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"The Anti-Humanism of Capitalism"

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EDITORIAL

The Anti-Humanism of Capitalism

This issue examines the fate of the unseen, unheard, and permanently precarious working people in capitalism's now obsolete march, whose uncertain destiny has been aggravated by COVID-19 crisis. Thiago Lima lays out the long history of dispossession that precedes the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil. It is a history of hunger and famine that is silenced and revealing of "a project of social amnesia…that has been historically practiced around the ills of hunger, and specially, the hunger of the peasantry, a large part of which migrated to compose the hungry slums of nowadays." He rightly states that the hunger-famine crisis needs to understood in light of the exporting agrarian model, the marginalization of the peasantry, slavery and structural racism, among other factors. Lima's ultimate summoning is of the necessity to build a political pact whose final objective is not only to create the conditions for people to feed three times a day, but also to be bolder and defend a political pact that excludes Hunger as a principle of social organization. Salimah Valiani addresses the unequal and colonial structure in medical research that kept African scientists on the back foot despite having had the earliest breakthroughs in vaccine efficacy. The financialisation of capitalism is at the centre of African states' capitulation to multinational corporations as the source of vaccines, and of the staggering debt that underwrote such compromise. As she argues, the apathy of African governments needs to be understood as a recent iteration of the historical problem of 'disarticulation' that Samir Amin elaborated in the 1970s. Puncturing the 'vaccine apartheid' narrative that is readily trumpeted by African states and the majority of nongovernmental organisations alike, Valiani paints a more complex picture that indicts the global commodification of healthcare, in which African elites are complicit. The question of commodification is taken up by Namrata Daniel in a different light as she examines the issue of human trafficking in South Asia in relation to processes of unequal development and resultant disparities that entrench social inequalities including gender, caste, class and religion. She argues in this regard, for the necessity of addressing the structural and material factors within the global economy that deepen the exploitation of workers at every turn. As capitalism's dehumanisation remains unfettered, so should our collective determination to write its demise.

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Brazil: 500 thousand dead by Covid-19. Or why we ignored the 500 thousand dead by hunger in the Northeast

Thiago Lima[1]

Brazil reached the terrible mark of 500 thousand dead by Covid-19 in June of 2021. Since such a statement can give the impression that the fatalities are the result of the natural encounter between the virus and bodies that - some more than others - are more vulnerable to it, resulting in inevitable deaths or sequels, it is always important to remember a motto announced by Mike Rays, from the World Health Organization in 2019: the virus attacks people; the pandemic explores the vulnerabilities of societies. Therefore, the tragedy of the pandemic is under the direct responsibility and direction of the federal government of Jair Bolsonaro[i] and his supporters.

In this context, a part of the society positions itself in a fight that is nothing more and nothing less than a defense of civilization or citizenship against this government that aims at barbarism. Also, when denouncing the promotion of the pandemic as a public policy decision, it is common to stress that this is the greatest public health crisis in the history of Brazil. Yet, it is not, at least for the moment.

Between 1877 and 1879, about 500 thousand Brazilian died of hunger in the Northeast of Brazil alone. And from the 1890s to the early 1990s, about 1 million Northeasters suffered from hunger and famine. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it is estimated that up to 2 million people in the Northeast may have died of Hunger (1).

The fact that these data are not on the tip of our tongue is revealing. It reveals a project of social amnesia, of silencing, that has been historically practiced around the ills of hunger, and specially, the hunger of the peasantry, a large part of which migrated to compose the hungry slums of nowadays. At a certain point in the pandemic, the rapporteur of the congressional investigation, known by its Portuguese acronym as 'CPI', Renan Calheiros sought to compare the current scenario with previous tragedies and the parameter chosen was the Paraguayan War, the largest military conflict in the history of Brazil. In this episode, which resulted in about 440 thousand deaths in total, 100 thousand were Brazilians. Notice that it is symptomatic that a senator from the Northeast does not emphasize that the main tragedies, in terms of mortality, occurred in the Northeast. Brazil is, in fact, the only Latin-American country to appear in the historical list of "Great Famines" of the World - those that victimize more than 100 thousand people - drawn up by scholar Alex de Waal, numbers which correspond to the Northeast only. Certainly, this is not a minor matter. How is it possible that the milestones of our trajectory are not visible all the time, while hunger intensely increases during the pandemic?

If the coronavirus attacks the body and the pandemic explores the vulnerabilities of the society, the same can be said about hunger. If, since the beginning of time, mankind has waged an incessant fight against hunger, it is possible to affirm that, centuries

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ago, some societies and governments developed methods to prevent the harshest times of famine from claiming so many lives and spreading so much destruction because of the diseases associated with the process of severe debilitation of the body by acute shortages of food and nutrients. Mike Davis argues, for example, that before the British invasion of India and China, these two millennial civilizations had effective and established principles and public policies to prevent acute collective famines and to intervene when bad weather would strike a certain part of the territory. Examples of government strategies were: government food stocks; redistribution (transportation) of stocks throughout the territory in case of shortages; distribution of food without counterpart labor; suspension of taxes on peasants; guarantee of land ownership in adequate proportion for subsistence farming; strict control of prices and punishment of dishonest merchants; and isolated agricultural economies from the international market, in order not to suffer price or supply shocks.

These elements together acted as a safety net that prevented one of the main vectors of death during the collective famines: the occurrence of epidemics. The understanding of this point is of fundamental relevance, even for nowadays. In famine contexts, the mortality does not lie exactly in starvation, but in diseases that affect vulnerable, malnourished bodies. Many of these diseases are relatively simple and would not take hold or cause major harms in healthy bodies. However, in situations of severe malnutrition, humans are much more vulnerable to diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis, diarrhea, measles, smallpox, and other diseases. From this perspective, the outbreak of a viral epidemic is one of the biggest nightmares for public health, and this was prevented by government policies. It so happens that, with the colonizers' invasion, local government autonomy was destroyed as a way to prostrate those people - including through hunger - and to enable the pernicious exploitation of their human resources. It is in this sense, and in others, that Josué de Castro (2) directly associated Hunger and Colonialism/Imperialism. In other words, Hunger was a result of the intentional action and omission of governments, local and foreign, who used the instruments of the State to keep huge contingents of people permanently hungry, vulnerable to famine.

As argued by Josué de Castro, Hunger was not a work of chance but an advanced symptom of social perversity. In the case of the Northeast, although the drought was merciless and extensive during the last quarter of the 19th century, it was known that water defenses and other resilience policies had to be built decades before that. However, the exporting agrarian model, the marginalization of the peasantry, slavery and structural racism, among other factors, never allowed a structural fight against hunger and drought.

The conjunction of famines and epidemics was precisely one of the greatest aggravating factors for the immense mortality of the Northeastern people in the 19th century and afterwards. When migrating from the backwoods to the larger cities, especially to the coastal capitals, these extremely vulnerable populations ended up in places without the minimum sanitary and shelter conditions, eating leftovers or rotten things offered as alms, including by the governments. I ask permission to suggest to anyone reading to imagine the following picture: hundreds of starving and exhausted families, after days of walking under the

excruciating Northeastern sun, finally crowded in improvised camps, with many people suffering from diarrhea, and without any toilet or reasonably adequate - humanized - facilities to survive under these conditions.

At this point, it is possible that some Brazilian readers will perceive this picture as tacky and seek to take their eyes off this text. Turning the page. Silencing the issue. This is possibility part of what I want to address in this article. It is the incapacity, either by grudge or by design, that our society has to expose the history of Hunger - and associated epidemics - that weave through Brazil's trajectory.

Allowing and exposing the people to death, to hundreds of thousands, through the hunger method, is not something invented by the Bolsonaro government. It was practiced by the Brazilian Empire (1822-1888). It was practiced by the old Republic (1889-1930). It was practiced by dictatorships (1930-1945 / 1964-1988). However, the lack of this living, burning memory, prevents the existence of a permanent structure to combat this kind of villainy and to promote social justice. Notice that the following testimony of scientist Natália Pasternak in the CPI of the Pandemic had repercussions: "We Jews have been through this before. And our goal, as Jews, and as children and grandchildren of the holocaust, is to never forget, so that authoritarian governments can never put the health and lives of their populations at risk."

And we Brazilians, who in the past and present have experienced Hunger, why do we forget that successive governments have imposed or tolerated Hunger even when they were aware of the risks to our health and our lives? Why didn't we militate against this forgetfulness? I suppose that all readers of this text know something from the history of the Nazi concentration camps. There are many films, photos and books on the subject, such as the Nazi Concentration Camps became the paradigmatic example of the heinous government crime, of Genocide. I bet, on the other hand, that many of those who read this article do not know the history of the Concentration Camps for Famine refugees[ii], installed under the old Republic and under Vargas' dictatorship, in Cerá, between 1915 and 1932. Why isn't crowding more than 100 thousand people in famine situation, in camps without the minimum sanitary conditions and infested with smallpox, the paradigm of heinous governmental crime in Brazil? Would this paradigm be useful for us to evaluate the agglomeration of workers in public transportation or in the slums in the middle of a pandemic?

Therefore, just as it is imperative to start planning right now the memorialization of the dead and the sequelae of the Covid-19, so that other governments will never repeat what this current one has been doing, it is fundamental to build a national project of memorialization of Hunger as a way to keep society alert and combative against this scourge. But above all, it will be necessary to build a political pact whose final objective is not only to create the conditions for people to feed three times a day. We need to be bolder and defend a political pact that excludes Hunger as a principle of social organization.

For this, at some point this country will need to look back at the historical and political imposition of hunger, especially the imposition of hunger on the most vulnerable populations - most importantly the sons and daughters of the peasants, indigenous and black people. At some point it will be

necessary to ask forgiveness for the dead, the sequelae, and their families. At some point we will need to decide to confront 'Brazilian bovarism' and open the black box of Hunger, look the monster in the face and, as a Nation, say: Enough! Hunger will no longer be tolerated in this country!

NOTES

(1) For an overview of the Great Collective Hungers of Brazil in international comparison, see DAVIS, Mike. Late Victorian Holocausts. El Niño famines and the making of the Third World. London, New York: Verso, 2001 (There is a Portuguese version by Editora Record), and DE WAAL, Alex. Mass starvation: the history and future of famine. Polity Press, 2018.
(2) For an intellectual and political biography of Josué de Castro, see MENDONÇA, Marina Gusmão de. O combatente da fome: Josué de Castro: 1930-1973. Bauru: Canal 5, 2021. 320p
(3) Listen to the episode from the podcast "Ilustríssima Conversa - Brasil sonha em ser outro, mas sem mudar nada, diz Maria Rita Kehl" at https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrissima/2019/01/brasil-sonha-em-ser-outro- but-without-changing-nothing-says-maria-rita-kehl.shtml

[i] https://blogs.bmj.com/bmj/2021/04/05/the-catastrophic-brazilian-response-to-covid-19-may-amount-to-a-crime-against-humanity/
[ii] https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0094582X09341977

Africa's COVID-19 Vaccine and the Scandal of the Centuries

Salimah Valiani[1]

This article is based on an interview conducted with Professor Christian Happi via zoom on August 30, 2021, as well as reports and articles hyperlinked in the piece.

A modest team leading the way quietly in Ede, Nigeria, at the little-discussed, African Centre for Excellence in Genomics and Infectious Diseases (ACEGID). This is how and where, by September 2020, a Covid-19 vaccine passed preclinical trials, with over 90% effectiveness against the first and second variants of the novel coronavirus in animals. Professor Christian Happi, director of the Centre explains: "Africa is endowed with a huge wealth of biodiversity. With it, using genomics, we can track infectious diseases as well as find solutions that can work for the world, like we have done for the novel coronavirus."

The only glitch was that African governments would not provide the 250 million USD needed to run clinical trials. Not only a massive loss for Africa, the refusal to support the research is a loss for the globe's majority. Happi argues that "because of the biodiversity in Africa, including plant, animal and human, if clinical trials had been successful, the vaccine would have been highly effective around the world."

Added to this is the crucial fact that Happi and his team—unlike the Oxford scientists behind the AstraZeneca vaccine — would not have patented the vaccine. This would have made it accessible to impoverished and rich countries alike.

Instead of funding research and production of an African vaccine, African governments, through the African Union (AU), pooled resources to obtain financing of 2 billion USD - about four times more than what was needed for ACEGID clinical trials - to buy vaccines from multinational corporations (MNCs). The resources pooled, of course, are those of citizens of the continent, provided by the AU as collateral to the Africa Export-Import Bank (AFREXIMBANK). African states thus put Africans in yet deeper debt with some of the world's richest banks and individuals — for

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profit-riddled COVID vaccines in short supply for the global majority.

AFREXIMBANK

Headquartered in Cairo, with offices in Abidjan, Harare, Abuja and Kampala, the AFREXIMBANK is a supranational financial institution established in 1993. Its investors are African governments, African central banks, African private banks, international private banks and financial institutions, and rich individuals. Listed on the Stock Exchange of Mauritius, AFREXIMBANK is a hallmark of neoliberal capitalism in Africa.

On the global scene, with an authorized share capital of 5 billion USD, AFREXIMBANK is a small player. Authorized share capital of Standard Bank (South Africa), for instance, was 19.3 billion back in 2004. Today's top three billionaires in Africa, Aliko Dangote (Nigeria), Nassef Sawriris (Egypt), and Nicky Oppenheimer (South Africa), have a combined net worth of 28.6 billion USD. These three capitalists, in turn, fall far behind the richest billionaires and trillionaires of the world. Nevertheless, this short lesson in African finance debunks the myth that there is no money in Africa.

Largely reflecting the same global power structure, the quarter billion USD needed by ACEGID for clinical trials is a small fraction of the 10 billion USD invested by the US government in Operation Warp Speed, that funded COVID research of Moderna, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, and other MNCs.

Instead of investing in a not-for-profit COVID vaccine that would have served humanity as a whole, the AU, through its self-titled COVID-19 Vaccine Development and Access Strategy, has and continues to support clinical trials, roll-out, and uptake in Africa of for-profit vaccines produced by the same MNCs funded in Operation Warp Speed.

How to explain this choice made by African states?

Disarticulation

Far from being altogether new, the story of Africa's COVID-19 vaccine is a recent iteration of 'disarticulation', elaborated by Samir Amin in his 1970 seminal work, L'accumulation à l'échelle mondiale (published in English as Accumulation on a World Scale in 1974). Unlike the economies of colonizing, or so-called rich countries, different areas of production in the colony and post colony speak little to each other, if at all. Agricultural production is either cash crops for export or subsistence of the immediate producers (or a bit of both) — but rarely for mass consumption in another part of the same country. Raw materials are at best, partly

processed, before being sent elsewhere to be turned into finished goods. Manufactured goods, if produced within the post colony, consist mainly of imported inputs and technology. Industrialisation in the post colony therefore does not tend to mobilize various areas of production as it does in 'rich' countries. For their part, elites in the colony/post colony — both national and multinational elites — re-invest very little in the post colony. This is not for a lack of profits generated in the post colony. Amin demonstrated this for Egypt. Between 1939 and 1953, though profits amounted to one third of national income in the colonial period, only 14 per cent of this was re-invested productively (mainly in family businesses, public shares and stocks in other companies). The rest was used for luxury consumption (38 per cent), to buy real estate (34 per cent), and liquid capital like gold (15 per cent). This political-economic structure during colonial times set the tone for further capitalist development after Independence. Consumption of imported luxuries, real estate and liquid capital creates few jobs, hence the historic problem of high unemployment and underemployment in countries of the South — most of which have patterns resembling those of Egypt.

Full circle to Africa's COVID-19 vaccine

In late May 2021, some 10 months after ACEGID's numerous unheard proposals for investment in clinical trials, Cyril Ramaphosa, current head of the AU and president of South Africa, urged France's President Macron to support manufacturing of MNC vaccines in African countries. Around the same time, at the start of what would be South Africa's most deadly (third) wave of COVID-19, South African pharmaceutical firm, Aspen, was being suited-up by Johnson & Johnson to produce the J & J COVID vaccine.

All of this complicates the story of 'vaccine apartheid' and the need for intellectual property waivers for COVID vaccines — a call trumpeted by African states and the majority of nongovernmental organisations alike. In different ways, both groups benefit from today's iteration of the global poverty industry, in which, as Professor Happi puts it, "Africa behaves like an orphan that can do nothing but beg."

Happi continues, "Africa is far from poor. We have powerful plant, animal and human biodiversity, as well as science and philosophy dating back centuries. We can put all this to productive use in new ways, combining with knowledge that Africans in the diaspora have gained from the world's best universities."

In February 2020, ACEGID sequenced the first genome of the SARS-Cov-2 circulating in Africa within 48 hours of receiving it. Happi and team tracked that the virus had entered via Europe and provided the information to the Africa Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, along with a containment strategy. African governments then instituted measures at airports and quarantine requirements. "Through this we were able to delay community transmission in Africa," says Happi, "This is why COVID-19 has not hit the continent the way it has hit other continents."

Throughout the pandemic, ACEGID and its partners have continued using advanced genomics tools and techniques and advising African governments on how to contain COVID-19. From June 14 to July 3, 2021, ACEGID conducted a first time training with epidemiologists of 14 African countries. Linking COVID containment strategies in the continent to ACEGID's pioneering work on Ebola, Lassa and other viruses, Happi says "There is a quiet revolution in the making."

Decommodifying healthcare

In its work and approach, ACEGID is planting seeds for the decommodication of healthcare in Africa. Decommodifying, or taking the profit motive out of healthcare, is the means to discovering and providing the specialised care needed by the majority — in pandemic as well as nonpandemic times — while training and employing people in the process.

The goal of decommodifying healthcare in Africa has the potential to draw back to the continent researchers and workers in the health sector that have left for studies and better jobs. Happi himself is an example. "If I wanted money I would have stayed at Harvard after my post-doctoral research. I returned to Africa to give back to this continent that has given me so much. As it has done in the long history of humanity, Africa can give to the world so very much."

Demand Workers Rights to End Human Trafficking and Labour Exploitation

Namrata Daniel[1]

This article aims to inter-relate the discourse on human trafficking with structural inequalities and socio-economic disparities among the workers. It argues that patterns of structural violence and human trafficking are inter-linked and are embedded in the relationship between gender, caste, class and religion. Thus, human trafficking is an extraction of forced, cheap, and at times unwaged labour. Human trafficking processes are facilitated because of capitalist modes of production creating a reserve army of labour. The labour from trafficking is embedded in both formal and informal sectors, as two processes are closely intertwined in the capitalist modes of production.

The issue of human trafficking and migration for labour are not isolated processes, but are inter-linked with economic and development policies of the government that are increasing disparities and creating an unequal world. In this context, it is necessary to address the structural and material factors within the global economy that is creating a demand for cheap goods and services, as this is facilitated by paying meager wages and having poor working conditions to exploit the labour of the workers.

Human Trafficking in South Asia

India is a source, transit and destination country for human trafficking. India is a destination for the trafficked people of South Asian Countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and is a source for trafficked labour to Pacific Asia, North America and Europe (Kumar, 2013, p. 117). In India, women and children are not only trafficked for sex work, but even other forms of forced labour in other sectors such as domestic work, agricultural work, begging, forced marriages, organ trade, child and bonded labour.

Due to the socio-economic conditions, a large number of women and children are trafficked from economically disadvantaged areas to big cities for work in the informal economy. The women and children from poor and marginalised communities are often trafficked to be forced in to labour under exploitative working conditions. The traffickers exploit the lack of awareness of the most poor and marginalised communities who are living in the remote and rural regions in the country. The traffickers approach the families living in distress and debt to send their relatives with

[1] Independent researcher.

them to work in the cities, in return they promise daily wages.

With the close proximity and sharing of borders, many workers migrate from Bangladesh and Nepal into India in search of work. As the border is vast there are a few entry points that have no border police to patrol and trafficked and non-trafficked workers may enter through illegal channels into the country. The pattern of labour mobility is highlighted by International Labour Organization, affirming that Asia and the Pacific Regions are the source, transit, and destination for trafficking, with the largest numbers of trafficked victims. This region accounts for nearly 11.7 million or 56 % of all global trafficking.[i] The economic insecurities, conflict, and violence have increased worker vulnerabilities, and they are on a constant move in search of jobs for survival.

Globally, patterns of labour movement are in two directions: South-South or South to North countries. There is also movement of labour within South countries from the rural to urban areas in search of work. Researchers have more often explored the commodity and capital flow between the North and South, but *"labour flows have not received the merit."* This flow and link between the two is crucial as the labour power that originates in the South has played a major role in the North by increasing the surplus it requires (Bhattacharya, 2006, pp. 194, 196). Many workers may migrate through a legal route and settle well in a new country. However, the nature of global capitalism has increased flexibility of the workplace, meaning that many workers are temporary and contractual, and may take the illegal or semi legal route. With global capitalism taking over the world, the workers are absorbed into two categories – either as producers or consumers, within which labour is a commodity (Chew, 2006, pp. 2, 8).

Conditions of Work for Women Workers

In South Asia there is extensive migration that links cities and villages in diverse places and across borders, that has in the recent years become a matter of security concern for agencies (Barbora, 2008). The processes of trafficking have a very complicated and complex relationship with labour migration. Various researches have highlighted the fact that women have a strong desire to migrate for multiple reasons: in search of better jobs, aspirations, to escape violent homes, and in this process often are abused and exploited. But counter-trafficking processes of the State through legal frameworks have also impacted and restricted women's migration by locking them in a system of oppression in the private sphere and limiting their opportunities in the public sphere (Coomaraswamy, 2005).

According to the Census of India (2011) the number of internal migrants is 450 million, a substantial increased of 45 percent from 309 million recorded by the previous census of India (2001).[ii] The data also shows that the major migration in the country takes place within individual states. In the 2011 census, from the total person registered as "migrants," only 11.91 (5.43 crore) had moved to another state, and nearly 39.57 crore had moved within their respective states.[iii] According to the Census of 2011, there were 139 million interstate migrants (who moved for all manner of reasons ranging from education to marriage, not just employment). The limitation of this data is that it captures the movement of populations in general, but not labour migration. Additionally, it identifies social reasons for women's migration and economic reasons for men's migration. However, there is an increase in the movement of women as independent workers in search of work, and this is a change from the earlier pattern when women migrated for marriage or were united with family. Although marriage still remains an important reason for migration, there is a rise in female migration for wage labour.

When women move as a part of the family migration this changes the social reproduction among migrant workers, creating a new source of labour that can enter the formal and informal markets (Ghosh, 2010). While migrating with families to different countries, women find it difficult to get jobs through formal channels because of qualifications, or may hold a status of a dependent spouse in the host country. Finding work through formal and legal channels is thus made difficult for the migrating women. There is significant presence of women in migration flows all over world, and with their paid and unpaid labour women make significant contributions to the economies of both origin and destination countries, their family income and communities.

In the South Asian, caste identities are crucial in the operation of labour markets as workers from Dalit communities are lowest in the labouring hierarchy and dominate informal markets along with Adivasi and Muslims. Moreover, the labour markets are segregated in nature for male and female migrant workers, as men dominate in the production and construction sector, whereas women dominate more in service industries, domestic and care work, and in entertainment sectors. The labour market segregation in processes of trafficking and migration is intertwined with the idea of gendered roles for men and women in society, and defined by the sexual division of labour

In the process of migration often women workers become vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. This is not just

because of the economic situation of workers, but also due to the systemic discrimination against women in the labour markets, cultural practices, growing unemployment and lack of skills. During this process women workers may at times even fall in the hands of the traffickers. Moreover, it is observed that having stricter control on the immigration process may increase trafficking networks and strict controls on mobility may not lessen but rather heighten crime (Sharma, 2011, p. 46). Within trafficking networks and in migration process, many women workers become vulnerable to sexual abuse or sex is demanded by the traffickers, contractors, employers and relatives. Women workers are often subjected to dual extraction of their labour: sexual and domestic in the labour markets.

Impact of Economic Policies on Human Trafficking

Under the institutions of capitalism, poverty cannot be eradicated; rather, it is created and recreated in several ways. Further, there is a relationship between capital and labour, which is significantly changing with global capital. The globalised market with labour is under attack, and human trafficking is becoming a process to extract surplus from forced, cheap and unwaged labour. Globally, States have supported policies of the free market as an incentive for economic growth, innovations and development – neoliberal policies that have been criticized by several scholars as having severe effects on human security, especially in relation to economic rights and equity.

Neoliberal policies have failed at improving the lives of people, and the policy of free markets have placed less emphasis on the needs of the workers and is increasing the vulnerabilities of the poor. Furthermore, there is a relationship between neoliberal free market policies and the violations of labour rights, human rights, trafficking and child labour. The process of human trafficking for forced labour exploits economic vulnerability of a person. Therefore, focus of the neoliberal policies that are implemented by the State should also be on the violations of human rights (Blanton et al.,2018).

Market friendly policies have furthermore, impacted markets in creating a demand for low-skilled and cheap labour, and trafficked labour is *"deeply embedded"* in this labour market (LeBaron, 2015, p. 3) as it effectively eliminates the labour cost (Crane, 2013). Market friendly economic policies increase the economic vulnerability of workers, especially women and children belonging to marginalised communities (Dalits, Adivasis, OBC and Muslims), as they form an integral part of reserve army of labour for the traffickers.

In such a scenario, the role of the State must be to reduce the poverty of workers by implementing government schemes and polices that enhance livelihood, health, education etc., and to provide basic services to workers. It is the responsibility of the State to provide education and health care to citizens as a public good that can create an appropriate quality of labour that may be needed to serve the needs of industry at any given stage. By ensuring social security policies, the State can determine ways in which unemployed workers can regulate the political assertiveness of those who have work. Social security policies reduce vulnerabilities and enable the conditions of the workers for returning back to work in case of ill health or financial problems (Harriss-White, 2006, p. 1243). It is necessary that social policy is understood and linked with the economic policy on labour, as globally, workers in the informal sector are poor, and poverty is a big cause and consequence for informality.

Furthermore, the growing informalisation of the labour markets is a structural feature of contemporary globalization. According to the International Labour Organization report 'Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture' (Third Edition, 2018), after excluding agriculture, half of the world's employed population is in the informal economy. The highest level of informal employment is found in the agriculture sector with an estimate of more than 90 percent. The report shows that the 93% of the world's informal employment is in developing and emerging economies. Employment in the informal economy is greater for men (63.0 percent) than women (58.1 percent). Women are exposed to informal employments in low and middle-income countries and are often found to be in more vulnerable position in terms of work.

The growing informality in the markets is interlinked with the pressure of global competition and market deregulation policies that have slowed the growth to development which is associated with precarious types of employment. Likewise, the policies of market deregulation and globalisation have dismantled the idea of a welfare state that has resulted in the erosion of labour unions and workers' rights (Beneria et al., 2000) and this has made a substantial number of people vulnerable to processes of human trafficking forced labour and distress driven migration.

The State must act to protect women workers rights

The question of women workers' mobility and rights is intertwined with issue of gender-based discrimination and violence. Women are rendered largely vulnerable to processes of human trafficking and experience exploitation, abuse, and violence

due to factors rooted in structural and material factors for women workers: dispossession from land, resources and assets. The widening inequalities and income disparities with implementation of neoliberal economic policies have increased the mobility and vulnerability of worker from marginalised communities, and especially women workers in the markets.

Various methods restrict women's migration process such as seeking permission from the male members of the family, socio-cultural reasons, stigma and government policies. Instead of restricting women's labour mobility and their desire to migrate for better life, governments should implement policies and have effective systems to ensure that women workers are not abused in the migration process. Therefore, it is important to broaden the discussion on trafficking and connect it with the question of labour rights and violation within the human rights framework. The aim of government should be to incorporate an integrated approach towards migration that does not increase the risk of trafficking for workers. Along with this, governments should make a distinction between human trafficking and smuggling of migrants, and while doing this, should keep in mind international laws that require protecting the rights of the migrants regardless of their status (Pattanaik and Sullivan, 2018). The debates on human trafficking of women have to be understood in relation to the demand for safe migration, decent jobs, better working conditions, and wages.

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[i] The second highest numbers of victims are found in Africa region 3.7 million (18%) followed by the Latin American and the Caribbean countries 1.8 million (9%). million victims (9%). In the case of Developed Countries and European Union there are 1.5 million (7%) victims of forced labourers, while countries of Central, South East and Eastern Europe which are not part of the EU and the Commonwealth of Independent have 1.6 million (7%) victims. There is an estimated 600,000 (3%) victims of trafficking in the Middle East. Information Available at the Walk free Foundation, The Global Slavery Index 2013 www.globalslaveryindex.org/ and International Labor Organisation (ILO), Global Estimate of Forced Labour (2012) available at: http:/ / www.ilo.org/ wcmsp5/groups/public/ - ed_norm/ - declaration/ documents publication wcms_182004.pdf.

[ii] https://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/internal-migration-india-grows-inter-state-movements-remain-low

[iii] https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/india-on-the-move-what-data-from-census-2011-show-on-migrations-5852540/