrocuted by guards at the detention center. Another man, trafficked for factory work, was detained by immigration officials in the destination country and described being interrogated without an interpreter and beaten by authorities: "They beat me to get [me] to confess. I didn't understand the language so I just stayed silent. I was instructed by the [recruitment agency] to just stay silent if something happened and so I did. [...] I was hit with a foldable chair once on the chest and the back. They saw me as a smuggler". Eventually he was deported. Once home, he sought medical treatment for the injuries he had sustained during the beating, but he struggled to overcome the psychological impact of his detention.

Women trafficked as domestic workers also suffered violence while held in detention centers.⁶⁹ One woman, trafficked to the Middle East for domestic work, reported being abused by police while in detention and having to fight off the assault: "...the door [to the cell] was unlocked, not locked at all. So I could not sleep. How could I sleep? I was afraid of the police. They were so evil....I was only a maid and he tried to do something [sexual] to me.... All police there were evil... They just pretended to be saints, but that was only what they said. But they are all evil".

⁶⁸ About one quarter of respondents (n=28) were detained abroad instead of being identified and assisted as trafficking victims.

⁶⁹ Past research has found that Indonesian migrant domestic workers suffer abuse while in detention centers. See Human Rights Watch (2004) 'Help Wanted: Abuses against Female Migrant Domestic Workers in Indonesia and Malaysia', *Human Rights Watch* 16(9B) and Surtees, R. (2003) 'Female Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Indonesian context', *Development*, 44(3).

Women trafficked as domestic workers also reported violence from job placement agents in the destination country, prior to and as part of their return home. One woman described being assaulted in the destination country by the agent as punishment for wanting to go home: “Then, just before I was about to leave, I was hit with a rock...by the agent. He told my employer that he wanted to beat me up because I asked to go home. This was despite the fact that I was complying with the rules and conditions to go back home”.

Violence (or the threat of violence) also took place in Indonesia when trafficked persons travelled to their home villages.⁷⁰ One woman, trafficked for domestic work, took a taxi from the airport in Jakarta to her home village. She initially paid the fare and then while in the car, the taxi driver threatened her and forced her to pay 500,000 IDR [45USD]: “...he explained that this was common. I was just thankful that he did not sexually harass me...my friend experienced that”.

Box #8. Physical, sexual and psychological violence after trafficking – during escape, during detention

I was being chased by ten men, maybe they wanted to rape me. I escaped from them. I kept running... I almost got raped by a man who was working in the jungle, collecting palm oil... He took me to his house and tied my hands. He tried to rape me and turned a knife to my stomach and chest. Fortunately, I could escape. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work, following her escape from her “employers”)*

We were in detention for more than two months. We didn’t eat well. They fed us porridge and gave us rice once a day. We had to queue to get food. Sometimes inmates fought for food. The warden electrocuted us if we were not in order... The dining hall was so dirty, it ruined our appetite. We just ate a little, just to survive. [...] It was unpleasant. *(Man trafficked for fishing, detained in the destination country)*

It was like the cruelest camp. Much sexual abuse, murder and stealing happened [...] Stealing happened but sexual abuse happened a lot [...] Thank God, it did not happen [to us]. They could not disturb us because we were united. They did not dare. When someone disturbed us, we faced it together. We hit him together. We were not afraid. We could die or survive together. *(Man trafficked for fishing, detained in the destination country)*

Many workers, mostly men, ran away [from the plantation] to other places like sawmills or farms. They offered me to work there but I didn’t take it because it’s illegal. There’s a raid every week and they caught people who didn’t have passports. My friend got arrested and he didn’t get any food, he only got underwear. They tortured him for three months then returned him to Indonesia. I even heard that women got violated by the police [in the destination country]. That scared me. *(Man trafficked for labor)*

[In prison there were] sometimes slaps, but curses were almost everyday...When we gave the wrong answer, we got slapped. Even if it just took a long time for us to come when they called us, the police would slapped us...the police there were all cruel and all of them insulted Indonesia...really insulted, “You are not here. If we did not give you food, what will you eat in Indonesia? There you eat corn”. They always insulted us with that kind of language... My friends felt deeply insulted. It was not just physical pressure, but also psychological. We were knocked down by the police. They stripped us...we had only underwear. They took all of our money. *(Man trafficked for labor, detained in the*

⁷⁰ Please see Zulbahary, T. (2011) ‘Jalur ‘Wajib’ Khusus TKI, Bentuk nyata pelanggaran CEDAW’ (‘A Study of Effectiveness and Protection Impact of the Special Terminal for Indonesian Migrant Workers’), *Jurnal Perempuan Issue on “Sambutlah Kepulangan Kami”*.

destination country)

[In the detention center] ... it was so terrible. We were electrocuted and beaten by slices of rubber tube. If it got into the body it would be hot, so painful. *(Man trafficked for fishing, detained in the destination country)*

[In the detention center] sometimes there was impolite behavior. For example, if the Indonesians were taking shower, the [other] people would get interested in [us]. [...] [They said], “How much were you? I would buy”... “How much is your price? I would buy”. The Indonesians feel it like harassment. *(Man trafficked for fishing, detained in the destination country)*

6.4 Health issues during reintegration

Many trafficking victims faced health problems over the course of reintegration. Some health problems arose during and as a consequence of trafficking and went untreated or were unresolved. One man, mentioned above, continued to endure numbness and limited mobility in his leg as a result of having been electrocuted by guards at the detention center for irregular migrants where he was detained abroad. A large number of women trafficked for domestic work returned home with injuries and illnesses, including chronic headaches, exhaustion, weight loss, malnutrition, physical damage and injuries (to legs, eyes, ears) and painful scarring from abuse. Some injuries and illnesses were very severe, such as one woman who was viciously tortured by her “employers” in the Middle East, including being blinded after having her eyes flushed with bleach. Trafficked fishers also returned home with a large number of physical injuries and illnesses, including chronic exhaustion, skin conditions, injuries to hands and fingers, damage to eyes and malnutrition. Women and girls trafficked for prostitution suffered injuries from physical and sexual assault and some also contracted sexually transmitted diseases.

Some injuries or illnesses were treated and resolved after the individual’s return home, although this was often dependent on his/her access to medical care, which was not assured. Other injuries or illnesses continued for months and even years after trafficking, either because they went untreated or could not be resolved. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East, severely injured her leg when she fell down a flight of stairs. She explained of her “employers”: “They only gave me a cream to make it warm... but they did not take me to the doctor”, which meant that the injury did not heal. She continued to suffer pain in her leg more than one year after her return. Another woman, trafficked for domestic work, was beaten so severely by her “employers” that she suffered extensive scarring and severe injuries to her legs (leaving her unable to walk for a month), face (including traumatic injuries to her lips) and head (damaging her ears). Once home, she had surgery to repair her hearing but, even two years later, her ears continued to bother her when she slept and the pain in her legs endured. Yet another woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East, had been home four years at the time of her interview but explained that she was still unwell: “I am still sick. I cannot sleep. I go to the hospital, to the health center, to the clinic. I just really want to be cured. I pray to be healthy”.

Some trafficking victims never recovered from their illnesses. One woman who migrated formally to the Middle East ended up exploited for domestic work. She returned home very ill but the health insurance company rejected her insurance claim, which meant that she could not access or afford treatment. Her condition worsened as she could not afford the medicine she needed and instead had to utilize traditional medicine: “I have to be hospitalized but I did not have money. My blood vessels did not function very well”. She continued to face health problems and, moreover, developed new conditions including chronic ulcers, cardiac disease, problems with her vision and iron deficiency. While she was

able through referral for services to get healthcare, she was never able to resolve her health issues and, tragically, she recently died at the age of 43.



Health worker in a village clinic in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Some trafficking victims developed and faced new health issues of varying nature and severity once home. Two respondents (one woman trafficked for prostitution and one man trafficked for labor) contracted diabetes since returning home and struggled to manage their illness. One man, trafficked for fishing, injured himself while playing sport and was unable to work for some time due to the injury. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, returned home and later developed cervical cancer.

Sometimes the illness itself was debilitating and prevented the individual from being able to work, for months and even years. A number of respondents described being physically unable to work after their return home. As one man, trafficked for labor, explained: “I was in a bad shape. I was sick for a long time. That was why I didn’t do any work. That was my lowest point. The house almost got sold. I often just ran out of breath... although I don’t smoke”. It was more than two years after his return before he was able to work, during which time he was often ill and relied on his wife to support him and their family. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East, described being injured in a cooking accident: “My legs were hurt because of that. They did not bring me to the hospital... They asked me to stay in the house. They medicated me with a band-aid. Still they asked me to work”. Once she returned home, she struggled to walk and was unable to work for some time after her return, spending five months going regularly to the hospital and clinic for treatment.

Trafficked persons who were ill or injured were less likely to be hired by employers and, moreover, risked losing jobs if unable to work efficiently or if they were absent from work due to health problems. One woman (mentioned above) was blinded by her “employers”

while working as a domestic worker in the Middle East. She explained how her injuries and blindness meant she could not return to work alongside her husband in farming: “When I could still see before going to [the Middle East] I worked together with [my husband] in the rice fields to have more income. Now I cannot help my husband. We have more debt and we put the house up for mortgage just for food”. This was the source of considerable stress for her: “I want to see again so that I could work again. I am miserable with my condition. I have to be guided everywhere because I always hit something if I am alone”.

Illness and injury also interfered with victims being able to run their own small businesses. As such, they were not always able to earn enough to meet their daily needs. One man, who had been trafficked for work in a factory, tried to sell things in a shop when he returned home, but described the residual pain from injuries suffered while trafficked: “Every time I carried something heavy, like only one kilogram [2.2lbs], I felt the pain. It felt like thorns prickling my flesh. That’s why I couldn’t work. [...] It was due to the absorption of toxic chemicals”.

When trafficked persons were not able to work and earn money because of their health problems, this caused a great deal of stress. One woman, who was still ill when interviewed on both occasions, said: “The most important thing is that I have to be healthy first so that I can continue my work and earn money. But the [recovery] process takes a long time”.

The cost of medical care to treat an illness or injury was a substantial obstacle for many victims. One woman needed an emergency caesarean section to deliver her child and she did not have medical insurance to cover the costs. She also did not have the money to repay the loan for the delivery as both she and her husband were unemployed. Another woman who had previously been trafficked for sexual exploitation explained how she was forced to re-enter prostitution in order to pay for the birth of her child: “...after delivering my baby, [the madam] told me to work again... She said that I had a debt for about two million IDR [182USD] for delivering my baby. I was thinking, ‘The cost for the delivery is not that much.’. She lied to me. It was her strategy to make me work again”.

Another health issue faced by some trafficking victims was family violence, which often resulted in serious health consequences.⁷¹ Violence was largely perpetrated by men against women – generally spouses/intimate partners and children. Eight of 59 (13.6%) female trafficking victims reported suffering domestic violence after trafficking. And the violence perpetrated was often very brutal and extreme, leading to serious physical and mental health impacts. One girl, trafficked into prostitution, described how she was helped to escape prostitution by an older man who was later violent and forced her to self-harm: “He just liked to cut me for a week if I did something wrong. [...] He gave me the razor blade and told me to cut myself... Sometimes I didn’t do anything wrong but he blamed me. Then I had to cut myself again... [...] Sometimes it’s because I didn’t answer his call”. One woman described being brutally beaten by her husband on a fairly regular basis after trafficking: “Yes, he hit me until one of my eyes was like frozen blood... I was kicked by him because my child kept crying”. The family situation seemed to have improved at the time of the second interview, with less fighting and violence in her home. However, a few months after the second interview she suffered a very brutal attack by her husband, which left her hospitalized and in a temporary coma.

Access to medical care was often critically important to reintegration and yet it was not assured for most trafficking victims. While emergency medical care is available by law to all trafficking victims,⁷² this requires that the individual be formally identified as a trafficking

⁷¹ The issue of domestic violence is also discussed in Section 5.3: Housing and accommodation during reintegration and Section 10.2: Risks during reintegration.

⁷² Article 51 of Indonesia’s anti-trafficking law states that trafficking victims are entitled to receive medical care if such victim suffers physical and psychological hardship as a result of the criminal act of trafficking in persons.

victim. And most respondents in our study were never formally identified as trafficked by the government.⁷³ Some trafficked persons may also opt not to be identified – for fear of stigma and discrimination by authorities – which automatically precludes them from accessing free medical care. As such, most trafficked persons who returned to their homes and communities did not have access to free or subsidized medical care. Moreover, the medical care available to trafficking victims is generally short-term, emergency assistance, whereas most trafficking victims had long-term, chronic health issues, as discussed above.

Many trafficking victims interviewed for this study migrated formally through formal recruitment channels and legal agencies and, as such, had paid for and enrolled in compulsory medical insurance as part of their formal migration.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, once home in Indonesia they often faced problems in making claims; most insurance claims were denied by insurance companies.

One woman (mentioned above) departed Indonesia in a healthy condition and returned home very ill. She was unable to access the health insurance she had paid for as part of her migration, even with the assistance of a migrant worker NGO who supported her in making her claim. As she explained:

After I arrived home, I submitted the insurance claim. [...] They declined my insurance. [...] Yes, they said that it was a congenital disease. But actually I was healthy at that time. If I was sick, how come the company let me go abroad? I already took the pre-departure [medical] test.... I read from the book that I can claim my insurance for almost 50 million IDR [4,545USD] to continue my treatment in Indonesia. How can I continue my treatment and how can I buy medicine here?

Migrant workers also generally lacked information about rights and entitlements under insurance policies and, moreover, insurance policies often had administrative requirements that were difficult to realize in practice.⁷⁵

Healthcare is, by law and policy, available to all Indonesian citizens, particularly the socially vulnerable.⁷⁶ One man, trafficked for labor, described how he was able to access free medical care at the local medical clinic because he had access to healthcare as a poor family:

⁷³ Many Indonesian trafficking victims are never identified as trafficking victims, both in destination countries and at home. Missed identification means trafficked persons are detained and deported, forced to pay their own way home (sometimes going into debt to do so) and/or at risk of further trafficking or exploitation in the return process. It also, almost invariably, means that these individuals end up being unassisted once home and unable to access services available to trafficking victims, including medical care. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute.

⁷⁴ Article 68 of the *Law on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Abroad (Number 39, Year 2004)* stipulates that migrant workers sent abroad by recruitment agencies must be insured. Private recruitment agencies typically facilitate this process, linking migrant workers with insurance companies but migrant workers themselves pay for this insurance as part of their recruitment fees. The mandatory policy costs 400,000IDR [36USD] for a two-year employment contract. The policy insures the migrant worker and his/her family “in the event of failed recruitment, unpaid wages, early termination of contract, contractual deception, physical abuse, sexual harassment and assault, legal proceedings, being stranded, illness, industrial accident and death”. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 44.

⁷⁵ For example, claims for illness or injury when abroad require a letter from the hospital abroad and an itemization of costs. There is also a statute of limitations for claims; insurance can only be claimed within twelve months of the illness or accident, which is difficult to do when someone returns from a trafficking situation. See Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 44.

⁷⁶ The *Law on Health (Number 36, Year 2009)* established the government's responsibility to provide health care to all citizens. In addition, the *Social Security Providers Bill (2011)* legislates health care coverage for all citizens and other social security benefits for workers, in accordance with the *Law on National Social Assistance Systems (Number 40, Year 2004)*, which provides for social insurance to all Indonesian citizens. The Healthcare and Social Security Agency (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan* or BPJS Kesehatan) implements the

If we are sick we can simply go to *puskesmas* [the health clinic]. I had a cough once, for three weeks. At first I just took the cough syrup over the counter but it did not work. So when I had a day off I went to *puskesmas*. [...] I did not need to pay anything. [...] We have Jamkesda (regional social security). We only need to show the card. The medicine is also free.

Nonetheless, access to medical care was generally limited among trafficking victims interviewed for this study. While eligibility for the *Kartu Indonesia Sehat* (KIS) or Healthy Indonesia Card (which entitles the holder to treatment at the local health clinic or *puskesmas* and treatment in third-class hospitals) is poor and near-poor households, many poor persons do not have access to this card, nor do they know how to apply for it. Accessing health insurance schemes – e.g. for the poor, trafficking victims – requires different types of documentation that some trafficked persons did not have. In addition, administrative procedures were often complicated and difficult for many people to understand and mediate. Trafficked persons described administrators who were not helpful in applying for medical services. More than one trafficked person also spoke of their shyness and discomfort in trying to access medical services. One woman pointed to her husband's inability to assist her in accessing the healthcare she needed because of his shyness in dealing with officials: "...he could not take care of anything. He cannot talk to important person, not even to the police. He is just quiet. He works in the rice field if someone asks him, that is all".⁷⁷

Even with existing programs, some trafficking victims cannot afford the cost of healthcare and treatment. One trafficked man, who returned home with injuries, described being unable to pay the cost of health insurance. And one trafficked domestic worker, who returned from the Middle East, was very ill and unable to afford the treatment she needed after her insurance was declined: "Actually I want to mention like this, 'Please help me so at least I can buy my medicine'".⁷⁸

When unable to access free or subsidized medical care, medical costs factored (often quite heavily) into household expenses. One woman explained how she spent a large amount of the money she returned home with to pay for her medical treatment: "Actually when I arrived home I brought seven million IDR [636USD]. I paid for my child's school fees and for my medical treatment... I spent around 600,000 IDR [55USD] for each medical treatment". Many trafficked persons described lacking the resources to pay medical costs and, in some cases, going into debt as a result or being untreated. Others received no treatment at all because they were unable to pay the costs.

social security scheme through two non-profit public companies - BPJS I, which provides universal health care and BPJS II, which provides work-related accident, pension and benefits. In early 2014, Indonesia's government established a National Health Insurance Program – *Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat* (JKN) – to provide health insurance to impoverished and socially vulnerable persons. In November 2014, as part of JKN, the government launched a card system to improve disadvantaged Indonesians' access to health services and education. The KIS card entitles its holder to treatment at public primary care clinics (*puskesmas*) and treatment in third-class hospitals. Some districts have established local card systems – e.g. Jakarta Health Card (KJS) provides Jakarta residents with free medical care in all health centers in Jakarta. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁷ Over the course of the project, the research team provided respondents with information about assistance options and spent time explaining how to access this help. And yet many respondents were reluctant to follow-up on these referrals. Some expressed "shyness" and felt intimidated to contact institutions for help. Others described feelings of shame about being poor or needing help, which prevented them from accessing services. Others were embarrassed and ashamed about having been exploited. See also Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 79.

⁷⁸ In all instances where respondents expressed distress or needed assistance, the research team worked to address these issues through referral for services. This was often quite challenging given that the provision of assistance is limited, especially in the rural areas and often quite distant villages that most respondents originated from and were living in after trafficking.

In addition, some medical treatments and services could not be covered through government subsidized programs. In such cases, the cost of treatment was prohibitively expensive and led to financial problems including debt. One man spoke of a friend who had also been trafficked for labor and his precarious financial situation because of his mounting medical costs: “My friend is now going to sell his house to pay for his treatment... He broke his legs [during an accident on the worksite] ... Until now he has not recovered... Initially he got 40 million IDR [3,636USD] from the job agency. But it’s all gone to pay off the hospital... He got no assistance from the government or anybody else”.

Others described needing expensive or specialized medical treatment following their trafficking experiences. Two women, both trafficked for domestic work, required surgery to remedy serious physical injuries caused by trafficked. One man, who was trafficked onto a fishing vessel, explained how he needed eye surgery as a direct consequence of forced labor on the fishing vessel: “I used to dive with standard equipment. But since we worked at sea, we were always wet. When the saltwater dried up, it left grains of salt. That was not good for any injury. My eye was injured... There were white spots on my eye”.

Some treatment was only available in larger towns or cities, which meant trafficked persons needed to travel from their home communities and pay the related transportation costs, as well as lose income from not being able to work. In some cases, the necessary treatment was only available in Jakarta, which meant traveling long distances to and from the capital, which was time consuming, often uncomfortable and always expensive. In a few extreme cases, the necessary treatment was seemingly unavailable. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, was blinded when her “employer” poured bleach in her eyes and, since her return, was unable to find treatment for her eyes. She explained how the lack of eye donors in Indonesia made her recovery very unlikely: “[The doctor] said that even if they operated on my eyes, they would not be cured because I need an eye donor. I just surrendered. It would be so long to wait for an eye donor, so I decided to go home”. She lives at home and is entirely dependent on her husband and children. She (and her family) struggle to get by financially as her husband works only intermittently and she has few, if any economic prospects, due to her blindness. She explained the family’s situation today: “We have more debt and we put the house for mortgage just for food”.



6.5 Summary

Being physically well was a key factor in trafficked persons’ abilities to recover and reintegrate after trafficking. By contrast, being physically unwell negatively impacted many aspects of victims’ lives and, in many situations, impeded or undermined reintegration.

Trafficked persons, regardless of the form of exploitation, described a raft of health issues and medical needs. Some trafficking victims had health problems before they migrated which led to (or at least contributed to) their decisions to migrate for work. In other cases, trafficked victims needed to pay for medical care for someone within their families, including children, spouses and parents. Many health problems were a direct result of trafficking and/or arose during exploitation – a consequence of poor living conditions, inadequate food and water, dangerous and hazardous working conditions, violence and abuse and lack of medical care while trafficked.

In some instances, health issues arose in the period immediately before trafficked persons’ return home – e.g. during escape or when individuals were arrested and detained as irregular migrants or for crimes committed while trafficked. The return process itself was fraught with risk; some trafficked persons were exposed to violence during return.

Many trafficking victims reported health problems during reintegration. Some were a consequence of trafficking and had gone untreated or been unresolved. Some trafficking

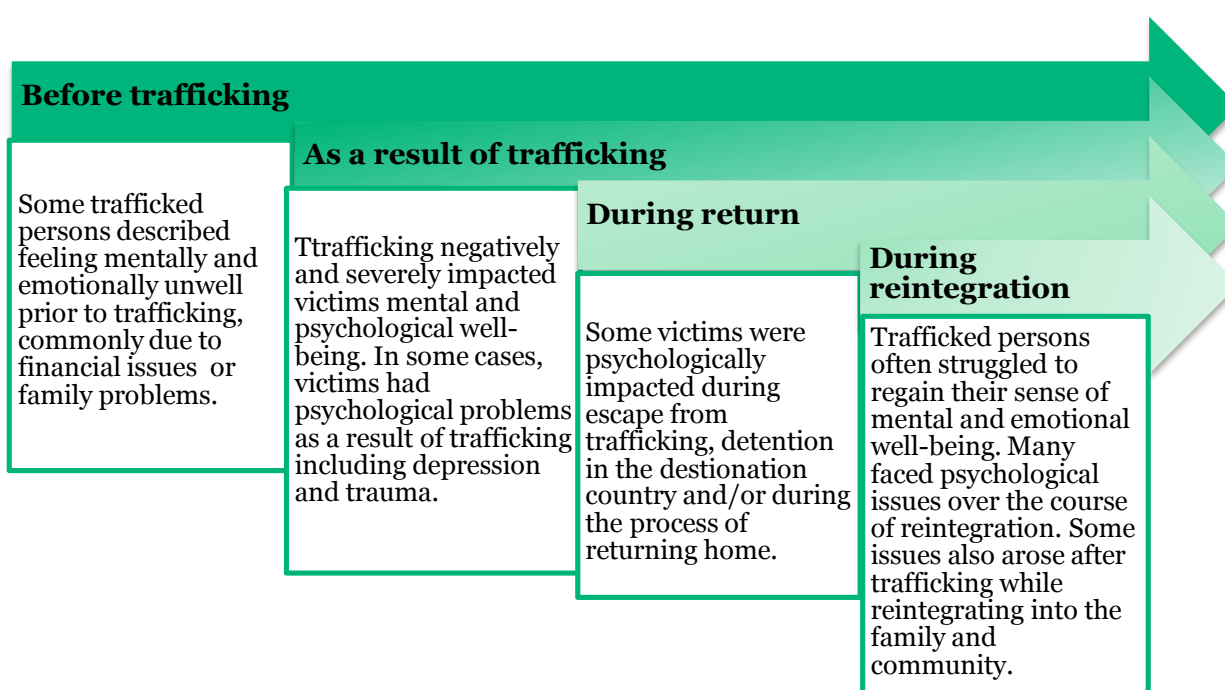
victims also developed and faced new health issues once home and over reintegration. In many cases injuries and illnesses were debilitating and prevented the individual from being able to work or run his/her business in the short- or long-term.



7. Psychological issues and mental and emotional well-being

Mental and emotional well-being was an important component of recovery and reintegration. And yet many victims described feeling mentally unwell, including being stressed, anxious, depressed and traumatized. Some psychological and mental health issues were a direct consequence of the exploitation and abused suffered while trafficked.⁷⁹ Other issues were linked to challenges faced during the reintegration process. In most, if not all cases, victims experienced the cumulative effect of multiple violations and traumas both as a consequence of trafficking and during reintegration.

Diagram #13. Psychological and mental health issues over time



7.1 Psychological issues and mental well-being before trafficking

Prior to migration/trafficking, many victims described being mentally or emotionally unwell – e.g. feeling stressed, anxious and even depressed. This was often a function of economic problems in the household and family. One woman spoke of economic problems creating conflict and stress in her family before trafficking, which directly led her to re-migrate. She had worked abroad before and sent money home but had returned to find that her husband's parent's had registered the house in their name. She described how upset and stressed this made her and how to also meant that she needed to migrate again for work:

⁷⁹ This is consistent with previous research on the mental health impacts of trafficking on victims. Please see, for example, Rafferty, Yvonne (2008) 'The Impact of Trafficking on Children. Psychological and Social Policy Perspectives', *Child Development Perspectives* 2(1); Tsutsumi, et al. (2008) 'Mental health of female survivors of human trafficking in Nepal', *Social Science & Medicine* 66(8); Zimmerman, et al. (2014) *Health and human trafficking in the Greater Mekong Subregion. Findings from a survey of men, women and children in Cambodia, Thailand and Viet Nam*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration and London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

I decided to go abroad again [because] there was a family conflict at that time... It turned out that our house was not exactly our own house, but my parents-in-laws' house... I thought after two years of sending money home from [abroad] I could have built a house. Yet they said that the money was spent for my first born and the money to build the house came from my parents-in-law. Thus, the house belongs to my parents-in-law... I felt so disappointed finding out that the land we bought is under the name of my husband's parents. How could they? I had worked like crazy as a housemaid, being mostly treated as an animal rather than a human, exhausted, being scolded and tortured. And when I had enough money to buy a land for my own family, it was supposed to be under my name or my children's names. How could I feel happy about it?

In addition, some pre-trafficking stress was linked to other issues, including personal health issues, sick family members and/or the death of loved ones. One girl, trafficked for sexual exploitation, described the stresses and anguish in her life before being trafficked:

At that time, I was taking care of my mom who was sick. She had stage four brain cancer. I was taking care of her in hospital. I was taking care of everything. I was taking care of the medicine and school. I took care of my two younger siblings. [...] When my mom passed away, I took care of my two younger siblings and one niece. Then my older sibling was sick. Since then I began to go to school rarely. Then I started to think about the payment in hospital. After that I [was trafficked into prostitution] and then I was depressed.

This girl was deeply impacted by her mother's death: "I was still a child... I was depressed [because] my mother passed away, then my father got married again. It was like that".

Some victims came from dysfunctional and even violent family environments, which negatively impacted their mental well-being. One young woman, who ended up trafficked for domestic work, was sexually abused by her uncle, leading her to migrate as a means of escape: "That is why I had to get out, go abroad. I got hurt (sexually abused) by my uncle... That is why I made up my mind to go abroad...the main reason is just because I was hurting". Another woman, also trafficked for domestic work, described a psychologically abusive family environment before her trafficking: "At that time I stayed with my grandmother. The family often hurt my feelings. Sometimes for two days I didn't eat. I lived with my relatives. They never offered me food. I slept in the chair in the alley to the kitchen, with my child...I slept in the kitchen, lots of mosquitos. I wept. They scolded me a lot". Another woman, trafficked for domestic work, described her ex-husband's abuse (and the psychological impact of this abuse) as a primary reason for her migration: "He was fierce, bad and he used to beat me. Then I divorced him. I went there (migrated abroad) because my heart hurt".



7.2 Psychological issues and being mentally unwell as a result of trafficking

Verbal abuse and psychological violence were suffered prolifically by Indonesian trafficking victims.⁸⁰ A vast majority (75 of 108 respondents, or 69.4 per cent) described suffering psychological violence over the course of being trafficked including insults, threats, intimidation, verbal abuse, imprisonment, symbolic abuse, withholding of food or other

⁸⁰ Psychological violence, also called psychological or emotional abuse, is the use of non-physical acts (such as verbal aggression, non-verbal aggression, symbolic abuse/aggression, threats, limits to the victim's well-being, and so on) to inflict mental harm. Psychological violence can result in significant psychological injury – e.g. studies of abused women found psychological/emotional abuse to be as harmful or worse than physical abuse. Psychological violence encompasses verbal abuse (using words or verbal acts to abuse a victim). See Mouradian, V.E. (2000) *Abuse in Intimate Relationships: Defining the Multiple Dimensions and Terms*. South Carolina: National Violence Against Women Prevention Research Center.

basic necessities, enforced sleep deprivation and so on. Moreover, this type of abuse was coupled with other violations including physical and sexual violence, restricted freedom, lack of payment and so on.

Box #9. Verbal abuse and psychological violence inflicted on victims while trafficked

There I was also imprisoned, not allowed to go outside. If went out with the employer, I was not allowed to talk with Indonesians. I had to be quiet. I was very depressed. I was not allowed to call my family. The food was also not provided properly. My clothes were so improper. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

[The senior crew used] all kinds of dirty language with us. Animals, bad words in Chinese, all harsh language. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I was locked up there. I could not go anywhere for two months and I was without a handphone. They gave me a handphone when it was time to work at 7pm and when the work finished, they took it back. It was only for calling the clients. *(Young woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

If I made a small mistake, I would be tortured. They also slandered me. They said that I put my urine and blood into the food. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in the Middle East)*

I had to ask permission. Whatever I did, I had to ask permission. They were just like security officers. If they told me to do this, then I did it. Everything I did I had to ask for permission and I didn't like it. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

When they told me to do something, they used foul language as if we were animals. They were so rude. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

Everyday we heard the captain yell... When someone made a mistake... When someone did not do things correctly... [he would yell] a bad word...It's like bitch or something like that. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

After one month, two months, they started to be mean to me. The employer's wife was also jealous of me. At 11am she told me to empty the pool with a bucket only. The pool was half full but there was still a lot of water because it was big. So I emptied the pool with bucket. I asked her "Why don't I just use the suction pump?" She said, "Why do I need to use pump when I already have a maid". I was crying and thinking whether all of my friends received the same treatment. I prayed to God to give me strength. After I emptied the pool, I cleaned it with a brush and detergent. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I must work when there were fish. I had to be alert, especially when they got away. The captain would scold me... He would say dirty words, mostly dirty words... In Indonesian language it was like, pardon me, female genitalia. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

All respondents interviewed for this study described some level of mental and/or emotional distress as a consequence of trafficking, including being abused and violated, witnessing the abuse of others, suffering harsh living and working conditions, being separated from loved ones, being unpaid for their work and being ashamed about what had happened to them. The nature of this distress varied substantially in nature and scale, as detailed in the box below.

Box #10. Psychological, mental and emotional problems faced as a result of trafficking

We were working for 20 months, 20 hours, getting scolded, beaten up, punched... often fell sick, injured. These things I still remember. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I'm still traumatized. When I wake up from my sleep I still remember my boss getting mad at me if I was sleepy. *(Man trafficked for labor)*

Those [trafficking] experiences are never lost. I cannot erase it from my mind. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I was so stressed. When I slept at night, I always woke up and shouted out. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I was stressed. I thought about it. I cannot forget it. I was sick but *Alhamdulillah* [thank God], I survived. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I used to be frightened when I woke up late...as if I was still there [abroad]... Until now it is still [like this]... I am frightened as if I am still there if I wake up late. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

[When I returned from trafficking] there was something on my mind. My salary, why was it not paid? It gave me a headache... I was down, lacking in energy. I didn't know what to do. I was so down. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

[I need] a friend to share my feelings, counseling, sharing, giving solutions... I want to release it so it is not in my heart. Because if I keep remembering it, sometimes I get sick, cried, get sick again. My condition will get worse if I keep on remembering it. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

That being said, it was not inevitable that trafficked persons had mental health issues or were traumatized after trafficking. As one woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained when asked about her mental condition upon return: "I was not depressed, just very sad". Explained another woman, trafficked for domestic work: "*Alhamdulillah* [thank God], I was just normal, stable, nothing to worry about. But most of the time I was quiet, like there was this regret".

And, in spite of many victims experiencing mental distress, some respondents, when asked about their mental well-being after trafficking, described not only their stress and anxiety, but also various positive emotions including relief and gratitude. One man, trafficked for labor, described his reaction after trafficking: "Just to be alive at the time I was already grateful. [...] The important thing was that I made it home safely, met my family and they were healthy. I was healthy too. I believe that we can seek our fortune as long as we are healthy".



7.3 Psychological issues during escape and return

Some trafficked persons faced frightening and dangerous escapes from trafficking, which further impacted their mental well-being. One woman (mentioned above), trafficked as a domestic worker, escaped from her employers but then faced many difficulties in returning home including almost being re-trafficked and an attempted rape. When she arrived home her behavior was erratic and she described still being in a state of shock: "People in my

village thought that I was a crazy person... Actually, I was not crazy. I just felt depressed and wanted to go home because I did not receive my salary. I felt normal after coming back home. After seeing my son and knowing that my husband and my mother were happy to see me”.

Being detained in destination countries was also a source of considerable stress and even trauma for many trafficked persons and had a serious impact on their mental health and well-being. Men trafficked on fishing boats who ended up in detention facilities as irregular migrants described this as a very stressful and difficult period. One man explained: “We really very much regretted being there. Why were we detained like this? What was our fault?... When we got there, we wanted go home. Why was it like this?”. Another man, detained in the same detention center described his experiences as follows:

While in jail we were only provided food two times a day. They gave us some bread in the morning and in the afternoon they provided us with some rice. So we only ate rice one time. Sometimes my friends sold their personal things at a very cheap price to buy foods. We had to queue with the other 8,000 persons from around the world. Most of them were illegal workers, in that jail.

Women trafficked as domestic workers also navigated psychologically stressful and taxing situations after escaping trafficking but while still abroad. Some were threatened and brutalized by employment agency staff prior to their return home. One woman described being intimidated and abused by agency staff: “I requested to go home as I could not take it any longer. I was taken to the [agency] office and I was beaten... I was scolded. The person said I was stupid... It made me cry”.

Some women trafficked for domestic work were detained and deported (instead of being identified and returned as trafficked victims) which meant spending long periods of time in prisons and detention facilities in countries in the Middle East. Conditions in detention facilities were very poor, which affected women’s mental well-being. As one woman described: “There was no activity at the detention center. We only chatted, sat, slept... There were thousands of people there. There were hundreds people in one room. There were also people who got stressed”. Another woman described just waiting in a detention facility with nothing to do: “We were told to just stay in the room. Every morning they counted how many of us because they were afraid if someone escaped. Every morning we needed to line up from 7am to 8am. After they counted us we went back inside. When it was time to eat, we were told to go outside the room and pick up our meals and then eat”. Said another woman: “There were many [women], maybe around ten people [in one cell. Then I moved, there were eight or nine [people]. We fought for food, smelly bread. I was crying. I remembered Indonesia”.

The threat and use of violence against male and female trafficking victims held in detention centers⁸¹ was also a cause of stress, fear and trauma. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, spoke of her stress and depression while in detention for a month: “People there asked me why I always cried. I said I did not like it there. I wanted to go home. I wanted to see my father and to see my daughter”. And a man, trafficked for fishing, described sexual, physical and psychological abuse while in detention and through the deportation process: “[They treated us] like we were terrorists...actually I felt awful because I was not a terrorist. Why did they treat us like that?”

⁸¹ See Section 6.3: Health issues during escape and return



7.4 Psychological issues during reintegration

Trafficked persons expressed a range of psychological, mental and emotional issues over the course of reintegration. A large number of trafficked persons described suffering serious and debilitating mental health issues at the time of being interviewed, as well as at various stages of their post-trafficking lives.⁸²

Box #11. Psychological, mental and emotional problems faced by trafficking victims during reintegration

I was really troubled by the recruitment agency. I wanted to burn down the recruitment agency...They did not want to be responsible. Everyone was so furious. [...] I was so stressed out. Coming back home without bringing money. For someone who has a wife and kids, what do you think I would feel? [...] [My major challenge was] frustration of course. My wife was severely in debt. *(Man trafficked for fishing, seventeen months after his return from trafficking)*

Sometimes I was stable but sometimes I was afraid to face the morning. I just cannot stand to remember what happened while I stayed in [the Middle East]. I also think a lot how can we fulfill our daily needs, how can my family eat? (crying). [...] When I first arrived home, I just feel pain and sick. After I stayed alone in the home, then I started to be very afraid. How can I face tomorrow? *(Woman trafficked for domestic work, ten months after returning home)*

[I was] unstable and shaken [when I came home]. I thought a lot about the costs and the unfortunate events when I was there. I have never experienced something like that before. I didn't know what to feel actually. I didn't know where to look for help... I was tortured for four days. [...] [I was] emotional. The kids were in shock, I easily got angry. *(Man trafficked for labor in a factory, several years after exiting trafficking)*

We went home and it was a huge embarrassment. I didn't want to go out of the house. My self-confidence was plunged. I couldn't bear to meet my friends out of shame because of my condition. There was no harmony with the family. I also didn't want to meet my neighbors. I was ashamed! [...] I was hiding in my room because I was embarrassed, deeply ashamed of how I had fallen. [...] I am still embarrassed now. *(Man trafficked for fishing, six months after returning home)*

The challenge was when I faced my family. I had low self-esteem when I was at family gatherings. I was ashamed because I had a lot of debt, especially to my wife's family... [...] I had debt so I was ashamed because I am a husband and I cannot be responsible for making my family happy. I cannot make my wife and children happy. [...] It became a burden on my mind. I was thinking and thinking. Then I was down because I thought about my debt and my wife left. I was weak. I could not do anything. I had no spirit. *(Man trafficked for labor, several years after returning home)*

It was like being stressed. My mind was flying [...] I was thinking, why did it happen to me? I was only paid one million IDR [91USD]. [...] But still I felt traumatized. I could not do anything, only routine tasks like taking a shower in the morning. I had to be ordered to do so. I was like a disoriented person... I felt lazy to do some work. I feel so lazy at that

⁸² Recent research with recently-returned trafficking victims in Southeast Asia found that 61.2% of returning trafficking victims reported symptoms of depression immediately upon return from trafficking, 42.8% reported symptoms of anxiety and 38.9% reported symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. However, because this study did not document mental health impacts of trafficking beyond one month after return the longer term impacts are unknown. Kiss et al. (2015) 'Health of men, women and children in post-trafficking services in Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam: an observational cross-sectional study', *Lancet Global Health*, 3.

time. *(Man trafficked for fishing, a year and a half after exiting trafficking)*

The main thing is that my mind was disorganized. I did not know its direction. *(Man trafficked for fishing, a year and a half after returning home)*

[My mental state] was normal. Maybe a bit shaken because of the debt. I could get crazy if I thought about it too much so I gathered my thoughts slowly. *(Man trafficked for labor, six months after exit from trafficking)*

It was just the burden, mental burden. [...] [...] For me the heaviest burden was because I didn't bring home any money. I thought: "What will my wife say? What will my in-laws say at home? Would they accept me? Would they believe me when I tell them what happened?" Those thoughts were very heavy on my mind because it was impossible for a wife to just accept it as it is, that was impossible. *(Man trafficked for fishing, over a year after returning home)*

I was raging, even until today, I have grudge with [the country where I was exploited]. I am very fed up with [that country], especially because I have trauma, really trauma, extraordinary trauma. So I am fed up. *(Man trafficked for labor, thirteen years after returning home)*

In many cases, victims struggled psychologically and emotionally as they tried to recover from what had happened to them and sought to reintegrate. This was often a long-term process. One man, trafficked as a fisher, when asked what challenges he was facing in his life now (over a year after his return), cried when he described feeling mentally and emotionally unwell: "[My biggest challenge is] mental. It hurts [...] It's very tough. I can't return to how it used to be... Maybe my family or neighbors can be casual about it, but it was inside of me. That cannot return. [...] To return to my usual self, it's not possible". Even several months later, when he was re-interviewed, he spoke of extreme distress and, at a later stage, contacted the researcher expressing suicidal ideations.⁸³

Quite commonly, trafficked persons' stresses and problems were a consequence of both trafficking and challenges faced in their lives afterward. One trafficked fisher, when asked about his plans for the future, expressed hopelessness: "I don't have any [plans for the future]. [...] No plan so far right now. Money doesn't really matter to me. [...] I don't have any dreams. I just follow the flow. I feel like everything is back to the start and I don't care anymore". This hopelessness was linked not only to having failed at migration, but also the poor treatment he received from his parents after his return, as he explained: "[My] parents now see me as incapable, undeserving, I no longer feel as part of the family like it used to be". This mental state stands in stark contrast to his pre-trafficking state of mind when he was ambitious and had big dreams for he and his brother: "Since [my parents] treated me this way, then, what can I do? I'll just do the best that I can do. But before I was quite an ambitious person. I wanted my brother who studies in high school to enter the navy. But now I couldn't even say anything. I told him to find his own way since we couldn't rely on our parents now".

Similarly, one man, trafficked for labor, was traumatized not only by the violence and brutality of trafficking, but also by the subsequent loss of his wife who died a few months after his return. He described his mental state at that time as deeply stressed and depressed:

⁸³ In all instances where respondents expressed distress or needed assistance, the research team worked to address these issues through referral for services. This was often quite challenging given that the provision of assistance is limited, especially in the rural areas and often quite distant villages that most respondents originated from and were living in after trafficking.

[I felt] disappointment. I was raging. I was regretting. I was pessimistic. Because, the one who always gave me the spirit... when she [died] everything was down. My wife always supported me, with such patience, but she passed away. I could not give her anything. I was restless and I had a grudge against [the] sponsor... all of the pessimism, regret.

One woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained that her focus during reintegration was her marriage, which ended while she was away. For her this was the source of considerable stress and sadness and something that took many years to come to terms with: "I was so stressed. It was not about material things. My tension was related to my marriage and my relationship with my husband". And one young woman, trafficked for prostitution, returned home pregnant as a consequence of rape and was rejected by her family. She was thrown out by her father and rejected also by other relatives. She described how this rejection was deeply upsetting and traumatizing:

Everything was heavy but the most hurtful was that I was cast out by my father. I did not know where to stay. I was sent from one place to another by my own parents. They did not seem to care at all. With my difficult condition, my stepmother, my father, nobody wanted to take care of me. I did not know if I would be harmed. [...] I was thrown out in a big rainstorm with a suitcase, with just 500,000 IDR [45USD]. I just went to the [bus] terminal. I did not know where to go and no relatives wanted to take care of me".

Much had happened in the lives and families of trafficking victims while victims were abroad, including illness, poverty and even death. Facing these changes and losses was mentally and emotionally taxing. One woman lost her husband and father while trafficked and, in addition to this tremendous emotional loss and sadness, faced the stress and pressure of raising her three sons on her own:

At first, it was so difficult and full of sadness. I have three kids without a husband. [...] My physical condition actually was good... However, when I first came home, I was in shock. [I had] no father and no husband. My relative advised me, "Don't go too deep in your sadness. Just focus on the children and find some money to support the children's needs".

Some mental health issues were largely a function of victims' post-trafficking lives. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, described a negative environment in her family and the impact this had on her psychologically, even four years after her exit from trafficking:

Until now, sometimes I live my life in pain. When I have a fight with [my husband], he brings up my past in the fight. [He said] "It's really hard to have a wife, like a ex-sex worker?"... The reality is really hard. I am really in pain, especially, when he says that to me and he says that in front of my children... I just want a husband who really loves me, who really wants to help me.

Mental health and well-being of trafficked persons did change over the course of life after trafficking. For some trafficked persons, their mental health improved over time. One man, trafficked for labor, described a very difficult time upon his return but this had improved over the past months: "It's better now. My mind is more settled now, although there are debts to be paid. I'll keep going and pay when I can. No need to think about it too much". One fisher described being terrorized by the crewing company involved in his placement and exploitation and the stress this caused him, but went on to explain that the situation was better now:

I am still worried about the tribunal. That is why I reported to the witness protection program. [...] I think about that a lot. [...] Yes, [I am] worried. But it is better now. They [the recruiters] are the ones who are worried now because I hit back. [...] [I am] much better because now I think, “Why should I be lazy? I must move on. I must change”. I have more spirit. I work all day with nothing in my mind.

One woman, trafficked into prostitution, described how she worked to build her emotional strength over the years since she escaped her trafficking situation:

I used to talk with myself: “You can do it! You are strong!” I was healing myself. I supported myself. “Be strong! You are strong! You have to take rest! You have to be healthy!” If I am sick, who would take care of my child? So I motivated myself like that. If I did not fight like that, I felt I want to sleep only and I was reluctant doing anything. If we combat our illness then we will get used to it. Actually we could heal ourselves...

In other cases, in spite of the passage of time, trafficked persons continued to suffer mental health issues. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East, explained how her experiences as a trafficking victim still deeply affected her, six years after she had returned home: “The trauma is still happening. I worked beyond my capacity. 24 hours, non-stop, except sleep. They treated me as cheap worker... They treated me improperly”. This was most typical when trafficking victims did not have access to support and services that would allow them to process and recover from what had happened to them. The woman above, for example, lives in a very rural village several hours from the district capital and without any access to counseling or services generally. She also lacks economic opportunities that would allow her to improve her economic situation, which compounds her mental stress and anxiety.

The mental well-being of some trafficking victims deteriorated over the course of reintegration, when they faced other problems and challenges. One man, trafficked on a fishing boat, explained that he was quite stable mentally when he first came home but that his mental state had worsened over the year and a half since he came home: “[My mental state] was better at that time. Now I am less mentally [stable]. I am scared. [...] I am often sick. I do not know why but, suddenly I am shaking. [...] I am still shaking, I am afraid”.

Recovery after trafficking was often a long process. Time was needed to be mentally well, as one man, trafficked on fishing boats, explained of his experience: “...It takes a long time to heal the trauma and depression. [...] The psychologist said that deep depression is not easy [to heal]. It must be done step by step”. Another man, trafficked for labor: “When I got back I had to think about all the problems I went through there. Those were the things that we barely thought of while we were there. So the traumatic experience just kept coming back to me for about a year”.

Overall, respondents expressed the need for emotional and psychological support after trafficking and over the course of reintegration. Some wanted to be able to share their trafficking experience as a means of coming to terms with their exploitation. One man, who was trafficked for labor several years ago, explained that he continued to struggle emotionally and psychologically and needed this form of support: “I got shocked and scared sometimes... I don’t know how to erase that feeling. Maybe I could go to a psychiatrist when I have money. But now I try to relax. I really want to visit a psychiatrist and get treatment. I don’t want to be like this until I get older”.

Other trafficking victims described needing support not only to come to terms with their exploitation, but also with issues faced in life after trafficking. One man, home for almost a

year and a half, expressed an urgent need for counseling, to support his recovery and ability to manage his life after trafficking:

It's like when we're on the road and find a crossroad and we have to choose which way to go. But I really have no idea where to go. Sometimes if we felt unsure we'd just turn left just to avoid the cops. But I really don't know where to go, whether to take a right or left turn or go straight. I have no idea. I just stop and take no decision [...] Until now I don't really know what to do. I can't feel a thing.

Some respondents were able to access psychological support, at least in the short-term. Nonetheless, professional counseling and psychological assistance were generally not available to trafficked persons. Some counseling was available to trafficked persons who stayed temporarily in government or NGO shelter programs, although this was not always the case. One young woman staying in a government shelter received no counseling over the months that she was in the program.

Counseling was generally not available once trafficking victims returned to live in their communities, which were, for the most part, in villages rather than towns and cities.⁸⁴ Some hospitals do have psychologists and social workers on staff but these are few in number and local medical clinics do not have staff equipped with counseling skills. Some government institutions do offer professional psychological assistance and have experience in working with trafficking victims but these are only available at the national, provincial and sometimes district level.⁸⁵ There are also social workers working in the Department of Social Affairs (*Dinsos*)⁸⁶ but they only work at a district level and are not posted at a sub-district or village level.⁸⁷ Even when social workers are available and trained in counseling, only a limited number are trained in working with trafficking victims and fewer still are familiar with and trained in the complexity of the reintegration of trafficking victims.⁸⁸

Some NGOs provide psychological assistance and support and have experience in working with trafficking victims. Service providers that provide shelter for trafficking victims often have a professional psychologist on staff or on call or are able to refer beneficiaries to professional psychological services, as needed. However, services are quite limited and largely concentrated in urban centers and the capital, Jakarta. Moreover, trafficked persons who did receive counseling were assisted only in the short-term – e.g. for the duration of a shelter stay or in the immediate aftermath of trafficking. Longer-term opportunities for counseling were limited, especially once victims were living back in their home communities.

⁸⁴ This is a general constraint of the social protection system, which also impacts trafficking victims. Dedicated mental health legislation does not exist in Indonesia, although some legal provisions concerning mental health are covered in other laws – e.g. Republic of Indonesia (2009) *Law on Health*, Number 36, Year 2009, Articles 144-151. See WHO (2011) 'Indonesia' in *Mental Health Atlas 2011*. Geneva: World Health Organization Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse.

⁸⁵ For example, within LK3 (*Lembaga Konsultasi Kesejahteraan Keluarga*/Family Welfare Consultation), RPTC (*Rumah Perlindungan dan Trauma Center*/House of Protection and Trauma Center), RPSA (*Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Anak*/Social Protection Home for Children), RPSW (*Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Wanita*/Social Protection Home for Women) and P2TP2A (*Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak*/Integrated Service Center for Women and Children)

⁸⁶ All social workers in Indonesia have been trained in counseling. In Indonesia, a social worker is someone who is licensed under the Social Worker Certification Institute (LSPS/*Lembaga Sertifikasi Pekerja Sosial*) or who has a university certificate in social work or social welfare. There is only one school of social work under the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA) and 37 universities that offer social work education in the framework of the social sciences.

⁸⁷ Social workers typically work at the provincial level (with between one to ten social workers assigned to the province) and at the district level (with between one to three social workers assigned to each district). Social workers are not typically found at the sub-district or village level but rather work through community volunteers (TKSK or *Tenaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Kecamatan*).

⁸⁸ Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute.



A local health clinic in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

In some organizations, trafficked persons were offered support through group counseling and discussions. Group counseling was not suitable for all trafficking victims and a number of respondents explained that they had declined this form of support. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, explained that she was not comfortable with this format as she did not trust others in the group and did not want to share her experiences with them.

Beyond professional counseling, emotional support was a critical need among many trafficking victims. As one man explained: “When someone has a problem inside, there is a tendency for the person to look for a friend to share it, to express it. Sometimes our head would explode [from this]”.

Some trafficked persons were able to rely on emotional support of family or friends. One young woman “Dian”⁸⁹ who was trafficked for prostitution, was initially assisted in a shelter before returning home to her family. This woman’s family was supportive (her step-father said: “We are just so happy being together with her again”) and worked very hard to ensure that she was feeling mentally and emotionally well within the family, as her mother explained: “I now treat her more carefully... I do not want her to feel unwelcome and leave. That is why when I am upset I keep it to myself”. Another woman, trafficked for domestic work to the Middle East, became pregnant as a result of rape, gave birth while in prison and returned to Indonesia with the child. She explained that her husband was supportive and accepted the child as his own: “She is treated like his own daughter... Even now, it does not matter how upset he is. He never says anything about it”.

However, many trafficked persons were not supported by family and friends and instead faced criticism, blame, distrust and rejection, which impacted their mental and emotional

⁸⁹ Discussed in Section 4.2: Vulnerability and resilience within the family environment. Not her real name. All names used in this study are pseudonyms, to protect privacy and confidentiality.

well-being. This was certainly an issue for women trafficked for prostitution, including the young woman (mentioned above) who was rejected by her family and literally cast out in the rain. But victims of other forms of trafficking also suffered from this lack of support. One man, trafficked for fishing, was detained abroad and rejected by his family once home as they believed he had been convicted of a crime (rather than being a victim of trafficking): “I only met my wife because my family was indifferent. They knew I came from prison. Only my wife still accepted me [...] even my own biological parents did not want to accept me at all... And other relatives did not comfort me. They stayed away from me”.

Some trafficked persons relied on their faith as a coping tool. One man, trafficked onto a fishing boat, explained, in tears, how his faith had been central in his mental well-being since his return: “If I returned as a sailor from [abroad] and I didn’t have that much faith, probably I would have gone out of my mind”. However, not all religious leaders have a clear understanding of the trafficking issue and some victims were treated poorly when they returned home. One woman, who returned home with a child born of rape while trafficked, was denounced as an adulterer over the village loudspeaker rather than understood and treated as a victim of rape and trafficking.



7.5 Summary

Many victims faced psychological issues, including being stressed, anxious, depressed and traumatized. In most, if not all cases, victims experienced the cumulative effect of multiple violations and traumas both as a consequence of trafficking and during reintegration.

Some victims faced problems before trafficking, which were often a function of economic problems. Other problems were linked to medical issues, the sickness or loss of loved ones, dysfunction and even violence within the family.

Many victims faced psychological and mental health issues as a direct consequence of the exploitation and abused suffered while trafficked. All respondents described some level of mental and/or emotional distress as a consequence of trafficking, including being abused and violated, witnessing the abuse of others, suffering harsh living and working conditions, being separated from their loved ones, being unpaid for their work and being ashamed about what had happened to them.

Some victims’ mental well-being was compromised by frightening and dangerous escapes from trafficking, being threatened and brutalized by employment agency staff prior to return home and being detained for long periods of time and deported.

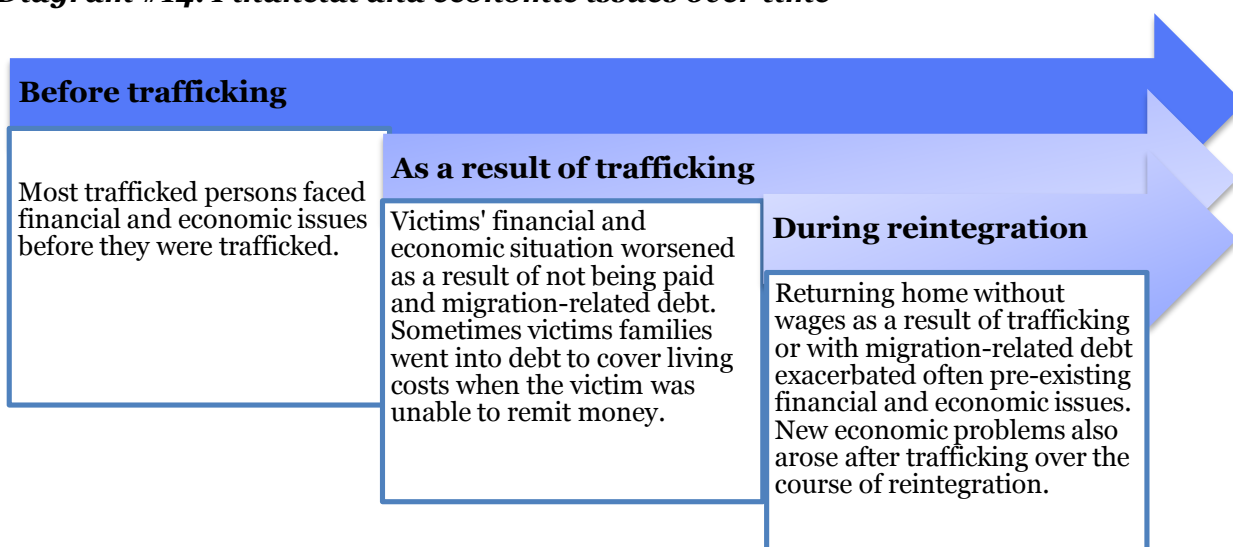
Other issues were linked to challenges faced during the reintegration process. Trafficked persons reported a range of psychological, mental and emotional issues during reintegration. Many described suffering serious and debilitating mental health issues at various stages of their post-trafficking lives. Much had happened while they were trafficked, including illness, poverty and even death in the family. Facing these changes and losses was mentally and emotionally taxing. Mental health and well-being of trafficked persons did change over the course of life after trafficking – sometimes improving, sometimes deteriorating.



8. Financial and economic issues

Economic and financial concerns were paramount in almost all interviews with trafficked persons. In many instances, financial and economic concerns preceded and contributed to individuals being trafficked. The individual's economic situation was an urgent and pressing issue, not only immediately upon return, but also in the longer-term. In some cases, trafficked persons' economic situations improved over time. In other cases, the situation deteriorated over the course of reintegration.

Diagram #14. Financial and economic issues over time



8.1 Economic issues prior to trafficking

Most trafficked person faced some type of financial or economic issues before they migrated. Sometimes economic issues created vulnerabilities to trafficking, as a woman, trafficked as a girl for sexual exploitation, explained of her family's situation:

...it was very difficult. We ate in a tray, with just five spoons. We were a family of seven, so we had to limit the rice... You can imagine how we lived... Sometimes we went to school without pocket money because there was nothing. My mother sometimes went to people's rice field and worked to harvest it. Sometimes we were woken up early in the morning to come along... We were small and we would steal food from the garden because we were hungry.

Some individuals were unemployed prior to trafficking and needed to find work or set up a business. In some cases, unemployment was coupled with debt, amplifying economic problems, as a woman, trafficked for domestic work, explained: "I had a lot of debt here.... How could I pay that if I waited for my husband's income? He has small income ...it was not enough. We had debt to pay - for school and, at that time, rice was expensive... It was hard to make money so I dared myself to go [abroad] to pay the debt".

Some trafficked persons were employed but did not earn enough to be able to live and/or support their families. One man, trafficked for fishing, described how his job as a motorcycle taxi driver could not support his growing family:

I bought a motorcycle in installments and I became a motorcycle taxi driver (*ojek*). Alhamdulillah [thank God], there was enough to eat and to pay for the rent until we had the first child. When the second child was born, I couldn't manage to live in Jakarta. It was too hard... I couldn't because there were more and more motorcycle taxi drivers. And more and more people have their own motorcycles... After the second child, I couldn't manage it anymore to live in Jakarta so I went jobless in the village.

Others wanted to set up a business but lacked the capital to do so. One man described how his need for capital for his duck breeding business was the main catalyst for his migration, which ended up in a trafficking situation: "If we invest more money, our profit will also bigger. That was what motivated me to work on the ship. I wanted to save money and then I would get back to that business. [...] I was just started the business and I needed more capital".

In a handful of cases, respondents were employed at home and earned a reasonable living but wanted to earn enough to realize their dreams and ambitions. One man, trafficked for fishing, was steadily employed before trafficking, but as he explained: "[The recruiter] came to my house. He told me that there was a good job offered overseas working on a good ship and he said that the salary could reach up to five to six million IDR [455-545USD] per month. I was interested then. I decided to quit my job and I choose to work overseas".



A small business in a trafficking-affected village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

8.2 Economic problems as a result of trafficking

Because most trafficked persons remitted or returned home with little to no money, pre-existing economic and financial problems were compounded by trafficking experiences and migration-related debt.

Migration-related debt often augmented existing economic vulnerability. Most trafficked persons initially migrated for work through formal recruitment/placement agencies (or at least what they thought were formal and legal recruitment agencies). This meant paying recruitment fees and travel costs to agencies and brokers, as one man, trafficked for fishing, explained: “I went through a recruitment agency. [...] I got hooked from the beginning. Then there were these prerequisites including eight million IDR [727USD] in cash for going abroad. [...] All I know was that eight million IDR [727USD] covers all expenses such as passport fee, seaman’s book”. Another man, also trafficked for fishing, spoke of the costs he and his family incurred to prepare for his migration:

At that time the process took around three months and more. I had to go back and forth at my own expense. Even my parents sold their jewelry to buy some medicines and to pay for my other expenses and also to prepare other related things... When we made a seaman’s book we had to pay 400,000 IDR [36USD] to that agent”.

Debt was also used by recruitment agencies to control victims and prevent them from withdrawing from migration. There were also often many layers of recruitment costs to different parties – brokers/recruiters, job agencies – and many costs were introduced only once prospective migrant workers had begun the process and were unable to withdraw, as one man explained of his experience:

I was tempted by the income, working abroad with this amount of salary and bonus. It was pathetic when I came to the company. I could not do anything. They charged me to enter and it was a one-sided contract. If I could not go, I had to pay a fine of 25 million IDR [2273USD]. [...] I wanted to break the contract but I was forced. I had to sign the contract before departure or I had to pay the fine to reimburse the ticket. I knew in the contract that the salary was small, not as was promised by sponsor... 200USD for the first year, 220USD for second year, whereas the promised salary was 350USD [...] I did not want to go if salary in the contract was that amount... It was unilateral action from company and sponsor, “Sign it or not! But you have to pay for the ticket and cost of documents, a total of 25 million IDR [2273USD].

Some individuals incurred debt to family or friends; others borrowed money from moneylenders or institutions. One man who had borrowed money from relatives in his village was unable to pay this debt and, as a result, had not been able to return to his home since his return four years ago. This, in turn, further compromised his ability to work and save money as he needed to find work and housing in Jakarta:

...I have not worked since I came home. Tragically, since I came to Indonesia, I have not yet seen my home. I do not have the courage to go home, because I have debt. I have debt to my relative of about 30 million IDR [2727USD]. Until now, I do not have the courage to go home. I do not know what my home looks like now. [...] [My family] cries each time I call. They want to see me but I do not want to go home, because I cannot face my relative. I am ashamed. [My family] do not even know if I got married.

In other instances, debt was a consequence of trafficking victims having to pay their travel home. Most Indonesian trafficking victims interviewed were not formally identified abroad, which meant that they were not offered assistance including return transportation. A number of trafficked persons funded their own travel home or borrowed money from their families to cover these costs.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ This occurred even when victims were identified as trafficked. One domestic worker, trafficked to the Middle East, was formally identified as a trafficking victim by the Indonesian Embassy abroad. Nonetheless, her parents were contacted by Embassy staff to pay for her plane ticket home, costs that would have bankrupted the already impoverished family.

In addition, because trafficking victims were unable to remit money while exploited, their families often went into debt to cover living expenses, schooling and other basic needs during their absence. One man described his stress and sadness of returning home to this situation: “Could you imagine, the burden of three children while my wife [was sick and] could not work? We had a lot of debt because the children were still very small”. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, described returning home to a three million IDR [273USD] debt to her sister-in-law, which her mother had borrowed to support her two small children during her absence.

Being in debt was a source of considerable stress for many respondents. One man, trafficked for fishing, when asked about his greatest challenge upon coming home, stressed his debt: “Debts. Trapped in debts. We departed with leaving debts. [I was indebted to a] relative but it does not matter. When you owe someone, you have to repay, even if it is to relative, particularly, those who already have a family”.

Debt often had very real and serious implications for trafficked persons and their families including losing homes or land, individuals undertaking risky re-migration and going into further debt. One domestic worker who had migrated on six occasions – twice successfully, and four exploitative/trafficking situations – explained that she was still in debt as a consequence of her last migration/trafficking experience and was planning to migrate again to pay off this debt:

But I still want to migrate again since I need to pay for my child’s tuition fee. It is two million IDR [182USD]. I want my children to go to school until high school. I do not want my children to have the same experience, lack of education, like me. So I borrowed some money from the money-lender. Next January, I will migrate again. If I go, my debt can be paid off. [...] I want to send my children to school and also I have some debt. [...] I haven’t paid for my last experiences of migration. I borrowed 1.5 million IDR [136USD] so I have to pay back of three million IDR [273USD]. In this village, it is so difficult to paid off that amount of debt.⁹¹

8.3 Economic issues during reintegration

Economic issues and concerns were very prominent over the course of reintegration. Financial and economic considerations were highlighted consistently and prominently by trafficking victims as central to their long-term reintegration.

Trafficked persons described feelings of shame, discomfort and embarrassment about returning home without money. One trafficked fisher, who had been home for over a year, explained that the hardest thing he faced in coming home was his shame at returning empty-handed and his fear that his family would not accept him home as a consequence:

[The biggest challenge] was to face the family... to explain to my family that I returned home without bringing any money. Would they or would they not accept me? That was the point because I left for quite a long time. It had been years... That was the hardest. To explain what happened was the hardest. Would they accept me when I didn’t bring any money? That was what I worried about.

⁹¹ This woman eventually did migrate as a domestic worker to the Middle East to pay this debt and support her children. We met her shortly after her return from this experience that, once again, was exploitative. She worked there for eight months during which time she was not paid or treated properly by her employer. She managed to leave her situation by pretending her mother was ill and asking to go home temporarily. While she was home safely, she was in further debt because of the migration fees/debt.

Said another trafficked man: “In the first two months, my family helped me. Frankly, I felt sorry because we became the burden of my parents”.

Economic opportunities – whether running a small business or having a job – were central in the reintegration process. Many key informants working with trafficking victims stressed the need for economic opportunities and financial support. One service provider, when asked about victims’ assistance needs, said simply: “They need work. This is a big demand. We need to focus on their return to work”. Moreover, victims themselves talked about needing a job or capital to set up a business.

Box #12. Economic needs during reintegration

Actually I wanted some capital, capital to support my family. [...] I wish for the financial capital for business, so that I would not go far away for sailing again”. (*Man trafficked on a fishing boat*)

It would be better if they provided us with funds so we would not return to the bad place anymore, so we could have a business and not look for that job anymore. (*Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation*)

Economic assistance to Indonesian trafficking victims typically involved receiving an individual or group grant to set up a business. However, very few men and women interviewed for this study had received this assistance or knew where or how they could access this form of support.

Those trafficked persons who had received a business loan or grant often lacked the requisite skills needed to design and run a successful business. One man, trafficked for labor, described his previous attempt to run a business and the reasons for its failure: “I made a business of sandals. Before it started, I took five million IDR [455USD] and it turned out to be a mess. I did not make any profit... I just acted blindly because I wanted to earn something”.

Trafficked persons who did receive a business grant were not typically guided or monitored through this process. Program staff or “social guides” (*pendamping*)⁹² tasked with overseeing and monitoring trafficking victim’s small business development⁹³ did not typically have expertise in small business design or management. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, explained how she had accessed a government loan program to start a small business but had failed because she lacked the requisite skills:

⁹² *Pendamping* [“social guides” or “social assistants”] support people assisted through social welfare programs at a village level. They are not trained social workers, but instead come from other professional fields like education, law and administration. They generally do not have training or experience in working with vulnerable groups, including trafficking victims. In some cases, *pendamping* may be former trafficking victims who have been employed by the local government or NGOs to support trafficking victims in setting up a business or some other aspect of reintegration. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 88.

⁹³ In 2015, the Ministry of Social Affairs (through its Social Rehabilitation Directorate) initiated a program for the economic empowerment of female trafficking victims and drafted implementation guidelines for related activities. Under this program, “Training and Assistance of Victims of Trafficking” (*Pelatihan dan Pendampingan Korban Trafficking*), the Ministry of Social Affairs is currently assisting 600 female trafficking victims to set up small businesses. Each trafficking victim receives a grant of 5 million IDR [450USD], as well as support from the “social guides”. The program is currently being implemented in the provinces of West Java, East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), Lampung and Malang and includes women trafficked for sexual exploitation as well as domestic work. A total of 40 guides have been trained by the Ministry to support victims in this process. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, pp. 41-42.

I was informed that the government could help us to lend capital to start a small business. [...]After I received the money, I still could not manage it. Then I failed again. I felt that I did not want this help again, dealing with money was so difficult and the issue of money was sensitive. [...] I got 1.5 million IDR [136USD] as a capital to start a small business. I made handicrafts. But I did not continue the program. It failed and I did not want to borrow more. [...] There was no training or capital that can teach us to sustain the economic empowerment. They just gave me some money to borrow and told me to discuss with my neighbor what we wanted to do with this money. The program did not really educate us. We trained ourselves and tried to sell anything that is valuable. [...] I think I need some vocational training to increase my skills.

Similarly, one man, trafficked for labor, explained that capital needs to be accompanied by professional training and support to be effective and successful: “I suggest that [the organization] at least can help more or at least give them economic training. If [organizations and institutions] just give the money and they do not know how to manage it, it will be useless”.



Man running a small food business in his village. Food stalls are a common form of small business in Indonesia. Photo: Peter Biro.

A common model of economic support provided to trafficking victims was group business assistance.⁹⁴ While this was successful in some cases, many trafficking victims interviewed for this study described challenges and failures faced when receiving this type of assistance. One man who was involved in a group business project that subsequently failed described

⁹⁴ The Ministry of Social Affairs offers a program called Group Economic Business Assistance (GEBA or KUBE) for poor individuals, through which ten individuals apply as a group for business funding. Successful proposals receive 20 million IDR [approximately 1820USD]. Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute, p. 53.

the difficulties due to different people's skills and motivations: "It is better to manage it individually than in a group. If it is in a group, there are people who are active and others who are not". Another man, trafficked for labor, described being offered assistance as part of a joint business venture with other trafficking victims but declined this support:

[They asked], "Do you want to join this [business] group?" No, I don't... If we don't have the same mind set, it's hard. [...] It's better to have individual assistance... I really resent being thrown together with others who do not share the same principles as me. It's better for me to be alone because then I would be solely responsible for myself.

In some situations, failed businesses amplified victims' economic problems, even leading to debt (or further debt). One man, trafficked for labor, took a loan to set up a business but the business failed and he was forced to repay the loan and also the credit: "When the business failed after six months, I still had to pay off the installments for six months. [...] It was a burden, even though there was nothing to be confiscated. But, as citizen, I should pay off the installments anyway. *Alhamdulillah* [thank God] it was finally paid off".

Economic success was informed and influenced by the generally poor economic climate in the country and more specifically in trafficking victims' home communities. Victims returning to their home communities, for the most part, were unable to find reliable employment. One man, trafficked on a fishing boat, was unemployed when he returned home and still unemployed 18 months later: "My condition is still unemployed. I still ask for money from my parents if I want to take care of the case. The situation is still like this. It is still not enough. [I am] not self-sufficient. [...] [My economic situation], it's getting worse. I don't have any money at all". Similarly one woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, spoke about her need for work, but also how difficult it was for her to find work now that she was home. She stressed this as her most urgent and, as yet, unresolvable issue: "I don't want business assistance but I need work. [...] I don't want to depend on people. I want to be independent. I am ashamed to always depend on people".

Some respondents needed to migrate to other districts and provinces to be able to find work to support their families. Some also re-migrated abroad for work as they could not find work in the country. In other cases, victims' family members migrated for work, to be able to repay debt and/or earn money to support their family. One man, trafficked abroad for labor, was unable to find a job in Indonesia and so, at the time of the first interview, his wife was working as a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia to repay his debt. Another man described a similar situation upon his return home after trafficking:

When I came back to the village, I had a lot of debt with the need for children to go to school and I slept in my in-law's house. Finally, I discussed with my wife that we, my wife as well, had to go [abroad], with the objective to pay back the debt. [...] My wife departed in 2009... She has already been twice to the Middle East. [...] The second time is already one and half year, *Alhamdulillah* [thank God] I can work in the rice fields and we can eat the harvest. I never buy rice. We need only to buy the side dishes.

Some trafficked persons were working prior to their migration but were unable to return to their positions after their return. One man who had been working in a company prior to his departure was unable to return to this job and struggled to find work: "The heaviest challenge was being unemployed. I didn't know how to earn money. [...] The [company] didn't want to accept me back because I left them. [...] They told me that people leaving the company were no longer accepted to work there. We were blacklisted". Blacklisting was also an issue for returned fishermen who sought placements with other crewing companies but were not accepted for work because they had "made trouble" with other crewing agencies.

In addition, many trafficked persons were unable to work after trafficking because of illness or injury, which meant not being able to earn money, and commonly, incurring debt (or further debt).⁹⁵

Lack of education was another barrier in finding work, as one man explained when asked what could be done to better assist trafficked persons: “Maybe also focus on finding work opportunities for people with low education, like me”.

Some women trafficked for sexual exploitation were unable to find work because of discrimination. One woman, trafficked for prostitution, was assisted in a government program where she completed vocational training as a nanny/babysitter. However, she described how she faced discrimination from prospective employers because her certificate was issued by the department working with women trafficked into prostitution, making it clear that she had previously been trafficked for sexual exploitation.

No one accepted me even when I gave them my certificate. They said they don’t want to because I will steal their husbands or I am a whore. The mothers are afraid. [...] And maybe it’s because of my age too. So wherever I asked for a job they didn’t want to hire me because of my background, or they were afraid that I would steal their husband or they just didn’t like a woman like me. I felt hopeless and stopped searching for jobs.

Even those who were able to find work struggled to earn enough money to meet their economic needs and commitments. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to Malaysia, described coming home and being unable to earn enough to support her family: “The economic condition was so difficult. At that time I had one son, six years old. My husband sometimes did not want to work to earn money. Sometimes we fought because of our economic situation. I worked at anything. Sometimes I got 25,000 IDR [2.27USD]. My husband sometimes got 40,000 IDR [3.64USD] a day, but [it was] uncertain”. Another returned domestic worker described struggling to feed her small children:

I have to work hard and sell anything, cooked vegetables and fish, whatever. Sometimes we have no rice. I only got 20,000 to 30,000 IDR [1.82 to 2.73USD] per day from that work. It is not enough. The vegetables are cooked by my neighbor, it’s not mine. If I sell 1,000 IDR [0.09USD] per package, I will get a profit of 200 IDR [0.02USD]. If I sell 100 packages then my profit will be 20,000 IDR [1.82USD] per day. [...] The most challenging is our economic situation.

Like many respondents in this study, this woman (and her family’s) ability to earn enough money had not substantially improved over the five years since she had been home. She had since remarried and she and her husband were able to support the needs of the family. However, their economic situation remained challenging as she explained at her second interview:

Our economic condition is still difficult. However it is better than when I arrived. My husband is working as a construction worker (*kuli bangunan*) and earns 50,000 IDR [4.55USD] a day. But it is not certain. I support the family by working for whoever needs my help. Sometime I am a porter, taking rice. They give me 5,000 IDR [0.45USD] for two sacks. Sometimes I only get 10,000 IDR [0.91USD] sometime 30,000 IDR [2.73USD] a day. It is not enough anyway. Sometimes, I borrow from the neighbors for our daily needs. Now I still have debt around one million IDR [91USD].

⁹⁵ Please see Section 6: Health situation and physical well-being for more details about illness and injuries that impacted reintegration.

It is hard to pay that debt. Our income is not enough to pay the debt. [...] I really want to have a house for my children so that we do not have to stay at the mother-in-laws' house any longer. I need some money to buy land. I have no land yet. There is no assistance until now. Maybe I have to work and save the money. But how come? It's difficult.

Those who were able to find work often struggled with the poor conditions and low wages. One man, trafficked for labor, described the conditions of his job upon return to Indonesia as worse than when he was trafficked:

I worked as a laborer and got 10,000 IDR [0.91USD] per day and I thought that this is worse than [when trafficked]. We breathed in dust from the combustion. My friend vomited blood for three months. I almost got lung disease and after three months I quit. I got 400,000 or 500,000 IDR [36 or 45USD] for a month there. It's not enough.

Many trafficked persons (and their family members) worked as casual laborers with uncertain income, as one trafficked man explained of his situation: "Being a laborer means unsteady income. Sometimes there is work and sometimes there isn't. [...] Sometimes I stay at home when there isn't any work. Like now, it has been one month without work".



Villagers working in the fields of West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Labor protections were also generally weak. One man who was able to find work after his return subsequently lost his job when the factory terminated many positions. He described how he received no compensation from the company upon his termination: "[I received] no compensation at all, only the salary I got during my work. It should, at least, be one month or half the wages for lessening our burden or so. [...] It was four years [working there] ... But there was no compensation or anything... nothing".

The process of finding work often involved trafficking victims having to pay brokers and staff in various companies to get a job. Said one man: “Even if we have a school certificate, we still need money to get a job now, at least two to three million IDR [182 to 273USD]. I do not know what would happen with someone who doesn’t have school certificate. Maybe they will just cut the line when we talk”. Moreover, some respondents described being deceived in this (corrupt) job placement process: “I got scammed to work at [a car factory]. I had to bribe [the staff] 1.8 or two million IDR [164 or 182USD]. I paid it and they told me to come but no one was there and a month later I asked them to give my money back. Then after two months, I asked for my money back again but they only gave me 800,000 IDR [73USD]”. One man was deceived by his own relative who worked at the factory and tricked him into paying more than two million IDR [182USD] for a job in the factory: “I firstly met my relative, my relative who is working at [that] factory.... He said the cost was two million IDR [182USD] plus the application, while the remaining one million IDR [91USD] will be when I come to work”. At the time of the second interview he was still struggling to find work and support his family.

Victims also faced additional financial issues that emerged over the course of reintegration. This was often related to the need to support one’s family. Many victims had children after returning and needed also to support them and send them to school. Some victims had elderly or ailing relatives for whom they needed to care. In a handful of cases, victims’ children had since had children of their own (including as a result of teen pregnancy) which meant also supporting grandchildren. One man, trafficked for fishing, was already in a difficult financial situation after his return. However, his situation deteriorated further after he married and had his first child. Because of complications during delivery, his wife required an emergency caesarean section and hospitalization, which cost a great deal and augmented his existing debt: “I borrowed some amount of money from my relatives for the expenses of giving birth. It was not a hundred or two hundred. It is millions. Even if she would give birth normally, not through a caesarean section, still I would need to look for some money to cover it”.

In most cases, economic and financial issues related to trafficking affected victims’ family members. Victims’ families, in many instances, assumed responsibility for their loved ones. One man, trafficked for fishing, described having to rely financially on his parents after his return: “Thank God, at that time my parents were all working. They heard about my condition there and were obliged to work to earn money in case I had needs unexpectedly... They started working when I called and informed them that I was detained... Furthermore, my parents were thinking of selling anything [to help me]”.

Many trafficked persons faced recriminations from family members for their perceived failure. One woman, trafficked for domestic work, described reproach from her family: “My husband was disappointed [with] me because I did not bring back anything. But he did not say it verbally. It was untold but his attitude to me was different - full of sadness and upset. [...] My elder daughter was a bit angry at me. Maybe she was disappointed because I could not fulfil her needs”. Similarly, one man, trafficked for labor, described how his wife blamed him for not having come home with money and how their on-going economic problems were the source of family discord:

It is a matter of economy... We are lacking financial stability and there are times when my wife gets mad at me. I just accept that. [...] Harmony is possible only if there is enough to cover for one’s family needs. [...] When my children ask for money, she yells and tells them to go to me for the money. It is understandable considering that I didn’t provide for my family at the time.



A woman with her vegetable stand in Jakarta. Economic assistance, such as capital to start a business, is an important form of assistance for former trafficking victims. Photo: Peter Biro.

Failed migration and economic problems also led to discrimination within the wider social environment as illustrated by the experiences of a number of returned trafficking victim in the box below.

Box #13. Discrimination and stigma because of economic problems

I was so frustrated and depressed after I left for one year but I did not bring any money to support my family. I felt ashamed too since all of my neighbors always talked badly about me. [...] They talked badly about my condition. They blamed me [...] The challenge was that we did not have any money. My husband also did not have a stable job at that time. I felt ashamed of my unsuccessful experience. I felt guilty since I could not buy anything for my son. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

The most difficult thing was how to get my salary. [...] I felt embarrassed because I came home without money after working away for years. I felt embarrassed in front of my neighbors. I didn't want to go out. I was ashamed. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

Economic problems also impacted social relations in other ways. One young man, trafficked for fishing and home for nearly a year and a half, talked about wanting to get married but being unable to do so without a job: "I want to get married. I have not been married yet. [...] I have no [girlfriend]. How can I? I'm still jobless. [...] If I get work I can marry, using my own money". Another man described how he lacked the courage to meet his friends without money: "Without money I'm making no friends. Without money I don't have enough courage to go out to socialize".

8.4 Summary

Economic and financial concerns were paramount in almost all interviews with trafficked persons. These were urgent and pressing issues, not only immediately upon return, but also in the longer-term. Most trafficked person faced financial and economic issues before they migrated. And, because most trafficked persons remitted or returned home with little to no money, pre-existing economic and financial problems were compounded by trafficking experiences and migration-related debt.

Many trafficked persons faced economic difficulty over the course of reintegration. They struggled to set up a business or to find work in their home communities. Some respondents migrated to other districts and provinces to be able to work to support their families. Some also re-migrated abroad for work. In other cases, victims' family members migrated, to repay debt and/or earn money to support their families. Even those who were able to find work struggled to earn enough money to meet their economic needs and commitments. In some cases, trafficked persons' economic situations improved over time. More commonly though, victims' economic situation stagnated or deteriorated over the course of reintegration. Other economic problems also arose after trafficking, leading to (or adding on to the existing) economic problems and pressures. Families of trafficked persons, in many instances, assumed responsibility for their loved ones. Some trafficked persons faced serious recriminations from family members for their perceived failure, as well within the wider social environment.



9. Education, life skills and professional training opportunities

Trafficked persons interviewed for this study came from different education and professional backgrounds. Educational attainment ranged from first grade to completion of senior high school or vocational senior secondary school, as outlined in the table below.

Table #8. Education level of respondents, disaggregated by sex and form of trafficking

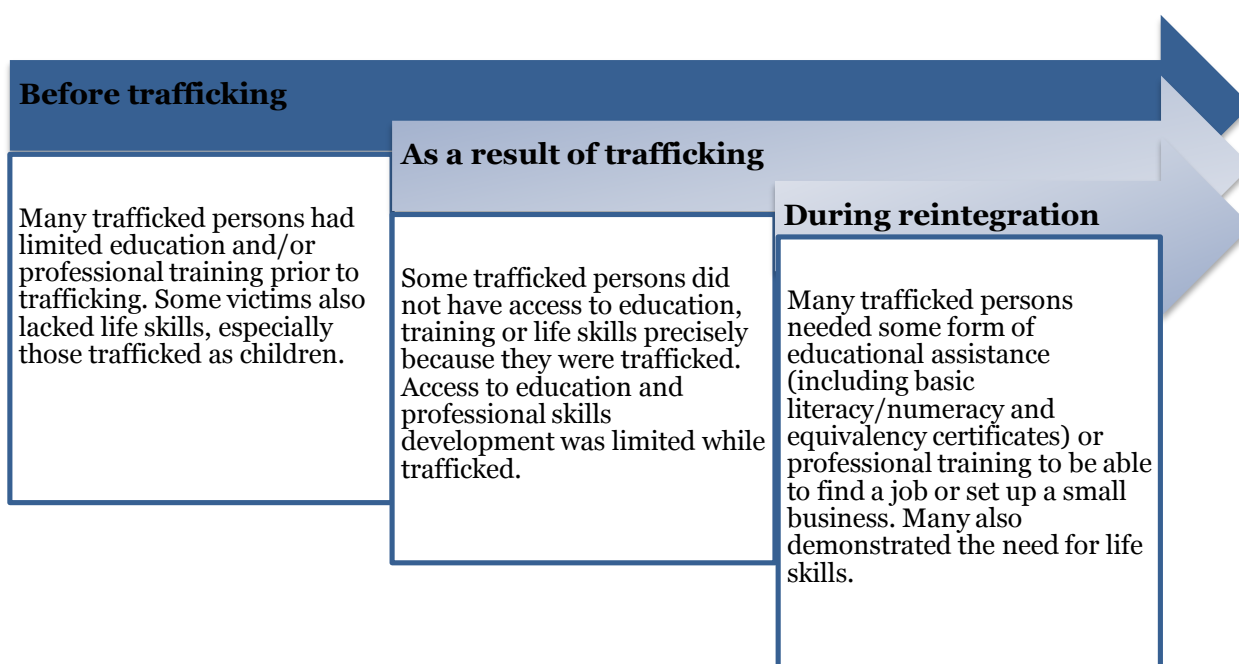
	Males (n=49)		Females (n=59)	
	Trafficked for fishing	Trafficked for other forms of labor	Trafficked for domestic work	Trafficked for sexual exploitation
Level of education	# of persons	# of persons	# of persons	# of persons
Some elementary school (grade 1-6)	15	9	31	10
Junior high school (grade 7-9)	4	3	4	6
Senior high school (grade 10-12)	8	5	3	4
Vocational school	5	0	0	0
Did not answer	0	0	1	0

Some trafficked persons did not have access to education, skills or training before being trafficked. Some victims lacked education, life skills and training as a direct consequence of being trafficked, especially those trafficked as children. In some instances, education, skills and training needs arose in the period after trafficking and over the course of reintegration. Respondents described a range of educational and training needs, including formal⁹⁶ and informal education,⁹⁷ professional and vocational training and, in some cases, life skills.

⁹⁶ Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (*Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*) prescribes 9 years of compulsory education. Elementary school (called SD – *Sekolah Dasar* or MI – *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*) is six years. Junior high school (called SMP – *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* or MT – *Madrasah Tsanawiyah*) is three years (grade 7 to 9), at the end of which students sit the national examination to be able to continue to secondary education. Senior high school (called SMA – *Sekolah Menengah Atas* or SMU *Sekolah Menengah Umum* or MA – *Madrasah Aliyah*) consists of three grades (grade 10-12). Secondary vocational education (called SMK – *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* or MAK – *Madrasah Aliyah Kejuruan*) consists of three or four grades. Higher education is available through colleges, universities, institutes, polytechnics and academies.

⁹⁷ Formal education refers to the structured educational system provided by the state. In most countries, formal education is state-supported and state-operated. Non-formal education is that which takes place outside of the formally organized school system. Non-formal education is not compulsory, does not involve formal certification and may or may not be state-supported. Non-formal education generally centers around “catch up” tutoring toward subsequent enrolment in the formal school system and examination preparation. Many organizations undertake such classes in close cooperation with the public school system, following similar curricula to the formal system. However, informal education also includes basic literacy workshops, foreign language classes and information technology (IT) courses.

Diagram #15. Education, life skills and professional training needs over time



9.1 Education, training and life skills before trafficking

Many trafficked persons interviewed for this study had limited education. Some respondents lacked even the most basic literacy and numeracy; others described discomfort with reading and writing.

Box #14. Educational background of trafficking victims before trafficking

[I attended] just primary school. My writing is already good but sometimes I have forgotten it. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

When I was in junior high school, I was smart. I proved it when I was in junior high school, I got [second rank in the class] ...but because of economic reasons I could not continue. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I did not finish primary school. I only made it for two years. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I can read [and write] just a little bit but I am nervous. I am nervous a lot. I can write. I can write but I must be calm and I must not be shaking. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I dropped out [from] primary school... for me, it was better to search for money and help my parents. It was also hard to find the money to pay for school so I just worked so I could help my mother. Whatever I earned I gave her. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

[I completed] just primary school until fifth grade because my parents were poor and my mother could not afford it. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

We did not have the money. My parents in the village did not have the money for school. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

[I graduated from] junior high school... [but I did not continue to high school because] at that time, our economy was not good. (*Man trafficked for labor*)

I did not have a school diploma because I left the primary school in the third grade. (*Girl trafficked for sexual exploitation*)

Many victims were unable to complete their education due to economic problems in the family – either because their families could not afford tuition and/or because they needed to work to earn money.

Many victims spoke about dropping out of school due to economic reasons. One woman, who was subsequently trafficked into prostitution, described her very limited education during childhood and the constraints her family faced in her attending school: “I went to school only until second grade because my family couldn’t afford the tuition. I stayed in first grade for two years and second grade also for two years because I never got tuition for that”. Her parents took her out of school and sent her to Jakarta when she was 13 years old to work as a domestic worker to help support her family. After a short period of time her father forced her into prostitution in Jakarta. Another woman, trafficked as a girl, explained that it was not only the cost of education but all of the ancillary costs that made it difficult for poor families to afford to keep their children in school leading many children to drop out of school:

In my hometown, if we did not pay for monthly tab or for building or for something, we didn’t get the certificate and report cards. We never knew if we would pass to the next grade or not. The teachers made us move to the next grade but I was still indebted for a year. There were a lot of children in my hometown who faced the same situation as I did. Because we felt ashamed we stopped going to school.



Children at play in a village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Lack of education was a barrier to economic opportunities, which, in turn, intersected with trafficking risk. One man, trafficked for fishing, explained how his low education meant he struggled to find work in Indonesia and needed to migrate: “[I migrated] because I have low education. If I want to work in the office, I need a diploma. So finally I dared myself to go when someone offered me work abroad”. Another man, trafficked for fishing, was struggling to find work because he lacked the requisite education for most jobs “...my wife had to work because it is impossible for me to work. Maybe [I can work] in a construction project [but] I do not have a diploma”. Lack of education was also an issue for trafficking victims’ family members. One woman, formerly trafficked into prostitution, expressed frustration that her husband was unable to get a job because of his lack of education which added to the pressure on her to support her family: “... my husband has no school certificate so it’s difficult to get a job. School certificates should not be the only requirement in getting a job”.

Many respondents (both male and female) lacked professional or vocational skills, which generally led them to become migrant workers. One man, trafficked on a fishing boat, explained he was interested in learning any skill that could translate into work: “For my personal needs, I require vocational skills. [...] Any kind [of skills], as long as it can be used in the wider public. [...] I would be interested in becoming a mechanic or doing flat tire repair”.

That being said, some respondents had higher levels of education and professional skills, including fisheries vocational school, automotive vocational school and an engineering high school. Moreover, one man was a professional photographer who had previously run a portrait studio in his home community. Another man was a skilled tradesman and prominent trade unionist. Another man was a professional football player.



9.2 Lack of education, training and life skills as a result of trafficking

In some situations, trafficked persons did not have access to education, training or life skills precisely because they were trafficked. This was particularly common among women who had been trafficked into prostitution as girls. A number of girls were taken out of school by parents who forced them into prostitution.

In addition, girls and young women in prostitution were not permitted by pimps/madams to continue their studies. One woman described how she sought a path out of prostitution by trying to study and learn a skill but she was beaten by her madam because she was tired at night when she was supposed to serve clients: “I felt that there was a place for me, like this was the path for me to get out of there. I did not really want to be there so after I knew [the NGO], I just thought that I could practice reading or use the computer until evening. Then I felt sleepy and my aunt hit me with wood”.

Being in prostitution as a girl or young woman not only limited access to formal education, but also generally inhibited the development of life skills.⁹⁸ One woman, trafficked as a teenager, described how she struggled to assert herself against her aunt (also her exploiter/“pimp”) and did not know how to manage many life situations. As she said of her own behavior: “I was so stupid, only silent”.

⁹⁸ Life skills are problem-solving behaviors used to manage personal affairs and to handle issues commonly encountered in daily life. Life skills may be acquired through teaching and/or direct experience. These skills often include the following: interpersonal skills (to deal appropriately with others), listening skills (e.g. to empathize and understand), communication skills, negotiation skills (e.g. to be assertive, avoid conflict), problem-solving, decision-making, skills in coping with emotions, relationships skills, and basic literacy and numeracy skills. Life skills can be key in helping trafficked persons to cope with their trafficking experiences and move on constructively with their lives.

Trafficking also inhibited access to vocational training opportunities. Most work for which trafficked persons were qualified was unskilled and did not translate into the development of new professional skills over the course of their exploitation.



9.3 Issues of education, training and life skills during reintegration

Many trafficked persons needed some form of education or professional training to be able to find a job or set up a small business. A number of trafficked persons needed to continue their education (or obtain an equivalency certificate) to be able to apply for jobs.

A number of respondents were interested in attending non-formal education and/or receiving an equivalency diploma, however they faced administrative barriers in this process.⁹⁹ One woman spoke about not having the requisite documents to register for this program:

Alhamdulillah [thank God] I can read and write even though I didn't go to school, even though I still can't read well and my writing is like a doodle. [...] I wanted to [take the elementary school equivalent exam] but it requires the exam participant to have birth certificate, which I don't have. [...] Apart from my family card, identity card, I don't have a birth certificate and I couldn't take the exam.

The cost of the program was also prohibitive for some respondents. Additionally, registration in the program does not guarantee successfully passing the exam and earning the diploma, which was a concern for persons who did not have a strong educational background or support/help with studying.

Other trafficked persons needed some form of professional training to be able to find work or find a job in another field. One woman, trafficked into prostitution, described needing training to be able to leave prostitution. Very few trafficked persons had access to professional or vocational training over the course of reintegration.

Some vocational training is available from the state through PKBM (*Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat* or Community Learning Center), which is under the Ministry of Education. Every village has at least one PKBM and local authorities - e.g. staff of village or neighborhood (*Rukun Tetangga* or RT) or harmonious citizens (*Rukun Warga* or RW) - are responsible for informing the community about this program. Training is free of charge and those accepted to attend these programs receive a certificate and a tool kit. Vocational and life skills training are also provided through the PSBR (*Panti Sosial Bina Remaja* or Youth Center), which is under the Ministry of Social Affairs. Through PSBR there are institutional-based services (e.g. training while staying in a shelter) and home-based services (e.g. training received while living at home). Candidates can register themselves or can be referred by the Department of Social Affairs (*Dinas Sosial*) or an NGO, based on a needs assessment of the PSBR team. However, vocational training is targeted at young people (15 to 18 years old) or school age children who have dropped out of formal school. Beyond the age eligibility criteria, another barrier is that some youth are unable to provide the requisite documents (e.g. birth certificate and family card) to enroll and participate in these programs.

⁹⁹ KEJAR (*Kelompok Belajar* or Studying Group or Working Group) is a non-formal education program facilitated by the Government of Indonesia for students who have not completed their formal education. KEJAR consists of three education packages: Package A, Package B and Package C. Package A is for those who have not completed elementary school; package B is for those who have not finished junior high school; and package C is for those who have not completed senior high school. Students must enroll with the administering agency Community Learning Center (CLC), which is officially registered with the Ministry of Education. Each participant can attend class and/or sit an equivalency exam organized by the Ministry of National Education.

When vocational training was available, it did not always respond to individual skills and interests or the labor market where trafficked persons were reintegrating. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, explained that, after rescue, she was assisted in a shelter program where she was offered training as a beautician which she was not interested in: “I ignored the [training] because I was not interested. Especially beauty salon skills. I don’t like that skill”.

By contrast, one woman, trafficked into prostitution, received training in working with computers, which allowed her to subsequently take an office/administrative position: “The most useful one for me are the skill courses. The knowledge given to me was computer skill courses”. Similarly, one woman was assisted by an NGO staff member to learn computer skills. This training, while informal and *ad hoc*, provided her with an important professional skill, which she has since translated into a small Internet business that helps her to support her family of five children and unemployed husband: “I opened an Internet cafe business, *Alhamdulillah* [thank God]. I have five children... I used to live in [the NGO shelter] and from [the NGO] I learned computers. I decided to open an Internet cafe business”.

In some cases, vocational training was not sufficient to build professional skills and capacity. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, was offered vocational training but was dissatisfied with the quality: “[The training] was only for one week. [...] It was not a good course. [...] For example when I cut someone’s hair, I did not need to care if it would turn out bad. It’s not like a proper course for hairdressing. The proper course would take months until the students can do it on their own. The course that I attended was not like that”. Another woman who attended a vocational training course expressed similar disappointment and frustration:

How about the victims of trafficking who really needs support? We need a training and vocational training that can support our daily need. Yes, for example, [the institution] promised to give us beauty and make-up training. But the trainings and the tools were not completed and appropriate. No [certificate]. [...] They promised us a bed so that we can use it for facial. But the reality, it was different. [...] All the participants were so disappointed.

Some training programs offered to trafficking victims were “identifying” – e.g. the training certificate was from an institution or organization that was recognizable for assisting trafficking victims. One woman mentioned earlier was assisted in a government program where she was trained as a nanny/babysitter and received a certificate upon completion of the course. However, she explained that she was unable to find work because her training certificate was issued by an institution assisting women who were formerly in prostitution.

They taught us how to care for babies, babysitting. They told us we would be certified. That would make it easier for us to find jobs. But when I showed the certificate when applying for jobs, I still get rejected. [...] There was writing on it [about being a ex-prostitute]. So the mothers did not want us to work at their house. [...] If there were no such labels, I would be able to find a job somewhere.

Trafficked persons also needed training and support in setting up and running a business.¹⁰⁰ One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, received a grant to set up a small business upon her return to Indonesia, but ultimately her business failed, largely because she did not have (nor did she receive) the skills to establish and run a sustainable business, as she explained: “I think I needed some vocational training which could increase my skills. For example, some training to manage a farm or to have a cattle business... I did not want to receive money without any training. It was useless”. Some victims also faced

¹⁰⁰ This is also discussed in Section 8: Financial and economic issues .

personal/practical barriers to attending school or training courses – e.g. needing to work or care for family members.

Training that was offered as part of a shelter program or involved a shelter stay was unsuitable for many trafficking victims. This was the case for parents with dependent children or other family members. It was also the case for some individuals who were not comfortable staying in a shelter. One young woman who was reintegrating in her home after having been sexually exploited was, after the first interview, assisted by the researcher and a social worker to access a vocational training program. She and her sister enrolled in the training course but eventually decided not to participate because they did not want to live in the shelter during the training course. Another woman, trafficked for prostitution, refused vocational training because she also did not want to stay in a shelter while being trained:

There was somebody from the [institution] who came here and asked me what kind of business I would like to start. I must attend the training in [the shelter], like entering a prison. I did not go. [...] They told me I cannot ask for the capital and I should take the training instead. It was [training for] cooking and sewing but I had to stay [in the shelter]. [...] I did not want to be trapped over there. [I feared that] I may not be able to go home again.



9.4 Summary

Trafficked persons interviewed for this study came from different educational and professional backgrounds. Educational attainment ranged from first grade to completion of senior high school or vocational senior secondary school. Respondents described a range of educational and training needs, including formal and informal education, professional and vocational training and, in some cases, life skills.

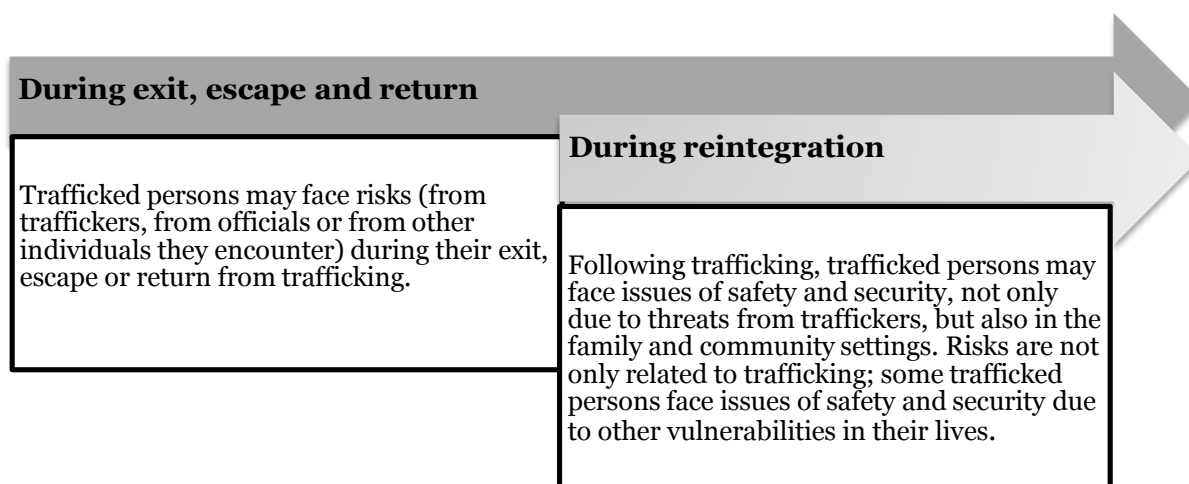
Some trafficked persons did not have access to education, skills or training before being trafficked. Many victims were unable to complete their education due to economic problems in the family and the need to work to earn money. Some victims lacked education, life skills and training precisely because they were trafficked. This was particularly common among women who had been trafficked into prostitution as young girls. Many trafficking victims had educational, skills and training needs over the course of reintegration. Many trafficked persons needed some form of education or professional training to be able to find a job or set up a small business. A number of trafficked persons needed to continue their education (or obtain an equivalency certificate) to be able to apply for jobs.



10. Protection, safety and security

Trafficked persons faced issues of safety and security at various stages – in the very immediate aftermath of trafficking (during exit, escape and return) and over the course of reintegration. Some safety and security concerns were posed by those who were involved in the individual's trafficking – brokers, recruitment agencies, exploiters, “employers” and so on. In other cases, trafficked persons faced safety and security issues in their family and community settings. Not all issues of safety and security were related to trafficking but rather some were linked to other vulnerabilities in trafficked persons' lives.

Diagram #16. Protection and security needs over time



10.1 Risks during exit, escape and return

Exit and escape from trafficking were, in many instances, a risky experience. One woman, trafficked within Indonesia for prostitution, dramatically escaped from the brothel where she was held and where she had seen others beaten and killed for past escape attempts. Similarly, one trafficked domestic worker who escaped her employers in the Middle East also narrowly escaped being kidnapped and raped when she asked for help to get to the police station. Yet another domestic worker executed a dramatic and dangerous escape from her “employers” which involved attempted rape and re-trafficking before she found her way to safety. “During my escape, I felt that all men will catch me and kill me. All I wanted was just to go home to Indonesia. But at that time I did not know where to run to. I did not know where to go for help”.¹⁰¹

Recruitment agency staff in destination countries also posed safety and security risks to trafficked persons. Some women trafficked as domestic workers were brutalized by agency staff including physical assault and rape.¹⁰²

Trafficked persons were often detained abroad and, in some cases, held in detention centers. As has been discussed earlier, safety issues included overcrowding, exposure to sexual harassment or assault, physical violence from fellow detainees (including fighting over food),

¹⁰¹ Please see Section 6: Health situation and physical well-being for more details.

¹⁰² This is also discussed in Section 6.3: Health issues during escape and return.

untreated medical conditions or mental health issues.¹⁰³ Trafficked men and women held in detention were exposed to violence and abuse from officials and guards.

Box #15. Safety and security issues in the destination country

Then, just before I was about to leave, I was hit with a rock...by the agent. He told my employer that he wanted to beat me up because I asked to go home. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I requested to go home as I could not take it any longer. I was taken to the [agency] office and I was beaten... I was scolded. The person said I was stupid... It made me cry. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I was raped by the male boss and in the agency too... [...] I did not know where to ask for help. I was tired. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*¹⁰⁴

Sometimes I got some food. Sometimes they ran out of food before I could eat. People competed to get food. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work in detention center)*

When we ate, the police slapped us... The time [to eat] was finished... when we just eat one spoon. We did not even have time to swallow the rice, time was up. So we got in and we did not eat... so that's it. *(Man trafficked for labor)*

We faced sexual abuse because there were 6,000 people from 16 countries. There were conflicts when we were about to eat, it was certain. It was so sad in prison, the prison here was nothing compared to that. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

Trafficked fishers were often deported from the destination country (rather than being assisted to return) and then collected from the airport and “processed” at recruitment companies in Indonesia for some days after arrival. This occurred even in situations when authorities and organizations were aware of the likelihood that the men had been exploited or trafficked, as one returned trafficking victim explained:

We were picked up by the head of [one government institution]. We were then interrogated about how much of our salary that hadn't been paid. How long had we been working there? We filled out and signed forms then they called the company to pick us up ... our minds weren't settled yet. [...] Yes, [the company] was called [by the government agency] to pick us up and to inquire about their responsibility... [...] [The government agency] handed us over to the company. But, as far as I know, I shouldn't have been handed over to the company.

The process of return itself was fraught with risk for many trafficking victims including extortion, violence and the risk of re-trafficking. One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker to the Middle East, returned after her “employers” decided to move to another country. She was forced to pay for her own plane ticket home (with the agency deducting the cost from her still-unpaid wages). Upon her arrival in Indonesia, she arranged to travel by car to her home village, which was a few hours away. She described being threatened and extorted for money by the driver:

At the airport, there were thirteen of us. The travel car stopped first in [one town] at a small restaurant. The driver changed and three women joined the travel car. So there were four peoples in total. The driver asked each person to sit in front when it was

¹⁰³ Please see Section 6: Health situation and physical well-being for more details.

¹⁰⁴ For more details please see Section 6.2: Health issues as a result of trafficking.

near her house. At that moment, the driver threatened us. If we did not pay 300,000 IDR [27USD], he will not responsible of our safety during the trip. I was so afraid. I just paid it.¹⁰⁵

10.2 Risks during reintegration

Trafficked persons faced a raft of risks and safety issues over the course of reintegration – from brokers, recruiters and agencies involved in their trafficking, as well as within their families and communities.

Many trafficked persons faced threats and intimidation after they returned home. Men trafficked as fishers, when asked about any fears after return, spoke about being threatened and intimidated by brokers and recruitment companies who knew where they lived:

I was afraid because once they threatened me from the office. [They said], “Watch out if you do things. You take your own risk. You can sue us if you like. I am a sailor too”.

At that time my parents were also worried because of that calling that I might be hurt by the company personnel, whether I was abducted, or whatever... They are afraid. Even yesterday they asked what if I faced some risks.

[The recruitment company] asked about my address. Then I reported to [an NGO] asking for protection. I felt myself being threatened. Why did the recruitment company search for me? “Where are you?” It is clear that they were looking for me.

One woman, trafficked for prostitution in another province in Indonesia, managed to escape her exploiters and make her way home. She returned (by necessity) to live in the same town and community where she was trafficked from and, with the support of a local NGO, filed a case against the broker/recruiter, who was arrested and eventually sent to jail. Nonetheless, she spoke about her fear of being captured again by her exploiters or their business partners, and of feeling unsafe in her home community: “... I was scared. Their bodyguards knew my face while I don’t know them. I was scared. What if I am kidnapped? Then I could be killed... I was scared that they will take revenge because [the broker] was jailed in [that prison]”.

Similarly, one woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, described her fears and discomfort when she returned home because her exploiters knew where she lived: “I was very scared that they would do something bad to me since they had my address here. I felt fear everyday... People with money can do whatever they want”. Another young woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, described living in fear because of threats from her traffickers: “I locked myself in my room for three days. I did not eat. I was afraid that people from [the brothel would] come to my house. My mother was receiving threatening text messages and phone calls. They said that I would not live long. Someday they would burn the house. That weighed my mother and me down”.

Trafficked persons largely returned to live in their home villages where access to protection was limited. While there is a special unit within the police to deal with trafficking cases – the UPPA (*Unit Pelayanan Perempuan dan Anak* or Women and Children Services Unit) – these units are at the district level. Police offices at the sub-district or village level generally do not have training in working with trafficked persons nor do they have resources (financial or personnel) to provide physical protection at a village level.

¹⁰⁵ See also Zulfahary, T. (2011) ‘Jalur ‘Wajib’ Khusus TKI, Bentuk nyata pelanggaran CEDAW’ (‘A Study of Effectiveness and Protection Impact of the Special Terminal for Indonesian Migrant Workers’), *Jurnal Perempuan Issue on “Sambutlah Kepulangan Kami”*.



*A policewoman outside a unit tasked with investigating crimes against women and children in West Java.
Photo: Peter Biro.*

Physical protection (and legal assistance) is available to trafficked persons through the LPSK (*Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban* or Institute for the Protection of Witnesses and Victims). And a number of trafficked fishers reported receiving protection from the LPSK. One man described reporting to the LPSK:

Yes, I felt safe because I reported to the LPSK. [...] I did not know in the beginning but [the NGO] took me to report that I am a trafficking victim. I must tell them the story, the chronology, and then they had meeting to consider my case. Thank God, it [protection] was granted. They asked why I was there, I said because I already went to the police but they did not respond. LPSK is different. [...] The staff call [...] once a week or once a month. [He asks] "How is your position? Healthy? Are you still at the same address?" Sometimes they called me when I was at work. They watched all the time.

Similarly, one man, trafficked on a fishing boat, was threatened by the recruitment company after his return after which he reported his case to the LPSK. He explained how LPSK offered him a sense of safety:

When I was filing a report, [the company] called me up and wanted to meet. I did not want to meet. At the hotel, [the company] lawyer wanted to meet me but I did not show up. Everybody knows my number. I then decided to go back to Jakarta. They asked about my address. Then I reported to LPSK, asking for protection. I felt myself being threatened. Why did the company search for me? [...] I stayed on my own under LPSK protection. [...] Despite the threat, I was feeling fine as I was under the LPSK's protection. They said, "If something happens just call us. DO!".

However, protection is only afforded to those who agree to act as victim/witnesses. LPSK is based in Jakarta and is able to provide safe shelter only while victims stay temporarily in the

capital while acting as victim/witnesses. LPSK also has limited geographical reach beyond the capital and limited resources. Moreover, many people do not know about LPSK and how to access protection services. In addition, some trafficking victims described their lack of trust in law enforcement. One man, who was threatened by the recruitment company after he initiated legal proceedings, explained that he did not feel that protection from police was a realistic option: “I actually wanted to call police. But some police are good and some are not”.

Even when traffickers were arrested and jailed, some victims faced threats and risks. One woman, trafficked for prostitution, described being threatened by her exploiter who called her from prison: “The pimps called me... They said, ‘Now you enjoy because you were free from me, but let’s see later after I leave here’. That’s why when I heard that they were free from jail, I felt insecure”. She explained that her exploiters had recently been released from prison after only one year and that she felt unsafe at home as the trafficker knew where she and her family lived and had threatened to harm her: “This case was a very big case and the pimps were sent to the jail but now they are out from the jail [after only one year]. [...] Actually should be in jail for 15 years. [...] Actually this is very dangerous... because the pimps are rich. They have so much money and also many bodyguards so they can do anything to us”.

When family was complicit in trafficking – most commonly among women and girls trafficked for prostitution – there were reasons also to be concerned about victim safety. Victims were often pressured and even threatened not to disclose what had happened to authorities. A number of service providers described how women they were assisting were pressured by family members to not file a complaint or not continue with a case. Said one lawyer: “Before she filled the form, suddenly the trafficking [victim] said that she does not want to continue with the process because of pressure from her family, because they perpetrator is a relative of the victim. Even if the victim wants to continue the process, the family puts a lot of pressure on them...”.¹⁰⁶

Other trafficked persons faced safety issues in their immediate living environments, in their family and community settings. As has been discussed, a number of respondents suffered domestic violence – generally at the hands of their husbands/boyfriends.¹⁰⁷ This was reported among victims of both trafficking for labor and sexual exploitation and occurred at various stages of reintegration. In some cases, violence preceded trafficking and continued afterward. In other cases, domestic violence seems to have emerged after trafficking, perhaps in part in response to stresses and tensions that resulted from trafficking or were faced during reintegration. As one woman trafficked for sexual exploitation explained: “My husband until now, likes to torture me. When we had some fight, he always hit me. Sometimes I wanted to report him to the police officer, but when I see the kids what will happen to them? Besides, my family is really far away from here and I don't have anything...I am scared that if I do something, he may want to have some revenge”. In another case, a woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, found that her husband started drinking as their economic situation worsened, becoming increasingly violent over time: “[My husband] often hits me... Now when he has money, he buys alcohol for himself... Just yesterday, he strangled me and spat on me. My children knew and they were screaming to stop it. [He] does not want to change. Of course we are tired of a life like this. I am often sick and now I suffer violence. I feel alone”.

¹⁰⁶ Some victims did not want to report their traffickers who were also their boyfriends/husbands, as one woman formerly trafficked for prostitution explained: “Sometimes when there were cases my friends did not want to process it. The reason because they did it for love and they did not want their boyfriends [to be] imprisoned”.

¹⁰⁷ Domestic violence and abuse are also discussed in Section 5.3: Housing and accommodation during reintegration and Section 6.4: Health issues during reintegration .

Another woman, also trafficked for sexual exploitation, described physical and sexual violence from her boyfriend after she escaped from trafficking: “When I was with him, he liked to take drugs and sometimes he did violence, sexual violence. He liked to cut my face with a razor blade”. And a woman, trafficked for domestic work, described violent fights with her husband after her return from trafficking: “Some bad words. He broke some cupboard glass, some dresser glass”.

Some trafficked persons faced risks and safety issues within their communities. This was particularly common among women. In some instances, safety issues were a function of women living on their own. Some women who were divorced or separated faced harassment from male neighbors. In other instances, this may have been linked to past involvement in forced prostitution. One woman, trafficked for prostitution, described an attempted rape by her neighbor: “...there was a man who stayed around my house, who came to my house and asked me to have sex and tried to rape me”. Another woman, also trafficked for prostitution, described the difficult and threatening environment in which she was living after having left trafficking including facing bullying and sexual harassment. This was four years after she had escaped her trafficking situation but, for economic reasons, she was living in the same area as when she was in prostitution:

Some time when I go out, the men would tease me. They steal a glance. I tell them not to, or their wives will be angry with me. They say things like “Whenever I see you come home from work and take a bath, it arouses me”. Men just like to say things like that. [...] I told them, I do not want it anymore, so I just come inside my house, and go upstairs.

Some victims reported mistreatment and violations by some authorities, which undermined their feelings of safety and security and impacted their willingness to seek out assistance over the course of reintegration. This included reports of alleged harassment, extortion and violence. One trafficked woman reported that the police officer who rescued her solicited sexual services from her. She was also sexually harassed by authorities when she sought different forms of assistance and described how, as a consequence of these violations, she felt unsafe and insecure in seeking the support she needed to recover and reintegrate after trafficking.

10.3 Summary

Trafficked persons faced safety and security issues in the very immediate aftermath of trafficking (during exit, escape and return) from brokers, recruitment agency staff, authorities abroad and so on.

In other cases, victims faced safety and security issues over the course of reintegration. Some trafficked persons faced threats and intimidation from brokers and recruitment companies after they returned home. Some trafficked persons faced safety issues in the family setting. Some family members were complicit in trafficking. Some families were prone to violence. Some trafficked persons faced risks and safety issues within their communities. This was particularly common among women and included harassment, threats, intimidation, bullying and attempted rape. In some instances, victims faced safety issues because of violations by authorities.

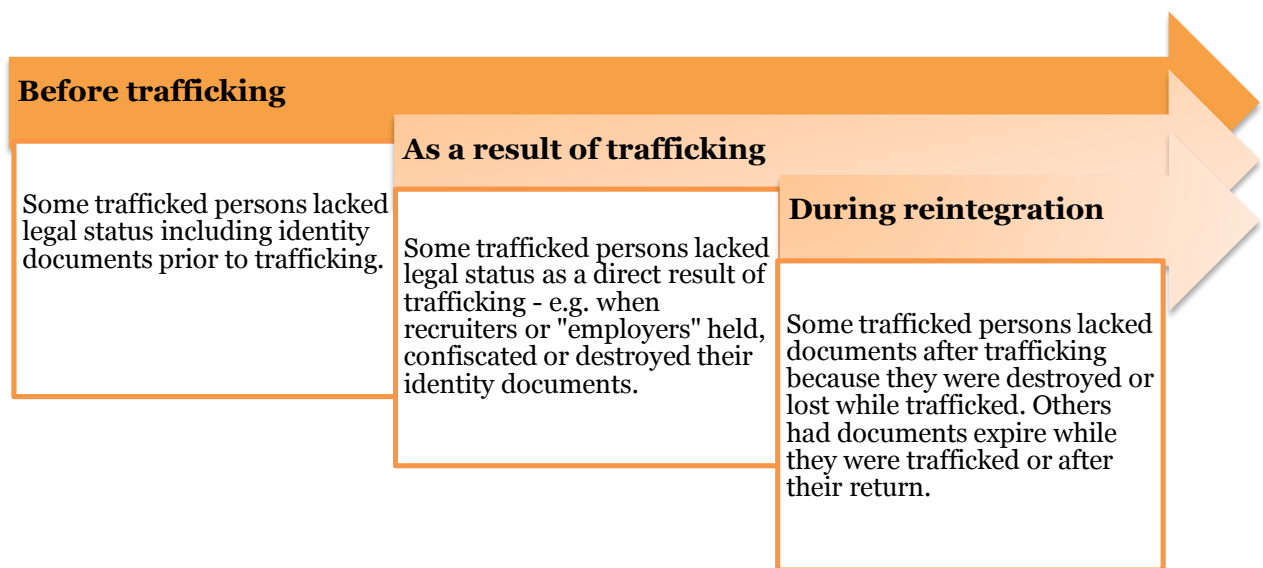


11. Legal status and identity

Having legal status including various identity and registration documents was critical to be able to access and apply for various services and assistance, as well as to undertake practical tasks like applying for a job, opening a bank account, applying for a bank loan or mortgage and so on.

And yet many trafficked persons faced problems in terms of their legal status and access to documents at various stages of their pre and post-trafficking lives. In some cases, trafficked persons did not have legal status, including identity documents, before being trafficked. Others lost or had documents confiscated while they were trafficked. Still others faced issues after trafficking and over the course of reintegration.

Diagram #17. Issues with legal status over time



11.1 Civil and administrative issues before trafficking

Some trafficked persons lacked documents before trafficking, which had a negative impact on their subsequent reintegration. One woman, trafficked for prostitution as a girl, was only able to attend school until the second grade of elementary school. She wanted to take the elementary school equivalency exam, to make it easier to find work, but could not because she did not have a birth certificate: "I wanted to [take the exam] but it requires the exam participant to have birth certificate, which I don't have".

This not only affected victims, but also their family members who also often lacked documents, putting the family as a whole in a difficult position. One woman described how both she and her husband did not have birth certificates and this interfered with his ability to find work, including to migrate abroad for work. When he traveled home to process his documents, he was unable to do so because of the cost, as she explained: "I don't have [a birth certificate] and my husband too. Last time because he was not working, he wanted to find a job. He wanted to work as an overseas migrant worker. He went back to [his home district]... It could be made for 2.5 million IDR [227USD]".

One girl's lack of documents prior to trafficking complicated her reintegration as she was unable to register the birth of her twins. She had neither her identity document (because she was still under 18 years of age) nor a marriage certificate and so was unable to register their birth. Instead she was considering registering the children as her aunt's children, which introduced a raft of risks and issues both for this girl and her children.



11.2 Civil and administrative issues as a result of trafficking

Trafficked persons faced various civil and administrative issues that were a direct consequence of trafficking. This included documents being held by recruitment agencies during migration and documents being lost, destroyed or confiscated by traffickers/“employers”.

In some instances, identity documents were held by the recruitment or crewing company while the person migrated. One trafficked fisher explained how his identity card was held by the crewing company while he worked abroad and had still not been returned. Moreover, he learned that his identity documents had been used to take a loan during his time trafficked:

[My identity card] was still valid. [...] It was held by the company. And to my surprise, I went to the bank yesterday to try to find a loan at [the bank], to start a business but the bank rejected my proposal because my name was already used to take a loan. [...] I have never taken a loan. I asked what year was the loan? It was from 2012. I answered loudly while showing my identity card, “Sir, excuse me, but in 2012, I was still in Africa. This is my KTKLN card [Foreign Employment Identity Card]. Look at the year it was made”. But the bank couldn’t do anything, because it has been approved.

In many cases documents were confiscated, held or destroyed by employers while the individual was trafficked. Most women trafficked as domestic workers had their passports and documents held by their employers for the duration of their time abroad and only some had their documents returned to them when they went home.¹⁰⁸ Said one woman, trafficked

Box #16. Critical documents in Indonesia

Personal Identity Card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk* or KTP) is obligatory for everyone from 17 years of age. This card must be carried at all times and can be used to apply for other documents, government assistance and when applying for a job.

Birth certificate (*Akte Kelahiran* or AK) should be issued for each child at birth. It is essential for issuing other documents, entering school and university and applying for a Police Reference Letter (*Surat Keterangan Catatan Kepolisian* or SKCK).

Family card (*Kartu Keluarga* or KK) includes all family members who are living at the same address and can be used for applying for other documents and for accessing assistance or public services (e.g. healthcare, education)

School certificate indicates an individual's educational attainment.

Marriage certificate certifies a marriage and is issued according to religion – from the Office of Religious Affairs (*Kantor Urusan Agama* or KUA) for Muslims and from the Civil Registry Office (*Dinas Kependudukan* or *Kantor dan Catatan Sipil*) for other religions.

¹⁰⁸ In many countries in the Middle East (including Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), the *Kafala* system dictates that a migrant worker's immigration status is legally bound to an individual employer or sponsor (*kafeel*). This means that the migrant worker cannot enter the country, transfer employment, nor leave the country for any reason without first obtaining explicit written permission from the *kafeel*. Many times the *kafeel* will exert further control over the migrant worker by confiscating his/her passport and travel documents, despite legislation in some destination countries that declares this practice illegal. Migrant Forum in Asia (2012) *Policy Brief No. 2: Reform of the Kafala (Sponsorship System)*. Philippines: Migrant Forum in Asia. Malaysia, another common destination for domestic workers from Indonesia, uses a system similar to the *Kafala* system, tying migrant workers to their employer or “sponsor”. In 2009, officials with Malaysia's Ministry of Home Affairs reported that the memoranda of understanding between Malaysia and seven labor source countries required workers to surrender their passports

for domestic work to the Middle East: “I do not have an identity card because my boss took it and threw it away with my clothes”. Women who were detained and deported often traveled home on temporary documents prepared by the Embassy in the destination country.

Sometimes documents were lost or destroyed while abroad. One man’s passport was destroyed while he was trafficked on a fishing vessel when his vessel caught fire: “The vessel was burned... sunk so they could not save the important things... we only saved ourselves”.

In addition, some trafficked persons described how their documents were confiscated by recruitment agencies after return when they registered a complaint. One man, trafficked on a fishing boat, was told that the agency needed his identity document to be able to look into his case and recover his passport. However, he explained that this document was never returned by the agency: “I don’t even have my PKL (*Perjanjian Kerja Laut* or Sea Employment Contract) because my agency took it away. They said it would be used for searching for my passport”.



11.3 Civil and administrative issues during reintegration

Some civil and administrative issues occurred as part of victims’ lives after trafficking. Some trafficked persons lacked documents (for reasons discussed above), which required applying for and processing new documents. Some victims’ documents expired while they were trafficked or after their return.

Processing new or replacement documents was often complicated and involved unclear administrative procedures. One woman explained how she did not understand the procedures and had received different information about how to process the document from different institutions. She decided to pay someone to assist her in processing her birth certificate but the person deceived her and disappeared with her money without processing her document, as she explained: “I asked someone there [in my village] to arrange it for [me]. I already paid for it but the person got away and I didn't get the birth certificate”.

Another woman described complicated and long procedures with high costs and many requirements to process her child’s birth certificate: ““There was free birth certificate processing in [my] village but the procedures were very difficult... [there were] many requirements. And there were [so many] persons accessing this services”. She then applied at the sub-district level, but also faced problems:

I transferred the birth certificate fee to the sub-district staff with 500,000 IDR [45USD] but until now he hasn’t process it. I am very sad because it was very difficult for me to find this money and then why does the staff not process this certificate? I cried when I think about it and my mother also cried when I asked her about this.

Processing documents also often involved returning to one’s home village which was burdensome in terms of time and cost, as one trafficked woman questioned: “When we go there back and forth, how much money will we spend for the transportation?”



A man and boy register for medical services at a local health clinic in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Some trafficked persons were unable to travel to their home villages. One woman faced difficulty in renewing her documents because she was living in another village since her return and was too ill to travel. She enlisted the assistance of a relative to help her get the necessary documents from her home village but this took some time, which, in turn, delayed her ability to access treatment. Another man was unable to return home to get new documents because he owed money in his community, which he was unable to repay. He did ask a relative to assist in processing his documents but his family did not understand the procedures for this and, moreover, lacked a relationship with the village chief, which was needed to facilitate this process.

Living in a new community after trafficking involve registering one's residence and a number of respondents integrating in Jakarta described difficulties in this processing, including unclear procedures and high costs. One woman lived in Jakarta for ten years before she was able to get the appropriate documents:

I could not make Jakarta's identity card so I had to make my own non-permanent identity card. [...] It was 250,000 IDR [23USD] [...] I have to pay some amount of money and they will give me a small yellow card that has a Jakarta's logo. It expired every three months. [...] Yes, I lived for almost ten years in [Jakarta] after I got married... Now I have my own Jakarta's ID Card. I am proud of being a Jakarta's citizen now.

Lack of access to documents impeded victims' ability to access services to which they are entitled. One woman, trafficked for sexual exploitation, explained how her son was unable to apply for work because he does not have an identity card. Another woman described how her child's lack of documents meant she could not enroll him in school; yet another could not register her child for healthcare because he did not have documents.

In addition, some children were born abroad and needed documents upon their return to Indonesia. One woman was trafficked and then stayed on in the destination country where she had a relationship with a man and had a child. He was a foreign national who did not return to Indonesia with her. The process of receiving a birth certificate for their child was complicated and took a great deal of time. Because she did not have a marriage certificate, it took a year before she was able to receive the birth certificate for her daughter. In situations where women were raped while trafficked (e.g. by an employer or client) and returned home with the child, it is even more complicated to establish a child's identity and gain legal status.



11.4 Summary

Having legal status, including identity and registration documents, was necessary to access assistance, as well as to undertake practical tasks like applying for a job, opening a bank account and applying for a bank loan or mortgage. Some trafficked persons and their families lacked documents before trafficking, which limited their ability to access assistance and rights.

Some civil issues were a direct consequence of trafficking including documents being held by recruitment agencies during migration and/or documents being lost, destroyed or confiscated by traffickers/“employers” while the individual was trafficked. Some trafficked persons had documents confiscated by recruitment agencies after return when they registered a complaint.

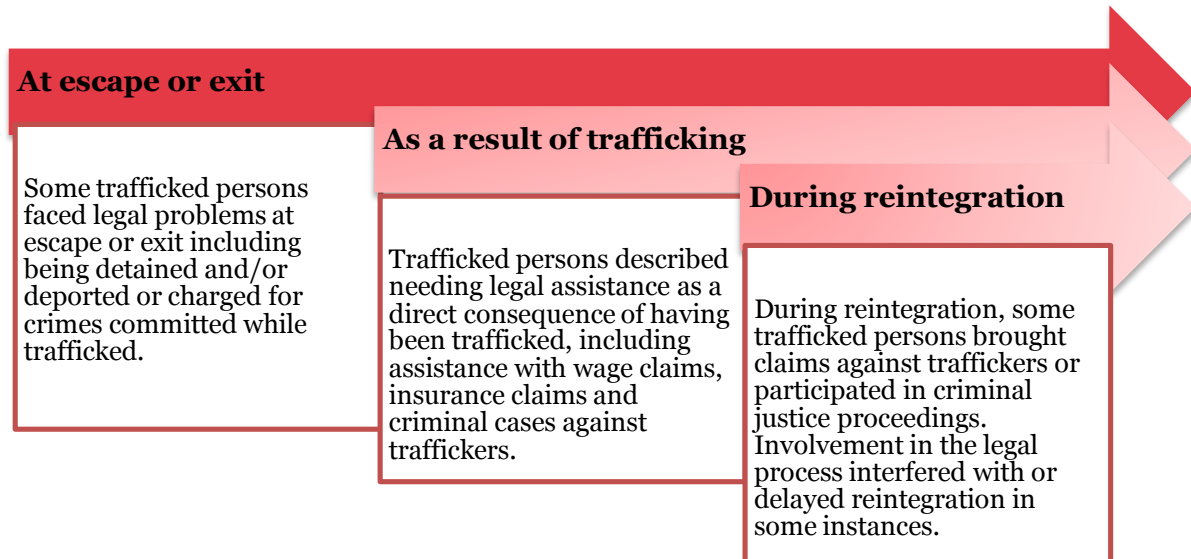
Lack of identity documents impeded victims' ability to access services to which they are entitled and which were important to support their reintegration. Many victims lacked documents either before or as a consequence of trafficking; others' documents expired necessitating renewal. Children who were born of a mother's trafficking situation lacked identity documents upon their return to Indonesia. Issuing or renewing documents was often complicated and involved unclear administrative procedures, high costs and logistical issues.



12. Legal issues and proceedings

Trafficked persons faced various legal issues as a result of trafficking. Most legal issues were a consequence of having been trafficked – some arose while still abroad, some during return to Indonesia. In addition, some legal issues arose after trafficking and over the course of reintegration.

Diagram #18. Legal issues over time



12.1 Legal issues at escape or exit

Many trafficked persons faced legal problems at the time of their escape or exit. Many victims were detained and deported as irregular migrants or charged for crimes committed while trafficked (e.g. prostitution, illegal fishing).

A number of respondents were detained by authorities for being irregularly in the destination country. They were not screened as potential trafficking victims and were instead treated as criminals (irregular migrants) and subsequently deported. They generally lacked legal representation at any stage of their interactions with authorities and trafficked persons seldom received support or guidance from Embassy staff in navigating their legal situations. In some cases this meant spending long periods of time in detention centers, which caused re-victimization and inhibited recovery from trafficking. Deported trafficking victims often had deportation notifications in their passports that prevented them from being able to migrate again.

Another critical issue was in terms of claiming unpaid wages from employers and agencies abroad. No respondents for this study had access to legal assistance in making such claims while abroad. Even individuals who were recognized as trafficked were not typically afforded legal assistance. One woman, trafficked to the Middle East for domestic work, was told by the police and Embassy staff in the destination country that she was a trafficking victim. She was housed temporarily in the Indonesian Embassy abroad prior to her return. However, she explained that she did not receive assistance in claiming her unpaid wages while abroad: “[The Embassy] staff said ‘Let it go. It was [your] fault. How much did the boss buy [you] for? How much to make an identity card? Just let it go’. I did not want the Embassy staff to be angry... The Embassy staff knew about my trafficking”.

Similarly, trafficked fishers typically did not receive legal assistance in the destination country to claim unpaid wages from agencies in ports or from ship owners. They were also not generally able to access other forms of legal recourse. In one instance, trafficked fishers who were detained in the port in Cape Town, South Africa, were offered legal assistance by a local maritime lawyer who proposed an admiralty order sale for the vessels on which they'd been trafficked. This option, if successful, would have allowed the men to receive some compensation from the sale of the vessels.¹⁰⁹ However, the value of the vessels on which they'd been trafficked was very low (only 8,000USD) and would not have offered adequate compensation. As the lawyer explained: "That's not enough to even cover the cost of going to court because it's a substantive application... to go to court and sell the vessels".

12.2 Legal issues as a result of trafficking

Trafficked persons faced a range of legal issues as a direct consequence of having been trafficked. While some issues emerged abroad, others were faced once home in Indonesia.

Wage claims

Payment of unpaid wages was the most commonly expressed legal issue among trafficked persons interviewed. Many trafficked persons described needing legal support in negotiating with a broker or recruitment agency after their return, to claim their unpaid wages or to write off their unfair debt. Wage and compensation claims took quite some time to resolve, months and sometimes even years. The process commonly involved a degree of pressure from agencies or brokers to dissuade wage claims, sometimes rising to the level of threats. A number of respondents approached recruitment agencies after their return to demand back the money they had paid. One man, trafficked for labor, described how he tried to press charges against the recruitment company, to recoup his migration debt. But as he explained: "... in fact the recruitment company said to me 'Go ahead. You can go to any lawyer I'll be just fine.' ...the recruiter kept provoking 'I do not fear a lawyer. I do not fear an NGO.' That man was so arrogant". Some trafficked persons were able to get some initial support from NGOs with such claims but this was seldom available in the long-term, especially once they returned to their home villages.

Many trafficked persons described being obliged by recruitment companies to sign statements that they would not pursue legal action against recruitment companies in exchange for a (generally small) payment. One man, trafficked for labor to a factory in East Asia, described how, upon his return home, he went to a recruitment agency to claim his salary to pay off his debt. While he was owed 20 million IDR [1,818USD], the agency only agreed to reimburse seven million IDR [636USD], contingent upon his willingness to sign a statement not to bring legal action:

[The agent] said "I cannot refund all, I can only give you seven million IDR [636USD] back". I didn't accept, I felt cheated with this *modus operandi*. [...] After consulting with [the NGO staff], he suggested to accept the money. So I did what [he] suggested and I went back there to accept the seven million IDR [636USD]. The seven million IDR [636USD] was to pay my debt. And we had to write a statement there [...] that I will not press charges against [the recruitment agency] regarding this. [...] How could I refuse? I have a huge debt to pay. I was confused.

Trafficked fishers returning home to Indonesia also described dealing with the crewing

¹⁰⁹ An admiralty order sale (or auction of the vessels) can provide a form of compensation for trafficked or exploited fishermen who are allotted part of the proceeds from the sale.

agency that deployed them for resolution of wage claims and being pushed and pressured to agree to a small payment – usually just a few hundred dollars – and required to sign an agreement not to make further claims.

Insurance claims

The *Law On the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Abroad* (Number 39, Year 2004) is largely focused on the placement of migrant workers. Article 68 of Law 39/2004 stipulates that migrant workers sent abroad by recruitment agencies must be insured.¹¹⁰ Private recruitment agencies typically facilitate this process, linking migrant workers with insurance companies but migrant workers themselves pay for insurance as part of their recruitment fees. The mandatory policy costs 400,000 IDR [36USD] for a two-year employment contract. The policy insures the migrant worker and his/her family “in the event of failed recruitment, unpaid wages, early termination of contract, contractual deception, physical abuse, sexual harassment and assault, legal proceedings, being stranded, illness, industrial accident and death”.¹¹¹

However, it was not always clear whether migrant workers were officially registered for this insurance. Some described how they paid for insurance as part of the recruitment process but did not receive any related documents or cards. One man, trafficked for factory work in East Asia, explained how his salary was deducted but he received none of the relevant documentation: “My salary for a month was deducted for taking care of tickets, insurance, *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* [Personal Identity Card], this and that... and where was the proof of insurance? I got sick and I was not treated. [...] Nothing was given to me even after I was sent home. No money, no insurance card, not [work and] identity documents. I paid for all of that but nothing was given to me”.

Further, migrant workers face many challenges in making claims, such as lack of information about rights and entitlements under insurance policies and administrative requirements that are difficult to realize in practice. For example, claims for illness or injury when abroad require a letter from the hospital abroad and an itemization of costs. There is also a statute of limitations for claims; insurance can only be claimed within twelve months of the illness or accident, which is difficult to do when someone has been held in a trafficking situation.

Moreover, some agencies and/or their insurance companies refuse to honor their responsibilities vis-à-vis migrant workers and commonly deny insurance claims of exploited migrant workers and trafficked persons. Many trafficked persons sought to claim their migrant worker insurance after return but these claims were commonly denied, often for unclear or seemingly illegitimate reasons. One woman (mentioned earlier), who returned home very ill, had her claim denied because the insurance company said that her medical condition was pre-existing. However, she had undergone a medical check up before departure and this illness was not documented at that time. Moreover, she was permitted to migrate and granted the insurance. She described how she was, by law, entitled to medical treatment: “I read from the book that I can claim my insurance for almost 50 million IDR [4,545USD] to continue my treatment in Indonesia”. However, her claim had been denied and she faced problems in challenging the claim, even with the help of an NGO lawyer: “...the money could not be claimed. There was no hope”. She eventually gave up on trying to make the claim and opted instead to register and pay for health insurance. However, she lacked the necessary documents to register and, moreover, lacked the funds to pay for even the most basic healthcare program. In one of our latter conversations with this woman she had been forced to let her insurance lapse because she could not pay the fees.

¹¹⁰ Under separate regulations, seafarers and fishers are also required to have insurance.

¹¹¹ Amnesty International (2013) *Exploited for Profit, Failed by Governments: Indonesian Migrant Domestic Workers Trafficked to Hong Kong*. London: Amnesty International, p. 40.

Criminal justice proceedings

Some victims initiated criminal justice proceedings against their traffickers/recruiters. A number of respondents felt strongly the need to pursue criminal charges of trafficking, not least as a means of deterrence. Said one man: “...the company that recruited me, that company only closed down and changed its name and they are still recruiting. There will be victims later, if this is ignored. Probably your children and grandchildren will be victims if they aren’t stopped now”.



A police investigator at a special unit dealing with crimes against women and children in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

Criminal cases of trafficking were more commonly pursued by men trafficked on fishing boats and women trafficked for prostitution. None of the women trafficked as domestic workers were involved in criminal cases against traffickers, even in cases where they sought to bring charges. One woman explained how the police did not take seriously her complaint of being trafficked as a domestic worker when she and her sister approached them for help: “I think the police must [not] understand our condition because when my sister reported to the police, they did not accept my case. They said they only took care of torture and thief cases”.

Most trafficked persons who did lodge a criminal complaint reported being unsuccessful in spite of a great deal of effort on their part. One man explained the back and forth involved in his case and the ultimate failure of the legal process:

I went back and forth leaving my family. I didn’t work but took care of my case, to track down my salary. The case was transferred to [one city]. I went to [that city]. We were accepted and interrogated. Okay so we waited for more news. It was checked again. We were asked for the documents as proofs, where is [the recruiter’s] face. We showed him his face. We showed all the proofs since our departure. It was very clear in our contract. It was enough when we showed it. Not long after, [the police] said we

got a warrant for termination of investigation. Right there and then we became frustrated.

It is, too bad we got stuck on the warrant. I become confused and frustrated. I got frustrated because I heard that the case is going to court but until now it hasn't. I don't know when it will be. The case is already taken too long. It has been two years and it is still on-going, but it is never solved... I just thought: "How long will be and where else do I have to go to complain, to get this case done". I am in need of money. But I think again if it goes like this, even until forever it won't be finished. That kind of company will flourish. They will recruit, recruit, recruit.

Moreover, involvement in the criminal justice process was time consuming and involved complicated legal procedures. One man, trafficked for labor, described his experience as such: "There was no news [from the NGO] for a long time, not even any single news from [the NGO]. Would [the legal process] continue or not. I was also surprised". Said another man about an on-going criminal justice case: "It doesn't seem like there will be an end to it. The case is still floating uncertainly. I believe if the media doesn't blow it up, that case won't be completed until the end of time".

Many trafficked persons expressed frustration and dissatisfaction with criminal justice proceedings. Said one man of his case: "I still feel hurt because until now there is no explanation. What hurts more is that now the case got a warrant of termination of the investigation". Another man described the money and time that he invested in his legal case, only to have it discontinued by the authorities: "We went back and forth to Jakarta and we spent a lot of money already and it is already disqualified. They could not do anything anymore".

Some trafficking victims reported facing interference with the criminal justice process, such as being pressured by companies to withdraw the case. One man, trafficked on a fishing vessel, described his experience as such: "A company representative came after we reported it. The company's representative came to say how this is, like 'Let's not go too far on this case. I will pay you as long as the case is discontinued'. Then we rejected the offer. I will not stop the case. I will continue the case no matter how far it takes me".

Another trafficked fisher described a similar experience: "I was picked up by people from the recruitment office. I was interrogated in the office. I was threatened. They just wanted to give me severance pay¹¹² and send me home".

Some respondents explained that they were interested in receiving compensation and the payment of their withheld wages but had felt pressure to bring criminal charges against their traffickers. One man, trafficked for fishing, explained how he and his colleagues had wanted to bring a compensation claim but it ended up as a criminal proceeding: "Actually at first we're filing for civil law, but suddenly it was reported for a criminal law case. So we felt obliged to perform". He went on to say: "I feel rather frightened to abandon the case because I fear it would burden me more than before".



12.3 Legal issues during reintegration

Involvement in the legal process interfered with reintegration in a number of ways. When cases dragged out for long periods of time victims described living in a limbo, unable to move forward with their lives and being caught up in the process. One man, trafficked for fishing, put it as such: "This case was actually tedious. I was so bored because I could not have work

¹¹² So-called "severance pay" is most commonly only a very small amount of money (100-200USD) rather than an amount that is in any way appropriate for the work completed and contractual arrangement.

at a far distance. What if they would call and I was not home? Finally I was in this situation, my work here was not going smoothly so that's why I begged them to speed up the case, to be solved quickly so that I could be free to get work".

Said another trafficked fisher: "If we want to bring the case to our legal system, we need to know what the consequences are and how tiring the process is. It's not the responsibility of [the NGO] to provide us this information, it should be the government. But you know how our government is. So anybody who reports to the government would be tired, just like myself. I have been waiting for months". This same man explained how, after initiating a legal case against the recruitment agency, he accepted a settlement because he doubted that he could endure the very hard legal process:

I have learned from other friends that it's a very long process. Let's say I haven't made the deal of three million IDR [273USD], maybe we would have been dragged everywhere. First the process is long. Second it doesn't mean it's right. Lots of cases were like that. At the end we were duped. We had to pay additional expenses. And our burden just adds on. Mentally, it's exhausting. We have to further share our experience. That's what happens to those who report. [...] It's not easy to report things like this. Also for me personally the burden is very heavy.



Female police officer in West Java, with Women and Children's Protection Unit (UPPA). Photo: Peter Biro.

The costs for being involved in the legal process – travel costs, lost income – were borne by trafficking victims. This put enormous pressure on some victim/witnesses who described being unable to afford these costs, as one trafficked man explained:

My concern is that when the court calls my friends, they cannot come and it will postpone the process. [...] At the signing of the documents bearing the case, everybody should be present. The problem is money [for transportation]. [...] I also face the same problem [...] so transport fares become a constraint sometimes.

Another man, trafficked for labor, described the heavy financial burden of his involvement in the legal case and the regular travel this required on his part:

As long as I am handling this case, it has been six times that I went back and forth from Jakarta to [my home province]. Just imagine the transportation cost in one trip. One million is gone. I might be here two days or three days, but one million would be gone. [The money went] for my costs here – food and minimum for transportation cost back and forth, let say 500,000 IDR [45USD] back and forth.

Even those who were able to pay these costs often were only able to do so because of help from their families. One man, trafficked for fishing, described how his parents assisted him by covering the expenses related to his legal case: “Until now my family still supports me if I received any call [from police] for expenses and to maintain my wife needs”.

For a number of trafficked persons, being involved in the legal process meant being unable to find work. This was certainly true for fishers who were unable to return to sea while a case was pending. But it also was true for others who were required to be in regular contact and communication with the authorities about their cases, as one man explained: “The point is I could not stay at home and do nothing. I would like to work. I would like to get income as I have a wife already. For example, if I was called [by the court] and I do not have any money, what I should do? My wife could not eat anything”.

The uncertainty and long time frame also impacted victims’ families and, by implication, relationships within the family. One man described the situation in his family: “If I went back and forth and the case is done, probably my family would think more positively. Now there is still no explanation. My life turns out like this now, so my thoughts aren’t much different than the first [time I came home]”. Similarly, one man returned home and immediately filed charges against the crewing agency that had recruited him. He stayed in Jakarta during this process and his wife accepted this situation and continued to live and work in their home village, caring for his father and their children: “I told my wife, before I get the money back, I would not return home... My wife said it’s okay if that is your decision. Well, just proceed with it because that is your right”. However, over the course of the subsequent months, as the case was not resolved and he was unable to recoup his salary, tensions with his wife increased and she eventually asked him for a divorce. He described being devastated by this as he loved his wife and wanted to remain married. But the separation and pressures had caused irrevocable damage and, some months after the first interview she insisted on a divorce.

Additionally, many respondents only received legal assistance and no other forms of support. For many respondents, they were most concerned about finding work or starting a business and the legal process interfered with this:

...we went through the case. For us to survive, my thought now is that if I have a capital. If I had a business and to go through this case I could stay calm, relaxed, and not be reckless. In the present situation, my thoughts are branched. I think about the case, I think about me being jobless... the families are neglected.

Some victims needed legal support and assistance for other issues that they faced over the course of their recovery and reintegration. Some trafficked persons returned home to complicated family relationships including infidelity, separation/divorce or abandonment. This required navigating complex legal issues such as divorce, child custody, payment of alimony or child support, land ownership/rights and the like.¹¹³ However, very few

¹¹³ Surtees, R. (2016) ‘Being home. Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked Indonesian domestic workers’ in Piotrowicz et al. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking*. London: Routledge; and Surtees, R.

respondents had access to this legal support, leaving them vulnerable and in difficult positions.

One woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, migrated to be able to support her children after an informal separation from her husband who did not support her or the children. When she returned home, the problems continued. He had not provided any support to the children during her absence nor would he pay any child support to help her raise their two children. He insisted on taking custody of the eldest child, against her and the child's wishes, and prevented her from seeing him, as she explained: "He said I cannot see my boy. Maybe he is afraid that my boy would go with me and he cannot do anything. He said he wants to bring the girl when she is big". Shortly before the second interview, her ex-husband suddenly died, leaving her with the two children to raise by herself and also his large bank debt which the bank said was her responsibility to resolve: "I did not know [about the debt]. Why should I think about my ex-husband's debt? Instead I think about my two children who have no money. [The bank] has been informed, but they said it must be paid".

Similarly, another woman, trafficked as a domestic worker, returned home to find her husband had divorced her and married another woman, leaving her to raise her children on her own. Another woman came home to find that her husband had spent the money she had remitted as a domestic worker to build a home that he was living in with his new wife and she was without a place to live.

In some cases, problems within the family related to legal issues emerged over time. One man, trafficked for fishing, explained how his wife was supportive of him when he first returned to Indonesia and encouraged him to pursue the legal case against the recruitment agency. However, shortly after the first interview, he contacted one of the researchers again and shared the problems he was having with his wife who was angry and disappointed with him. Over the course of some months, the marriage fell apart and the couple agreed to divorce, which was the source of much sadness for the respondent.



12.4 Summary

Most legal issues were a consequence of having been trafficked – some arose while still abroad, some during return to Indonesia. In addition, some legal issues arose over the course of reintegration.

Many trafficked persons faced legal problems as a consequence of trafficking – being detained and deported as irregular migrants or charged for crimes committed while trafficked (e.g. prostitution). They generally lacked legal representation at any stage of their interactions with authorities (in destination countries or at home) and trafficked persons seldom received any support or guidance from Embassy staff in navigating these situations. No respondents had had access to legal assistance in making claims for unpaid wages from employers and agencies abroad.

Trafficked persons faced a range of legal issues as a direct consequence of having been trafficked. This included wages claims, insurance claims and involvement in criminal justice proceedings. When legal cases were on-going for long periods of time, victims lived in a "limbo", unable to move forward with their lives. Costs for victims' involvement in the legal process (e.g. travel costs, lost income) were borne by victims. The uncertainty and long time frame also negatively impacted victims' families and, by implication, relationships within the family. Some victims needed legal support and assistance for other issues including divorce,

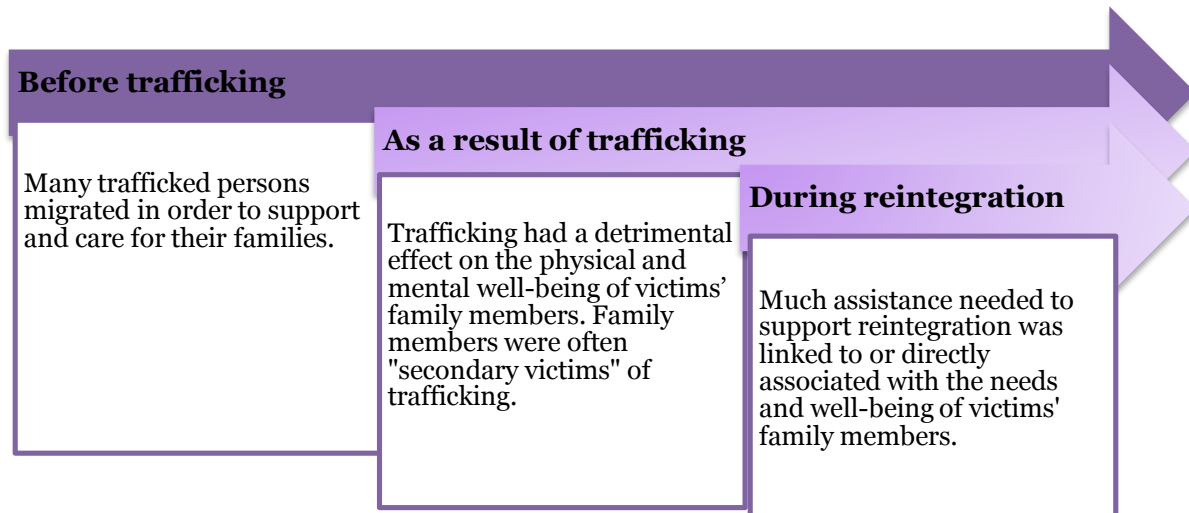
child custody, payment of alimony or child support, land ownership/rights and the like. However, very few respondents had access to this type of legal support.



13. Family issues and needs

Most assistance programs and policies focus on the needs of individual trafficking victims and yet many trafficking victims prioritized the assistance needs and well-being of their family members, including children, spouses, parents, siblings and other relatives.¹¹⁴ Some family assistance needs preceded trafficking, others were a direct consequence of trafficking, still others arose over the course of the trafficked person's reintegration.

Diagram #19. Family issues and needs over time



13.1 Family issues and needs prior to trafficking

In many instances, a trafficked person's decision to migrate was fuelled by the need to support and otherwise care for one's family members. Both women and men focused on these broader family needs as a key contributor to their migration (and subsequent trafficking). This included paying for basic needs, children's education, medical care for a sick family member, building a home and so on. In some cases, there was a particular event or crisis in the family that led the individual victim to migrate – e.g. a medical emergency in the family, the death of a spouse. In other instances, trafficking victims migrated in an effort to meet family needs generally.

¹¹⁴ See Brennan, Denise (2014) *Life Interrupted: Trafficking into Forced Labor in the United States*. United States: Duke University Press; Brunovskis, A. and R. Surtees (2012) *A fuller picture. Addressing trafficking-related assistance needs and socio-economic vulnerabilities*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute; Brunovskis, A. and R. Surtees (2012) *No place like home? Challenges in family reintegration after trafficking*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute; Brunovskis, A. and R. Surtees (2012) 'Coming home: Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked women', *Qualitative Social Work*; Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute; Jager, K.B. and M.T. Carolan (2010) 'The influence of trauma on women's empowerment within the family-based service context', *Qualitative Social Work* 9; Lisborg, A. (2009) *Re-thinking reintegration: What do returning victims really want and need? Evidence from Thailand and the Philippines*, GMS-07 SIREN report, Bangkok: UNIAP; ; Miles (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) *The Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project*. Cambodia: Chab Dai, with additional research reports from the Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project available at <http://chabdai.org/publications>; Surtees, R. (2016) 'Being home. Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked Indonesian domestic workers' in Piotrowicz et al. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking*. London: Routledge; Surtees, R. (2013) *After Trafficking: Experiences and Challenges in the reintegration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Bangkok: UNIAP and Washington: NEXUS Institute.

Box #17. Family needs that preceded trafficking

The main issue was our economic situation. We lacked money. I wanted to help my husband to increase our income at that time. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

For me, [the most challenging issue was] economic. I was departing [migrating] because I wanted to seek money for my parents' medication. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

My son was hospitalized... Since I had to pay for the hospital fees, I owed money to the money-lender. [...] I had to pay for the hospital fees. Since I did not have money to pay that, then I sold my house. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

When my children wanted to enroll in school, this made me have to go fishing. [...] My plan was that after returning home from abroad I was dreaming that I would be able to buy land. That was my dream. And also I would also like to send my kids to school. *(Man trafficked for fishing)*

I worked for my grandmother. My family is an "unaffordable family" [cannot afford things]. I wished to take grandmother to the doctor. I wished to make her happy. Definitely now I remember grandmother. I love grandfather and grandmother. But the one that I loved most and remember most is grandmother. That was why I left. Here I prostituted. The money, I gave it to grandmother for her treatment. At that time I felt sad... I wanted to make her happy while she is still there. *(Woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

[My husband] was sick for six months. After [he] recovered, he could not run his business because we didn't have the capital. So I thought about helping him to earn money to get capital. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

My father cried. He did not want me to go abroad... When I was abroad, I thought much about him. My dream was for him to have an operation. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I did not want to do it but I had to. So I could get money for mom and her medication... She has heart disease... I did not like it and I wanted to go home. The madam did not let me though. She said my contract with her stated that I had to stay working for at least five months. *(Woman trafficked for prostitution)*

My older sibling was in need of a heart. It was difficult to find money. Then the motorcycle would be taken back. My old sibling's surgery had not been paid. I was confused. No matter what, I was ready to take a serious risk for the sake of my family. *(Woman trafficked into prostitution).*

My father had a stroke. I wanted to go home but I could not. I was ashamed. My father is sick... I have to go home bringing money to medicate my father. My father is the only one that I have *(Man trafficked on fishing boat).*

While in many situations, family needs were a contributor to the respondent migrating and/or being trafficked, in other cases, issues within the family played a role in the decision to migrate. Some families were unhealthy and even dangerous environments. Some trafficked persons migrated, at least in part, to avoid family problems including domestic violence, neglect, child abuse and sexual abuse/incest. In a number of instances, family members were involved in the individual being trafficked - for prostitution as well as labor trafficking.



13.2 Family issues and needs as a result of trafficking

Most trafficked persons were unable to remit or return with money (or sufficient) money for their family's needs while away. This had a detrimental effect on the physical and mental well-being of victims' families while they were absent, as illustrated by the observations of trafficking victims when asked about the situation when they first returned (see the box below).

Box #18. Impact of trafficking on victims' family members

I left my family and they suffered. [They were] thin, lacked food, they ate whatever they could. My wife ate bad rice, corn rice. *(Man trafficked on fishing boat)*

My wife was severely in debt. Just think, I returned home without bringing any money. *(Man trafficked for labor)*

I sent money home for three years and for two years I got paid nothing. I brought back the salary for a year to take my child to hospital. I wanted to continue to work but my husband told me to come home. He said my son was dying so I had to come back. *(Woman trafficked as a domestic worker)*

I came back home and saw my mother was sick because of me. They knew from the Indonesian Embassy that [I had been arrested abroad]. After the call from the Embassy my mother got sick...[My mom] must be operated but we cannot afford it. *(Man trafficked on fishing boat)*

My sister pawned her motorcycle to the bank... So my sister gave the [money for] milk for my baby. I will re-pay her if I have capital. Even though she never talked about it, I just pray that I will have money to pay the debt. *(Woman trafficked as a domestic worker)*

Family issues went beyond the material. In many instances, trafficked persons described complicated relationships with family members upon their return home, largely as a consequence of their failed migration/trafficking.

In some cases, this was a function of trafficking victims' negative feelings at return. Trafficked persons often blamed themselves for their failed migration and the problems that had resulted from being trafficked. They described being ashamed and embarrassed and uncomfortable in terms of family relationships. One young man, trafficked for fishing, described how trafficking led him to pull away from his family because he was ashamed: "...it's not that my family was trying to avoid me, but I tried to avoid my family because I was ashamed. Now we are getting closer again. They help me find a solution to my problems. They also share information with me, give me motivation, all good things for me".

It was also the case that trafficked persons faced blame and censure from family members for their failed migration. In addition, trafficking victims were also often out of touch with family members for some or all of the time they were away which created distance and barriers in their relationship with family. Additional sources of critique included children who felt neglected by the absent/migrant parent, spouses who felt let down by and abandoned the lack of contact while trafficked, parents who were disappointed with their

children's lack of success and family members who were ashamed when victims were (unfairly) detained as irregular migrants.¹¹⁵

Box #19. Family issues as a consequence of trafficking

My parents now see me as incapable, undeserving. I no longer feel as part of the family like it used to be. I'm aware of my unemployment status and my parents don't have that much. *(Man trafficked for fishing who returned with no money to live with his parents)*

It's my wife... It seems that she does not accept me. It seems she wants to separate... Look at my condition now. When I was successful, we went through things together. But when I am down, why she is like that?... But why when I am down, I am alone. In the meantime the burden is too hard. *(Man trafficked for fishing, blamed by his wife for failed migration)*

[When my mother came home sick] I was sad, I felt fed up. I was feeling sad, who was not feel sad to find your mother in her condition like that? *(Son of woman trafficked as domestic worker)*

[My son] said to me, "Why did you not care of me, mother?" How can he say that I did not care to him? I left him so that he can eat and continue go to school. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work)*

I was shocked. I fainted. I did not know anything [about her sexual exploitation]. *(Mother of young woman trafficked for sexual exploitation)*

That being said, not all families faced acute issues in their relationships and many of those that did were able to resolve these over time.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Family relationships are further discussed in other studies in this research series. Please see Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute; Surtees, R. (2016) 'Being home. Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked Indonesian domestic workers' in Piotrowicz et al. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking*. London: Routledge; and Surtees, R. (2016) *Moving On. Family and Community Reintegration Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute.

¹¹⁶ See also Section 4.2: Vulnerability and resilience within the family environment.



Man laboring in rural West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.



13.3 Family issues and needs during reintegration

Victims' family members often faced a range of difficulties over the course of reintegration. Family assistance needs included housing needs, financial and economic issues (e.g. finding employment, starting a business, paying off debt), access to health care, access to education and training and counseling and/or support navigating tensions and conflicts within the family.

Box #20. Assistance needs of family members during reintegration

I borrowed some amount of money from my relatives for the birth delivery expenses [for my child]. It was not one hundred or two hundred, it is millions. *(Man trafficked for fishing who has since married and had a child)*

I spent 1.5 million IDR [136USD] so that [my son] could study. But he did not go to school. He dropped out... I am supporting him. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work; divorced mother and single mother)*

My children are getting big and we need more money. I would like to get money for the children's school and starting up a business. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work when her children were young)*

We do not have money to pay for school tuition fees. My husband does not always earn enough money [for the family]. We use it to pay for school and for our food. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work with four school-age children)*

I think about my children's allowance, child's treatment. Where should it come from if not from me?... I am confused how I can enroll [my son] in school. His peers have already entered in playgroup. They have learned the Quran... [but] playgroup needs a lot of money. [...] Moreover, my first son has not been circumcised. For his circumcision, I will need to

borrow some money. *(Divorced mother of two children, formerly trafficked for domestic work)*

Currently the hardest challenge is the school fees for my children... I often have difficulty to get some sleep because I thought about money for my children's school. That's why I often get a big headache. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work with an unemployed husband)*

...my husband is sick.... [My challenge is] for my husband's treatment. I'm thinking of that, [money] for my husband's treatment. For sure, I want to find work again. Firstly, my husband's treatment and for my children, for her school. [...] At the moment, he is injected, once a week... sometimes 35,000 IDR [3USD] sometimes 40,000 IDR [3.5USD]. He is injected using antibiotic, to decrease the pain. Otherwise... he cannot tolerate the pain. It's painful. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work with an ailing husband)*

The toughest problem was about my son's school... we could not afford to pay for public transportation for him to go to school. That's the biggest problem. I cried so often thinking about it. I feel bad for my son. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work whose teenage son has dropped out of school)*

There are many difficulties, from my family and also economic difficulties. My parents fell down. I could not visit them because my husband is sick so I just called them. It was difficult because it was my husband and my mother - where is the happiness? I just prayed and hope that we will always be healthy and we can search fortune. My mother understood. She called and asked if I want to come but we don't have any money to go. This is the most difficult situation...My husband is sick all the time. He could not go anywhere. *(Woman trafficked for domestic work, caring for an ill husband and injured parents)*

I am ashamed with my brother-in-law and ashamed to my parents because I cannot help at all. I cannot give anything.... I am sad that my mother goes around to sell *tempeh* [fermented soya bean cake] because she is often sick. I was sad if she was sick at night and she had to walk around to sell *tempeh* in the morning. Sometimes I cried when I was making *tempeh*. If I am capable of making money, she would not have to do that. She lives with her son-in-law, it makes her uncomfortable... My daily problem is only about the family. *(Man trafficked for fishing who is unable to support his aging mother)*

I want to have my own place to reside. This is a must. [...] I would have to rent a house. I have a wife and child and cannot just sleep on the street. *(Man trafficked for fishing who is unable to support his wife and child)*

Last month my mother... was sick. She was admitted to a hospital... I did not have money yet. I asked my wife for the money to visit my mother there. They said my mother would have a surgery. They said her operation was cancelled until her condition stabilized. After she recovered she could have the surgery, they said. While in Jakarta, she had to spend for food and rent a house.... she has not recovered. *(Man trafficked for labor with an ill mother)*

I am very sad seeing her life. She was married but her husband left her without reason and without financial support for her kids. [...] I am very sad seeing her children's life but I can't do anything because I don't have a job now. She is sick after returning from [the Middle East]. She went abroad to work two times but she was not successful... She is sick, she has problems with her legs. She got this sickness when she worked [abroad]. *(Brother of woman trafficked for domestic work)*

One critical and consistent issue for victims and their family members was in terms of managing their problems within the family at various stages of reintegration. Family tension

and conflict was an issue faced by many, arguably all, respondents in this study in one way or another. Problems existed between a trafficked parent and children left behind, spouses (one trafficked; one who had remained), adult trafficked persons and their parents, and victims and their immediate and extended relatives.¹¹⁷ In some cases, this was low scale tension, fighting, hurt and disagreement. In other cases, these problems rose to the level of violence and abuse within the family, as discussed earlier.¹¹⁸ And few victims received support in how to manage and navigate these problems and issues. That being said, such tensions were not inevitable and some victims found support within the family setting and/or were able to rebuild or resolve issues over time.¹¹⁹

One man described how his greatest difficulty after trafficking was the problems he faced with his wife: “The thoughts about not being able to bring happiness to my family. I went away to change our luck but turned out that it was in vain. [...] It is my hope that I could work things out with my ex-wife, for the sake of our children since we’re not divorced officially yet. [...] There’s still hope”.



A woman and her children in a village in West Java. Photo: Peter Biro.

¹¹⁷ See also Black, K. and M. Lobo (2008) ‘A conceptual review of family resilience factors’, *Journal of Family Nursing* 14(33); Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) *No place like home? Challenges in family reintegration after trafficking*. Oslo: Fafo and Washington: NEXUS Institute; Brunovskis, A. & R. Surtees (2012) ‘Coming home: Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked women’, *Qualitative Social Work*; Surtees et al. (2016) *Going Home. Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficking Victims in Indonesia*. Washington: NEXUS Institute; Surtees, R. (2016) ‘Being home. Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked Indonesian domestic workers’ in Piotrowicz et al. (Eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Human Trafficking*. London: Routledge; Surtees, R. (2016) *Moving On. Family and Community Reintegration Among Indonesian Trafficking Victims*. Washington, D.C.: NEXUS Institute; and Surtees, R. (2013) *After Trafficking: Experiences and Challenges in the Reintegration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Bangkok: UNIAP and Washington: NEXUS Institute.

¹¹⁸ Please see Section 6: Health situation and physical well-being

¹¹⁹ See also Section 4.2: Vulnerability and resilience within the family environment.

Overall, assistance was generally only available to trafficking victims, not their family members. Moreover, there was limited knowledge of assistance that family members could access, both among trafficking victims themselves, as well as service providers and authorities. When victims did try to access services for their family members, they often faced complicated and unclear administrative rules, as well as bureaucratic procedures. One woman described complicated procedures to enroll her child in school and the stress this caused her: “Yes, it’s complicated too. [...] Oh, my. I have a headache thinking about this. Normally when I go to bed I would feel fresh when I wake up. But now I am so dizzy”.

Some assistance is available to family members as part of general social assistance. One mother, trafficked as a domestic worker, initially migrated to pay for her children’s school fees and to help her husband support the family’s living needs. Widowed while trafficked, she struggled to raise her three boys but explained how she was assisted with education support:

...my second and third sons got support from the local government, through their school, namely *Bantuan Harapan* [Hope Assistance]. They get money to support their schooling every three months. It was proposed by my relative. Then there was a survey of my house and they asked how many children I have. The requirement for this program is that the children are orphans.¹²⁰ They also check the daily attendance of the children’s school from their school report. [...] I use the money to buy their shoes, books and new clothes.

Some assistance for family members was also forthcoming from the mosque, as one man explained, although this was intermittent and only on special holidays: “[We get no help] from the community but often from the mosque because my wife is active in the mosque. If there was an event like *Eid al-Fitr*, they gave us staples or meat in *Eid al-Adha*.¹²¹ Often it was package with staples and food [...] Each holiday, but never from government”.

The needs of family members often continued over time and, at various stages, had, in some cases, the potential to compromise or undermine reintegration success. One woman, trafficked for prostitution, had been out trafficking for ten years, but continued to struggle economically because of the demands of caring for those within her family. In her case (and indeed many others) her family’s needs had increased over time as she cared not only for her aging mother, but also her daughter who had recently fallen pregnant and needed her help. She described these multiple and amplifying family needs:

The first challenge is the economy... how to make sure the salary that I receive is enough for my daughter in my hometown so that she could have food. I must send her money even though she also has a husband... her husband works only occasionally. I send 100,000 or 200,000 IDR [9 or 18USD] there. I don’t have a heart because she is pregnant. Not to mention my mother. My mother is a widow and she does not work... she has many burdens like medical charges, debt, medication... So I sent to my parent 100,000 or 200,000 IDR [9 or 18USD]...My husband does not know. I have a lot of burdens. If I talk to him... he is angry.



13.4 Summary

Victims’ family members, including children, spouses, parents, siblings and other relatives, also had critical assistance needs. Many trafficking victims migrated to support and care for

¹²⁰ In Indonesia an orphan may refer to a child who has lost one or both parents.

¹²¹ *Eid al-Adha* is an important Muslim holiday that honors the willingness of Abraham (Ibrahim) to sacrifice his son as an act of submission to God.

their families, including to pay for basic needs, children's education, medical care for a sick family member, a home and so on. In some cases, a particular event or crisis within the family directly triggered migration – e.g. a medical emergency.

Most trafficked persons were unable to remit or return with money, which detrimentally affected the well-being their families. In addition, many trafficked persons faced blame and censure from family members, including from children who felt neglected by the absent/migrant parent, spouses who felt let down by failures, parents who were disappointed with their children for not returning with money.

Being unable to work or being in debt meant that victims' family members also often continued to face difficulties over the course of reintegration. Assistance is generally only available to trafficking victims, not their family members. Family tension and conflict were common-place and, in some cases, rose to the level of violence and abuse within the family.

14. Conclusion and recommendations

Trafficked persons interviewed for this research project shared a great deal about the complexity of their lives over time. Their stories highlight the multi-layered vulnerabilities and resiliencies at various stages of life – their pre-existing vulnerabilities before trafficking, the impacts and harms caused by trafficking and their vulnerabilities and challenges after trafficking and at different stages of reintegration. Looking beyond the direct impacts and consequences of trafficking provides a more comprehensive and far more complex picture of trafficked persons' lives and needs. In sharing their experiences and their “ups” and “downs” at different stages, our respondents have shed light on the complexity and contours of their lives generally including before trafficking and as part of reintegration afterward.

A critical theme that emerged in our interviews and conversations with trafficked persons and their families was the significant impact of the broader social environment into which they reintegrate. The family and community settings are comprised of complex and often contradictory social relationships which influence and impact trafficked persons' lives in important and significant ways, as well as differently over time.

As critical is the overarching dynamic of how vulnerability or resilience (or both) change and fluctuate over time and in response to different factors. Reintegration is neither a simple nor linear process but instead may involve many “ups” and “downs”, “successes” and “failures” along the way and over time.

Assistance and services can play a vital role in trafficking victims (and their family members) being able to recover and reintegrate after trafficking. However, this requires that assistance and support be well-designed and appropriate for the needs of trafficked persons and their family members. This, in turn, requires an in-depth understanding of trafficked persons' lives and needs as direct a result of trafficking, as well as their lives and needs before and after trafficking and in their families and communities. To design effective programs and policies it is useful to disentangle when assistance needs are a direct result of trafficking exploitation and when these needs are linked to pre-existing vulnerabilities or post-trafficking life challenges. This better allows for the design of appropriate and effective assistance policies and programs for trafficked persons over the course of their recovery and reintegration.

This approach also situates human trafficking in a wider context of socioeconomic vulnerability and, in so doing, pinpoints when and how trafficking involves distinct, specific needs and responses and when trafficking victims' needs might be addressed within the existing social protection framework in the country. For example, in Indonesia there are programs and services that are available to persons who are socially and economically vulnerable, which trafficked persons could access to support their recovery and reintegration. Similarly, programs for exploited migrants may also be useful in meeting the needs of some trafficked persons.

Understanding pre-existing vulnerabilities and structural inequalities that victims face as part of reintegration is also an important tool in preventing trafficking and re-trafficking. That is, there is value in a “protection as prevention” approach, which foresees that the provision of services to vulnerable persons may prevent trafficking from taking place from the outset. Individuals with access to education, medical care, employment and so on may not need to migrate to meet their needs and to realize their aspirations. This approach also prevents the re-trafficking of persons who may continue to face issues and challenges over time and who may, without access to support, opt to migrate again to meet their basic needs or the needs of their family members.

And yet, too often the victims interviewed for this study did not have access to assistance and support – whether trafficking-specific assistance or services available to the socially vulnerable or the population generally. Some trafficked persons did not know where and how to get formal assistance, as one trafficked fisher explained: “I don’t know how to seek for assistance, where to seek, what to do. I don’t know”. Similarly a woman, trafficked for prostitution, spoke about her lack of knowledge about services, as well as her lack of trust in institutions tasked with providing assistance: “I did not look for [assistance] because I do not know where it is. If I look for it, what are the rules and regulations? ... and I do not feel good with the institution”.

Moreover, services and support are needed over time. One woman, who was trafficked for prostitution as a girl and had since escaped and integrated into her family and community, stressed the need for longer-term support than is currently available: “It’s not just a seven day rehabilitation here and she is sent home. [...] Seven days, will it be thorough [assistance]? I think it’s only temporary... and that’s why [problems] keeps on happening. Because it is never thorough, handling it with a solution like that”.

And services and assistance are needed for all trafficked persons – men and women, children and adults and victims of all forms of trafficking. One service provider assisting trafficking victims spoke, for instance, about the importance of assisting men as well as women in their recovery and reintegration: “There are a lot of male victims. We assumed that they are masculine and strong, but they are fragile too, with a lot of debt”.

Supporting trafficked persons over time and across these various vulnerabilities and risks requires on-going care and case management by professional service providers. One man, trafficked for labor, when asked what could be done to improve reintegration support focused on the need for professional case management including conducting a needs assessment, designing an appropriate reintegration plan and the tailoring assistance to the specific needs of that individual:

I suggest that [the service provider] comes directly to the person and helps them personally. They must conduct a survey about their lives. It will be more useful and secure so the assistance will be appropriate. [They should do it] before they give the assistance... [The service provider] must meet the victim and talk so they can see the capacities, so they know the need and what will be useful.. [...] They should interview people one by one to know their capacities. We cannot be generalized.

Reintegration of trafficked persons is a profoundly complex process, which is impacted by the victim’s individual and social context, as well as by reintegration programs and policies themselves. Reintegration can be both facilitated and complicated by individual, family, social and economic factors, as well as the quality of reintegration programs and policies and the skills of the professionals tasked with this work.

Designing and refining a comprehensive reintegration framework should be of utmost importance to anti-trafficking practitioners and policymakers in Indonesia. Improving the reintegration response in Indonesia will require efforts from a number of different organizations and institutions including the government (at all levels), civil society, international organizations (IOs) and donors. With this in mind, the following recommendations can contribute to improved assistance and reintegration responses for Indonesian trafficking victims. These recommendations are by no means exhaustive, but rather lay out some important ways forward that can support Indonesian trafficking victims in moving forward with their lives. Recommendations are framed around key issues of:



The provision of reintegration services



Capacity-building and quality of care



Prevention and awareness-raising



Monitoring, evaluation and research



Resources and budget allocation



Recommendations on the provision of reintegration services

Offer assistance to meet all needs and address all vulnerabilities, not only those caused by trafficking. Some assistance needs are a direct consequence of trafficking; others are a function of victims' general vulnerability. Assistance should meet all needs and vulnerabilities faced by trafficked persons, regardless of whether these were caused by trafficking. Assistance and services should respond to the full range of victims' needs (and those of their families) over the course of reintegration, both to address the impacts of trafficking and to alleviate their general social and economic exclusion and vulnerability.

Assistance programs and policies should provide for short- and long-term services. Some victims have short-term assistance needs, such as emergency medical care, temporary shelter, job placement and so on. However, many trafficked persons also have longer-term assistance needs that require more time, resources and professional case management – for example, long-term counseling, professional training, small business development or assistance for family members. The long-term nature of reintegration means that programs and services must be available over time – sometimes for months and even years. The Government of Indonesia should take into account the long-term, generally multi-year process of recovery and reintegration in program design and the allocation of budgets/resources accordingly.

Respond to assistance needs of all trafficked persons. Assistance needs may differ substantially between different categories of victims and different forms of trafficking. They also often differ from individual to individual. Assistance should be tailored to the individual needs of each trafficked person, including when needs change over the course of reintegration and in response to evolving personal, family and community circumstances.

Offer tailored, comprehensive services, over time. Trafficked persons should have access to a comprehensive package of individualized and tailored reintegration services to meet their wide ranging needs over the course of reintegration. These services should be offered by state and NGO service providers in the framework of on-going case management. Trafficked persons should, together with service providers, identify services needed to meet their needs in the short- and long-term. The adequate provision of assistance includes

developing community-based services in communities where victims reintegrate which, in turn, requires an adequate budget allocation.

Recognize and take into account the needs of trafficking victims' family members as part of an assistance response. For many Indonesian trafficking victims, their family's assistance needs were paramount, including access to education, job placement, medical care and so on. Assisting family members as part of reintegration can go some way in supporting the reintegration of trafficked persons. This is particularly the case within the immediate family where such assistance may alleviate immediate and direct pressure on the individual trafficking victim. Being unable to find assistance for family members may lead to on-going vulnerability including trafficked persons making risky decisions and even ending up re-trafficked. The victim and family must be seen as parts of the same whole in assistance design. Working with the family as a whole can more efficiently improve the victim's financial and social status and also increase the family's ability to function as a safety net in the longer-term and in response to potential crises or setbacks.

Include the family and community environments in all reintegration work. Reintegration cannot be separated from the family and community settings to which trafficked persons return. Both family and community can serve to either support or undermine reintegration success. Reintegration plans and programming should take into account the individual victim's family and community situation, including how this may improve or deteriorate over time and in response to different factors and triggers. On-going family and community assessments are needed as part of reintegration efforts.

Increase identification of trafficking victims. Reintegration cannot be divorced from the issue of victim identification. Overall, victim identification in Indonesia should be enhanced to ensure victims' access to rights and services, including at a village level where most trafficked persons return. There is also a need for improved identification of victims of less "typical" types of trafficking.



Recommendations on capacity building and quality of care

Enhance service providers' capacity to work with all types of trafficking victims. Service providers should be trained to work with victims of all forms of trafficking and all types of victims – male and female, adult and child. This includes service providers within the government and civil society. Different types of trainings and certifications should be made available to service providers on various aspects of reintegration.

Train social workers on how to support reintegration of trafficking victims. Social workers should be trained in how to work with trafficking victims over the course of their reintegration, including over time and in response to crises and issues that may arise. This will include training in victim identification, conducting needs assessments and designing and monitoring a reintegration plan. Social workers should be equipped with skills and tools in case management specifically for trafficking victims.

Training in sensitization and anti-discrimination. All institutions and individuals working with trafficked persons should be carefully trained and sensitized on the issue of trafficking, as well as social protection, vulnerability and post-trafficking reintegration. This is needed to prevent (further) harm to trafficking victims, including lack of sensitivity, re-victimization, discrimination and marginalization.

Develop and implement professional codes of conduct and ethical guidelines/standards. All professionals interacting with trafficked persons in all fields of work should be guided by and accountable to professional codes of conduct and ethical

guidelines/standards, including principles of confidentiality, non-discrimination and privacy. Systems of accountability, including sanctions, should be in place and enforced to guarantee the safety, security and well-being of all trafficked persons.



Recommendations on prevention and awareness-raising

Improve dissemination of information about services available to trafficking victims, exploited migrant workers and the general public. Trafficking victims should be informed about their rights as trafficking victims, the services and support available to them and how to approach service providers to request this support. More information is needed about where and how trafficking victims can access assistance, whether trafficking-specific support, assistance to migrant workers, support for the socially/economically vulnerable or services for the population generally. Information is needed about services from civil society, as well as the Government of Indonesia and at all levels – national, provincial district, sub-district and village level.

Employ a “protection as prevention” approach. Many Indonesian trafficking victims are socially and economically vulnerable before migration/trafficking. Providing at-risk persons with various forms of assistance (e.g. medical care, job placement, vocational training, social assistance, financial support) may serve to prevent risky migration or trafficking. Assisting trafficking victims with social services/protection can potentially serve to prevent re-trafficking or continued vulnerability for individual trafficking victims and their family members.



Recommendations on monitoring, evaluation and research

Increase analysis and understanding of reintegration. Reintegration has, to date, been under-analyzed and under-theorized and systematic evaluations (with meaningful indicators and measures) have been conspicuous in their absence. There is an overall lack of empirical data on reintegration efforts for trafficked persons – what constitutes “successful reintegration” and what, in different settings, constitute the contributors and impediments to the recovery and reintegration of trafficked persons. Far more needs to be known and understood about the reintegration process itself, as well as the specific social, economic, political and cultural environments in which reintegration takes place. As vital is an assessment of what happens in victims’ lives over the course of reintegration and what changes (for better or for worse) over time.

Increase knowledge base on victims’ experiences of failed reintegration and re-trafficking. Some trafficking victims are not successfully reintegrated, both those who have and have not been assisted. Many face “failures” in their recovery and reintegration and, in some cases, this has translated into their re-trafficking. Much more needs to be done to ensure that individuals are able to recover and move on from trafficking. This necessarily requires greater understanding and analysis of what leads to failed reintegration and re-trafficking, including how this differs according to form of trafficking, profile of victim, family environment and various other factors.

Monitor and evaluate all assistance programs and policies. All assistance programs and policies should be monitored to assess whether and to what extent they meet the complex and diverse assistance needs of trafficked persons. Monitoring assistance efforts must be done carefully and ethically and should involve feedback and viewpoints from trafficked persons and program beneficiaries. Each organization or institute should engage in regular monitoring and evaluation of its work and make the requisite adjustments, as well as profile and advocate the needs of beneficiaries. The Government of Indonesia should also

monitor and evaluate the overall assistance and protection response in terms of its impact on the continuing recovery of trafficked persons. This should involve cooperation and coordination by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the National Anti-Trafficking Task Force. There is also a vital role to be played by the Ministry of Social Affairs (and its provincial and district level equivalent mechanisms).

Engage with trafficked persons in the design, implementation and evaluation of programs and policies. A comprehensive, holistic reintegration response requires on-going engagement with and involvement of trafficked persons. Trafficked persons should be involved in the design, implementation, and evaluation of all anti-trafficking assistance programs, to learn what does and does not work in terms of assistance and reintegration. The involvement of trafficked persons should include both those who are assisted and those who are not. To offer appropriate assistance and support, it is important to enhance our knowledge about under-considered and under-accessed trafficking victims. Engaging with and involving trafficked persons in M&E work, however, involves careful consideration of various practical and ethical issues, which must be carefully considered and accommodated. This includes how to involve trafficked persons without re-victimizing them or derailing their recovery. It also involves attention to practical considerations like acknowledging and compensating trafficked persons for their contributions.



Recommendations on resources and budget allocation

Allocate adequate resources for reintegration work. Reintegration is a long-term process, which often involves the provision of multiple services over time. The Government of Indonesia should allocate adequate resources across the country, including at the village level, to ensure trafficked persons can access the support and services they need. There is also a role for donors to supplement funds from the Government of Indonesia as it builds and expands its reintegration response across the country.

Ensure adequate staffing for reintegration programs. Adequate time and resources are needed to engage effectively on reintegration efforts. Professional staff is needed in the provision of all forms of services, whether job placement, training, legal assistance, counseling or medical care. This, in turn, means that adequate funds must be available to employ and train this professional staff across the various fields of work.

Allocate funds and human resources to village-level reintegration efforts. The state should assign social workers to work with trafficked persons at the village level, to support their long-term recovery and reintegration. This requires adequate human and financial resources be allocated for this grassroots social work.

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