

Ravi Ji.

PROSTITUTION IN METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA

Compiled by

K K Mukherjee & Deepa Das

A Study by

CENTRAL SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD 1993

Samaj Kalyan Bhavan, B-12, Tara Crescent, Institutional Area, South of IIT,

CONTENTS

| | | | |
|--------------|---|---|-----|
| FOREWORD | : | (i) | |
| PREFACE | : | (ii) | |
| CHAPTER I | : | Introduction | 1 |
| CHAPTER II | : | Magnitude, Growth & Typology of Prostitutes | 11 |
| CHAPTER III | : | Prostitution Prone Area | 18 |
| CHAPTER IV | : | Causes of Entry & Continuance in Prostitution | 41 |
| CHAPTER V | : | Socio-economic Background of the Prostitutes | 48 |
| CHAPTER VI | : | Life as a Prostitute | 58 |
| CHAPTER VII | : | Attitude & Perception of Prostitutes | 73 |
| CHAPTER VIII | : | Children of Prostitutes | 75 |
| CHAPTER IX | : | Conclusions & Recommendations | 98 |
| EPILOGUE | | | 112 |
| ANNEXURE I | : | Interview guide | 2 |

PREFACE

The Central Social Welfare Board initiated studies on female prostitutes and their children in six metropolitan cities of India, viz., Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras. On receiving the reports of the six studies it felt the need to integrate the reports and have a holistic picture of the phenomenon of prostitution in its various dimensions prior to planning any action intervention.

At a consultative meeting, comprising Ms Vibha Puri, Mr Pradeep Pant, Mr Sikandar Kharbanda, Mr Amod Kant, Dr K K Mukherjee, Dr Deepa Das, Ms Lalitha, Ms Wankhade and Ms Anita Bajaj, it was decided to entrust the present authors with the task of preparing such a report. We are grateful to the committee for vesting their confidence in us for execution of this research task.

In the course of compiling the with information and formulating the report, the authors recognised the problems associated with such a task. The magnitude of the assignment and the work it involved was soon realised. In view of this, it was also clear that it is quite impossible to complete such a report within the stipulated time of two months.

It was indeed an uphill task. However, this has been a good opportunity to acquire an indepth understanding of the different aspects of prostitution in the metros. This has not only been an enriching experience but has enabled us to provide a picture of the trends of prostitution in these cities. The reward lay in the many challenges faced.

We are extremely grateful to Ms Susmita Singh and Ms Ranjana Nabh for helping us in collating the data. Special thanks are due to Ms Ranjana for the graphic work, which has added strength to the report.

We are thankful to Bibhas, Tapan, Shalini and other friends at Gram Niyojan Kendra, who despite other commitments, have unfailingly extended their support and co-operation.

We acknowledge with gratitude all the support extended by Mr. R.K. Kundu in typing this report.

NEW DELHI, 1993.

- K K MUKHERJEE & DEEPA DAS

FOREWORD

In 1992, the Central Social Welfare Board had conducted a multi-centric study on prostitutes in metropolitan cities. The results of this study, which was conducted in the six leading metropolitan cities of India, were compiled and collated together into the present form by Dr. K. K. Mukherjee & Dr. Deepa Das.

This report, a document of remarkable significance was being used in a photostat form for the last two-three years but since the demand for this valuable baseline study has been increasing, it was decided to present it in a printed format.

This volume should prove to be of value not only to the students and teachers of social work but also to the numerous non-governmental organisations that are working for the cause and welfare of prostitutes. For researchers, this document can form the foundation on which future studies are based.

Since the ultimate goal of any kind of research, survey or study in the social sector is the formulation of welfare and development strategies, it is envisaged that this data based volume will also serve as a blueprint for policy-makers and planners who are seeking to develop methodologies for the rehabilitation of this much ignored section of society.

I wish to record my appreciation for the Editorial team of Shri Pradeep Pant, Smt. Poonam Sharma and Shri Manjit Singh who have seen this work through press in a very short time.

NEW DELHI
20.3.1996

— VIDYABEN SHAH
Chairman,
Central Social Welfare Board

Introduction

This chapter has been divided into two parts. The first deals with the genesis and methodology of the studies conducted in six metropolitan cities on the subject of prostitutes and their children. The second provides a background of the present report in terms of its objectives, scope, method, importance and limitations faced in preparing it.

I. Genesis And Methodology Of The Studies

The institution of prostitution is not of recent origin but has existed since many years and reflects the status of women in the society where it prevails. It is an institution based on the assumption that sex is an automatic right of man and a purchaseable commodity. Women are, thereby, denied the right over their bodies and are reduced to mere purchaseable objects.

Once a woman has been labelled a prostitute she is no longer seen as a complete human being with her own needs, desires, hopes, individuality, problems and limitations. Worse still, the children of the prostitutes are also stigmatised and discriminated against for no fault of theirs and what can only be called "an accident of birth".

Thus, it is rightly pointed out that prostitution is a social injustice depriving women and their children an opportunity to be fully human and develop their personalities. Their problems have evoked special interest because they continue to be among the most neglected and marginalised sections of society.

The Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB), based on this realisation, held a National Workshop on "Prostitutes and their Children" on 28th and 29th May 1990, in Delhi. In this workshop it was felt that intensive studies on the problems of prostitution, especially those of children of prostitutes, are imperative for formulation of appropriate remedial and rehabilitative programmes.

This need was further stressed by the participants of a subsequent meeting convened by the then Union Minister of Labour and Welfare, Mr Ram Bilas Paswan, on 18th July 1960.

It was after this meeting that the CSWB decided to sponsor a survey of female prostitutes and their children in the six metropolitan cities (Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Madras) of the country with the objectives of :

- (i) identifying prostitution prone areas;
- (ii) knowing the nature, pattern and trends of prostitution;
- (iii) examining the socio-economic background and the lifestyle of the prostitutes;
- (iv) probing into the factors and conditions responsible for the induction of women and girls into prostitution and their continuance in it;
- (v) knowing their lives as prostitutes and socio-economic considerations in prostitution;
- (vi) analysing the impact of prostitution on the life of prostitutes and their families;
- (vii) developing better understanding of the perception of the prostitutes regarding their profession, continuance in and adoption of prostitution;
- (viii) understanding the problems and consequently the future plans for the children of prostitutes; and
- (ix) identifying the needs and the requirements of prostitutes with regard to their rehabilitation.

With the above objectives in mind the responsibility of conducting the studies was entrusted to six non-government research organisations. The selected organisations, their areas of research and the respective project directors are as hereunder:

| <i>Name of the Organisation</i> | <i>City Covered</i> | <i>Director</i> |
|---|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. Gram Niyojan Kendra, Ghaziabad | Delhi | K K Mukherjee |
| 2. Institute for Social Affairs, Madras | Madras | |
| 3. Prema, Bombay | Bombay | Priti Pai Patkar |
| 4. Society for Awareness through Learning and Training, Hyderabad | Hyderabad | K J Prasad |
| 5. Development Dialogue Calcutta, | Calcutta | Abhijit Dasgupta |
| 6. Vimochana, Athani | Bangalore | V S Manavade |

Sa

inc
st
of

cor
hol
wei
the

Dat

sou
thei
NG

Sample coverage

A total of 3000 prostitutes were targetted to be covered by the six studies - each including 500 prostitutes. There has been a shortfall in the number actually included in the studies which have in all covered 2906 prostitutes. Following are the samples covered in of each the studies :

Table 1.1 : Citywise Distribution Of Prostitutes Included In The Studies

| Cities | No. of Prostitutes Included |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Bangalore | 502 |
| 2. Bombay | 500 |
| 3. Calcutta | 500 * |
| 4. Delhi | 500 |
| 5. Hyderabad | 500 |
| 6. Madras | 404 |
| Total | 2906 |

* Includes 400 resident prostitutes and 100 street walkers

Selection of respondents was done using the random and quota sampling methods.

For selection of the street walkers, in Calcutta, various points from where these women contact their customers were first identified. Major spots were visited during business hours and the street walkers were selected at random and interviewed. Allocation of samples were made, as far as possible, in proportion to the number of street walkers operating in the identified spots.

Data Collection

Preliminary investigations began with establishing contacts with persons and other sources of information such that details about the areas of operation of prostitutes and their numbers could be ascertained. This included contacting police, government officers, NGOs working with prostitutes and their children, etc.

This was followed by meetings of the research and field staff to discuss the strategies

or conducting the studies and identifying other sources that may be useful for the studies.

Multiple methods were used for data collection, which included :

- a) consultation of documented sources like books and other published material as also unpublished reports and records of the government, especially of the police, NGOs and individuals working in this field
- b) non - participatory observations made in the brothels, redlight areas and homes for children of prostitutes and any other area where information regarding prostitutes and their children could be gathered
- c) use of an interview schedule as designed by the CSWB in consultation with the project directors of the six studies. While taking care of the uniformity of data collected, the schedule prepared was flexible and allowed the directors to accommodate regional specificities. A copy of the interview schedule is given as Annexure I. These schedules were administered both individually as well as in group situations.
- d) informal discussions held about prostitution prone areas, nature and trends and causes of prostitution, etc. with social workers, journalists, police, government officers and researchers

Most of the interviews of the women in prostitution were conducted in their place of operation except for a few cases of brothel prostitutes of Madras who had to be interviewed in some other specified place. Some of the independent prostitutes in Bangalore city were also interviewed in their place of residence rather than their place of operation.

Problems Faced

The problems faced by the research teams can be broadly classified into

- i) general problems/limitations faced by all the teams
- ii) specific problems faced by specific research teams.

General

- a) Although the interview schedule provided for flexibility and making necessary changes, the absence of explanatory notes resulted in interpretations as per the

(b)
(c)
(d)
(e)
(f)
(g)
(h)
(i)
Sper
encc
Ban
1
2

understanding of the project directors, which could be different.

- (b) Non availability of services of qualified and trained research workers willing to undertake the risks and stigma involved in conducting the study. This was a major problem and has affected data collection to some extent.
- (c) Lack of co-operation of brothel keepers and their non - availability even after fixing appointments. This hindered the progress of work and delayed the data collection
- (d) Problem of identifying prostitutes, especially the street walkers, and establishing rapport with them was faced by almost all those research teams working in areas having no defined redlight area
- (e) The research teams were not allowed to interview the young prostitutes due to certain situational compulsions which is a lacuna in the studies, having worked as a hindrance in developing a broad based perspective and reducing the scope of the study
- (f) Even though rapport was established with the prostitutes included in the sample, they did not always divulge the truth or the whole picture. This may have been on account of their desire to maintain anonymity or because of their apprehensions about the purpose of the studies
- (g) Certain questions in the interview schedule could not elicit any response as the respondents could not comprehend their meanings
- (h) The short duration of the project was another limiting factor
- (i) Discrepancies in the available recorded data and non - availability of data have posed problems

Specific

Four studies conducted in the cities of Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras have encountered specific problems.

Bangalore

1. The research team faced great difficulty while collecting preliminary information as there is no redlight or tolerated area in the city. There being no system of registration or census of women in prostitution, the task was rendered more difficult.
2. Inability to find heavy concentration of prostitutes in a single locality as prostitutes

frequently change their place of operation to escape notice of the law enforcing authority.

ta

It was difficult to identify the 100 street walkers included in the sample and understand their modus operandi.

Intervention of general elections and events following elections delayed the data collection process - it had to be discontinued for a period of 2 months.

Prostitutes, excepting those of G B Road, are reluctant to accept their involvement in prostitution. This limited the scope of the study and forced the research team to confine the study to G B Road only.

Unreliability of data required the research team to repeat the questions and supplement by cross checking the information from various sources.

Despite best efforts the research team could interview only those prostitutes who were recommended by their respective brothel keeper.

Met with lack of co-operation from some groups and individuals working in G B Road.

s

Given the political situation at the time of executing the research brothels were fairly inaccessible to the research team. As a result, a greater number of street walkers have been included in the study.

The research team was unable to go to the respondents' place of work, particularly in the case of street walkers, because of their mode of operation. Prostitutes had to be brought to a central place for interview to preserve their anonymity. This limited the scope of the study insofar as it did not permit observation of their place and nature of operation which may have made way for biases to creep in.

The research team has covered as much of the city as possible but pockets may have been left out.

II. 7

me
the
the
sep
wa:

Dr
in t

Ob

II. This Report

The studies on the problems of prostitutes and their children were conducted in the six metropolitan cities of Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras and the reports submitted to the CSWB by the respective research agencies. On receiving these reports the CSWB felt the need of having a consolidated report based on the six separate reports (by way of integrating the findings of these reports). Accordingly, a meeting was held by the Central Social Welfare Board wherein the following were present:

1. Ms Vibha Puri, Executive Director, CSWB
2. Mr Pradeep Pant, CSWB
3. Mr Sikandar Kharbanda, CSWB
4. Ms Wankhade, Directorate of Social Welfare, Delhi
5. Ms Lalita, Joint Women's Programme
6. Mr Amod Kanth, DCP
7. Dr K K Mukherjee, Reader, Dept. of Social Work, University of Delhi
8. Dr Deepa Das, Project Director, MODE Research
9. Ms Anita Bajaj, Women's Studies & Development Centre, University of Delhi

It was decided at the meeting to assign the task of preparing a consolidated report to Dr K K Mukherjee and Dr Deepa Das. The report would reflect on the situation prevailing in the said metropolitan cities with regard to prostitutes and their children.

Objectives

The compilation was based on the threefold objective of:

- i) providing a theoretical understanding of the situation at the macro level on all the specified objectives of the six studies to identify the common and special features of each area
- ii) documenting the ideas, information and suggestions for dealing with the problem and classifying the latter in terms of Rehabilitation (of both the prostitutes and their children), Control and Prevention. In addition, the possibility of providing some facilities to the prostitutes and their children in the redlight areas to improve their quality of life

- iii) developing the possible action strategies as also the appropriate geographic area of action with regard to Rehabilitation, Control and Prevention.

In addition, this report reflects on the magnitude of the problem and develops a typology of prostitutes.

Scope

The scope of the present report is based on the geographic and population coverage of the individual reports viz, the six metropolitan cities of Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras and 2906 prostitutes together covered by them.

The sample included mainly brothel prostitutes and also street walkers and other non-brothel prostitutes in Bangalore, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras. The citywise coverage of prostitutes has been given earlier in Table 1.1

Method

The present report is based on content analysis of the six studies conducted in each city.

The report aims to provide a comprehensive picture of prostitution in the six cities. Consequently, content analysis of the six reports comprised the main method. Besides this, detailed discussions on various issues have been held among members entrusted with the task of compiling the report as also with others interested in the subject. This was done with the idea of generating new ideas for working out schemes and also providing additional facilities to the prostitutes and their children.

The report, in a nutshell, is a compilation and analysis of the data generated, culminating in a set of recommendations for action initiatives. Acquiring a thorough field understanding of the areas studied may not have been possible from mere reading of the reports. This drawback may have resulted in missing out some of the nuances of these areas.

In their effort at developing this integrated report, the authors have at times relied on their own understanding of the situation both by reading the reports and personal field based knowledge and through discussions with knowledgeable persons.

IMPOF

The

i)

ii)

iii)

Its |
differer
further
the pro

LIMITA

1.

2.

IMPORTANCE OF THE REPORT

The present report has both theoretical and practical importance. Theoretically it

- i) provides information about the phenomena of prostitution both at the micro and macro level. By doing so it fulfils the long felt need of having an understanding of the issues at both the levels
- ii) facilitates a holistic understanding of the problem resulting in sharpening of impressions of the various aspects of prostitution and developing theories
- iii) provides a data base for future researchers in planning the researchable areas. The significance of this work will continue to last till further research of a similar nature is initiated.

Its practical significance lies in the fact that it may help in generating discussions at different levels and lead to evolving policies relating to prostitutes and their children. It will further assist the formulation and initiation of programmes that may help in rehabilitating the prostitutes and their children and also limit the growth of the problem.

LIMITATIONS

1. This report is based on compilation of the findings of six area specific reports which were prepared by six different research agencies with the help of a common schedule. In view of individual perspectives, approaches and interpretations the data generated has not always conformed to common presentation. This has resulted in i) problems of developing a uniform database ii) inability to make comparisons at times

Besides this the data presented is not the same in all the studies. The emphasis has been varied in the six studies. Therefore, to provide a holistic picture covering all aspects, it was often necessary to draw upon the findings of one or two studies. Closely linked with this is the problem of representation of data in tabular form. The authors were compelled to, on occasions, modify structures of the tables in order to cover the findings of all the reports as well as to bring about uniformity of data.

2. The problems have been further aggravated by the fact that it was not possible for

the compilers of this report to interact with persons actually involved in conducting the studies. In this way, the compilers were deprived the opportunity of acquiring a first hand account of the field situation

For compilation of the six reports covering nearly 800 pages the team was given two months time. On understanding the responsibility it became clear that such a task was almost impossible to complete in such a short span of time if one were to do justice to the objectives.

Short duration coupled with regular engagement of the authors in other activities may have resulted in missing out some of the finer points sought to be communicated in the reports

A compilation of the nature is usually expected to focus on statistical analysis to bring out the commonalities and differences. This has, however, not been followed in preparing the present report. This was decided not merely because of lack of uniformity of database but primarily because it is believed that the subject in question is a human issue and the effort should be to treat it in that light. As a consequence of this, the authors often faced the problem of resolving the issue of subjectivity and objectivity. Despite this the authors have consciously tried to retain objectivity of the analysis.

II Ma Pr

P
contri
and t
terms
secre
of pro

Si
and n

Di
level
are at

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Ev
emuni
prostit

Th
indust
prostit

II

Magnitude, Growth And Typology Of Prostitution

Policy formulation and planning of programmes for rehabilitation of prostitutes and control and prevention of prostitution calls for an understanding of their magnitude, growth and typologies. However, it is no easy task to authenticate the magnitude in numerical terms. There are problems which render the task difficult. Some of these problems are i) secrecy that surrounds prostitution and the ii) constant process of induction and withdrawal of prostitutes and their migration.

So, any attempt to indicate the magnitude of the problem would be an approximation and not a definite number.

Despite these limitations some rough estimations in this regard, either at the brothel level or city level are available for Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi and Hyderabad. The details are as follows:

| | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1. | Bangalore (the city) | 840 |
| 2. | Calcutta (6 redlight areas) | 7,880 |
| 3. | Delhi (redlight area-3000 and other prone areas) | 20,000 |
| 4. | Hyderabad (9 areas) | 2,570 |

Even these figures are not always depictive of the whole situation as they are enumerations of specific areas of the city only. It is possible that the actual number of prostitutes is much more than estimated.

There is an alarming growth of prostitution on account of reasons like migration, tourism, industrialisation, etc. The Delhi study has specifically pointed out that the growth of prostitution has proportionately been much more than the population growth in the last

our decades. Whereas the population has registered a fourfold growth, prostitutes have grown 16-17 times (Mukherjee, p.48).

This being the trend of growth, it becomes imperative to explore this aspect and understand the magnitude in its proper perspective. The situation is alarming as growth and development of metropolitan cities have proved to be conducive to the existence and spread of prostitution as an integral part of the development process. Efforts at controlling this spread calls for an examination of the process of development and its impact on the expansion of prostitution.

Typologies

Prostitutes are not a homogeneous group as is generally believed except insofar as all of them offer their bodies in exchange of mercenary considerations. Their heterogeneity stands ratified by the typologies mentioned in the studies. The typologies are given in Table 2.1.

Table. 2.1 : Typology of Prostitutes

| Sl. No. | Types of Prostitutes | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|---------|--|------------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|--------|
| | | Banga-lore | Bombay | Cal-cutta | Delhi | Hyde-rabad | Madras |
| 1. | Street Walkers | —/ | —/ | —/ | | | —/ |
| 2. | Religious Prostitutes | | —/ | —/ | | —/ | —/ |
| 3. | Cage-Brothel Prostitutes | | —/ | | | | |
| 4. | Brothel Prostitutes | | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ |
| 5. | Singing & Dancing Girls | | | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ |
| 6. | Barmaids | | —/ | —/ | —/ | | |
| 7. | Theatre and Cinema Girls | | —/ | | | | |
| 8. | Massage Parlour/Health Centre Attendants | —/ | —/ | | —/ | | |
| 9. | Independently Operating Prostitutes | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ | —/ |
| 10. | Call Girls | | —/ | —/ | —/ | | —/ |

* The percentage of prostitutes falling in these categories is very low (nominal)

** Operating as brothel like prostitutes

i

The

ii

1.

to be
of b
sect
by tl

enfo
may

2.

1

The table reveals that

- i) all the cities covered have multiple types of prostitutes
- ii) Bombay and Calcutta have the widest variety of prostitutes. Cutting across all the cities are the independently operating prostitutes, followed by the brothel prostitutes in all cities except Bangalore
- iii) the singing and dancing women, call girls, street walkers and religious prostitutes are all dispersed in four cities— the four cities may be different in which each type of these prostitutes are found
- iv) cinema/theatre girls and cage brothel prostitutes are typical of Bombay
- v) religious prostitutes are absent in Delhi and Bangalore while their dispersal varies greatly in the four other cities.

The above typology of prostitutes can also be viewed in the light of

- i) the mode of operation - this includes brothels/brothel like arrangements or clandestine means of operation
- ii) the forms of operation which may be overt/explicit or in the garb of something else
- iii) the place/venue of operation like brothels which are permanent and apparent arrangements or other places that are used temporarily and are not easy to identify

All the typologies have been briefly explained in the following pages.

1. Street Walkers

The street walkers may function independently or through pimps. Generally affiliated to brothels, hotels, cinema halls, etc. these women are vulnerable to attacks and pressures of both clients and the police, with little or no support to combat them. They have no security and are time and again exploited economically, emotionally and sexually either by the clients or others. (Pai Patkar, p. 11).

They avoid concentrating in particular areas in order to escape the eyes of the law enforcing authorities. They have their unique methods of soliciting clients. Their income may range from the low of Rs. 5/- to the high of Rs. 500/-.

2. Religious Prostitutes

The terms commonly used for these prostitutes are "Jogini" or Devadasi". In general

they entertain the customers according to the wish of the priests or family head. To them the man is the god. He waits and enjoys according to his own choice. They have no right to demand money, but are left to the mercy of the men. In case the men curtail the relation, they are attached to other men by the priest or the head of the family. Thus, these women are constantly under the threat of exploitation and lead a life of sexual slavery. The fruits of their struggle are snatched away by the priests/community heads (K J Prasad, p. 6). It is a custom practised in the southern part of India by the Scheduled castes among the Hindus that worship goddess Yellamma. Dedication as a devadasi or the devadasi cult provides a licence for prostitution with religious sanction. They do not bear any social stigma since it has social approval, so much so, that they are respected and invited on auspicious occasions to assist worships of the higher castes. The dedicated girls are virgins and in the pre-puberty age. They should have healthy body without any deformity.

Although used by a single man she cannot claim to be bound by matrimony. Shift from being a devadasi to a prostitute has been a common practice (Pai Patkar, p. 15).

Though a typology has been developed and explained, it is important to remember that in their functioning these women do not always conform to the clearly defined types. There may be overlappings, making it difficult to classify them in terms of the typology. Moreover, there is evidence of movement from one type to another and the woman who is a "cage brothel" prostitute today may become a "brothel prostitute" tomorrow and a "call girl" thereafter.

The tendency is to shift towards the category of "call girls" because of the high income and comparative freedom it allows. This trend adds to the problems of identification of prostitutes and thereby studying the magnitude of the problem.

The Cage Brothel Prostitutes

This is an unique practice reported about Bombay. Such prostitutes are attached to a brothel, which has a landlord who in turn rents the premises to a brothel keeper. The brothel keeper runs the brothel and appoints a manager who supervises and keeps a watch on all the women, pimps, procurers and henchmen. The caged prostitutes are basically minors, below 18 years of age. Their earnings may range between Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per day. All their earnings go to the brothel keeper till such time that the brothel keeper's investment made in procuring her has been recovered. The brothel keepers do not release these girls as long as they get regular and rich clients. Young girls and virgins are very much in demand and therefore their earnings during earlier years are high. (Pai Patkar, pp. 11-12).

4.

re:
ba
the
va

by
coi
ear
or
pro
the
eit
(De
p. 4

5.

and
that
to p
part
pro
mai
pro
obs
but I

6.

7
not ii

4. Brothel prostitutes

Such prostitutes stay and practice in brothels or brothel like outfits under the rules and regulations of the brothel which are set by the people managing the same. They are basically dependent on brothel keepers, pimps, etc, and they provide sexual favours to their clients in exchange of money. A good amount of their earnings is shared among various categories of persons including brothel keepers, pimps, etc.

Unlike street walkers they are economically secure in a sense that they are not cheated by their clients. As they work through established setups they are easily identifiable. The concentration of such prostitutes is considerably high in the respective brothels and their earnings may vary from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50/- per client. The clientele is mainly from the lower or lower middle class groups which include rickshaw pullers, labourers, etc. These prostitutes also belong to low socio economic group families. The number of the clients they entertain daily is quite high and the localities where the brothels are situated are either densely populated or have high frequency of floating population. e.g. G B Road (Delhi), Kamathipura (Bombay), Khidirpur (Calcutta), etc. (Pai Patkar, p. 12; K K Mukherjee, p. 46).

5. Singing And Dancing Girls

This group of prostitutes do not start and end with sex. They normally start with singing and dancing to entertain the client and end with sexual favours. It is important to mention that these women are not entirely dependent on prostitution. They may or may not resort to prostitution regularly. They may have pimps and contact persons and have access to a part of the income along with the person who fetches them their clients. Unlike brothel prostitutes they have some degree of freedom in terms of practicing prostitution. They are mainly drawn from lower or middle class groups. Majority of them operate through prostitution prone areas whereas there are a few who operate through brothels. It was observed that a good many of present day prostitutes belonged to this category earlier but because of loss of patronage have taken to direct prostitution (Mukherjee, p. 47).

6. Barmaids

This group earns anything between Rs. 2000 - Rs. 3500/- per month. All barmaids do not indulge in prostitution but quite a few of these girls do indulge in the practice after the

bar is closed. Most women/girls in this group maintain that they are neither exploited by the management nor are they overtly harassed by customers.

7. Theatre/Cinema Girls

A special category of prostitutes reported by the Bombay study are those who give 'company' to men and accompany them to cinema halls. They do not necessarily indulge in sexual activities except when some men take them to hotels for the purpose after watching movies. In such situations these women earn a little extra money (Pai Patkar, p. 13).

8. Massage Parlours & Health Centre Attendants

They basically work secretly and under some garb. They too, like singing and dancing girls, do not start and end with sex. They start with massaging or exercising or checkups and finally land up with sexual intercourse. They either work in these setups on full time or part time basis or work through these setups. These women cater to the clients of middle and upper income groups and so have high incomes which they share with the person who fetch them a client. They may or may not be solely dependent on prostitution. Prostitutes in this category are also from middle and upper class families. This phenomenon is increasing day by day and the women are found to practice at some pick up points convenient both to the client and the prostitutes.

9. Independently Operating Prostitutes

They normally belong to lower and lower middle class groups of families and serve the clients of the same class. They may or may not have pimps (majority of times they do not work through pimps). Normally found in the highly congested areas of big cities, like slums, resettlement colonies, etc, they have a unique modus operandi. Majority of them are working women and resort to prostitution regularly or intermittently as a means of supplementing their monthly incomes. Their earnings are quite low because of the type of clientele they serve (K K Mukherjee, p. 47).

10. Call Girls

Some of the girls/women belonging to these categories of prostitutes also function as call girls depending upon the situation of promises of greater payment. It is a comparatively recent phenomenon and it has been found that a good number of call girls belong

up
wt
pli
cc
fe
ca
eit
ar
of
cc

of

in
in
nc
in

of
ba
of
st

st

upper middle class families. They may own apartments with telephones and other amenities, wherein they practice the profession. They may also go out to posh hotels and other places for the purpose of prostitution. They either operate independently or through a contact/manager. Some of them may have regular clients who may be willing to pay higher fees for exclusive services. They, too, share their income with their contacts. In many cases they have a choice to decide about their clients. Management of their business is either their own or their managers' affair. They operate from areas inhabited by middle and upper class families. Their gradually increasing numbers are difficult to check because of the constant changes in the socio-economic situation of the city and growing commercialisation of the profession (K K Mukherjee, p.47).

An analysis of the typologies of the prostitute makes it clear that there are certain type of prostitutes that can be deemed "common" while some are "specific".

Accordingly the 10 types of prostitutes, as revealed in Table 2.1, are possible to group into two "common" and "specific". In the absence of supporting data it is not possible to indicate the exact proportion of these two broader types of prostitutes. However, it would not be wrong to say that the "common" types of prostitutes, by virtue of their dispersal are in majority - approximately 80%.

The "common" type of prostitutes, are brothel prostitutes, call girls, independently operating prostitutes and street walkers. The specific type includes cage brothel prostitutes, bar maids, theatre and cinema girls, massage parlour and health centre attendants. Most of the specific types are to be found in Bombay. Considering this situation, these are specific to Bombay and not a general phenomenon.

Of these, brothel prostitutes are the commonest, yet Bangalore is stated to be free of such prostitution.

III

Prostitution Prone Areas

Prostitution prone areas can be understood from the point of view of concentration of prostitution in terms of the

- i) Places of operation and
- ii) Places of origin (places from where women and girls are drawn for the purpose of prostitution)

The present chapter attempts to consolidate the places of operation and origin.

Place of operation

Place of operation can be categorised into

- a/ redlight areas where prostitution is practised openly, and
- b/ localities other than redlight areas where the practice is clandestine in nature.

Table 3.1 shows the redlight and non-redlight areas identified in the six studies.

Table. 3.1 : Place of operation

| Sl. No. | City | Redlight areas | Areas other than redlight areas |
|---------|-----------|--|--|
| 1. | Bangalore | This city has no redlight area or any other tolerated area | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hotels in majestic areas - Shivaji Nagar area - Chikpet and Balipat areas - Peenya - Brigade road - Cantonment area - New bus stand - Railway station |

Table 3.1 contd.

| Sl. No. | City | Redlight areas | Areas other than redlight areas |
|---------|-----------|--|---|
| 2. | Bombay | - Kamathipura - Falkland road - Play house - Bhandup - Grant Road | - Lamington Road - Colaba - Borivali - Wadala - Gatkoper - Malad - Goregaon - King Circle - Girgaum - Kurla - Tardeo - Govandi - Worli - Kalyan - Shivadi - Vasai - Faress Road |
| 3. | Calcutta | - Sonagachi - Bowbazar - Rambagan - Kalighat/ Chella - Khidirpur - Tollygunge | - Hotels - Parks - Open spaces throughout the city |
| 4. | Delhi | - G B Road | - * |
| 5. | Hyderabad | - ** | - |
| 6. | Madras | - *** | - Lodge - Rented houses - Clients house - Open ground - Dilapidated bldgs - Cinema theatres - Own residence |

* The detailed list of areas other than redlight areas in Delhi has been given separately as Table . 3. IA

** Place of operation listed in teams of nine zones in Hyderabad without distinguishing between redlight and nonredlight areas. Total list given as Table 3. IB

*** The redlight areas of Madras are not specified

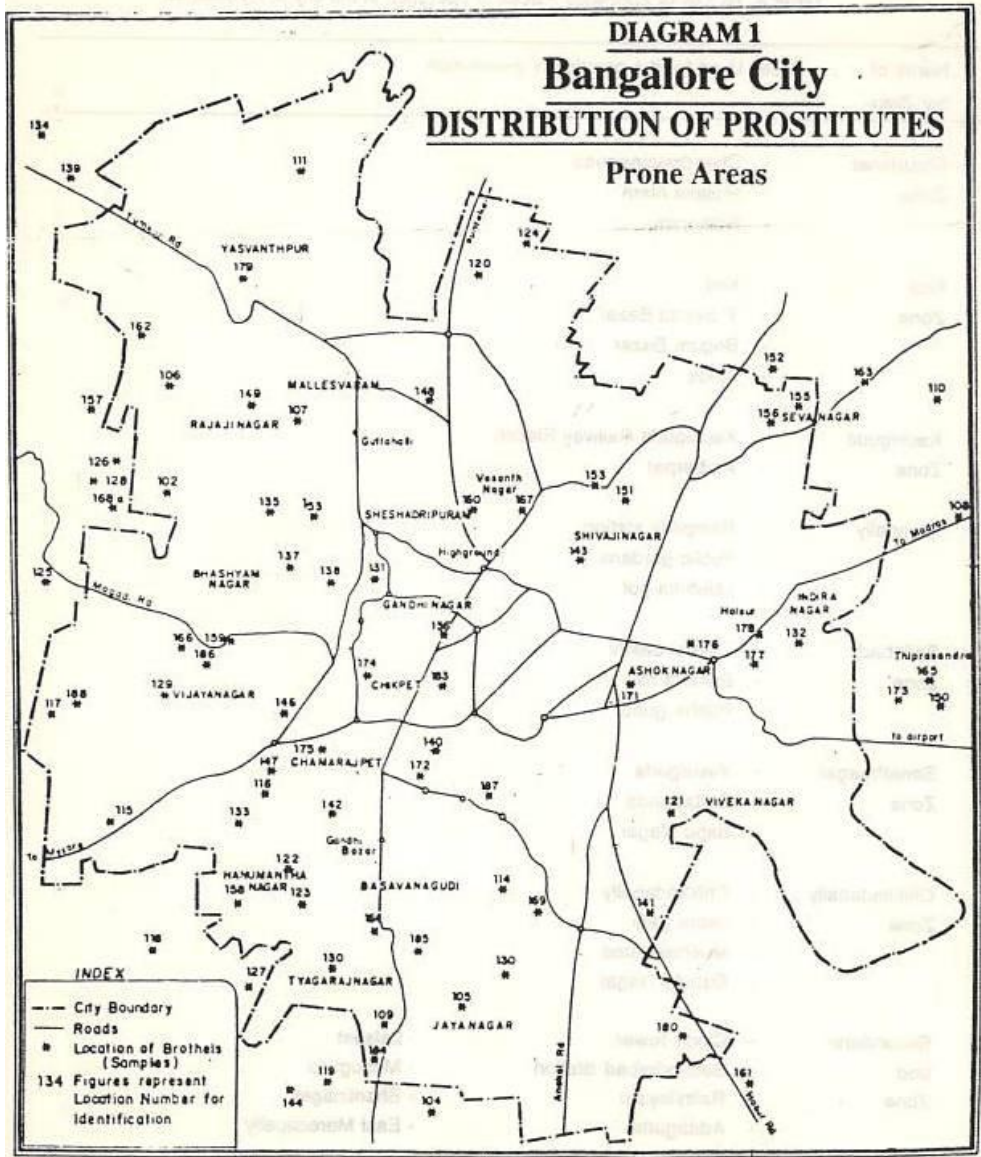
tribution in Metropolitan Cities of India

Table 3.IA : Places of operation in areas other than redlight areas in Delhi

| Police District | Areas of Operation | Sl. No. | N. It |
|------------------|---|---------|---------------|
| South Delhi | - Govindpuri - Okhla - Badarpur - Defence colony - Seva Nagar | 1. | C Z |
| | - South Extension - Greater Kailash - Pushpa Vihar - Malviya Nagar | 2. | K Z |
| North Delhi | - Sadar Bazar(Near Filmistan) - Sarai Rohilla - Sabzi Mandi | 3. | K Z |
| | - Majnu-Ka-Tila - Sanjay Basti (Timarpur) | 4. | N |
| Central Delhi | - Jama Masjid - Pahar Ganj - Karol Bagh | 5. | S Z |
| | - Regarpura - Minto Bridge | 6. | S Z |
| East Delhi | - Shakarpur - Laxminagar - Gandhi Nagar | 7. | C Z |
| | - Geeta Colony - Shastri Nagar | 8. | S ba Zc |
| North East Delhi | - Bhajanpura - Seemapuri - Nand Nagri | 9. | M Zc |
| | - Usmanpur - Kaithwara | | |
| West Delhi | - Uttam Nagar - Baljit Nagar - Raghubir Nagar | | |
| North West Delhi | -Jahangirpuri | | |

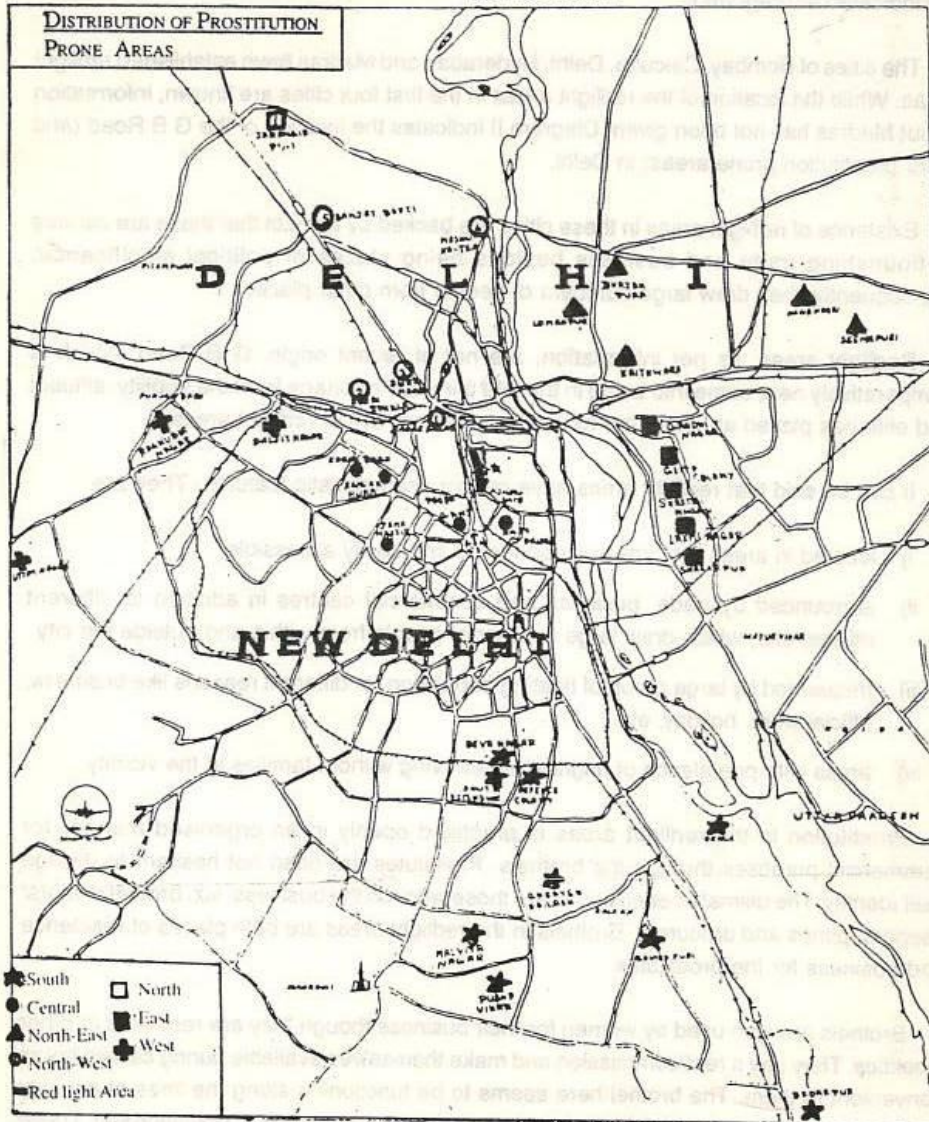
Table 3. 1B List of Zonewise Places of operation in the city of Hyderabad

| Sl. No. | Name of the Zone | Areas Used for the practice of prostitution |
|---------|--------------------|--|
| 1. | Charminar Zone | - Chandrayanagutta - Husaini Alam - Golkonda |
| 2. | Koti Zone | - Koti - T' Samia Bazar - Begum Bazar - Abids |
| 3. | Kachiguda Zone | - Kachiguda Railway Station - Amberpat |
| 4. | Nampally | - Nampally station - Public gardens - Lakdi-ka-pul |
| 5. | Saifabad Zone | - Chintal basthi - Banjara hills - Punha gutta |
| 6. | Sanathnagar Zone | - Yusufguda - Bodabanda - Bapu Nagar |
| 7. | Chikkadapally Zone | - Chikkadapally - Indira park - Musheerabad - Gandhi Nagar |
| 8. | Secunderabad Zone | - Clock Tower - Secunderabad Station - Railnilayam - Addagutta - Lalapet - Mettuguds - Shantinagar - East Maredapally |
| 9. | Moulali Zone | - Uppal - Tarnaka - Kachiguda - Moulali Railway Station - Bolaram - Malkajigiri |



Delhi

DIAGRAM 2



Analysis of Table 3.1 reveals that practice of prostitution from redlight areas is very common in all the cities with the exception of Bangalore. The prone areas in Bangalore are indicated in Diagram I.

The cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras have established redlight areas. While the location of the redlight areas in the first four cities are known, information about Madras has not been given. Diagram II indicates the location of the G B Road (and other prostitution prone areas) in Delhi.

Existence of redlight areas in these cities are backed by the fact that these are centres flourishing trade and business besides being places of political significance. Consequently, they draw large numbers of people from other places.

Redlight areas, as per information, are not of recent origin. G B Road, which is comparatively new, came into being in the late thirties. Patronage from the nobility, affluent and elite has played an important role in the development of redlight areas.

It can be said that redlight areas have certain characteristic features. They are

- i) located in areas that are well connected and easily accessible
- ii) surrounded by trade, business and commercial centres in addition to different offices, etc., which draw large number of people from within and outside the city
- iii) frequented by large group of floating population for different reasons like business, official work, holiday, etc.
- iv) areas with prevalence of migrant males living without families in the vicinity.

Prostitution in the redlight areas is practised openly in an organised manner for commercial purposes through the brothels. Prostitutes are often not hesitant to divulge their identity. The ultimate beneficiaries are those who run the business, viz. brothel owners/keepers, pimps and procurers. Brothels in the redlight areas are both places of residence and business for the prostitutes.

Brothels are also used by women for their business though they are residents of other localities. They pay a rent/commission and make themselves available during certain hours convenient to them. The brothel here seems to be functioning along the lines of any city polyclinic which provides the basic infrastructure to private medical practitioners! These

women
them

It
neces:
chara
resta
prefe

TI
to av
mobil
prosti
in the
a tem

In
place
etc. a
the "e
any p

A
prosti
Table

Tr
becom
the p
chara

Sc

a/

b/1

c/1

d/1

women need not necessarily make it known that they are involved in prostitution. Many of them keep office hours and operate as prostitutes in the garb of office goers.

It needs to be pointed out about Bangalore that the prevalence of prostitution is not necessarily associated with any geographic locality of a city having the above maintained characteristics. The association seems to be more with venues like cinema halls, restaurants, bus stands, hotels, parks, houses taken on rent, etc. which are emerging as preferred venues of prostitution.

The number of women in prostitution is increasing for various reasons and their desire to avoid identification, police harassment and stigmatisation has converted them into a mobile population. They are found to be using specific places as venues for operating as prostitutes - these are not permanent places of operation. Changes are also taking place in the pattern of operation - from geographic location the shift is now to specific venues of a temporary nature.

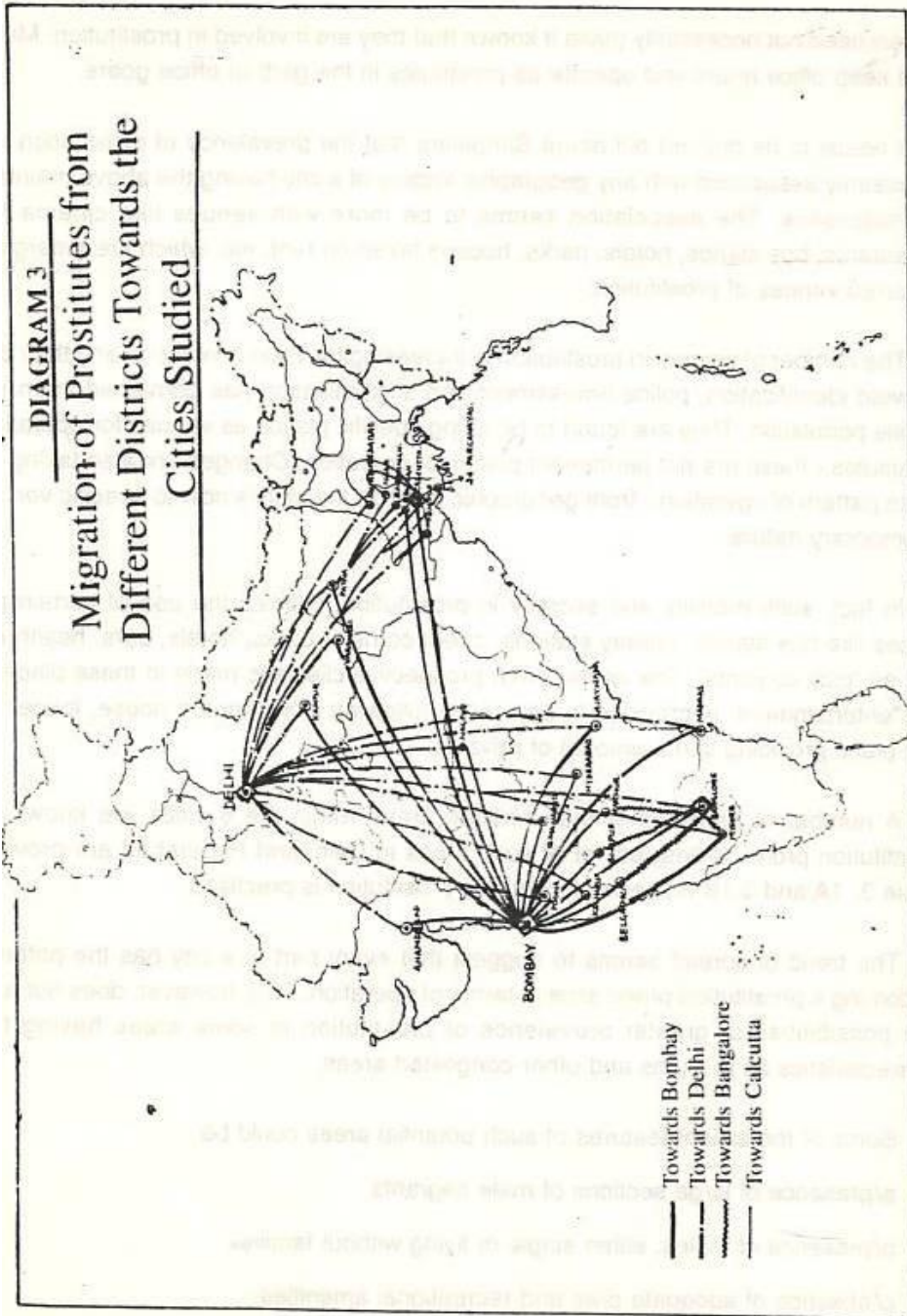
In fact, such mobility and secrecy in prostitution involves the use of certain public places like bus stands, railway stations, street corners, parks, hotels, bars, health clubs, etc. as "pick up joints". The contact with prospective clients is made in these places and the "entertainment" is provided in any of the following - own/rented house, lodge, hotel, any place providing some amount of privacy.

A number of areas other than redlight areas within the 6 cities are known to be prostitution prone. a detailed list of such areas in Delhi and Hyderabad are provided in Table 3. 1A and 3.1B respectively wherein prostitution is practised.

The trend of spread seems to suggest that every part of a city has the potential of becoming a prostitution prone area in terms of operation. This, however, does not rule out the possibilities of greater prevalence of prostitution in some areas having typical characteristics as in slums and other congested areas.

Some of the salient features of such potential areas could be

- a/presence of large sections of male migrants
- b/presence of males, either single or living without families
- c/absence of adequate civic and recreational amenities
- d/population belonging to the lower socio economic order



the
 1
 gro
 term
 Plac
 origi
 and
 1
 acro
 Chin-
 beer
 1
 and
 prov
 supp
 Obse
 T
 Mahi
 of pr
 N
 zone
 zone
 of wc
 hand

e/population of heterogeneous nature though some degree of homogeneity among the groups may exist

f/ congestion and shortage of living space

All these suggest that congested areas inhabited by males of lower socio-economic groups, lacking basic amenities have all the potentialities of emerging as a prone area in terms of place of operation.

Place of Origin

The places from which girls and women are drawn into prostitution are their places of origin. Identification of prone areas in terms of origin is important in the interest of controls and prevention of prostitution.

The available information shows that women in prostitution belong to both India and across the border, particularly the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh, Nepal and Tibetan China. Movement across these borders is frequent and easy. The places of origin have been explained in Table 3.2 and Diagram III.

The table has been divided into two parts according to the country of origin - Indian and other than Indian. One part shows the country of origin and the other reflects the provincial distribution of the prostitutes within India. These have been classified as high supply zone (6% and above), nominal supply zones (upto 5.9%) and zero supply zone. Observations with regard to High, Nominal and Zero supply zones are given below.

High supply zones : These areas include the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. Diagram 4 reflects the provincial representation of prostitutes in each metropolitan city in terms of total and high supply zones.

Nominal supply zones : Areas having supply from 0.1-5.9% are the nominal supply zones and these include 12 states and Union Territories. Within these nominal supply zones Bihar, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have supplied the highest numbers of women. They also have widest representation in the 6 cities. The lowest, on the other hand, are Goa, Meghalaya and Orissa.

Table 3.2 Place of Origin of Prostitutes (Both Within and outside India)

| Extent of Supply | State or Union Territory | Citywise Details | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Total % | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| High Supply Zone (6.0 & Above) | - Andhra Pradesh | 23.54 | 9.96 | 10.2 | - | 20.6 | 93.60 | 6.9 |
| | - Karnataka | 21.70 | 72.11 | 45.6 | - | 9.8 | 1.20 | 1.2 |
| | - Maharashtra | 6.23 | 0.60 | 19.6 | - | 15.0 | 2.20 | - |
| | - Tamil Nadu | 17.44 | 11.55 | 1.2 | - | 6.2 | 0.60 | 85.1 |
| | - Uttar Pradesh | 3.01 | - | 2.2 | 4.45 | 11.4 | - | - |
| | - West Bengal | 14.08 | - | 3.8 | 72.25 | 8.4 | - | - |
| Nominal Supply Zone (0.1-5.9) | - Assam | 0.2 | - | 0.8 | - | 0.4 | - | - |
| | - Bihar | 1.08 | - | 0.4 | 3.45 | 2.6 | - | - |
| | - Gujarat | 0.27 | - | 0.6 | - | 1.0 | - | - |
| | - Goa | 0.1 | 0.40 | 0.2 | - | - | - | - |
| | - Madhya Pradesh | 1.71 | - | 1.6 | 2.05 | 4.4 | 2.20 | - |
| | - Kerala | 1.28 | 2.99 | 0.6 | - | 0.2 | 0.20 | 3.7 |
| | - Meghalaya | 0.1 | - | 0.4 | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| | - Orissa | 0.1 | - | 0.4 | - | 0.2 | - | 7 |
| | - Pondicherry | 0.4 | - | - | - | - | - | 2.5 |
| | - Rajasthan | 1.33 | - | 0.2 | - | 7.8 | - | - |
| | - Delhi | 0.27 | - | 0.2 | - | 1.4 | - | - |
| | - Other States | 0.63 | 2.39 | - | 1.4 | - | - | - |
| | No Supply Areas | - Sikkim | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Manipur | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Arunachal Pr. | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Tripura | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Mizoram | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Nagaland | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Punjab | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Haryana | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Jammu & Kashmir | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Andaman & Nicobar | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Chandigarh | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Daman & Diu | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| - Nagar Haveli | | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Representation of Other Countries | | | | | | | | |
| | - Bangladesh | 2.7 | - | 0.2 | 13.50 | 2.6 | - | - |
| | - Nepal | 2.6 | - | 5.2 | 2.9 | 7.6 | - | - |
| | - Kuwait | 0.3 | - | 0.2 | - | - | - | - |
| | - Tibetan China | 0.7 | - | - | - | 0.4 | - | - |
| | - No Response | 1.1 | - | 6.4 | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| | - Missing | 0.3 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

A
Bang
cont
inco
lish
that

Sl. S

Andhra
Prades

II Ast

III Bih

IV Delh

A clear picture of the mobility pattern of women operating as prostitutes in the cities of Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi is based on the trafficking chain, their personal contacts and preference to work in bigger cities for reasons like enhanced anonymity and income. Foremost amongst these causes is the trafficking chain with those already established in prostitution stepping in to provide employment to their country cousins- a trend that marks any other instance of rural migration.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Prostitutes According to district of origin

| Sl. | States | Districts | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|---------|---------------|----------|----------------|--------|
| | | | Banga- lore | Bombay | Cal- cutta | Delhi | Hyde- rabad | Madras |
| I | Andhra Pradesh | - Anantpur | - | - | - | 17(3.80) | - | - |
| | | - Cuddapah | - | - | - | 18(4.02) | - | - |
| | | - Chittor | - | - | - | 33(7.38) | - | - |
| | | - Guntur | - | - | - | 5(1.11) | - | - |
| | | - Hyderabad | - | 12(2.4) | - | 20(4.47) | - | - |
| | | - Kurnool | - | - | - | 4(0.89) | - | - |
| | | - Nellore | - | - | - | 3(0.67) | - | - |
| | | - Vishakhapatnam | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Vijaywada | - | 6(1.2) | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Warangal | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Enadi | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| - Vidyanagar | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - | | |
| II | Assam | -Goalpara | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| III | Bihar | - Patna | - | 1(.02) | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Jamshedpur | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bhagalpur | - | - | - | 3 (0.67) | - | - |
| | | - Muzzafarpur | - | - | - | 3(0.67) | - | - |
| | | - Purnea | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Ranchi | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Samastipur | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Vaishali | - | - | - | 1 (0.22) | - | - |
| IV | Delhi | -x | - | - | - | 7(1.57) | - | - |

Prostitution in Metropolitan Cities of India

| Sl. | States | Districts | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------|
| | | | Banga- lore | Bombay | Cal- cutte | Delhi | Hyde- rabad | Madras |
| V | Goa | - Miraj | - | 2(0.4) | - | - | - | - |
| VI | Gujarat | - Ahmedabad | - | 4(0.8) | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Pandharpur | - | 4(0.8) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Surat | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Vadodra | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| VII | Karnataka | - Bangalore | 138 27.49 | 28 (3.4) | - | 46 (10.2) | - | - |
| | | - B' Lore Rural | 16 (31.8) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bijapur | 3(0.59) | 43(8.6) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bidar | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Belgaum | 1(0.19) | 17(3.4) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bellary | 3(1.59) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Chikmagalur | 14 (2.78) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Chitradurga | 9(1.79) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Daksin Kannada | 12 (2.39) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Dharwas | 6(1.19) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Dharwad | - | 2(0.4) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Gulbarga | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Hassan | 14 (2.78) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Hubli | - | 7(1.4) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Kolar | 13 (2.58) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Mandya | 24 (4.78) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Mercara | 7 (1.39) | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Mysore | 33 (6.57) | 4 (0.8) | - | 2 (0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Mangalore | - | 26 (5.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Raichur | - | 1 (1.39) | - | - | - | - |
| - Shimoga | 9 (1.79) | - | - | - | - | - | | |
| - Tumkur | 50 (9.96) | - | - | - | - | - | | |

Sl.

VIII

IX.

X. I

XI M

XII O

XII Por

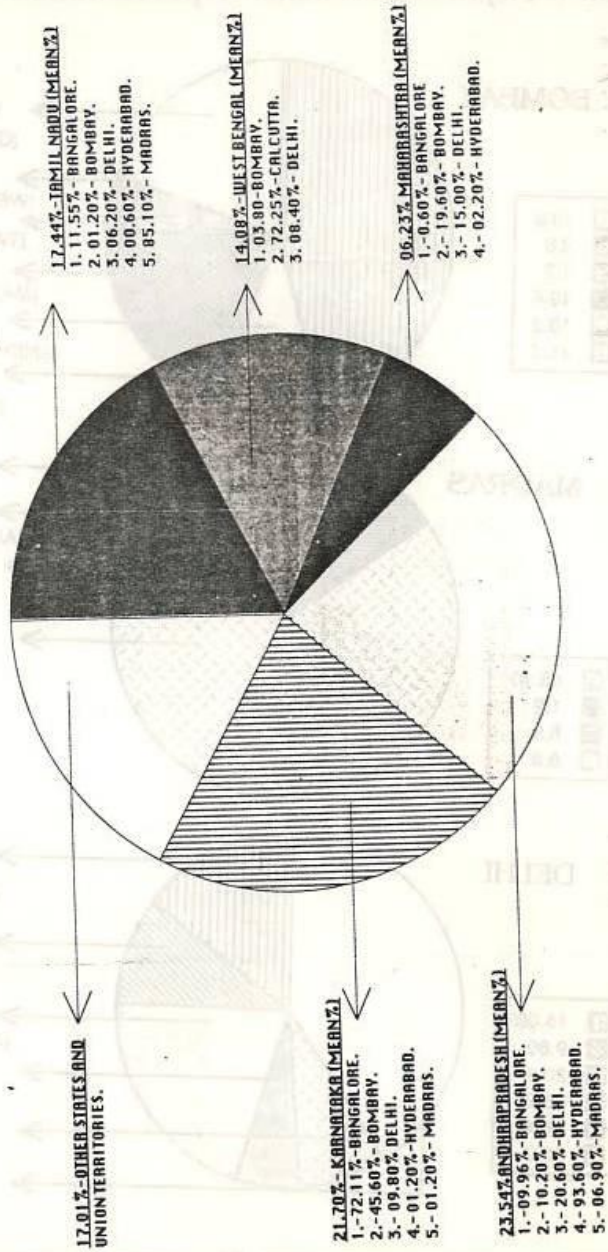
XIV Re

XV. Ta

| Sl. | States | Districts | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|----------|---------------|----------|----------------|--------|
| | | | Banga- lore | Bombay | Cal- cutta | Delhi | Hyde- rabad | Madras |
| VIII | Kerala | -Trivandrum | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Cochin | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| IX. | Madhya Pradesh | - Bilaspur | - | - | - | 4(0.89) | - | - |
| | | - Bhopal | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Gwalior | - | - | - | 8(1.78) | - | - |
| | | - Indore | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Morena | - | - | - | 7(1.57) | - | - |
| | | - Raipur | - | 4(0.8) | - | - | - | - |
| X. | Mahara- shtra | - Akola | - | - | - | 4(0.89) | - | - |
| | | - Amravati | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Ahmednagar | - | 3. (0.6) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Aurangabad | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bid | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bombay | - | - | - | 61(13.6) | - | - |
| | | - Kolhapur | - | 8(1.6) | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Krishna | - | 1(0.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Nagpur | - | 1(0.2) | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Nasik | - | 5(1.0) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Osmanabad | - | 1(0.2) | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Pune | - | 15(3.0) | - | 5(1.11) | - | - |
| | | - Patnagiri | - | 6(1.2) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Sholapur | - | 19(3.8) | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Sangli | - | 6(1.2) | - | - | - | - |
| XI | Meghalaya | - Shillong | - | 2(0.4) | - | - | - | - |
| XII | Orissa | - Rourkela | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| XII | Pondichery | - Pondichery | - | - | - | - | 10(2.5) | - |
| XIV | Rajasthan | - Athani | - | 4(0.8) | - | - | - | - |
| | | - Bharatpur | - | - | - | 36(8.05) | - | - |
| | | - Dholpur | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - | - |
| | | - Jaipur | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| XV. | TamilNadu | - Coimbatore | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Madras | - | 4(0.8) | - | 28(6.26) | - | - |
| | | - Madurai | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |
| | | - Perambatore | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - | - |

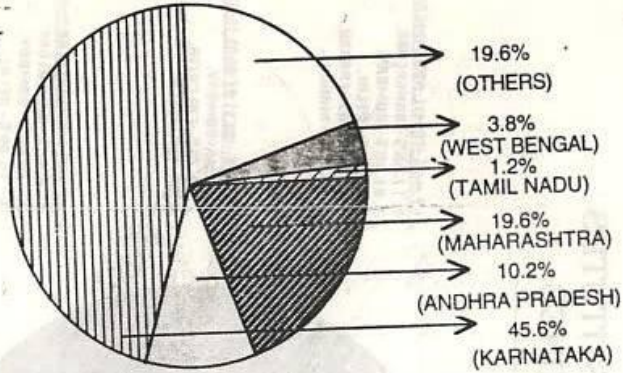
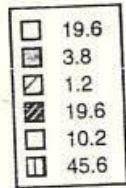
| Districts | Citywise Details | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|--------|----------|----------|-----------|
| | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad |
| Agra | - | - | - | 10(2.23) | - |
| Aligarh | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - |
| Allahabad | - | 2(0.4) | - | - | - |
| Bareilly | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - |
| Dehradun | - | - | - | 16(3.57) | - |
| Firozabad | - | - | - | 4(0.89) | - |
| Gorakhpur | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - |
| Jhansi | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - |
| Kanpur | - | 1(0.2) | - | 5(1.11) | - |
| Meerut | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - |
| Moradabad | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - |
| Nainital | - | - | - | 1(0.22) | - |
| Pauri Garhwal | - | - | - | 5(1.11) | - |
| Tehri Garhwal | - | - | - | 2(0.45) | - |
| Uttar Kashi | - | - | - | 5(1.11) | - |
| Bardhaman | - | - | 232 | 3(0.67) | - |
| Birbhum | - | (3.1) | 439 | - | - |
| Bankura/ Purulia | - | (5.2) | 86 | - | - |
| Calcutta | - | - | (1.1) | - | - |
| Howrah | - | 9(1.8) | 1092 | 19(4.25) | - |
| Hoogly | - | (14.4) | 130 | 6(1.34) | - |
| Jalpaiguri | - | 1(0.2) | 95 | - | - |
| Midnapore | - | (1.7) | - | 2(0.45) | - |
| Murshidabad | - | (1.2) | 249 | 2(0.67) | - |
| Nadia | - | (3.3) | 1329 | 2(0.45) | - |
| North Bengal | - | (17.6) | 254 | 1(0.22) | - |
| 24 Parganas | - | (3.4) | 32 | - | - |
| | - | (0.4) | 1092 | 6(1.34) | - |
| | - | - | (14.5) | | |

CITY WISE DISPERSAL OF PROSTITUTES FROM THE HIGH SUPPLY ZONES.

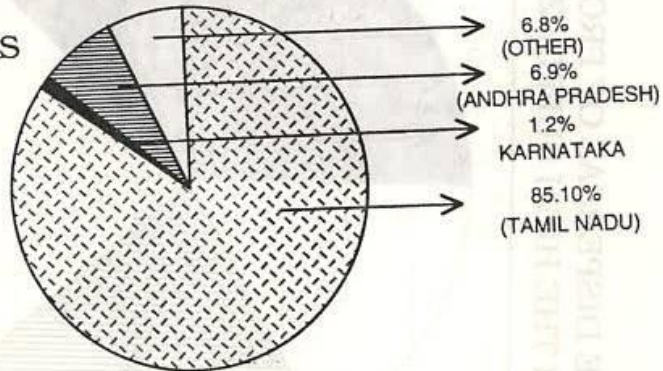
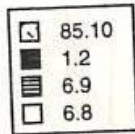


Digram 4-Citywise Provincial Representation of Prostitutes

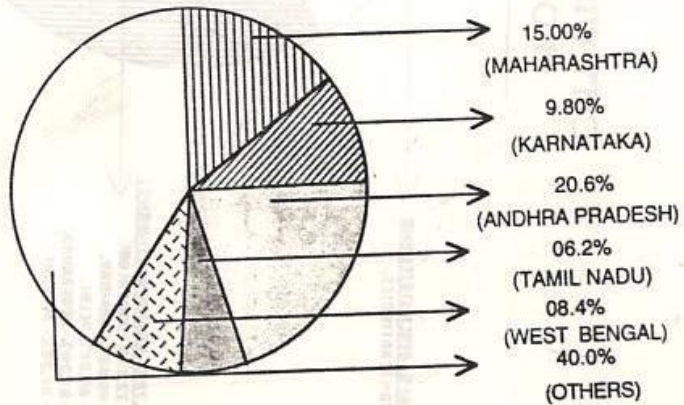
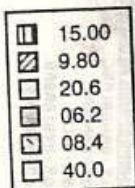
1 BOMBAY



2 MADRAS

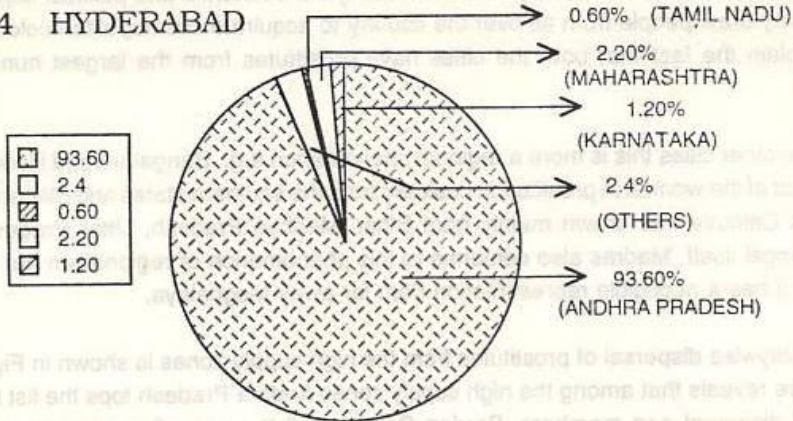


3 DELHI

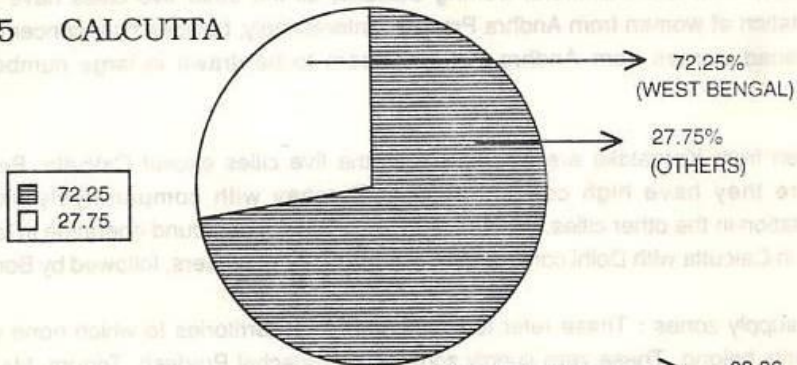


Digram 4-Citywise Provincial Representation of Prostitutes

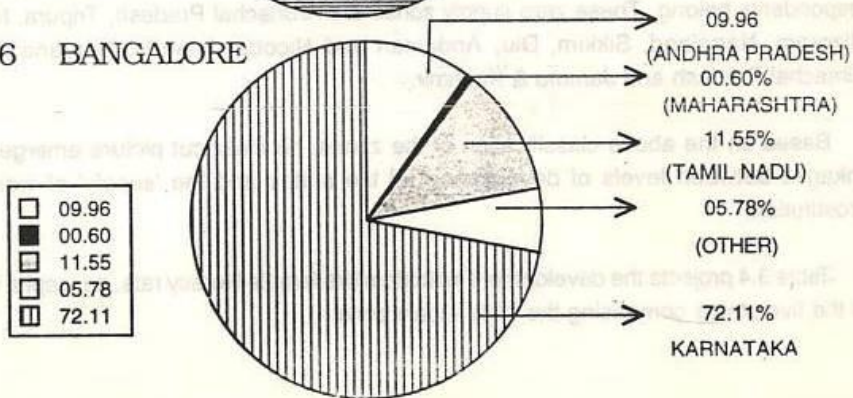
4 HYDERABAD



5 CALCUTTA



6 BANGALORE



A look at Diagram 4 reflects that prostitutes in Bombay and Delhi are drawn from a larger number of states (Bombay from 16 and Delhi from 14), lending a national colour to the prostitute population. Bombay and Delhi being the economic and political capitals of the country draw people from all over the country to acquire a cosmopolitan colour. This may explain the fact that both the cities have prostitutes from the largest number of states.

In the other cities this is more a regional phenomenon e.g., Bangalore and Hyderabad draw most of the women in prostitution basically from the southern states and Maharashtra, whereas Calcutta has drawn mainly from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal itself. Madras also conforms to this phenomenon of regionalism but for the fact that it has a negligible representation from far away Meghalaya.

The citywise dispersal of prostitutes from the high supply zones is shown in Figure 5. The figure reveals that among the high supply zones Andhra Pradesh tops the list both in terms of dispersal and members. Barring Calcutta, all the other five cities have some representation of women from Andhra Pradesh. Interestingly, besides their concentration in Hyderabad women from Andhra Pradesh seem to be drawn in large numbers to Delhi.

Women from Karnataka are also spread in the five cities except Calcutta. Besides Bangalore they have high concentration in Bombay with comparatively smaller representation in the other cities. Women from West Bengal are found operating in largest numbers in Calcutta with Delhi coming next in terms of their numbers, followed by Bombay.

Zero supply zones : These refer to states and union territories to which none of the respondents belong. These zero supply zones are Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Diu, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir.

Based on the above classification of the zones, no clear cut picture emerges about linkages between levels of development of the states and the 'supply' of women for prostitution.

Table 3.4 projects the development indicators like female literacy rate, per capita income, in the five states comprising the high supply zone.

S
 A
 K
 M
 W
 Ta
 Sc
 Co
 per ca
 state j
 Fa
 (i)
 (ii)
 (iii)
 (iv)
 Othe
 (i)
 (ii)
 The
 zero su

Table 3.4 : Development Indicators of States in High Supply Zone

| State | Sex Ratio (1991) | Female Literacy Rate (1991) | Per Capita Income (1986-87) |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Andhra Pradesh | 972 | 33.7 | 2333 |
| Karnataka | 960 | 44.4 | 2486 |
| Maharashtra | 936 | 50.5 | 3792 |
| West Bengal | 917 | 47.1 | 2988 |
| Tamil Nadu | 972 | 52.3 | 2372 |

Source : K. K. Mukherjee, p. 60

Compared to the other states Andhra Pradesh has the lowest female literacy rate and per capita income, which may be the contributing factors for so many women from the state joining prostitution. Nothing can be conclusively said about this.

Factors contributing to mobility of women for recruitment into prostitution could be

- (i) proficient trafficking network - cutting across state boundaries particularly in the case of Bombay and Delhi
- (ii) some linkages with women and others who are associated with prostitution in these cities
- (iii) good railway connection and an overall well developed communication system
- (iv) representation of the said state in the total population of the concerned city being substantial

Other general contributing factors may be -

- (i) dedication of girls as jogins/devadasis, particularly in the southern states
- (ii) spread of industrialisation and urbanisation leading to rural migration

There are reason for some of the states and union territories belonging to the low and zero supply zones. Some of these reasons could be:

- (i) high level of female literacy e.g., in Kerala, Mizoram and Nagaland
- (ii) prevalence of matriarchal society as in Meghalaya and Kerala
- (iii) predominately tribal dominated areas like the north-eastern states and Sikkim
- (iv) disturbed areas like Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam
- (v) economic development of the states like Punjab and Haryana
- (vi) distance and problem of accessibility as in the case of Andaman and Nicobar Islands which is far away from the main land

Mobility Pattern

It has been further attempted to identify the district of origin in each of the states - such details have been provided in four of the reports about Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. The Madras study has not provided the information in terms of districts of origin and the Hyderabad study explained place of origin in terms of states and regions within Andhra Pradesh. This table has been given at the end of the chapter.

Those women operating in Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi are found to belong to 111 districts spread over 17 states and union territories.

Based on the information provided by Table 3.3 it is possible to show the statewise number of districts to which the women in prostitution in each metropolitan city belong. Table 3.5 reflects this.

Table 3.5 : Statewise number of Districts as Place of Origin of Prostitutes in Six Metropolitan Cities

| City | State | No. of Districts |
|-----------|--|------------------|
| Bangalore | i) Karnataka | 17 |
| Bombay | ii) AP, Bihar, Goa, Kerala, Gujarat, Karnataka, UP, WB, Meghalaya, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu | 40 |
| Calcutta | | 11 |
| Delhi | | 70 |
| Madras | | 1 |
| Hyderabad | | 3 |

Te

Sl. No.

I.

II

III

IV.

V.

VI.

VII

VIII

— / i

Table 3.6 : Distribution of common districts from where the prostitutes move to 2 or more Metropolitan cities

| Sl. No. | States | Common Districts | Citywise Details | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------|-----------|-------|
| | | | Banga-lore | Bombay | Cal-cutta | Delht |
| I. | Andhra Pradesh | - Hyderabad | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Vijaywada | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| II | Bihar | - Patna | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| III | Gujarat | - Ahmedabad | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| IV. | Karnataka | - Bangalore | -/ | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Bijapur | -/ | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Belgaum | -/ | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Mysore | -/ | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Raichur | -/ | -/ | - | -/ |
| V. | Maharashtra | - Kolhapur | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Nagpur | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Osmanabad | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Poona | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| VI. | Tamil Nadu | - Madras | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| VII | Uttar Pradesh | - Kanpur | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| | | - Varanasi | - | -/ | - | -/ |
| VIII | West Bengal | - Bardhaman | - | - | -/ | -/ |
| | | - Calcutta | - | -/ | -/ | -/ |
| | | - Howrah | - | -/ | -/ | -/ |
| | | - Midnapore | - | - | -/ | -/ |
| | | - Murshidabad | - | - | -/ | -/ |
| | | - Nadia | - | - | -/ | -/ |
| - 24 Parganas | - | - | -/ | -/ | | |

-/ indicates the city where prostitutes move from their district of origin

The above table 3.5 indicates that prostitutes have come from 70 districts to Delhi, from 40 districts to Bombay, from 17 districts to Bangalore, from 11 districts to Calcutta, from 3 districts to Hyderabad and from 1 district to Madras.

The table also shows that the respondents belong to any number of districts. However, on further analysis it was found that there are 23 common districts from which the prostitutes have moved to Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. This distribution is explained in Table 3.6.

The table reveals that prostitutes move from 23 districts to some of the metropolitan cities. It is also clear from the table that women from 10 districts move to Delhi and Bombay, from 5 districts to Bangalore and Bombay, 2 districts to Bangalore, Bombay and Delhi, 2 districts to Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay.

A state wise study conducted in Uttar Pradesh had made significant revelations on this aspect. It showed how 17 states and UTs, viz, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, contributed to the flesh trade markets of Uttar Pradesh. 65 districts were the identified prone areas. (K. K. Mukherjee, *Flesh Trade : A Report*)

The Delhi study has further indicated 15 villages/ urban areas which have sent atleast two prostitutes to Delhi. The causes why women from these places could find themselves in prostitution are because some of their areas are either drought prone or flood prone. These places are also backward.

I
—
C
P
Thi
Cat
iden
in ta
Soc
i
ii
iii
iv)
v)
vi)
vii)
viii)
ix)
x)
xi)

IV

Causes of Entry and Continuance in Prostitution

This chapter deals with the following four important aspects of prostitution, viz,

1. Causes of joining prostitution
2. Age of entry into prostitution
3. Ways of adoption
4. Factors for continuance

Cause of joining

A total of 16 causes contributing to a girl's/women's entry into prostitution have been identified. The causes of entry revealed by the prostitutes in the different cities are given in table 4.1

Socio cultural causes

- i) illtreatment by parents
- ii) social customs like devdasi system
- iii) desertion by spouse
- iv) family tradition or involvement of family members in prostitution
- v) widowhood and restrictions on widow remarriage
- vi) social or personal reasons, e.g., low position of women in society, inability to arrange marriage, violation by incest etc.
- vii) bad company and neighbourhood
- viii) connivance of parents or husband
- ix) deception
- x) lack of sex education and influence of media
- xi) absence of recreational facilities

Table 4.1 : Causes Of Entry Into Prostitution

| Sl. Causes No. | City Wise Details | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|--------|
| | Total % | Banga-lore | Bombay | Cal-cutta | Delhi | Hyde-rabad | Madras |
| 1. Illtreatment by Parents | 3.83 | 12.56 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 0.2 | 2.2 |
| 2. Economic Distress | 43.70 | 26.70 | 63.2 | 36.1 | 57.6 | 27.6 | 51.0 |
| 3. Social Customs | 5.35 | 7.77 | 12.0 | 0.55 | 3.4 | 8.4 | 0.0 |
| 4. Desertion by spouse | 24.58 | 11.95 | 0.0 | 26.45 | 17.8 | 48.0 | 43.3 |
| 5. Dejection in love | 4.42 | 6.97 | 0.0 | 1.85 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 10.9 |
| 6. Deception by someone | 11.90 | 3.78 | 0.0 | 23.15 | 27.2 | 2.0 | 15.3 |
| 7. Kidnapping/ abduction | 2.25 | 3.73 | 0.0 | 3.35 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 3.2 |
| 8. Displacement | 1.89 | 4.78 | 0.0 | 0.75 | 2.4 | 3.4 | 0.0 |
| 9. Family Tradition | 4.95 | 11.95 | 0.0 | 2.35 | 14.8 | 0.60 | 0.0 |
| 10. Widowhood | 0.53 | 0.00 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.2 |
| 11. Social per Reasons | 3.77 | 0.0 | 22.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 12. Bad Co. + Neighbourhood | 0.10 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 13. Delay in Rendering Justice | 0.20 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 14. Voluntarily | 0.37 | 0.0 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 15. Connivance of Family | 0.90 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 16. Others | 2.23 | 9.76 | 0.0 | 3.45 | 0.0 | 0.20 | 0.0 |

Following observations can be made from the table:

The causes of entry into prostitution, on analysis, can be categorised into Socio-cultural, Economic, Psychological and other causes.

Economic Causes

- i) economic distress and displacement

Psychological Causes

Wherein she joins personally because of reasons like

- i) desire for physical pleasure and luxurious life
- ii) increasing craze for money

iii)
iv)

Other

- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)

The fair to :
prostitu
is the e

Detr
ones as
women'

Accr
prostitul

All th
other th:
problem
it is to be
As is ev
happen

Age of f

Banç
important
age of er
based or

- iii) dejection
- iv) love of fun, etc.

Other (Legal & Administrative Causes)

- i) kidnapping & abduction
- ii) delay in rendering services
- iii) urbanisation and resulting migration etc.
- iv) ignorance
- v) illiteracy

The causes under the socio-cultural category are more in number than the others. It is fair to say that socio-cultural factors contribute in a major way in the perpetuation of prostitution vis-a-vis the other factors. Another important factor contributing to the problem is the economic factor.

Detailed analysis shows that desertion by spouse is a major cause in the socio-cultural ones as poverty is among economic causes. These two contribute to maximum number of women's entry into prostitution (as per the findings of the studies).

According to the women there is more than one factor contributing to their entry into prostitution.

All this means is that this is primarily a socio-cultural and economic problem and factors other than these are also in operation and contribute significantly to the existence of the problem. Thus, this multifaceted problem needs to be attacked from more than one side if it is to be dealt with. It is difficult to point out any single factor leading women into prostitution. As is evident in majority of the cases multiple factors had come into play-often these happen to be correlated.

Age of Entry

Bangalore, Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras have not provided information on this important aspect of the issue. Only the Calcutta and Delhi studies have reflected on the age of entry into prostitution. As the available data is incomplete. The data and analysis is based on the responses of 1000 prostitutes and presented in Table 4.2

Table 4.2. : Age at the time of Entry into Prostitution

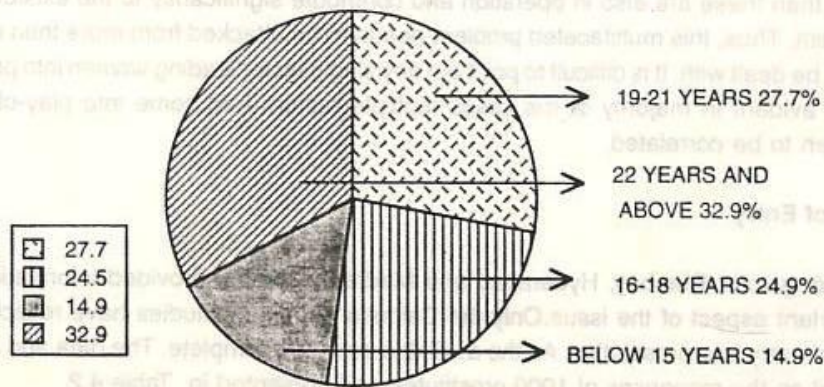
| Sl. No | Age of joining (Age Groups) | Total % | Citywise Details | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|---------|------------------|--------|----------|-------|
| | | | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi |
| 1. | Below 15yrs | 14.9 | - | - | 10.35 | 19.4 |
| 2. | 16-18 yrs | 24.5 | - | - | 16.05 | 33.0 |
| 3. | 19-21 Yrs | 27.7 | - | - | 29.55 | 25.8 |
| 4. | 22 & above | 32.9 | - | - | 44.05 | 21.8 |
| | | 100.0 | - | - | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The respondents have been categorised into four age groups. The table shows that the maximum number of them (32.9%) have joined after the age of 22 years, a significant proportion joined between the age of 19-21 years (27.7%), followed by those (24.5%) who joined in the 16-18 years age group. A substantial number of them (14.9%) entered before 15 years of age, which clearly reflects the presence of the practice of child prostitution in the two cities.

The table clearly indicates that most of them have joined prostitution in the age group 16-21 years (52.2%). And if the percentage of the child prostitutes is added to this, the total comes to 67.1%.

There are multiple reasons for having an overwhelming majority of girls/women in prostitution in the younger age groups. Physical attraction is one from the long list of reasons. Another reason is that they can be easily lured by the procurers in the name of marriage/employment and also can be easily suppressed and handled without much efforts. Further, the reason that may prompt procurers and brothel keepers to take young girls is the fact that earlier the girls are introduced to prostitution, the longer the period of stay in

AGE OF ENTRY IN PROSTITUTION



it is as:
phenon
traffick

Mo
in the fi
to be ir

Ways c

- This
- 1. V
- 2. A
- 2. E

The

Sl. Ways
No.

- 1. Volur
- 2. Situa
- 3. By fo
- 4. Volun
- 5. No re

The
situation

As di
reasons.
burdened
wherein
their cas
prostitutio

it is assured. They also fetch more money as their demand is more. This also explains the phenomenon of child prostitution in Delhi because this redlight area is largely fed by traffickers.

Moreover, prostitutes and age are inversely related. With age the demand of prostitutes in the flesh market becomes lower. Therefore, to reap the maximum benefit a woman has to be introduced to it at an early age.

Ways of Adoption

This has been discussed primarily under 3 heads, viz :

1. Voluntary adoption
2. Adoption under situational compulsion
2. By force

The detailed information on the ways of adoption are given in Table 4.3

Table 4.3 : Ways of adoption

| Sl. No. | Ways of Adoption | Total % | Banga-Lore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad. | Madras |
|---------|------------------------|---------|------------|--------|----------|-------|------------|--------|
| 1. | Voluntarily | 18.32 | 46.00 | 2.2 | 23.6 | 20.2 | 14.80 | 3.30 |
| 2. | Situational Compulsion | 71.25 | 39.25 | 97.8 | 55.75 | 80.0 | 73.30 | 80.90 |
| 3. | By force | 8.95 | 11.55 | - | 20.65 | 00.0 | 10.40 | 11.10 |
| 4. | Volun. + SC | 0.78 | - | - | - | - | - | 4.70 |
| 5. | No response | 0.50 | 3.20 | - | - | - | - | - |
| | | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.00 |

The table shows that a maximum of 71.25% have adopted the profession because of situational compulsions

As discussed earlier these compulsion may include both economic and socio-cultural reasons. This compounded by the fact that a majority are illiterate and unskilled and are burdened with the responsibility of supporting others in the family creates a situation wherein they are forced to join the profession. There is really no question of 'choice' in their case. Even those who said they took to prostitution on account of economic distress, prostitution would have been the last resort.

Only 8.95% of the respondents said that they were forced into prostitution by unscrupulous pimps who abduct/kidnap/ deceive the young and innocent girls and lead them to prostitution.

Those who stated to have taken to prostitution voluntarily (18.32%) may be actually reflecting their decision being a conscious one. Such a decision may have been thrust on them by their economic and social constraints. Such cases basically belong to the situational compulsion group and an example could be a victim of rape who was not accepted by the family and had to take up prostitution voluntarily.

Of course, they may have been motivated by desire for variety in sex life, desire to earn more, and craving for luxurious life.

Factors contributing to continuance of prostitution

Table 4.4 shows the factors responsible for the continuance of Prostitution.

Table 4.4 : Factors for continuance of prostitution

| Sl. No. | Factors for continuance | City wise details | | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total % | Bangalore | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | No other option | 12.77 | 18.18 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 32.90 |
| 2. | Poverty | 19.35 | 0.0 | 62.0 | 15.40 | 0.0 |
| 3. | Unemployment | 8.50 | 0.0 | 34.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 4. | Ignorance & Illiteracy | 9.0 | 0.0 | 36.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 5. | Social Attitude Towards Women | 11.00 | 0.0 | 44.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 6. | Stigma Attached | 13.07 | 11.57 | 38.0 | 0.0 | 2.70 |
| 7. | Family Acceptance because Trad. + Family Occupation | 16.23 | 40.90 | 24.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 8. | Greater Sex Urge | 2.0 | 0.0 | 8.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 9. | Desire Variety in sex life | 1.75 | 0.0 | 7.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 10. | Lack of Deterrent Punishment | 0.90 | 0.0 | 3.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 11. | Organised Procuring sys | 1.00 | 0.0 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 12. | Lack of proper admin. | 0.75 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 13. | No Implementation of Laws | 0.50 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 14. | Lack of proper rehab. | 8.75 | 0.0 | 35.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 15. | Allowing Practice of Singing and Dancing | 3.25 | 0.0 | 13.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 16. | Not Interested to Leave | 10.39 | 30.35 | 0.0 | 11.20 | 0.0 |
| 17. | Health Problems | 0.85 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.40 | 0.0 |
| 18. | NA/Not sure | 33.60 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 70.0 | 64.40 |

rec
in i
but

i
i

mai
in tt
facil
con

The tabulation clearly shows that multiple responses are given by the prostitutes regarding factors for continuance. Continuance in prostitution is, therefore, multifactorial in nature and to understand the phenomenon, focus should not be just on these factors but the relationship between these factors.

The five major factors responsible for continuance in prostitution are

- i) poverty
- ii) family occupation
- iii) stigma attached
- iv) non availability of other option
- v) social attitude towards women

This means that the socio-cultural and economic factors which were found to be the main reasons of joining the profession are also the major reasons for women to continue in the same. These factors are among the host of other factors like lack of rehabilitation facilities, lack of administrative will to control the problem which contributes greatly to the continuance and recurrence of the problem of prostitution.

V

Socio - Economic Background of the Prostitutes

It is important to know the socio-economic background of prostitutes in order to be able to plan effective and relevant intervention measures. Their socio-economic background discussed herein pertains to their own and parental family background. By doing so, besides looking at their present, it is possible to get an insight into their past which may to some extent be responsible for their present. On the whole, this exercise may facilitate identification of their strengths and weaknesses that could be used or avoided while designing a strategy.

Own Background

Own background of the respondents have been explained in terms of their nationality, religion, caste, age, marital status and educational level.

Nationality

The nationality of the 2906 prostitutes covered in the six studies has been indicated in Table 5.1

The table reveals that majority of the respondents are Indians followed by Bangladeshis & Nepalese. Though there is a representation of women from Tibetan China and Kuwait, their numbers are sparse and their dispersal is confined to Bombay and Delhi (from Kuwait to Bombay and from Tibetan China to Delhi). Those from Bangladesh are to be found in Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay their largest concentration being in Calcutta, followed by Delhi.

Sl.
No.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | I |
| 2 | I |
| 3 | I |
| 4 | - |
| 5 | † |
| T | |

Religi

The w
Table

Sl F
No.

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | H |
| 2 | M |
| 3 | C |
| 4 | O |
| Tc | |

* 'others

Acc
city un
their hi
popula
sample

Table 5.1 : Nationality of the Prostitutes

| Sl. No. | Nation | Citywise Distribution | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1 | India | 94.6 | 100.00 | 94.4 | 83.6 | 89.4 | 100.00 | 100.0 |
| 2 | Nepal | 2.6 | 0.00 | 5.2 | 2.9 | 7.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 3 | Bangladesh | 2.7 | 0.00 | 0.2 | 13.5 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 4 | Tibetan china | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 5 | Kuwait | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Religious Background

The women covered in the studies are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Jains, Table 5.2 shows their religious background in detail.

Table 5.2 : Religious Background of the Prostitutes

| Sl. No. | Religion | Citywise Distribution | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1 | Hindu | 84.36 | 85.65 | 86.0 | 89.65 | 78.8 | 80.0 | 86.1 |
| 2 | Muslims | 10.96 | 4.78 | 11.4 | 10.35 | 20.2 | 15.0 | 4.0 |
| 3 | Christians | 3.65 | 4.78 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.6 | 5.0 | 9.9 |
| 4 | Others * | 1.03 | 4.79 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* 'others' include - Buddhists & Jains

According to the table, Hindus comprise the majority both on the whole and in each city under consideration. Muslims come next in terms of numbers with Delhi having their highest representation (20%) which is above their representation in the country's population. Bangalore and Madras have very small numbers of Muslim women in the sample.

Caste

The Caste distribution of the Hindu respondents is as given in Table 5.3

Table 5.3 : Caste distribution of the prostitutes

| Sl. No | Caste | Citywise Distribution | | | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | Schedule Caste | 36.57 | 19.72 | 14.6 | 23.13* | 37.82 | 20.4 | 38.4 |
| 2. | Scheduled Tribe | ** | 2.59 | 2.2 | | 1.78 | 2.4 | 56.4 |
| 3. | Backward Caste | 24.24 | 32.27 | 6.0 | 43.07 | 19.29 | 44.8 | 0.0 |
| 4. | Others | 39.19 | 45.42 | 77.2 | 33.80 | 41.11 | 32.4 | 5.2 |
| Total(%) | | 100.0 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* The Calcutta study has treated the SCs and STs as one category

** Therefore, in calculating the total percentages the SCs and STs have been merged into a single category.

According to the table the SC and ST women and those from the backward castes, put together, comprise around 61% of the Hindu respondents. Caste Hindus comprise the remaining 39%. The striking thing is that there is no uniformity in the castewise distribution of the prostitutes in the cities. Madras, for instance, has a very high ST representation and Bombay has a very low SC representation. But for Madras, all the other cities have quite a good number of respondents from general caste backgrounds.

Ac

Th
5.4

Sl.
No.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

of p
Calc

good
brac
age

Mari

Table
avail

Age

The age distribution of the women covered in the six studies has been projected in Table 5.4

Table 5.4 : Agewise Distribution of the prostitutes

| Sl. No. | Age Groups (yrs) | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | Below 20 | 29.38 | 13.74 | 12.6* | 3.0 | 0.0 | 10.1 |
| 2. | 21-25 | | 32.87 | | 34.2 | 13.2 | 27.2 |
| 3. | 26-30 | 40.02 | 30.28 | 34.00 | 34.2 | 61.0 | 40.6 |
| 4. | 31-35 | 18.27 | 12.35 | 29.60 | 11.5 | 21.8 | 16.1 |
| 5. | 35+ | 12.25 | 10.76 | 23.40 | 17.1 | 4.0 | 6.0 |
| 6. | No Response | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.40 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Total(%) | | 100.0 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* The Bombay study has given data on age, with the first age group as 'below 25'. Therefore, the total percentage has been calculated by clubbing the categories 'Below 20' and '21-25' and treated as one age group 'Below 25'.

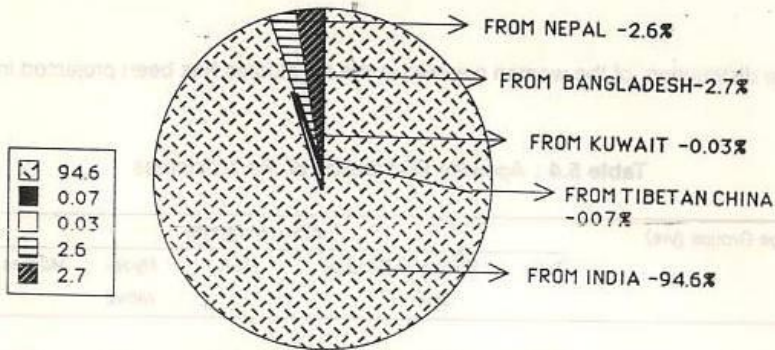
The Calcutta study has provided the age distribution of prostitutes covered in a census of prostitutes in Calcutta and not that of the sample covered in the study. Therefore, the Calcutta situation has not been possible to indicate herein.

The table reveals that 70% of the women are within 30 years. And this trend holds good for all the cities with Bombay having a slightly lesser number of women in this age bracket. Unlike the other cities, Bombay has the highest number of women in the older age groups 31-35 years and 35+years.

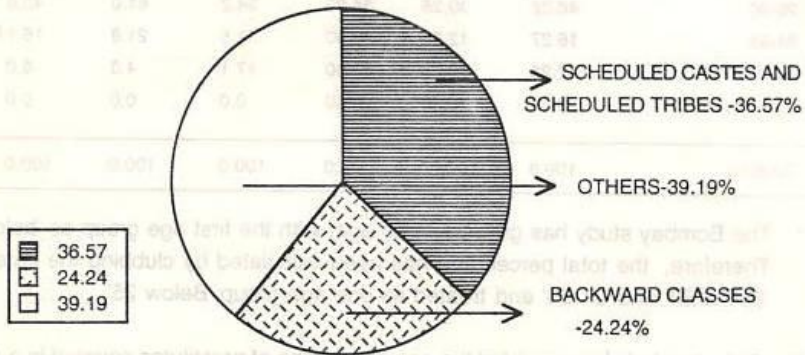
Marital status

Table 5.5 gives the marital status of the respondents. No information in this regard was available about Bangalore and Bombay.

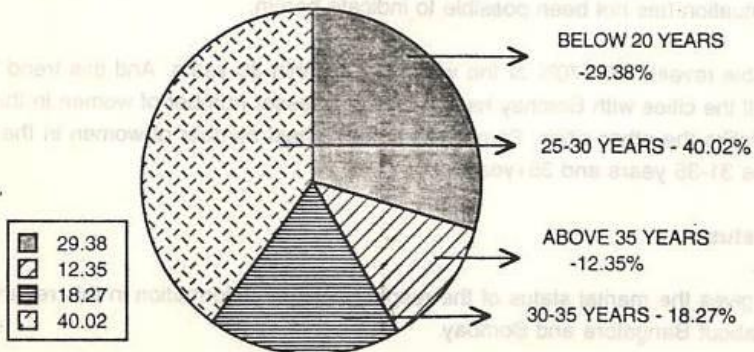
NATIONALITY OF PROSTITUTES



CASTE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSTITUTES



AGE - WISE DISTRIBUTION OF PROSTITUTES



Sl.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

E
Calc
sepa
(60%
also
appra

Educ.

TI
the B.

Sl. L

1. Ill
2. Li
3. Pi
4. Se
5. Hi
6. At

Tot

Table 5.5 : Marital Status

| Sl. | Marital Status | Citywise Details | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1 | Married | 10.6 | 9.5 | 15.8 | 9.8 | 7.4 |
| 2 | Unmarried | 34.4 | 26.35 | 60.0 | 24.4 | 26.7 |
| 3 | Divorced/Separated/Widow | 54.2 | 64.15 | 24.2 | 65.8 | 62.6 |
| 4 | Living with a Man | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.2 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Based on the information available about the marital status of the respondents in Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras, it is found that most of them (54%) are divorced/separated/widowed. Delhi has the highest number of unmarried women in prostitution (60%) while around 35% of the total women covered in the four cities are unmarried. It is also clear from the table that some of the women are married, though they constitute approximately one tenth of the sample.

Educational level

The educational level of the prostitutes has been provided by all the studies except the Bombay study. Details in this regard are given in Table 5.6

Table 5.6 : Educational level

| Sl. | Level of Education | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|----------------|-------|--------|
| | | Total lore | Banga- cutta | Cal | Delhi rabad | Hyde | Madras |
| 1. | Illiterate | 71.0 | 31.87 | 67.3 | 95.8 | 73.6 | 86.4 |
| 2. | Literate | 4.0 | 0.00 | 7.5 | 0.0 | 12.4 | 0.0 |
| 3. | Primary | 9.4 | 21.71 | 11.1 | 2.0 | 7.6 | 4.5 |
| 4. | Secondary | 10.6 | 29.30 | 10.4 | 2.0 | 4.4 | 7.2 |
| 5. | Higher Secondary | 3.6 | 10.75 | 3.7 | 0.2 | 2.0 | 1.2 |
| 6. | Above Hs | 1.4 | 6.37 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

literacy is conspicuously high among the prostitutes in all the cities about which information is available. However, among the five cities Bangalore has the lowest rate of illiteracy (2%) while 96% in Delhi and 86% of the prostitutes in Madras are illiterates. In fact, compared to the other cities the prostitutes in Bangalore also seem to have higher levels of education. Nearly 47% of the women covered in Bangalore have at least secondary level education going upto beyond higher secondary. This may be related to both the nature of prostitution being practised and the fact that the city of Bangalore has no redlight area.

Parental Family Background

In order to get a complete picture of the respondents their parental family background has been examined with regard to the type of family, size of family, literacy rate/training of parents, parental occupation and family income.

Type of family

As per available information of Bangalore and Delhi, prostitutes basically come from nuclear families. This is evident from the fact that 44.53% and 58.80% of the prostitutes from Bangalore and Delhi respectively, belong to nuclear families. For the purposes of discussion nuclear family refers to husband, wife and their minor children and dependents.

A significant number of the respondents (about 30%) from both the cities could not provide information regarding their family structure. This may be due to early entry into prostitution and consequent lack of idea about the family structure. Some, being daughters of prostitutes are not interested in saying anything in this regard. Some are just not bothered.

Family size

The largest majority of the prostitutes (55%) of Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras hail from families having less than five members. About 45% of them have come from families whose size ranges between 5 and 9 members. It is significant to note that there is citywise difference in terms of the size of the families of the prostitutes, e.g., about 89% of the prostitutes in Hyderabad belong to bigger size families (5-9 members) whereas in Delhi and Madras the prostitutes predominantly belong to families having less than five members (73.2% in Delhi and 80.2% Madras).

The
of diffe

Literac

It is
of the p
(Bangal

92%
upto hig
from far

The
Howeve
The inte
spouses

The
Delhi an
are illiter
higher th

The
prostituti
prostitute
prostitute
educatori
families.

Training

While
specific n
the other

Occupati

Inform

Though no reason for such difference is available, it may be explained on the ground of differences in family structure.

Literacy rate and educational standard of family members

It is not easy to explain the literacy rate and educational standard of the family members of the prostitutes because of different way in which the information has been presented (Bangalore, Delhi, Hyderabad) and non-availability of such information for the other cities.

92% of family members of the prostitutes of Delhi are illiterate. The rest are literate upto higher secondary level. This indicates that the prostitutes of Delhi come predominantly from families having low educational attainment.

The parents of more than two thirds of the prostitutes in Hyderabad are illiterate. However, there is some difference in the literacy situation of their mothers and fathers. The interesting point to note is that more mothers (10%) are literate as compared to their spouses (6.4% being literate).

The literacy rate of parents is interestingly much higher in Bangalore as compared to Delhi and Hyderabad. About 1/8th of those who have provided the information in Bangalore are illiterate. The educational standards of the parents of prostitutes in Bangalore is much higher than the parents of those prostitutes in Delhi and Hyderabad.

The citywise differences can be explained on the basis of the form of practice of prostitution. While Delhi and Hyderabad have reflected upon the situation of brothel prostitutes Bangalore has done so in the context of street walkers and independent prostitutes. This reveals that i) common prostitutes come from families having low educational attainment and ii) street walkers come from comparatively more educated families.

Training

While 21.11% of the parents of prostitutes in Bangalore have received training, the specific nature of training received is not known. No such information is available about the other cities.

Occupation

Information about occupation has not been uniformly presented in all the cities.

The family members of the prostitutes in Delhi are either unemployed (35.5%) or jaged in occupations that are low skill oriented (38%). Mothers of two prostitutes were o prostitutes.

Parents of prostitutes in Hyderabad are predominantly engaged in some occupations. wever 25% of the mothers have no occupation. An overwhelming majority of the rents are working as labour (54% mothers and 82% fathers) or vendors which hardly quire any skill. It is interesting that mothers of 25 prostitutes were themselves istitutes.

Information about parental occupation in Madras has been provided but the information rtains to very small numbers of parents. There is no information about 74% fathers and out 53% mothers. The data available reveals that they are engaged in both skilled and skilled work though the number of unskilled workers is higher among those employed. e rate of unemployment among the mothers is higher (37.2%)

In Bangalore, out of 254 prostitutes who responded about parental employment, only 0 are gainfully occupied and they are engaged in occupations like labour (26%), ivate service (8%), government service (33%), business (15%) and self employment 8%).

The information pertaining to occupation either of the parental family members or of e parents (mother and father) reveal that

- (i) bulk of them are unemployed
- (ii) occupations in which they are employed are in low category jobs or are labour intensive requiring little or no skills
- (iii) rate of employment is higher among mothers - they are basically housewives
- (iv) only a few prostitutes come from families where mothers were also prostitutes.

Income

Family income of the prostitutes is given in Table 5.7 and it shows that two thirds of the tal families of the prostitutes live below the poverty line. The others have income about is. 5,000/-. No information in this regard is available for the cities of Bombay and alcutta.

Sl. Ir
No.

- 1.
- 2
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

The
numb
Hyde
pover
which
and T

Oth
that o
street
are be

On t
they a

Table 5.7 : Monthly income of Parental Families

| Sl. No. | Income group (RS) | Citywise Details | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | No Income | 16.73 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 12.2 | 54.7 |
| 2. | 1-499 | 49.17 | 66.96 | 48.6 | 69.0 | 12.1 |
| 3. | 500 -999 | 17.73 | 15.62 | 30.7 | 6.8 | 17.8 |
| 4. | 1000 -1999 | 10.32 | 16.07 | 12.1 | 0.0 | 13.1 |
| 5. | 2000+ | 3.06 | 1.35 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 2.3 |
| 6. | NA | 3.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 12.0 | 0.0 |
| Total(%) | | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The table reveals significant differences in terms of family income in the cities. The number of families living below the poverty line in Delhi is lesser in comparison to Bangalore, Hyderabad and Madras. Hyderabad has the highest number of families living below the poverty line, largely because these prostitutes are drawn from Andhra Pradesh out of which 80% hail from drought prone areas which are chronically backward (Rayalseema and Telangana).

Other than Delhi the parental family income of prostitutes in Bangalore is better than that of Hyderabad and Madras. This is probably because prostitutes here mainly work as street walkers or operate independently which may imply that their family backgrounds are better than that of the common prostitutes.

On the whole, information pertaining to family members of the prostitutes reveal that they are predominantly from poor families living below the poverty line.

Life as a Prostitute

Any effort to deal with the problem of prostitution calls for deeper understanding of the life and living conditions of the prostitutes prior to, and after, their entry into prostitution. The preceding chapter dealt with their lives and living conditions prior to entry.

This chapter explains life as a prostitute by providing information about the functional and economic aspects of prostitution, along with the housing of the prostitutes.

FUNCTIONAL ASPECT

Years spent in prostitution

Table 6.1 provides information regarding the number of years the respondents have spent in prostitution.

Table 6.1 : Years spent In Prostitution

| Sl. No. | No. of Years | Citywise details | | | |
|---------|--------------|------------------|-----------|--------|-------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Delhi |
| 1. | Upto 4 | 28.51 | 44.92 | 23.8 | 16.8 |
| 2. | 5 -14 | 58.77 | 49.50 | 61.2 | 65.6 |
| 3. | 15 - 24 | 10.39 | 4.38 | 13.4 | 13.4 |
| 4. | 25+ | 2.33 | 1.20 | 1.6 | 4.2 |
| Total % | | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Ac
About
entran
years..

A c
prostit
lesser :

Bor
devotee

As i
regard
than 3 y
rest hav

Basec
of Boml
prostitut
prostitut
ent tenc
ties of ir

As Hyderabad has provided the details using different standards, the Hyderabad situation has been given separately in Table 6.2

Table 6.2 : years Spent in Prostitution (Hyderabad)

| Sl. No. | No. of years | Total of Hyd |
|---------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. | Below 3 | 30.9 |
| 2. | 3 - 6 | 40.1 |
| 3. | 6 - 9 | 16.8 |
| 4. | 9 - 12 | 6.7 |
| 5. | 12+ | 5.4 |
| | Total | 100.0 |

According to Table 6.1, 59.% of the prostitutes have spent 5 -14 years in prostitution. About 14% have spent more than 15 years whereas the rest are comparatively recent entrants and their involvement in prostitution ranges between one month to four years.

A closer look shows the citywise difference that exists in terms of the years spent in prostitution. For instance, the prostitutes of Bangalore have been in prostitution for a lesser time as compared to Bombay and Delhi.

Bombay and Delhi seem to have the largest numbers of those women who have devoted more than 5 yrs in prostitution.

As is clear from Table 6.2 Hyderabad follows a similar trend as that of Bangalore with regard to the number of years spent in prostitution. About 30% are in prostitution for less than 3 years and only about 5% of the prostitutes have spent their life in prostitution. The rest have been in prostitution for 3 -12 years.

Based on the information coming from the two tables it can be said that the prostitutes of Bombay and Delhi have spent longer durations in prostitution. Their involvement in prostitution could be both as prostitutes and brothel keepers which explains their being in prostitution for longer duration. This could be one of the contributing factors for the apparent tendency to move towards Bombay and Delhi in the hope of having better opportunities of income and prolonging their work life.

Mode of Operation

As per information available there are basically three modes of operation viz., independently, with other prostitutes and through organised set ups.

Independently : These prostitutes operate on their own and are not dependent on pimps or anyone else to fetch them clients. Consequently, they do not have to share their income with anyone else and whatever little they earn is their own.

With other prostitutes : When prostitutes form groups, use a common rented place or own residence or any place other than a brothel for the purpose of prostitution, they belong to this category. They may or may not avail the services of a pimp and accordingly may or may not share their income with them (as the case may be).

Through organised setups : Those prostitutes who work through brothels or any organised support system fall in this category. These brothels have their own rules and regulations which are defined by the authorities of the brothels. There are restrictions on time and movement. As the client reaches a prostitute in a brothel through various intermediaries in the brothel, the prostitute has to share her income with them. But the advantage is that they are secure and have lesser fear of police. They practice openly and feel no shame in claiming that they are in this profession. It is the primary mode of earning for these prostitutes, unlike the other two categories who may be involved in any regular job and take prostitution as a way of ensuring some extra income.

Table 6.3 gives the details of the mode of operation practised by prostitutes in the metropolitan cities.

Table 6.3 Mode of Operation

| Sl. Mode of operation | Citywise details | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | Total | Banga-lore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. Independently | 50.9 | 58.36 | 21.8 | 88.85 | - | 65.4 | 71.0 |
| 2. With Other Prostitutes | 21.5 | 30.47 | 64.2 | 5.65 | | 20.8 | 8.4 |
| 3. Through Organised Setups | 25.43 | 8.96 | 13.2 | 5.50 | 100 | 13.8 | 11.1 |
| 4. 1+2 | 1.10 | - | - | - | - | - | 6.7 |
| 5. 2+3 | 0.03 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| 6. 1+3 | 0.30 | - | - | - | - | - | 2.2 |
| 7. 1+2+3 | 0.03 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| 8. Any Other Mode | 0.40 | 2.21 | - | - | - | - | 0.2 |
| 9. Not Specified | 0.31 | - | 0.8 | - | - | - | - |
| Total% | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

As
(50.9%
Calcut
mode.
prostit
street
could n
places

In t
through

Son
are

Workin

Pros
cal indis

Effec

Hours si

The i
dras are

S. No

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

As per the Table majority of the prostitutes are found to be practicing independently (50.9%) Such a high percentage operating independently may be because Bangalore, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras have included a good number of women adopting this mode. Bangalore, for instance, has no redlight area and the total sample was drawn from prostitutes working at places other than redlight areas and Calcutta has included 100 street walkers in their sample. In Madras, due to certain reasons, the brothel prostitutes could not be contacted and so 344 prostitutes of the 404 selected in the sample were from places other than brothels

In terms of numbers, prostitutes operating through organised setups come next i.e. through brothels followed by the prostitutes operating with others in the profession.

Some compound modes of operation have been projected in Madras (1.46%). These are

- Prostitutes working independently and with other prostitutes
- Prostitutes working with other prostitutes and also through organised setups
- Prostitutes working independently and also through organised setups
- Prostitutes working independently and with other prostitutes and also through organised setups

Working Pattern

Prostitutes are functional throughout the year except during religious festivals, physical indisposition and reasons beyond their control like riots.

Effective working days range between 20-23 per month. There is no weekly holiday

Hours spent in a day

The number of hours put in by a prostitute, per day, in Bangalore, Bombay and Madras are as given in Table 6.4

Table 6.4 Hours spent in Prostitution

| S. No. | Hrs | Bangalore | Bombay | Madras |
|--------|-----|-----------|--------|--------|
| 1. | 1-3 | 58.95 | 28.2 | 35.4 |
| 2. | 4-6 | 6.17 | 27.6 | 47.8 |
| 3. | 7-9 | - | 17.6 | 13.9 |
| 4. | 10+ | - | 26.6 | 2.9 |
| 5. | Nr | 34.88 | - | - |
| Total | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Hyderabad has followed a separate set of standards, which is given in Table 6.5

Table 6.5 Hours spent in Prostitution (Hyderabad)

| Sl. | No. of Hours | Total |
|--------|--------------|-------|
| 1 | Upto 4 | 5.0 |
| 2 | 4 - 8 | 57.20 |
| 3 | 8 - 12 | 23.60 |
| 4 | 12+ | 14.20 |
| Total% | | 100.0 |

The average hours spent in a day works out to be 8-10 hours in Delhi.

A difference in the working hours is visible in the cities, there being no uniformity in the number of hours spent in a day. This difference is related to the forms of prostitution practiced.

Bangalore and Madras have the highest representation of street walkers or independently operating prostitutes in the sample and reflects shorter hours of work in a day. As against this Bombay and Delhi have depicted the situation of brothel prostitutes and the hours spent by them, in a day is much higher.

The short time spent per day supports the earlier statement made in chapter 2, while discussing the typologies that some women have taken to prostitution on a part time basis. They are not brothel prostitutes.

Clients

Clients comprise a heterogeneous group and may vary according to age, background and motivation, efforts made in the Delhi study show how the clients could be classified as seekers of sex and seekers of fun and entertainment.

Number of clients entertained per day

The variations in the number of clients attended to by the prostitutes in a day is as per Table 6.6

Sl.
1
2
3
4

thos
Hyd

diffe
pros
to 4-
relat

MODES OF OPERATION

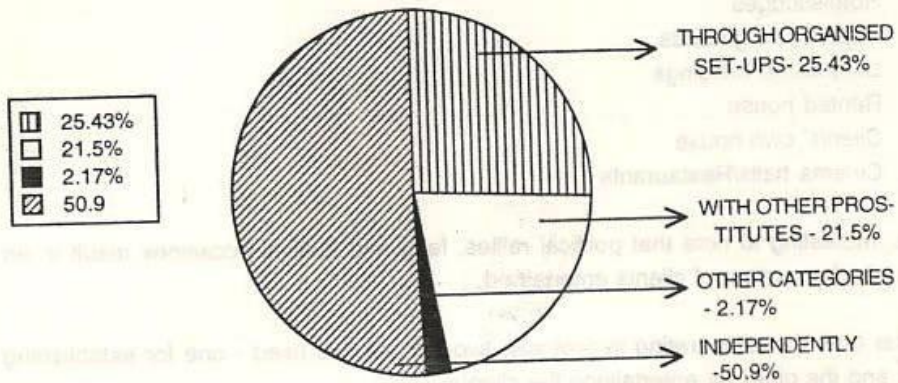


Table 6.6 Number of clients Entertained per Day

| Sl. | Number of Clients | Total | Banga- lore | Bombay | Cal- cutta | Delhi | Hyde- rabad | Madras |
|-----|-------------------|-------|----------------|--------|---------------|-------|----------------|--------|
| 1 | 1-4 | 57.43 | 84.65 | 69.8 | 92.45 | 6.4 | 28.20 | 63.1 |
| 2 | 4-8 | 38.35 | 15.35 | 28.6 | 7.55 | 73.4 | 68.8 | 36.4 |
| 3 | 8+ | 3.28 | - | - | - | 16.2 | 3.00 | 0.5 |
| 4 | Nr/NA | 0.94 | - | 1.6 | - | 4.0 | - | - |
| | Total % | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

According to the table majority of the women attend to 1-4 clients per day, followed by those entertaining 4-8 clients daily. A small section of the prostitutes, dispersed in Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras entertain as many as 8 or more Clients in a day.

With regard to the number of clients entertained by the prostitutes in a day, significant differences are apparent in the cities. Bangalore, for example, has a majority (85%) of the prostitutes entertaining 1-4 clients in a day whereas 73.4% of the women in Delhi attend to 4-8 clients. It is difficult to pinpoint the cause for such differences though they can be related to the forms of operation and greater demand.

Venue of operation

A wide range of venues are being used by the prostitutes for contacting their clients. Some of these are

- Hotels/lodges
- Parks/open grounds
- Dilapidated buildings
- Rented house
- Clients' own house
- Cinema halls/Restaurants

It is interesting to note that political rallies, fairs and festival occasions result in an increase in the number of clients entertained.

Other than those operating in brothels, two venues are used - one for establishing contact and the other for entertaining the clients.

Depending on the forms of operation some of these venues are used more as 'pick-up joints' where deals are set up with the clients, by the prostitutes.

For purposes of entertainment most of them use brothels, hotels/lodges and rented/own premises.

Daily routine and interpersonal relationship

There will be wide variation in daily routine and interpersonal relationships according to their form of practice in different cities. Some ideas in this regard can be got from the situation of the prostitutes in G.B. Road, Delhi.

It varies according to the place of stay of the prostitutes. For those in the brothels, life starts late, say around 8 - 8.30 am. Their day starts with a cup of tea. As the day approaches, their activities gain momentum.

Two hours are spent in washing clothes and cooking their food after they have their morning cup of tea. By about 11 o'clock many of them are ready for the days 'business'. Pace of 'business' is slow in the beginning but gradually picks up as the day passes, gaining momentum by the evening that lasts till the night hours.

D
found
major
work,
rest.

Tr
5 am.
like wi
brothe
'work'.
work.

Dualit

All
to dev
themst
not rea
deep,
real life
believe
rented',
course
externa
being.

Econoi

Owner

Pro
and, ar
the par
ively. Ir

The
25 acre:

During the forenoon and afternoon hours, in between entertaining clients, they are found to be gossiping among themselves. During leisure time they watch TV, which is one major means of entertainment. Their day comes to an end, after about 12-15 hours of work, around 11-12 at night, when they again clean up the place and arrange it for their rest.

Those who live outside the brothels have to start the day quite early, i.e., at about 4 to 5 am. Then they have to attend to household chores and provide for the family's needs like washing clothes and cooking meals. Then they get ready for 'business' and reach the brothels around 9-10 am. They spend 10-12 hours in the brothel depending on the rush of 'work'. They are back home by 10 pm. and have to attend to left over household work.

Duality of life

All prostitutes at heart dream of leading a normal social life. This desire always leads to development of duality in the life of a prostitute. In the brothel most of them introduce themselves as a different person with a different name, different religion, etc. which are not real. They always like to maintain anonymity. In some cases, this quality has gone so deep, that on many occasions, they are not able to distinguish between their false and real life, mixing of their falsehood with their reality resulting in a life of confusion and make believe. As a result, many of the prostitutes who have acquired a house (purchased or rented), introduce themselves with a new name in the locality. This phenomena is, of course, normal because of the stigma attached to the profession and the prostitutes external desire to get back to mainstream society to lead the life of a normal social being.

Economic Aspect

Ownership of property

Prostitutes belong to those sections of the population that are resourceless in terms of land, animal and houses. This is evident from the fact that only 4.8%, 2.8% and 30.6% of the parental families of the prostitutes in Delhi had land, animals and houses, respectively. Information about prostitutes working in other cities is not available.

They are predominantly marginal farmers, excepting five families who own more than 25 acres and all of them are caste Hindus. Animals owned by them are of very poor quality

belong mostly to the families having land. A cow on an average, for example, give more than one litre of milk in a day. The houses owned by them are mostly ones with one-two rooms with insufficient space and toilet facilities.

Majority of the prostitutes (60%) earn less than Rs. 3000/- per month. About 35% earn less than Rs. 3000/-. There is a significant difference of income in the cities. 96% of those in Bangalore have income above Rs. 2000/- per month and 24% of the women covered in Bangalore have similar income patterns. In Hyderabad 66% of the prostitutes have income ranging between Rs. 1000-2000/- as opposed to 2.6% of the women in Delhi.

Factors to which such visible difference in income could be attributed are

1. the number of clients attended to is more (as in Delhi 4-8 and in Hyderabad 4-8 in a day)

2. the rates per client may be different. Though exact rates are not available for Hyderabad, Delhi rates vary from Rs. 20-70/- per client. It is significant to note that there is difference in the income of prostitutes and brothel keepers. While the prostitutes charge Rs 20 -70 per client it is several times more for the brothel keepers depending on the number of prostitutes working under them. An attempt to get the actual daily income of a brothel keeper and prostitute based on Delhi information reveal some glaring differences.

Table 6.7 Daily Income of Brothel Keeper and Prostitute

Brothel keeper

Considering the brothel has 20 girls, each of whom entertain 5 clients per day at the rate of Rs. 70/- per client and sharing 50% of the earnings with the brothel keeper

1500/-

Prostitute

Average Rs. 50/-

75/-

This disparity of income is seen in those cities, who have requisite understanding of the trade and connections with trade related persons besides some management and

organisational skills, to become a brothel keeper. And this transition takes place in a period varying from 10-15 years.

Sharing of income

It could thus be said, based on the above, that i) sharing of income forms an integral part of the whole business of prostitution ii) sharing of income makes the nexus between procurer, pimp, brothel keeper, local goondas and police so strong that they together promote prostitution iii) the range of sharing varies between zero to 100% and depends on the forms of practice and the support received from the brothel keeper, as well as years spent in prostitution - lesser the time spent higher is the share of the brothel keeper iv) the pattern of actual share of income varies according to the cities as also the forms of prostitution.

New entrants, working through brothels, in Bombay hardly get any share of their income. All their income goes to the brothel keeper in exchange of their food, clothing, medication, cosmetics, addictives and overall protection.

The rate of sharing changes in Bangalore alongwith their mode of practice. Those who work independently (about 43%) do not share anything and get 100% of their income in Bangalore. Pattern of sharing for the rest is as follows:

- 21.11% share 25%
- 14.34% share 50%
- 16.13% share 75%
- 5.9% share 100%

The situation in Bombay indicates that the pattern of sharing changes alongwith the prostitutes' length of stay in the brothel and increase of their demand among the clients. In the absence of exact information it is not possible to indicate the pattern of sharing.

Prostitutes in Delhi pay 50% of their total income. This includes the amounts paid to the brothel keeper and pimps. In the initial period when the women is new in prostitution, the brothel keeper and pimps receive 100% of the income.

Sharing is also common in Hyderabad and Madras, though the pattern of sharing is not specific and has been explained in terms of 'rupees' and not in percentages. The

sharing pattern in Hyderabad has been perceived in terms of expenditure rather than actual sharing with other functionaries in the trade.

The brothel keepers also share their income with pimps, police, local gooris and others whose support is required to maintain the brothel. e.g. the brothel keepers of Delhi share approximately 30% of their income.

Procurers also have to share their income. They have to give commission to the brothel keeper, police and sometimes even to a prostitute who may have give them the contact for procuring in this way. Such a sharing pattern reveals how it helps organise and strengthen the nexus between procurer, pimp, brothel keeper, police, etc. who mutually combine in promoting, sustaining and protecting the whole institution of prostitution.

Expenditure

The expenditure pattern has been understood broadly as expenses incurred for maintenance of self, self and dependents living together or separately. Dependents could be either their own children or any family member. Prostitutes are mostly giving greater priority towards the maintenance of dependents rather than self, e.g. women in Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras are found to be spending about 25%, 38.27% and 18.1%, respectively, on themselves. The remaining is spent by them on their children and parents.

Low emphasis on self projects a possible situation of extreme resourcelessness amounting to deplorably low standards of living. e.g. a woman in Delhi earning Rs. 2000/-, who after sharing with the brothel keeper and family is left with hardly Rs. 500/- for herself. Of this she has to spend at least 50% on food and 10% on clothes and cosmetics.

Indebtedness

Living in debt is a common feature of prostitution though there are variances in the situation. In Delhi and Madras two-thirds of the prostitutes have debts and their amount of indebtedness goes up to Rs. 10,000/-. 40% of the prostitutes in Bombay are indebted and the amount of indebtedness goes up to Rs. 20,000/-.

As a matter of fact, their indebtedness starts from the day they are inducted into prostitution. This is more explicit in the brothel systems of Bombay and Delhi. The brothel keeper treats the amount spent on procuring a woman as a loan and she expects to recover this in the course of time. Amounts spent on the women for food, accommodation, treatment and other things like legal aid are also treated as loans.

int
sir

Sa

inc
65'
32.

situ

hol
den

pers
built

Hou

f
of of

li
of br
some

f

A
appa
65 in
ment:

The rate of interest goes up to 25% in Madras per month, which means an annual interest rate of 300%. This pattern of loan repayment makes the prostitutes' situation similar to that of bonded labours making 'bondage' a way of life for them.

Saving

The scope of saving, though limited, is still prevalent among prostitutes. In Bangalore, incidences of saving are highest and lower in Bombay, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras. 65% of the prostitutes in Bangalore have savings whereas 7.6% in Bombay, 34% in Delhi, 32.2 in Hyderabad and only 1% in Madras are able to save.

Prostitutes understand the importance of saving and want to do so but their financial situation does not always permit them to save.

Their identified purposes of saving are i) to have a secure future ii) for purchasing house/land iii) for education and maintenance of children iv) for maintenance of dependents and v) to meet medical expenses.

This reveals that their perceptions about life are in no way different from any other person. Like any one they are also in search of security in life, betterment of children and building the ability to provide for exigencies.

Housing

Housing of the prostitutes covered in the cities are of two kinds - residence and place of operation; the nature of housing varying according to the forms of practice.

In the first place, some prostitutes live and operate from the same place as in the case of brothel prostitutes. Secondly, there are those who live somewhere and operate from some other place (as in the case of street walkers and independent prostitutes).

Herein the discussion focusses on place of stay as housing.

All the prostitutes are not fortunate enough to have a roof over their heads. This is apparent from the fact that 126, 43% of the total (53 in Bangalore, 8 in Hyderabad and 65 in Madras) live in half constructed houses (others'), railway station, pipes and pavements.

In the metropolitan cities of Bombay and Delhi prostitutes mainly live in pucca houses - 90% and 100% respectively.

Despite difference, majority of the prostitutes in Bangalore (51%) and Calcutta (59%) also live in pucca houses.

The situation is entirely different in Hyderabad and Madras where the prostitutes either live in mixed or kutchha houses (about 90% in Hyderabad and 85% in Madras).

This difference in the nature of housing can be explained in terms of the prevalence of brothel prostitutes in the sample where the brothels are pucca structures, e.g., the brothels in G.B. Road of Delhi.

Location

Location of the houses of the prostitutes vary according to their place of living. Those living in brothels mostly live in commercially important localities in a given city (Bombay, Delhi etc), which are usually congested. The others, who live either in their own or rented homes are spread in different parts of the city or even outside it mostly in the suburban areas (Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta) resettlement colonies (Delhi). In Bangalore which does not have any regular redlight area prostitutes who work independently, mostly live in different localities of the city (high 57%, middle 13.36%, low 29.64% localities).

Own/rented

There are prostitutes living in regular houses and temporary shelters. Those living in houses live either in rented or own houses. The situation about owning or renting a house varies according to the forms of practice.

In the brothels the prostitutes live on rent with a negligible few having actual ownership of the brothels. Following is the ownership position of the houses they live in.

Differences in the ownership situation can be explained on the grounds of forms of practice of prostitution and income of the prostitutes. Prostitutes of Bangalore own most number of houses because they basically work either as street walkers or as independent prostitutes.

Numb

Th
nature
than b
prises
have f.
keepin
floor of

Nu
single i
Madras

N

Sharin

Shari
only diff
is with
membe

Table 6.8 Ownership of Houses

| City | % of ownership |
|-----------|----------------|
| Bangalore | 24.27 |
| Bombay | 5.00 |
| Delhi | 8.00 |
| Hyderabad | 9.20 |
| Madras | 2.00 |

Number of rooms

The number of rooms in the place where the prostitutes live vary according to the nature of the accommodation/housing, i.e. whether it is part of a brothel, houses other than brothel or own houses. A brothel in G.B. Road of Delhi, for example, usually comprises a square type room of 18'x25' (approx) with few cubicles built within the room and have false ceiling. The space in between the actual roof and false ceiling is used for keeping their personal belongings. For rest and sleeping purpose, they use either the floor of the brothels or the ceiling.

Number of rooms of the houses lived in vary between 1-4 rooms; the majority living in single rooms. Number of rooms of the houses lived in by the prostitutes of Bangalore and Madras are given below in Table 6.9

Table 6.9 Number of Rooms in the Houses

| No. of rooms | Bangalore | Madras |
|--------------|-----------|--------|
| 1 | 47.66 | 61.60 |
| 2 | 39.62 | 15.10 |
| 3 | 12.47 | 5.20 |
| 4 | 0.33 | 2.00 |

Sharing/living independently

Sharing of accommodation is common whether living in brothels or other places. The only difference is that the persons with whom they share, vary. In the brothels the sharing is with co-prostitutes and brothel keepers. In their own houses they share with family members or others not involved in prostitution.

The number of persons sharing range between 1 and 30. Sharing with more than 7 persons is common in Bangalore, Bombay and Delhi, resulting in overcrowding. Table 6.10 gives the citywise sharing pattern of the prostitutes.

Table 6.10 Citywise Sharing Pattern of Accommodation

| City | % of sharing | % with prostitutes |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| Bombay | 93.60 | 90.00 |
| Bangalore | 62.36 | 70.00 |
| Delhi | 100.00 | 92.00 |
| Hyderabad | 55.60 | |
| Madras | 74.50 | 15.00 |

The sharing with prostitutes is highest in Bombay and Delhi and this is probably due to the prevailing system of operating through brothels which combines to provide both the facilities of living and place of operation.

In Bangalore, Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras prostitutes also live independently though there are citywise variations in their numbers. Bangalore has 37% of the prostitutes as against 9.4% in Madras and 5.2% in Bombay living independently. This is obviously linked with the forms of practice.e.g., Bangalore has large numbers of independently living prostitutes because it has more street walkers.

Facilities available

Facilities available are directly linked with the place of living. Prostitutes living in brothels share bathrooms, toilets, kitchen, etc, with co-prostitutes. The only thing they can claim to be their own property includes their make up kit, the cooking stove, etc.

In the houses owned by the prostitutes facilities like toilets, bathrooms, storage space and kitchens are all available. In Hyderabad and Madras 40.4% and 44.8% respectively, have separate kitchens. In Hyderabad, 41% have separate bathroom and 18.1% in Madras have separate toilet. It is equally important to note that 35.1% of the prostitutes in Madras do not have access to toilets. Some of the prostitutes in Hyderabad also have separate stores and dressing rooms. The prostitutes in Delhi, excluding the 8% who live in separate houses having 1-3 rooms, however, live in brothels and they hardly have any proper facilities. It is a life of sharing facilities even at the cost of own inconveniences. In

the p
and c

Stani

A
major
that €
very p
Bang
living.

the process, those who fail to adjust with the situation always live in a situation of stress and conflict.

Standard of hygiene

An attempt to understand the standard of hygiene of the houses reveals that the majority live in a situation having poor hygiene conditions. This is evident from the fact that 64.8% and 72.5% houses of the prostitutes in Hyderabad and Madras have poor or very poor standard of hygiene. It is worth noting that 67.5% houses of the prostitutes in Bangalore have comparatively better standard of hygiene because of their independent living.

Attitude and Perception of Prostitutes

Herein this chapter the attitudes and perceptions have been explained in the context of the following

- i/ their own profession and its impact on them and their family
- ii/ continuation in the profession and future in prostitution
- iii/ persons connected with them and their profession

Perceptions of the prostitutes have been described in relation to the impact of prostitution on the mental, physical, social and economic aspects of their lives. This has been done while describing their attitude towards the profession.

Attitudes towards profession and impact of prostitution

The prostitutes seem to have very low self image on account of their involvement in prostitution. They generally believe that their involvement in prostitution poses many handicaps for them. By being involved in prostitution they get isolated from the mainstream of society and their families even though most of them are victims of circumstances. According to most of the prostitutes their profession is both degrading and dehumanizing.

About 90 percent of them, while talking about themselves, referred to themselves as "Hum Log Bahut Kharab Aurat Hain" (We are very bad women). "Vaisha Ka Kam Sabse Kharab Kam, Kisiko Kabhi Aisa Na Karna Pare" (Prostitution is the worst work. No body should ever have to do such work.) This clearly explains their own perception about themselves and their profession. It must be said that much of their self perception has been influenced by the general social perception about their profession. They have been made to believe that they are doing something extremely wrong and they are bad women. The others could not give their opinion on the same. (K.K. Mukherjee, p.183).

Broac
been ex
with ref

Mental

Positiv
Hyderat
spective
uted to t
constrai

The ne
places. I
deperso
nervousr
experien

Their fe
we are ir
at the fac
on the ro
to us. Ou
anxious e
were ofte
our life w
Mukherje

Sometir
e.g., depe
Hyderaba

Impact of Prostitution

The impact of prostitution has been both on the prostitutes and their families and the impacts have been mental, physical, social and economic. These have affected almost every aspect of their lives, with some variations. Further, they may all affect the same person at the same time.

Broadly, the felt impact has been either positive or negative. Impact of prostitution has been explained as mental, physical, social and economic as negative and positive and nil with reference to the prostitutes and their families (wherever relevant).

Mental

Positive mental impact has been mainly felt by the prostitutes working in Delhi and Hyderabad. 8% and 5% of the respondents functional in Delhi and Hyderabad have respectively felt the positive impact of being in prostitution. Being in prostitution has contributed to their mental happiness in the sense of providing them some relief from economic constraints.

The negative impact on their mind has been differently felt by the prostitutes in different places. Prostitution's negative impact on the mind of the prostitutes include loneliness, depersonalisation, frustration, feeling of guilt, anxiety and worries, humiliation, rejection, nervousness, depression, feeling of inferiority and fear of police, goondas and other. They experience perpetual mental disturbance.

Their feeling of inferiority has been very clearly explained by one woman in Delhi. "When we are in the brothel, we do not feel anything. We can look at each others face and also at the faces of the people who come to us. But as we go down the stairs and start walking on the road, we are usually not able to look straight at the face of the person who is talking to us. Our head droops down automatically out of shame." The extent to which they feel anxious about others perceptions of them is well revealed in the kind of questions which were often asked to the study team members, such as "Didi what do you feel about us and our life when you come up the stairs? Do you think we are bad human beings?" (K.K. Mukherjee, pp. 169-70)

Sometimes it is a combination of different feelings that give rise to a complex mind state, e.g., depersonalisation has been found to be experienced by 48% of the prostitutes in Hyderabad, and 100% of the prostitutes in Madras and Delhi who spoke about negative

mental impact indicated the feeling of guilt as contributing to nervousness and depression leading to loneliness and inferiority.

It is significant note that 46% and 29.2% of the prostitutes in Bombay and Delhi, respectively, have said that prostitution has not affected them mentally. They rationalise their profession to be like any other profession and consider that it has not adversely affected their mental condition in any way. The probable reason for their indifference, particularly in the case of those in Bangalore, can be attributed to the fact that Bangalore does not have a brothel culture. As a result, they are spared from leading a stigmatised life.

Physical (Health)

The impact of prostitution on the physical aspect has been positive, negative and nil. However, it is predominantly negative in nature. Positive impact of prostitution has been specifically talked about by the prostitutes of Delhi. 7.6% of them felt that prostitution has had some positive impact on their health. Explaining this impact one of the prostitutes said that continuation in prostitution prompts them to stay physically fit within their limited means. Entry into prostitution atleast ensures two square meals a day - perhaps better food in comparison to what was available prior to entry into prostitution. Another prostitute said that the nature of the profession makes it mandatory for them to "look good" - as a result they have started taking care of their health and appearance.

Prostitution has many negative impacts on their health, which may often reflect themselves in the form of physical weakness and disease (like skin disease, tuberculosis, anaemia, STD). They also suffer from aches and pains, and various types of uterine infection. While the prostitutes talked about various diseases like tuberculosis and STD, most of them denied having suffered from these themselves. They probably preferred not to share this information as they feared common knowledge about this would create problems for them in the 'profession' - their clientele may get affected.

It is worth mentioning that 38.6% of the prostitutes in Hyderabad suffer from STDs. However, the prevalence of STDs among the prostitutes in other cities is not available.

Much of the health problems result from the unhygienic and unhealthy living conditions, the very nature of their work, the fact that they have to face new and unknown situations, etc.

Negative impact of prostitution has been felt by the prostitutes in the cities of Bangalore, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras - primarily in the areas of the mind and social life. Such information is not available about prostitutes in Bombay and Calcutta.

Ano
(Delhi)

Socia

Impe
tutes &
examp
prostitu
tionally

About
claim to
social i
"before
because
they no
They fe
tive."

Negat
being lo
tutes inc
some su
professi

There
to it, ever

Impact c

From c
there are

Prostitu
deprived
acknowle
families a

The pre
Realising
children a

Another significant finding is that some prostitutes have felt no impact on their health (Delhi 4.2% and Madras 21%)

Social

Impact of prostitution has been positive, negative and nil on the social life of the prostitutes and it often varies according to the background of the women in prostitution. For example, negative impact has either been absent or relatively less amount women in prostitution belonging to communities like Bedias and Nats wherein prostitution is traditionally accepted.

About 13% of the prostitutes from Bangalore, 15% from Hyderabad and 7% from Delhi claim to have felt some positive impact of prostitution. Explaining the nature of positive social impact, one of the prostitutes, who entered prostitution somewhat voluntarily said "before entering into the profession, persons belonging to my locality used to pity me because of my acceptance of the ill - treatment meted out by my husband and others. But they no longer do so, even though they do not approve of my entering into this profession. They feel that I have courage and I had to resort to prostitution because I had no alternative."

Negative social impact includes social insult, degradation, isolation, living life as outcastes, being looked down upon, etc. Further explaining the nature of social impact, the prostitutes indicated that their socialisation is invariably restricted to their co-professionals, or to some such persons with whom they have good relationships and who know about their profession and still accept them. These persons may also be associated with prostitution.

There are also a number of prostitutes who have felt no social impact, or are indifferent to it, even though their percentage may vary (Bangalore 8%, Delhi 5%, Hyderabad 44.2%).

Impact on Family

From our understanding of the situation it is apparent that besides the above impact there are some implications on their family life which are worth mentioning.

Prostitution generally affects the immediate family of the prostitutes. Most often they are deprived of their family life and own children. The negative impact on family has been acknowledged by about 60% of the prostitutes in Delhi. They are of the opinion that their families are usually disturbed and disorganised.

The prevailing atmosphere is not congenial for the healthy development of the children. Realising this, the women attempt to send the children away from them. As a result, the children are also deprived of maternal care and guidance.

economic life

Discussions on the impact of prostitution cannot be complete without explaining its impact on economic life. Although the economic aspect has not been taken up separately, an examination of the income, expenditure, saving, indebtedness, resource and ownership position as also their contributing towards family sustenance, clearly indicates that (i) the majority have been able to earn some definite amount which enables them to look after themselves and their families, and (ii) a few, especially the brothel keepers, etc. have definitely gained considerably out of their entry into prostitution. 11% of the prostitutes of Delhi feel that their entry into prostitution has enabled them to acquire some property, lend money to families, keep children in boarding houses, etc. All the rest felt that it has not helped them, economically, in any way. They have still remained indebted to their brothel keepers and are living a life of bondage. They have nothing to fall back upon and have to depend on others' mercy as and when they cross the age of effectiveness in prostitution.

Attitude towards continuation

Attitude towards continuation in prostitution has been explained in terms of the prostitutes' desire to leave or continue in prostitution, their reasons for the same, efforts made to leave, and given a chance the alternative they would like to have to leave.

Desire to leave or continue

Table 7.1 Gives the opinion of the prostitutes with regard to their desire to continue in the profession

Table 7.1 Women who would like to leave prostitution

| Sl | Response | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|---------|-----------|------------------|-----------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | Yes | 43.77 | 45.4 | 70.2 | 28.8 | 14.00 | 64.4 |
| 2. | No | 43.26 | 48.2 | 29.8 | 71.2 | 30.00 | 35.6 |
| 3. | Not Known | 12.97 | 6.4 | - | - | 56.00 | - |
| Total % | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

It is i
desire
more

Signif
For e
ing it
these
tion o

Reas

The

It is
future
who e
import
stigma

Amc
non-a
prostit
prostit
in nun
11.59%

It is interesting to note that the prostitutes are almost equally divided in terms of their desire to leave prostitution. However, the number of women not wanting to leave is slightly more in comparison to those who want to leave.

Significant regional differences are observed in terms of the desire to leave or continue. For example, 70% of the prostitutes of Calcutta and 64% in Madras are in favour of leaving it whereas 71% of the in Delhi want to continue in prostitution. Specific reasons for these variations are not clear, but it is definitely important that future plans for rehabilitation of the prostitutes must take into consideration these regional variations.

Reason for desire to leave or continue

The reasons given both for wanting to leave or continue are given below.

Wanting to leave

1. Fear of contracting disease
2. Social stigma
3. Protection of child's future
4. Insufficient income
5. Fear of violence
6. Dislike for profession
7. Wish to rejoin family
8. Growing old
9. Availability of family acceptance
10. Desire to start new life

Wanting to continue

1. Absence of Alternatives
2. Social non-acceptability
3. Family occupation/custom
4. Poverty
5. Ill health
6. Not interested in leaving-
-got used to prostitution
7. Liking for prostitution

It is worth mentioning that of all the factors for leaving prostitution protection of child's future has been viewed as the most important factor. Of the total prostitutes of Madras who expressed desire to leave, 21% wanted to leave on these grounds. The second important reason is dislike for the profession (13.1%-Madras). Fear of disease and social stigma are equally important to occupy the third place.

Among the reasons given for preferring to continue, absence of alternatives and social non-acceptance are most important and this is evident from the fact that almost all the prostitutes of Delhi and 33% prostitutes of Madras who talk in terms of continuing in prostitution have extended these two reasons. The same reasons, with some difference in numbers, have been given by the prostitutes of Bangalore (18.18%-No alternative and 11.59% social non-acceptance). Significant differences in Bangalore and Delhi are that (i)

40.9% in Bangalore want to continue because it is a family occupation/custom and (ii) 30% claim to like it.

To the question, 'who will know them, once they are out of G.B. Road New Delhi or out of known 'circles'?', the reply was, "going out of Delhi or G.B. Road will not serve much purpose. What alternatives are available to us, so that we can start a new life? None, excepting the profession we are following. So even if we go out, we may have to re-enter into the profession. Moreover, while working as a prostitute we developed certain habits and lifestyle, we cannot maintain that unless we work as prostitutes". This, in other words, indicates that the majority of the prostitutes will have to continue with their present profession since there is very little option open to them unless there is change in the social situation.

The respondents in Delhi (28.8%), who felt that they can get out of the profession, are mostly those who have entered the profession somewhat voluntarily and have some family acceptance either because the families traditionally accept the profession or the families are not aware about their profession. They also have, comparatively, better literacy rate and education than their counterparts. One of them stated, "the world is very big". If we go out of G.B. Road and Delhi, then no body will know that we once worked as a prostitute. The only thing is we have to decide when we should get out of the profession. We can say that at present, we are not in a position to go out of the profession and we have still to wait for some time." (K.K. Mukherjee, p. 180)

Efforts made to leave

Serious efforts to leave prostitution have been made by some of the women in Bangalore, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras. The exact numbers of such women in each city are as follows:

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| Bangalore | 38 |
| Delhi | 1 |
| Hyderabad | 25 |
| Madras | 70 |
| Total | 134 |

Given the total coverage in these cities (2906), the 134 women who put in efforts to leave prostitution comprise a small section of the total (7%). Though a very small repre-

sent
bilita

So
temp
Madi

Thi
away
effort
disc
the p
prost
leavir

De:
mesti
were
reasc
to ret
19.1%

Alteri

The
regar
While
those
gener
tance

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

sentation, this is an important element that must be considered while planning any rehabilitation strategy.

Some of these women in Bangalore and Madras have even made more than one attempt to leave prostitution (Bangalore : 12 made 2 attempts and 10 made 3 attempts; Madras : 58 made below 3 attempts and 12 made above 3 attempts).

The fact that these women were covered in the studies speaks of their failure to break away from prostitution. Various reasons have been identified for their failure despite the efforts made by them. In Delhi, the one woman who made an attempt to leave, was discouraged by the police from doing so. In fact, she had begun vending vegetables but the police and local goondas hounded her all the time and she eventually had to return to prostitution. In Bangalore, both family members and the police discouraged them from leaving prostitution.

Despite sincere efforts to leave and seek other avenues of employment (such as domestic work) by those in Madras, they were compelled to return to prostitution as they were unable to make both ends meet with the meagre salaries they got. This has been the reason among 65.7% of those who attempted to leave. Being in debt, 8.5% of them had to return to clear them, which they could not do so with income from other employment. 19.1% were forced back by the pimps or their clients.

Alternative they would like

The women of Bangalore, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras have given their opinion with regard to the alternatives they would like to have if they are given a change to leave. While the women of Bangalore, Hyderabad and Madras have given a single alternative, those from Delhi have talked about multiple alternatives. All this has contributed to the generation of a list of alternatives. Given below are the alternatives in terms of the importance assigned to them.

1. Employment/self employment (through provision of education, and financial support, training for skill development, entrepreneurship and marketing)
2. Marriage
3. Family acceptance
4. Housing
5. Legal aid

In addition to these some of the women pointed out the need for changing social attitudes so that the above could be achieved.

Perception

Assuming that they would continue in prostitution their vision about their future life has been probed. This has been done keeping in mind the perception of others about their profession and their views about their own future in prostitution.

Table 7.2 gives the prostitutes ideas about others perception of their profession

Table 7.2 Ideas about others Perception of the Profession

| Sl No. | Response | Citywise Details | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
| 1. | Degrading | 67.70 | 48.00 | 63.8 | 60.72 | 95.4 | 47.8 | 96.00 |
| 2. | Like any other profession | 12.42 | 13.14 | 12.2 | 17.00 | 2.4 | 26.2 | 1.5 |
| 3. | Apathetic | 13.00 | 7.96 | 23.2 | 22.28 | 2.2 | 18.8 | 1.5 |
| 4. | No reply | 6.88 | 30.90 | 0.8 | - | - | 7.2 | 1.0 |
| Total % | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

According to the table most of the women feel that the perception of the people in general is not positive towards them. Majority view their profession as degrading which results in their condemnation and treatment as outcastes. Only a small section of the women considered others perception as positive in the sense that their profession is viewed as equal to any other profession.

Of the total respondents 1753 women have responded to the question of their own perception of their future as prostitutes. Details in this regard are given in Table 7.3

SI

1

2.

The
their
pres
titude
which
and
earn
porta
show
prost
probl
ones

Thos
(bro
tiona

Att

T
persc
broth
reser

It
not b

Table 7.3 Women's Perception of Future As Prostitutes

| Sl | Response | Citywise Details | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------|---------------|-------|----------------|---------|
| | | Total | Banga- lore | Bombay | Cal- cutta | Delhi | Hyde- rabad | Madras. |
| 1 | Better | 16.83 | 77.43 | 6.17 | 11.11 | 7.05 | 12.46 | 3.68 |
| 2. | Worse than the present | 83.17 | 22.57 | 93.83 | 88.89 | 92.95 | 87.54 | 96.32 |
| Total% | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The table indicates that the overwhelming majority of the prostitutes who have expressed their perception about their future clearly have felt that their future will be worse than the present (83.17%) This may be because of what they have seen happening to older prostitutes and also the realisation that the phenomenon of prostitution is linked with age which determines their income. Usually after 40 years of age they cease to draw clients and they become dependent on other sources of income which do not provide sufficient earnings. They plunge into a life of greater economic hardship, experience a loss of importance often amounting to survival on the mercy of others. From a life of glamour and show they fade into oblivion and almost begin subserving those who were once their co-prostitutes with no resources, no place to call a home, harbouring all kinds of health problems, their life in short is most pitiable. On occasions they do not have near and dear ones to attend to their dead bodies and perform their last rites.

Those who see a better future for themselves invariably belong to the privileged sections (brothel keepers) and enjoy caste and family acceptance and support (belong to traditional communities)

Attitude towards persons connected with life and profession of the prostitutes

The following few pages provide a wide range of opinions of the respondents towards persons with whom they have personal or professional connections - parents, husbands, brothel keepers, procurers, pimps and intermediaries, co-prostitutes, clients, police, representatives of the judiciary, social workers, correctional institutions and researchers.

It is important to note that the women, in general (with some regional variations), have not been able to give clear opinions about the different categories of persons either be-

cause of their indifference, lack of interest or in ability to articulate. It is equally significant to mention that the majority of the women have exercised caution in giving their opinions about all the above categories of persons and have, therefore, expressed their views about a chosen few - those about whom they have felt free to opine.

Parents : About parents, they have positive, negative and indifferent attitudes. Some statements made by them about their parents adequately reflect these attitudes. Some such statements are given below.

1. "They were very good people and helpful to us"
2. "They loved us and we children had good relations with them"
3. "They could not do much for us because of poverty"
4. "They were very hard working"
5. "They ill treated us"
6. "They used to neglect us"
7. "I have no feeling for them"

Some regional variations have been observed in their opinion about their parents. e.g., while 5.8% of the prostitutes of Bangalore have stated that they do not have any feeling for their parents, 35.6% of the prostitutes of Hyderabad have said so. The reasons for such regional variations are not clear.

Husbands : Like their opinions about their parents the respondents have expressed similar opinions about their husbands. Some commonly made statements are :

1. "My husband was a cheat - he would often ill treat me"
2. "My husband turned out to be a fraud ... an exploiter"
3. "He was a very good person"

It is interesting to note that the respondents from Madras, in particular, perceived their husbands as exploiters, while this was not so in the case of their counterparts in the other metros.

Brothel Keepers : Prostitutes have mixed feelings about the brothel keepers. They perceive them both as helpful/supportive and exploitative. Their opinions about the brothel keepers come out quite clearly from their statements.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Procu
fickers
what th

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Pimps/
indicate
ments a

1. "
2. "
3. "
4. "7
5. "7
fr

Co-prost
tive, nega

1. "She has always provided me protection and support, making the practice of prostitution easier for me"
2. "They make arrangements for legal aid whenever we need it. They also guide us"
3. "They prevent women from getting out of prostitution"
4. "They exploit us economically in such a way that we are unable to break away from them"
5. "She is very commercial and rude"

Procurer/Trafficker : Prostitutes have explicit anger and hatred towards procurers/traffickers and they usually perceive them as exploiters. Their attitude comes out clearly from what they have to say about them.

1. "They are exploiters and have deceived many like me"
2. "They function in close collaboration with brothel keepers and always combine in their exploitative ways"
3. "They are the ones who deceive girls/women in the name of marriage and job. They should be punished"
4. "They help in sustaining the brothels at the cost of innocent lives"

Pimps/Touts : The opinions expressed by the prostitutes about the pimps/touts generally indicate that they tend to have a tolerant and positive attitude towards them. Their statements are given below and they are amply indicative of the mentioned attitudes.

1. "They are helpful"
2. "They are protective"
3. "They provide friendly care at the time of need, only if their own interests are not adversely affected"
4. "They are troublesome"
5. "They sometimes cheat the client by over charging them. They also take money from us"

Co-prostitutes : Attitude towards co-prostitutes seem to be diverse, ranging between positive, negative and mixed.

1. "They are co-operative and friendly"
2. "They are jealous about others income"
3. "They are quarrelsome"
4. "They work as spies of the brothel keeper and help her in our exploitation"

Clients : Prostitutes are usually tolerant of their client. They visualise the client as seekers of fun and pleasure, lovers, perverts and business like persons. The women of Delhi and Hyderabad, in particular, regard their clients as sexual abusers of women. Some of the opinions expressed by the women about their clients are given below.

1. "They are self seeking and fun loving people"
2. "They visit us for passing time and having fun"
3. "They are friendly and sympathetic towards us"
4. "They contribute to our sexual abuse"
5. "They are not concerned about our feelings"
6. "They are business like in their approach"

Police : Prostitutes have mainly contempt and hatred towards the police. They perceive them as corrupt and exploitative. This is evident from the following statements of the prostitutes.

1. "They are mostly corrupt"
2. "They want to exploit us both economically as well as sexually...sometimes they want free sexual favours from us"
3. "They beat us at times if we do not pay them"
4. "They want to take away our children and break us"
5. "They quite frequently threaten us and want us to live under constant fear of the police"
6. "They want prostitution to continue to have some assured income"

Representatives of the judiciary : The prostitutes do not evince a positive attitude towards those in the judiciary except in Bangalore, wherein about 15% of them were posi-

tively i
Some

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Social
the soc
fact the
ments

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Resear
perceiv
stateme

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

ively inclined. They are basically viewed as persons who are apathetic to their plight. Some opinions expressed by the prostitutes about them is given below.

1. "They do not consider us as human beings"
2. "They regard us as flies"
3. "They add to our harassment and humiliation"
4. "They are indifferent to our plight"
5. "They fail to understand the human aspect of the problem. They perceive it as law and order problem"

Social workers : The women in prostitution seem to have some positive attitude towards the social workers and consider them to be persons who want to help them despite the fact that quite often they are motivated by interest in self projection. Some of their statements about social workers are as given below.

1. "They want to help us and guide us"
2. "They are self seekers"
3. "They are good people who listen to us and try to protect us against the exploitation of police"
4. "They are working with little resources and mostly in isolation"

Researchers : The prostitutes do not have any faith and confidence in researchers. They perceive researchers as those who make use of them for their own betterment. Their statements about them clearly bring out their sentiment.

1. "They are interested in our life, whereas they cannot help us in any way."
2. "They are interested in their own work"
3. "They waste a lot of our time"
4. "They are interested in their own publicity, which they get through their reports/books"
5. "There is no need of research"
6. "In recent years, there has been more number of such persons"

Children of Prostitutes

The children of prostitutes have been given great importance in the recent years as it is being realised that this section of children are often neglected and have special needs. Recognising the need to understand the conditions of these children this chapter attempts at providing information on the number of women having children, number of children, their upbringing, background, problems and future plan.

Prostitutes having children

The distribution of prostitutes according to their having or not having children is given in Table 8.1

Table 8.1 Distribution of Prostitutes in Accordance to their having and not having children

| Sl No. | Response | Citywise Details | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|---------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Bombay | Calcutta | Delhi | Madras. |
| 1. | Have Children | 65.60 | 41.83 | 82.00 | 63.65 | 64.00 | 76.50 |
| 2. | Don't have children | 33.70 | 58.17 | 17.00 | 36.35 | 36.00 | 21.00 |
| 3. | No response | 0.70 | - | 1.00 | - | - | 2.50 |
| Total% | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

On the whole, majority of the women covered in the sample have children (65.6%) This is the situation in all the cities except in Bangalore where more women are childless (33.7%). This may be as a result of the preponderance of street walkers and independent

Bas
third of
sociolog
crease i
children

Motivat

The
their own
truly lovi

The c
from Dell
support..
if it mean

Number

It is n
tutes bec
dren's we
versely af

Appro
Delhi can
tutes (66%
each wom
ents cover
x average

tently operating prostitutes who cannot have children because of their social roles and situations.

Bombay has the highest number of women in prostitution with children (82%) followed by Madras (76.5%). The pattern in this regard is very similar in the case of the prostitutes of Calcutta and Delhi.

Based on the information coming from the table it is interesting to note that about one third of the women do not have children. And this justifies the observation of several sociologists from America, Japan and Britain who are of the opinion, that "despite increase in number of children born out of wedlock, the phenomenon of prostitutes bearing children is almost non-existent in their countries" (Pai Patkar, P. 69).

Motivation for having children

The prostitutes want to have a child because they perceive a child as something of their own and the only one in their harsh and doomed existence with whom they share a truly loving and trusting relationship (Pai Patkar, P. 70).

The desire to have a child can be further explained in the words of a prostitute mother from Delhi as - "Man may come and go after using us, but it is my child who will be my only support... I shall therefore not mind doing anything for proper upbringing of my child even if it means to stay away from him or her for his or her betterment" (K K Mukherjee, P 157).

Number of Children

It is not easy to get exact information with regard to the number of children of prostitutes because the mothers fear forced separation from the children in the name of children's welfare. They also do not like to talk about the number of children as it may adversely affect them in their professional life.

Approximate number of children based on information available from Calcutta and Delhi can be calculated to be about 3452. Table 8.1 shows that about 2/3 of the prostitutes (66%) have children. Delhi and Calcutta indicate the average number of children each women has to be 1.7 and 2, respectively. Going by this, 66% of the total respondents covered in the study have a total of 3452 children ($66\% \text{ of } 2906 \times 1.8 = \text{total sample} \times \text{average of Calcutta and Delhi} = 1918 \times 1.8 = 3452$).

Children's upbringing - place of stay

Children of prostitutes have a variety of places of stay and these include
 brothel
 rented/own house outside brothel
 parents' and relatives' place
 hostel/boarding houses
 children's homes run by government

Prostitutes preference for keeping their children in any of the above mentioned places vary according to their socio-economic situation and city of practice, e.g., prostitutes of Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras prefer to keep their children away from them in places other than brothels, excepting the younger ones.

In this regard it is interesting to note the place of stay of the children who live with their mothers are many - particularly during the latter's working hours. These alternatives are indicated in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Place Of Stay Of Children During Prostitutes Working Hours

| | Bombay | Delhi | Hyderabad | Madras |
|-------------------------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|
| Creche | -/ | | | |
| Custody of co-residents | | -/ | | |
| Neighbours | | | | -/ |
| Relatives place | -/ | | -/ | -/ |
| Separate room | -/ | | -/ | -/ |
| Verandah | -/ | | | |
| Under the bed | -/ | | -/ | |
| Street & pavements | -/ | | | -/ |

Background

The background of the children has been explained in terms of their sex, age, education, training and occupation. Wherever possible, the gender differences have been attempted to be brought out, particularly with respect to the children's educational standards.

Sex di

The

Inte
Bombay
Delhi cc

The
evident

The
to arrive
search.

Age

Cons
dren in D
years (75

Educatio

The e

SI Respc

1. Illiterat
2. Literat
3. Primar
4. Secon
5. Higher
6. Above

Total %

Sex distribution

The sex distribution of the children of prostitutes in Bombay and Delhi is :

| | Male | | | Female | | | Total | | |
|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--|--|-------|--|--|
| | (%) | | | | | | | | |
| Bombay | 54.00 | 46.00 | 100.00 | | | | | | |
| Delhi | 51.16 | 48.84 | 100.00 | | | | | | |

Interestingly the sex ratio of the children emerges to be 852 females : 10000 males in Bombay, 954 females : 1000 males in Delhi and 903 females : 1000 males in Bombay and Delhi combined.

The prostitutes have more male children as compared to female children which is evident from the above.

The low female sex ratio causes concern but in a situation of lack of data, it is difficult to arrive at any conclusions about this. This however, could be an area of further research.

Age

Considering the age group of the prostitutes and information available about the children in Delhi it can be indicated that the prostitutes have children in the age group 1-10 years (75%).

Education

The educational level of the children is given in Table 8.3

Table 8.3 Educational level of Children

| Sl | Response | Citywise Details | | | |
|---------|------------------------|------------------|-----------|----------|-------|
| | | Total | Bangalore | Calcutta | Delhi |
| 1 | Illiterate | 39.28 | 31.87 | 31.60 | 54.38 |
| 2 | Literate | 1.48 | - | 4.45 | - |
| 3. | Primary | 35.46 | 21.71 | 49.75 | 34.88 |
| 4. | Secondary | 15.19 | 29.30 | 12.35 | 5.73 |
| 5. | Higher secondary | 1.57 | - | 1.85 | 2.86 |
| 6. | Above higher secondary | 6.42 | 17.12 | - | 2.15 |
| Total % | | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The table reveals that 60% of the children are literate. Which, in other words, indicates that literacy rate of the children is much higher than that of their mothers. Of the total literates the overwhelming majority have studied upto the primary level and only about 10% have gone beyond.

In Bangalore however, the female children show better levels of education as compared to the male children. Interestingly, it is only the female children who have studied beyond the primary level. Based on the information about the other cities there does not seem to be any uniform pattern regarding the education of the male and female children of prostitutes.

Education of the children depends to some extent, on the women's form of practice of prostitution. In the case of Bangalore, the women are able to educate their children, particularly the girl children, because their form of practice affords anonymity and chances of stigmatisation are limited. This however, is not the situation of the women operating from brothels in redlight areas.

Training and Occupation

As most of them are below age, it is difficult to indicate the training received by the children. As per the Delhi situation only 5-10 percent of the male children of the prostitutes have some formal training in mechanical skills, such as cycle repair, printing, etc. A few of the girls have picked up tailoring, embroidery and knitting, mainly from their relatives.

Very few of the children (20) of prostitutes in Delhi are engaged in some occupations like mechanical work, shop keeping, printing etc. All of them are above 10 years of age and have some education. Most of them are not living with the prostitutes in the brothels.

Marital Status

A little over 5% of the children of prostitutes in Delhi are married. Two thirds of them are female and they were married before attaining 21 years of age. This indicates that prostitutes prefer to get their daughters married early because of their anxiety to see their daughters settled outside the world of prostitution.

Assistance received from children

Most of the women do not have their children staying with them and many of the

children
spond
with th

Are
dren, p
is som
come c
petty s
receive

Childr

The
ing, pla
59%). I
numbe
children

In h
their tin

Leisure

Play
some o
gender
cooking
out sha

Probler

Whil
problem

Con:
rehabilit
available

children staying with their mothers are too small. In this context, only those mothers responded on the question of assistance received from children, whose children are living with them or with whom they are in touch.

Areas of assistance revolves around domestic work, water fetching, caring for children, petty shopping, financial contribution, service to clients and running errands. There is some gender difference in the nature of assistance received. Looking after children has come out as the job of the female children whereas running errands and servicing clients, petty shopping are male specific areas. Domestic work is the main area of assistance received from both the male and female children.

Children's modes of spending time

The children of prostitutes spend their time in different ways such as studying, working, playing and doing household work, of which studying is the main activity (Hyderabad 59%). Based on the Madras situation, it is found that there is some gender disparity in the number of male and female children spending their time studying. While 45% of the male children spend time studying, 37% girl children do so.

In Hyderabad 18% of the children are indicated to have no definite way of spending their time.

Leisure time activities

Playing, watching television and cinema, cooking, stitching and roaming about, are some of leisure time activities of the children. Playing is the main leisure time activity. A gender difference in this regard has been observed in Delhi. While the girls engage in cooking and stitching, boys prefer to loiter around. Though this difference has not come out sharply it would also be true in the case of Hyderabad and Madras.

Problems of the children

While it is generally accepted that the children of the prostitutes face a number of problems the exact nature of problems is not known by many.

Considering the importance of understanding their problems in the context of evolving rehabilitation and general developmental strategies, some indications in this regard are available about Delhi. Like any children belonging to a single parent (mother) family, these

children also face the limitations arising out of such situations. These include :

1. lack of a father figure to provide security, care and guidance
2. increasing responsibilities of the mother for maintenance of the children
3. economic hardship
4. lack of facilities to meet basic minimum needs
5. unhealthy social environment
6. malnutrition and ill health

(K K Mukherjee, pp. 151-52)

By being the children of prostitutes they face some specific problems and these include

1. Lack of identity of fathers
2. Social abuse
3. Separation from mother
4. Indulgence/apathetic attitude
5. Social non-acceptance, loneliness, isolation in case mothers occupation is known
6. Duality of personality caused by the tendency to keep secret
7. Uncertainly and insecurity with regard to day to day existence
8. Neglect
9. Feeling of deprivation and rejection
10. Affliction with some diseases of the mother
11. Exposure to the world of prostitution
12. General pity and sympathy

(K K Mukherjee, pp. 152)

These problems are closely related to the place of residence of the children. For instance, children living with the prostitutes and other relatives are in a more advantageous position than those children residing elsewhere.

With some variations, most children of the prostitutes suffer from various setbacks from their early childhood, and these culminate in creating a life full of secrecy, neglect and deprivation.

Precept

This children tation. F

The concern mohters

This prostitui

In th ously cc short of dren. It penden, ostracisi

Sign pulsions

Majc children

The done so compuls

Rela women's prostituti

Future c

This the girl c

Perceptions about children

This has been discussed with respect to the children joining prostitution, future of the children, nature of assistance required for the children for their development and rehabilitation. For many of the issues, particular emphasis has been given to the girl children.

The prostitutes in discussing these issues related to their children, have shown great concern. This arises out of their motherly instinct. Like any other mothers they too as mothers feel concerned about the future of their children.

This motherly instinct prompts them to protect their children from entering the world of prostitution as has been eloquently indicated by the prostitutes of Delhi and Madras.

In the context of girl children, mothers have, in majority instances, stated to be seriously concerned about them. Their concern quite understandable. In Bangalore, a little short of 25% of the women interviewed are not seriously concerned about their girl children. It is only possible to explain this on the grounds that most of the women are independently operating prostitutes which reduces the chances of social rejection or ostracisation as also the possibility of their joining prostitution.

Significantly, 13% of the women, in Bangalore are not sure. This speaks of the compulsions operating on them.

Majority of the prostitutes have categorically stated that they do not want their girl children to enter the life of prostitution.

The few who have, reacted positively to their daughters entry into prostitution have done so because of their feeling of desperation (absence of alternatives and situational compulsion and general acceptance of prostitution by the community/family).

Related to this is the issue of the girl child viewed as a professional investment. The women's responses clearly show that only those who would like their daughter to join prostitution perceive them as professional investments.

Future of the children

This has been discussed in the light of the childrens' education vocational skill, and the girl children.

An overwhelming majority of the prostitutes in Bangalore, Bombay, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras have given their opinion favouring the education of their children - whether boy or girl. Women in Delhi make a difference in the envisaged levels of education of boys and girls. They have tended to suggest higher educational standards for the boy children - to the point of acquiring professional degrees. Again in Delhi, they felt children should be educated upto atleast the school final level.

They want better education for better placement in terms of occupation.

Given the options, the majority of the prostitutes would like their children to stay with them and receive education rather than being placed in boardings (Bangalore, Delhi, Madras). A good number of prostitutes, in Hyderabad, preferred to send their children to boarding houses for education. The willingness to send the children is often governed by the kind of situational compulsion and accommodation available with the prostitutes.

Vocation

The prostitutes' desire for better future of their children prompts them to opt for vocational training as necessary. This, they feel, will enable the children to get good jobs and thereby good status, in society.

Curiously, however, the kinds of vocations have not been indicated specifically, as is clear from the responses of the women in Delhi. While they are decided about the need for vocational training, only after persistent probing they were able to mention computer/television/radio/cycle repairing as options.

In the context of girl children they have not been able to think of vocations other than embroidery, stitching, knitting, tailoring, etc. Probably, this is because they desire their daughter to become good housewives.

Marriage of girl children

The prostitutes want their girl children to settle in life through marriage. The question is how soon they should be married. There are differences of opinion on this issue but the general consensus is that they should get married as early as possible because that would reduce the mothers' anxieties about the future of the girl children. However, women in Bangalore and Madras have shown preference for late marriage.

Social

The children will be

Wider diversity in Bangalore not be

In children

When before no other in a dil-

Nature

It was of assistance in Bangalore

-
-
-

The vocational care.

Social acceptance

The women, in general, feel there is a problem in the social acceptance of their children. At the same time, they are optimistic that with the change of situations, this problem will be reduced.

When asked about the social acceptability of the girl children, the prostitutes gave diverse opinions in the different cities. In Bombay and Madras there is not much difference in the number of women who felt their daughters are socially accepted or not accepted. Social acceptance of their daughters is not a problem according to women in Bangalore (76.60%) and Delhi (87%). Significantly, women from Hyderabad (69%) have not been able to categorically specify this.

In this context, it was further explored whether according to the prostitutes, the girl children have no option but join the profession.

While majority of the women in all the cities generally feel that there are other options before their daughters, a sizeable number of them in Bangalore feel their daughters have no other option (27.6%). Also in Bangalore, a good number of women have been caught in a dilemma in answering this question and are unsure about it (31.44%).

Nature of assistance required

It was attempted to arrive at some understanding of what the mothers sought by way of assistance for betterment of their children's future. What emerged as vital in the case of Bangalore, Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras are:

- education
- vocational training
- residential care

Their choice of support required shows their faith in the potentials of education and vocational training. Besides this they also pointed out the need for day care and domestic care.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Backdrop

The studies on female prostitutes and their children in the six metropolitan cities of Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad and Madras were basically exploratory in nature. They aimed at knowing the socio-economic conditions of the prostitutes in general and their children in particular, in addition to understanding the causes and consequences of prostitution and attitude of the prostitutes towards persons associated with their lives and their children's need and requirements for living a life of dignity in society.

The data for the studies were gathered through secondary and primary sources using common interview schedules and guides. Together they covered a total of 2906 women in prostitution. Their citywise distribution is as follows: Bangalore 502, Bombay 500, Calcutta 500, Delhi 500, Hyderabad 500, Madras 404.

Conducting these studies and compiling the individual reports, and putting together this report to provide a holistic picture were exercises ridden with problems. The problems were, however, tried to be resolved by the persons entrusted with the responsibilities of the individual studies and the present report, in their own respective ways.

Using micro level data this report tries to provide a holistic picture of the problem of prostitution and the children of prostitutes. At the same time the report retains the micro level specificities. It is hoped that the general and specific observations made regarding the phenomenon of prostitution in the metropolitan cities and the suggestions for improving the condition of the prostitutes and their children, will go a long way in bridging the information gap at the macro level and forming the basis for further research and policy formulation at different levels - local, regional, national.

Thes
which af
titution.

2. F

A

p

c

M

g

re

lr

h.

tu

3. P

TI

Conclusion

1. Prostitution forms an integral part of metropolitan city life The contributing factors for this are:

- growing urbanisation and industrialization that lures people from neighbouring and far off rural areas with promises of employment and better amenities of living, to migrate in large numbers to urban areas. Such migration is usually male dominated. Acute accommodation problems compel many men to live without their families. Further, these cities have big cantonments and police barracks which stand out as examples of large numbers of men living without families.
- as focal points of trade, commerce, business and governance, they draw people who often tend to combine work with pleasure
- people with tourist interest also comprise a selection of the floating population, some of whom may patronise prostitution.

These individually and jointly sustain the demand situation for female sex workers which also creates a congenial environment for the perpetuation and continuation of prostitution.

2. History of prostitution as old as the history of the cities

All the cities have developed into centres of power, trade and business. In the present context, Delhi is the national capital while the other five cities are all state capitals. Besides this, the origin of Delhi is traced back to the days of the Mahabharata and the same epic indicates the presence of singing and dancing girls. Historically, Calcutta was the seat of power for the better part of the British regime in India.

In sum, all these cities had their share of rulers and feudal lords who are known to have been the primary patrons of nautch girls, concubines, etc - today's prostitutes being a more commercialised version of these.

3. Prostitutes are of 10 types, some are common and a few are area specific

The 10 types are : street walkers, religious prostitutes, cage-brothel prostitutes,

brothel prostitutes, singing and dancing girls, barmaids, theatre and cinema girls, massage parlour/health centre attendants, independently operating prostitutes and call girls. Of these, the commonly found types are call girls, independently operating prostitutes, brothel prostitutes, singing and dancing girls, religious prostitutes and street walkers - brothel prostitutes being the commonest.

The specific types are cage brothel prostitutes, barmaids, theatre and cinema girls, etc. who are found mainly in Bombay.

4. There has been no new development of redlight areas

Change in the forms and modes of operation of the prostitutes alongwith changing situations, the redlight area is becoming a traditional concept of the form of operation of prostitutes. None of the cities have reported any addition to their existing number of redlight areas. Delhi has not even added to the number of brothels in G.B. Road, the city's redlight area.

5. Attempt to validate the number of prostitutes can only be estimate and not a specific one

This is predominantly because of secrecy that surrounds prostitution and the constant process of induction and withdrawal of prostitutes and their migration. All the 10 types of prostitutes together, will be approximately 70,000-1,00,000 in number operating in the 6 cities.

6. Growth in number of prostitutes is proportionately more than the population growth

This comes out very clearly in the case of Delhi. The number of prostitutes in Delhi has increased over 16 times during 35 years, whereas the population of Delhi has grown only four times during the same period.

7. Every locality has the potential of being a prostitution prone area in terms of operation

Changing values and life style and the consumerism in society have given rise to greater demands for prostitution. Confined to a redlight area the growing demand could not be met. This necessitated the involvement of many more women in

8. i
t
/
I
r
c
t
c
/
-
-
-
9. P
S
T

irls,
and
rat-
ites

ama

ging
era-
sting
ils in

tot a

con-
ll the
mber

ation

Delhi
ri has

ms of

rise to
mand
ten in

prostitution, prompting them to use venues other than redlight areas. Many women lured by the prospect of making quick money or thrust by economic compulsions have taken to those forms of prostitution which ensure their anonymity and minimise the possibility of stigmatisation. Thus, developed the many types of prostitutes such as barmaids, street walkers, independently operating prostitutes, etc.

No area of the city can be free from prostitution even though some areas can have a greater concentration of some types, which can be treated as prostitution prone areas.

Some salient features of these areas could be

- presence of large sections of male migrants
- presence of males, either single or living without families
- absence of adequate civic and recreational amenities
- population belonging to the lower socio economic order
- heterogeneous population with some degree of homogeneity

8. Prostitutes represent the features of the city, greater the cosmopolitan nature of the city, greater the geographic representation of prostitutes in it

All the cities have drawn prostitutes from different states, though Bombay and Delhi have drawn from the largest number of states because of their cosmopolitan nature. They also have prostitutes from other countries like Nepal and Bangladesh. Bombay draws prostitutes from 40 districts in 11 states and Delhi's prostitutes hail from 70 districts of 14 states. Consequently, the women are multi-religious, multi-national and multi-lingual.

A city's ability to draw prostitutes from different parts of the country is linked with

- its trafficking chain
- prostitutes contact
- prostitutes preference

9. Places of origin - States and UTs classifiable into High, Nominal and Zero supply Zones

The high supply region includes Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Uttar

Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. Of these Andhra Pradesh occupies the highest position probably because of per capita income, low sex ratio and low female literacy rate.

13.

The nominal supply region includes Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Meghalaya, Orissa, Pondichery, Rajasthan and Delhi.

14.

The zero supply zone includes Sikkim, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu and Nagar Haveli.

Reasons for zero supply could be - high level of female literacy, prevalence of matriarchal society, tribal dominated area, disturbed area, level of economic development and distance and problem of accessibility.

15.

Cities draw women for prostitution from slums and rural areas

Prostitutes operating in these cities are predominantly from slums and rural areas of drought prone and backward districts. There are 23 districts spread over 8 states which have sent women to Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi. These districts are :

Hyderabad, Vijayawada (Andhra Pradesh); Patna (Bihar); Ahmedabad (Gujarat); Bangalore, Bijapur, Belgaum, Mysore, Raichur, (Karnataka); Kolhapur, Nagpur, Osmanabad, Poona (Maharashtra); Madras (Tamil Nadu); Kanpur, Varanasi, (Uttar Pradesh); Bardhaman, Calcutta, Howrah, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Nadia, 24 Parganas (West Bengal).

16.

Multiple causes, often interrelated, responsible for entry into prostitution

There are 4 sets of broad causes contributing to prostitution - socio-cultural, economic, psychological and legal and administrative. These together have 21 causes. Of these, the socio cultural causes contribute in a major way. These causes either function independently or in combination.

17.

Adolescence and youth : The vulnerable stages for entry into prostitution

Prostitutes of Calcutta and Delhi have entered prostitution during their youth (85%) 15% of them had entered prior to attaining 15 years of age and 40% joined as minors.

13. Continuance in prostitution is multifactoral

The causes prompting entry into prostitution are responsible for continuance in it - the socio-cultural and economic factors being the main causes.

14. Prostitutes : from vulnerable sections of society

Prostitutes are predominantly from scheduled castes/tribes, backward castes, majority of whom are illiterate, unmarried and single and belong to small families with poor resource position.

15. Duration of working life short : extends to 15 years

The period of effectiveness as a prostitute is usually 15 years, there being some variations. Majority of the prostitutes enter prior to 20 years of age and usually work upto 35 years. This is followed by a long period of time when they cannot sustain themselves by prostitution. They are then compelled to look for alternatives. Only some are able to become brothel keepers. The others take to working as maids in the brothels.

16. Multiple modes of operation : Organised or unorganised (independently or in groups)

Of these different modes, independently operating prostitutes alone comprise half the total. This may be because Bangalore, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras have a high percentage of women operating independently. It is possible for a woman to adopt different modes of operations - to suit her situation.

17. Life of hard labour

They function throughout the year excepting the period of religious festivals, physical indisposition and reasons beyond their control (riots). Holidays, weekends, festivals, rallies, require them to put in extra hours of work.

Effective working days range between 20-23 days in a month and 4-8 hours per day.

18. Clients are a heterogeneous group

Majority of the prostitutes entertain more than 4-8 clients per day. This indicates that they do not operate as concubines. The clients could be classified as seekers of sex or seekers of fun and entertainment.

19. Life of a prostitute is life of duality

The desire to live a normal social life prompts them to live a life of duality.

They try to maintain separate identities in their work and outside it, in order to remain unnoticed. In some cases the duality goes so deep that they are not able to differentiate between the make belief and real life, resulting in confusion.

20. Income from prostitution is quite attractive

Almost all the prostitutes earn at least Rs. 1500/- per month. However, majority (60%) of them earn less than Rs. 3000/- per month. The difference in earnings is caused by their ability to get clients, the prevailing rates and the extent of sharing of income. Brothel keepers invariably have 10-20% more income than prostitutes.

21. Sharing of income forms an integral part

With variations in the rate of sharing and the number of persons who receive a share, sharing forms an integral part of prostitution to sustain it by strengthening the nexus.

22. Life of bondage for many

Living in debt is a common feature. Their indebtedness starts from the day they are inducted into prostitution. They are known to pay 300% interest (Madras) for loans taken. This pattern of loan repayment makes their situation similar to that of a bonded labour making bondage a way of life for them.

23. Impact of prostitution, generally negative on the prostitute and family, with exceptions

In the mental, physical, social and economic spheres, prostitution has more of a

24.

25. A

26. Ne

25. Pri

Th
hot
ern

negative than positive impact on the prostitutes. This negative impact finds expression in the form of isolation, fear, anxiety, disease and social rejection. The belief that women indulge in prostitution for better earnings falls through in the case of the majority who remain resourceless after spending years as a prostitute and are compelled to lead a life of bondage.

24. Attitude towards persons connected with their lives and profession : more negative, entirely negative towards police

Their experiences in life have in most cases, been deception, exploitation, suppression and emotional upheavals, neglect etc. As a result, their overall attitude is one of distrust, dislike and suspicion which makes them withdraw from any new or unknown person/agency.

Apparently, prostitution goes on with active support and connivance of the police. The women in prostitution feel they are betrayed, cheated and exploited by the police resulting in their anger and hatred towards them.

25. Attempts to arrive at the number of children could only be approximation

It is difficult to get the exact figures about the children because of the apprehension of the women about separation of children from them in the name of protection and welfare and also because they do not want their children to suffer any stigma. In addition to this there are factors which make it difficult to assess the number of prostitutes and render it difficult to arrive at any authentic figure indicating the child population.

26. Not all prostitutes have children or even want children

Majority of women in Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Calcutta have children. Cumulatively considered, one third of the women do not have children or do not want children.

25. Prostitutes adopt different modes of bringing up children

There are five places of stay of the children of prostitutes, viz., brothel, rented/own house outside brothel, parents/relatives place, hostel/boarding houses and government run children's homes.

Prostitutes prefer to keep them away from the brothels usually with parents and relatives.

Prostitutes have more male than female children and the children's literacy is higher than their mothers

However, the male children study upto higher levels as compared to the female children.

Children suffer multiple problems by being children of prostitutes

Those with family contact are better off as compared to those without such contact.

Gender bias evident in the prostitutes' attitude and actions towards children

Like in society, the gender bias is reflected in the prostitutes attitudes towards their male and female children. They have defined roles based on gender differences, and have different perceptions of the future of their sons and daughters, in terms of education and occupation.

Prefer better education and vocational training for children. Marriage of the girl children more desirable than taking up any occupation

They are still not able to perceive their male and female children at par. The female children's future lies in marriage by which they would be looked after (presumably) while the male progeny can attain status and respect by earning from a decent source.

Revulsion to the idea of inclusion of the children in prostitution and do not consider girl children as professional investment

Except in the case of family acceptance, traditional communities and some independently operating prostitutes the women do not want their children in prostitution.

Perceive a better future for the children based on hope for change in situations

Despite whatever hardships and trauma they may have experienced they are able

32.

1.

a/

b/

to look at the brighter side and hope for the better in the context of their children.

32. Need multiple support on a regular and continued basis

The situation of both the women and children can be improved only if multi faceted support is provided. Such support has to be sustained because mainstreaming prostitutes and their children is no mean task vis-a-vis the social milieu. There is need for persistent and long term inputs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of suggestions have made in the studies. The Bangalore, Bombay, Dell Hyderabad and Madras reports have offered suggestions to deal with the problem of prostitution and also to help the prostitutes who are interested in settling down outside their present world of prostitution. Their suggestions have been classified into four categories, viz. (i) Control of prostitution, (ii) Rehabilitation of prostitutes, (iii) Rehabilitation and Development of Children and (iv) Improvement of the quality of life and living pattern of prostitutes who are not able to come out of prostitution. Specific suggestions that have emerged are being listed under each broad category.

1. Control of prostitution

- a/ The law enforcing machinery should understand that prostitution is a phenomenon arising out of socio-economic considerations having a human aspect. Their attitude and approach should be tuned accordingly while tackling it as a legal issue. They should be firm with those who are involved in the procuring mechanism or those who are responsible for the perpetuation of prostitution. **The women, who are victims, should be treated with compassion and humanely.**
- b/ **Specific legal and administrative steps should be taken to check the forced entry of women and girls into prostitution.** Some steps could be to
 - ensure strict vigilance
 - instil administrative will among the concerned functionaries to ensure effective use of the existing legal provisions.
 - empower selected social workers who could be authorised to identify victims who want to be removed from the redlight area

One way of controlling the 'demand' situation would be by checking the indiscriminate growth of slums. This is important as the perpetuation of prostitution is closely linked with the demand coming from the slum population and population from other congested areas. This would also imply controlling the in migration from rural areas which in turn would necessitate proper developmental inputs in the rural areas.

For plugging the 'supply' points it is equally important to provide comprehensive developmental programmes after identifying the main supply centres.

Both (c) and (d) would mean a balanced development of all the areas in the high supply zones, as a priority, stressing on social development, creation of employment opportunities, education and awareness generation.

Social Defence Cells should be formed at the district level comprising representation from government, non-government organisations and individuals interested in working for the cause of rehabilitation of prostitutes.

Establishing Crisis Prevention Centres in the cities (particularly at the entry points) to help women coming into the cities on their own. The assistance such women may require could be by way of locating an address or a suitable place of stay, etc.

Orientation of the police and judiciary about the lives of prostitutes and circumstances that draw them into prostitution so that they are sensitised enough to be able to deal with such issues in the right perspective.

Rehabilitation of Prostitutes

Rehabilitation programmes would apply to those women who are willing to come out of prostitution and re-establish themselves in wider society. **The precursor to any rehabilitation programme is identification of the beneficiary group.** For this, groups of social workers and other interested persons will have to be entrusted with the task of finding out who is willing to leave prostitution and benefit from the rehabilitation programmes.

The rehabilitation programmes should be an integrated and comprehensive package aiming at both social and economic rehabilitation of the women. The package could comprise the following :

- formal and non-formal education and awareness generation about their situation, different government programmes, laws, etc
- vocational training for skill development supported by financial assistance, marketing management, etc. so that they are able to earn and live well
- counselling and guidance
- medical care
- legal aid
- housing

To ease the housing problems these women should be encouraged to live in groups in an area which can be developed into a housing colony along the lines of village cottage homes. running of such a set up can be left to non governmental agencies. In such a set up women can stay with their children.

For those who have families to fall back on or have some place to stay, should be provided the above inputs through different non-government agencies working in their respective areas.

c/ Encourage formation of cooperatives for promoting economic activities.

d/ For the rural based women it may be possible to provide them benefits of schemes like DWCRA, IRDP, STEP etc.

Despite all this, nothing much can be achieved with regard to rehabilitation of the women unless societal attitude towards this group of women changes and becomes congenial for their absorption. **Mass awareness building for attitudinal development has to be attempted alongside the comprehensive rehabilitation programmes.**

3. Rehabilitation and Development of Children

a/ Activities for the children should be planned and executed irrespective of whether their mothers are willing to leave prostitution or not. Such support would go a long way in assisting the women to bring up their children in the desirable way. The activities for the children could include :

- assistance in securing admission in schools; arrange freships and scholarships

- arranging vocational training and other assistance for gainful employment (depending on their age)
 - arranging institutionalised care
 - opening child guidance centres
 - provision of medical care and treatment
- i/ **Acceptance of mothers as legal guardians of the children and not insist for father's name**
- ii/ **Persuading the existing child care institutions to admit children of the prostitutes**
1. **Improving the quality of life and living pattern of the prostitutes who are not able to come out of prostitution**
- a/ making health care facilities accessible and organise regular health check ups
 - b/ educate them about AIDS and provide them with condoms to protect themselves against the disease
 - c/ upgradation of their literacy skills and general awareness
 - d/ creche and day care facilities to cover working hours of the women
 - e/ counselling services and legal aid
 - f/ clinical services for STD and AIDS to those living in the redlight areas through non-governmental agencies
 - g/ common toilets and bathrooms in the redlight areas - sulabh sauchalaya seems viable
 - h/ provide ration cards and voting rights
 - i/ provide care and shelter to the aged women

While complete eradication of prostitution seems impossible reducing the incidence of prostitution is possible. Similarly, rehabilitation of all the prostitutes is neither wanted, nor possible. What is possible is to make available all assistance and support to the prostitutes, willing to come out of the profession, and thereby helping them in their rehabilitation.

This will require an integrated approach and multidimensional action such as follows :

- proper and effective implementation of the existing legislation to control prostitution
- initiation and implementation of urban and rural development programmes especially for the prostitution prone areas both in terms of origin and operation
- formulation of programmes for the rehabilitation of the prostitutes in general and that of their children
- orientation of the police and judiciary about the life and living conditions of the prostitutes
- general awareness and education programmes for the people describing the condition of the prostitutes

Further more, these actions, to be successful, will require the combined efforts and serious intention of the government and non-government agencies, involved in dealing with the problems of prostitution. Also the goodwill and support of the socio-religious and political leaders and opinion makers, besides other members of the society will go a long way in achieving these goals.

The individual studies have thrown up the similarities and differences among the cities in regard to the whole gamut of issues related to prostitutes and prostitution. Though this has its own bearing on the issues of control and rehabilitation, particularly in the local context, through this exercise of compiling the integrated report it has been possible to acquire a holistic perspective of the phenomenon of prostitution.

Some observations made are going to be of vital significance for any kind of future action or even for developing plans for the same. Some of these are as listed below.

- a/ Prostitution is undergoing visible changes. The trend is more towards clandestine and decentralised forms of operation
- b/ It will not remain a localised phenomenon. Prostitution will gradually spread to all parts of the city
- c/ Forms of practice of prostitution will be determined by the nature of growth of the cities themselves. And there will always be different types of prostitutes to serve different types of interest groups. Some women will enter prostitution voluntarily because of traditional practices and changed values. The majority will, however, come out of compulsions, not merely economic but multiple factors will be responsible.

In the light of the observed trends, handling the problem of prostitution would pose greater challenges and may therefore require re-orientation of approach in attempting to control the phenomenon, though the inputs may continue to be the same. It will necessitate change of strategy insofar as reaching the potential beneficiary and vulnerable groups is concerned, because their concentration is no longer going to be localised. The challenge will come from their spread and camouflaged mode of operation as prostitutes.

II.

6.

7.

S.N

8.

Farr

a)

b)

ANNEXURE I

Interview Schedule (Women in Prostitution)

I. IDENTIFICATION DATA

1. Name & address
2. Religion
3. Caste
4. Age

II. FAMILY BACKGROUND

5. Place of origin
 - a) State
 - b) District
 - c) Village/Town
 - d) Police Station
6. Composition of the parental family
7. Composition of own family :

| S.No. | Relation with self | Age | Education/ Training | Occupation | Income (mthly) | Remarks |
|-------|--------------------|-----|---------------------|------------|----------------|---------|
|-------|--------------------|-----|---------------------|------------|----------------|---------|

8. Family ownership of property :

| Family | Nature of property | | | Value in rupees |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------|--------|-----------------|
| | Land | House | Animal | |
| a) Own family | | | | |
| b) Parental family | | | | |

PROSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION

16.

Length of being in the profession (in months/years)

17.

Reasons for joining the profession :

- a) Illtreatment by parents
- b) Economic distress in the family
- c) Family tradition
- d) Social custom
- e) Desertion by spouse
- f) Dejection in love
- g) Deception
- h) Kidnapping/abduction
- i) Displacement
- j) Any other, please specify

18.

Mode of operation :

20.

Independently

IV

With other prostitutes

21.

Through an organised set up

Other, please specify

Methods of practice :

22.

As a common prostitute

23.

Under the garb of religion/custom/tradition

Under the pretext of singing/dancing

24.

Other, please specify

Number of hours in a day and number of days in a month devoted for practice of the profession

25.

Approximate number of clients entertained per day

Monthly income (per month)

6. Actual share of income as received by her (in Rupees per month)

7. How the income, actually received, is being utilised :

- a) on herself
- b) on parents
- c) on other dependents

8. Indebtedness :

- a) Amount
- b) Source
- c) Purpose
- d) Rate of interest and mode of payment

9. Saving, if any (per month)

10. Plan for saving

IV LIVING CONDITIONS

21. Nature of house lived (kutcha/pucca/mixed)

Locality and number of rooms

22. Own/Rented house

23. Whether living independently or sharing with other

24. If sharing, with whom (prostitutes or others)?
with how many?

25. Facilities available at the house :

- a) Bathroom - common/separate
- b) Kitchen - common/separate
- c) Store - common/separate
- d) Dressing room - common/separate

| | | | | |
|--|--------|---------|---------|--|
| If living with dependents, how the accommodation is shared with them | 33. | | | |
| Standard of sanitation and hygiene | | | | |
| a) Very poor b) Poor c) Satisfactory d) Good e) Very Good | 34. | | | |
| Facilities for medical care in case of prolonged sickness and pregnancy | 35. | | | |
| a) Whether regular or casual b) If regular, give the periodicity c) Whether medical care is available through qualified doctors : | 36. | | | |
| <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center;">Self</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center;">Family</td> <td style="width: 33%; text-align: center;">Members</td> </tr> </table> | Self | Family | Members | |
| Self | Family | Members | | |
| Yes No Not always | 37. | | | |
| Reason for non availability of medical care through qualified doctors | | | | |
| If place of practice is different, then give details (space occupied, shared or independently occupied) | VI | | | |
| SELF PERCEPTION | 39. | | | |
| How does she view the effect of her being in the occupation on herself (mental/ social/health) and also on her family | | | | |
| How she had adopted this profession | | | | |
| a) Voluntarily b) Under situational compulsions c) By force | | | | |

33. Would she like to leave this profession?
If yes, when and why?
If no, then why?
34. Has she tried to leave the occupation?
Yes/No
If yes, then indicate number of times attempt was made and reasons for failure
35. If given a chance, then what alternatives she would like to have?
36. How does she view her future as a prostitute:
a) Better
b) Worse than the present
c) Not sure
37. If living with a child dependent, how she perceives his/her future
38. How does she value her profession in the eyes of others
a) Degrading
b) Like any other profession
c) Apathetic
- VI ATTITUDES
39. What does she think about :
a) Parents/husband
b) Procurers/pimps/traffickers
c) Law enforcement agencies - Police, Court
d) Correctional agencies
e) Social workers/social reformers/public leaders
f) Clients
g) Co-prostitutes

| | | |
|--|--|-----------|
| 40. | What does she think that the government can do in upgrading her life? | 51 |
| 41. | How can voluntary agencies help in ameliorating her condition? | |
| VII INFORMATION RELATING TO HER CHILDREN | | 52 |
| 42. | What she would like to do with her children | |
| | a) Enter into occupation as prostitute/pimp/procurer | 53 |
| | b) Enter in the mainstream of society | |
| 43. | How do the children presently spend their time | 54. |
| | a) Boy child b) Girl child | |
| 44. | Where she keeps her children during day/night hours if the place of living and practice of occupation are the same | 55. |
| 45. | How do the children spend their leisure time | |
| 46. | Nature of assistance received from the children | 56. |
| | a) Boy child b) Girl child | |
| 47. | Does she want her girl child to practice this profession | 57. |
| | Yes No | |
| 48. | Does she feel that girl child is a professional investment | |
| | Yes No | |
| 49. | Does she want her girl child to practice this occupation | 58. |
| | Yes No Not sure | |
| 50. | Does she feel that girl child has no option but profession | |
| | Yes No Not sure | Tir De |

51. Does she want her girl child to get married soon

Yes No Not sure

52. Does she seriously bother about girl child's future

Yes No Not sure

53. Does she feel that her children are not accepted by the society

Yes No Not sure

54. Does she feel that her children should be educated

Yes No Not sure

55. Whether she wants her children to stay with her or go to boarding house for education

Yes No Not sure

56. Does she want her children to learn other vocations

Yes No Not sure

57. Of the following kinds of assistance which would she prefer for the development of her children

- a) Residential care
- b) Day care
- c) Domestic work
- d) General education
- e) Vocational training (specify)

58. What other type of assistance she needs to enable her girl child not to continue the present occupation

Time:

Date:

Name of Investigator and
Signature

Proceedings of the Board of Directors

- 21. Does she wish her child to get married soon?
Yes No Not sure
- 22. Does she wish her child to get into the army?
Yes No Not sure
- 23. Does she wish her child to be accepted by the society?
Yes No Not sure
- 24. Does she wish her child should be educated?
Yes No Not sure
- 25. Whether she wants her child to stay with her or go to boarding school for education?
Yes No Not sure
- 26. Does she want her child to learn other vocation?
Yes No Not sure
- 27. Of the following kinds of assistance which would she prefer for the development of her child?
 a) Financial care
 b) Day care
 c) Religious work
 d) General education
 e) Vocational training (specify) _____
- 28. What other type of assistance she needs to enable her child not to continue the present occupation?

Name of investigator and