



## **An ethnographic study on women in prostitution in Bihar**

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**“WHO? HER FATHER...  
I DON’T KNOW.  
BUT, YES, I AM HER MOTHER.”**

***Voices of Anguish and Aspirations from Chaturbhuj  
Sthan, where Prostitution is a Way of Life***

**(An Ethnographic Study on Women in Prostitution in  
Bihar)**

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## **From the Researchers' Desk**

*"It is a matter of bitter shame and sorrow and deep humiliation that a number of women have to sell their chastity for men's lust. Man, the law giver, will have to pay a dreadful penalty for the degradation he has imposed upon the so-called weaker sex. When woman freed from man's snares rises to the full height and rebels against man's legislation and institution designed by him, her rebellion, no doubt, non-violent, will be nevertheless effective" - Mahatma Gandhi.*

**P**rostitution is often referred to as the oldest profession in the world. This statement has clear overtones of derision and inevitability which unfortunately tend to get attached to victims of prostitution and trafficking. Given proper laws, strict law enforcement and socio-economic programmes for the empowerment of the vulnerable and the victims, prostitution can be effectively checked. The purpose of this interactive study is to identify vulnerable areas and groups, to ascertain causes of weak law enforcement and provide data for creation of proper programmes and policies to check prostitution effectively. Sex work is mainly an economic phenomenon that is grounded deeply in patriarchal values. It involves moral, religious, health and human rights issues. The sector is characterised by economic exploitation, corruption, and links with crime, is one which governments find difficult to deal with (Lim 1998). The majority of the victims are women and young children, mainly girls. Prostitution clearly violates the fundamental right to a life with dignity. It also violates right to health and health care, right to liberty and security of person, right to freedom from torture, violence, cruelty or degrading treatment. It violates for children who have been forced into sex work, or victims of child marriages their right to education, it violates the right to employment and the right of self determination.

### **Challenges in the study**

The uniqueness of the study lies in several respects, including the fact that it is based on one to one discussion with the focus group. Capturing the human rights violations and the untold trauma of these women and children was a tremendous moving experience for us. It took us almost several months to make them open up. Once the respondents had been located, it was not easy to gain their confidence and to assure them that their identities would not be revealed was even a more difficult task. Suspicion and fear created an atmosphere which acted as a barrier to truthful response. It required considerable ingenuity and perseverance on the part of the interviewers to coax them to part with information relevant to the study and to assure them of anonymity. Many times, interviews had to be rescheduled, postponed and even repeated. Interviewing victims who were still trapped in commercial sexual exploitation was the most difficult. Getting the victims speak out was certainly no simple matter. Moreover, as they were under the complete control of the exploiters, it was not easy to get them to speak the truth. The researchers had to make repeated visits to the brothels to interview some of the victims as they were busy with their 'clientele' and did not want to be disturbed. Clients would walk in even during the 'lean' periods and would get preference to anything else. The interviewers had to adjust to such breaks in the interviews and be patient enough to wait

for the interviewee's convenience. They had to assure them that something concrete would come out of the study. Many a time, the victims agreed to the interviews only when this assurance was given. Most of the police officials who were approached were unwilling to spare time to respond to the questions.

Words are not enough to express our gratitude to the victims and survivors, who despite their trauma and agony, agreed to be interviewed. While ensuring our best to see that the research processes do not violate anybody's rights, we have, with their help, been able to create a silent revolution against prostitution. I hope the report will lead to proper action at the government as well as NGO level to prevent prostitution, to create programmes which empower the vulnerable and to frame proper measures to rehabilitate and restore to the victims and exploited women and children, *their dignity and worth as human beings*.

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# 1

## Introduction

The glimpses of some women that we often caught on T V and magazines were dressed garishly with makeup that made them look older than their actual ages peering out from dirty corridors in buildings. One reads horrific tales about teenage girls being abducted against their will or sold by their poverty stricken parents who feel that they would be assured of a better life by working as domestic help in their future employers' houses. However when they landed up in the red light area and resisted the new profession, they were imprisoned in **tiny torture chambers** without food and water, beaten badly, privacy invaded by inserting a stick smeared with chilli powder and then being repeatedly raped. This account was more than enough to awaken the spirit in a dead person. This is just one instance of how they are initiated into the trade. I was curious to know more. What happened after they had accepted the profession? Did their life become the cloistered world of survival among peers? Were they happy at any point later or did each day pass with misery? What about their health aspects, how educated were they about the life threatening disease that they were exposed to by the minute and whether they took charge of their life at any time or were they dependant on NGOs and others to fight for their cause. My questions were answered when I got a chance to visit Chaturbhuj Sthan, the biggest red light area of Bihar located in the heart of Muzaffarpur city. In the month of July a massive raid was conducted in Chaturbhuj Sthan by the police. Immediately after the raid in July 2002, a team of State Commission for Women visited the area. I was a part of the team being their Consultant.

Prostitution as profession has a long history in India. A whole chapter is devoted to it in Kautilya's Arthashastra written circa 300 BC and Vatsyayana's Kama Sutra written between the first and fourth centuries AD. **There are between two and three million prostitutes in 400 red light areas in India. Almost 80 per cent of the prostitutes belong to the lower castes, dalits and tribal who are forced into the profession for sheer survival.** A considerable section of women are forced into prostitution due to patriarchal oppression in the family and society, victims of rape by the male chauvinists, deception by lovers. The majority of these women are Dalits or from castes which are recognised as *backward* under the Indian Constitution. In India, many innocent victims are forced into prostitution by their husbands or relatives. Some are tricked or enticed into prostitution.

There was a strong indication from the available information that women and children were becoming vulnerable to prostitution as they were unable to survive with dignity because of lack of livelihood options. In the absence of awareness of human rights, the economically and socially deprived people at the grassroots have become easy prey to this trade. Migrating populations have become most vulnerable to exploitation by pimps and traffickers. **The fact that notwithstanding this stark reality, such gross violations of human rights continued to be a low priority area with law enforcement agencies, made it imperative that this area be investigated.**

Our study also tries to focus on the violation of human rights that occur in prostitution. It holds that it is the responsibility of the state to protect these human rights and address the fundamental structural causes of this trade. The study also looked into the complementary role of NGOs, civil society, family, etc.

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### **Methodology**

#### **Framework of Study**

##### **Areas of Investigation**

Through interviews with 55 female sex-workers in the Chaturbhuj Sthan area of Muzaffarpur (one of the biggest red light area of Bihar), this paper explores sexual negotiations between men and women in the sex industry. This paper focuses on factors that affect sexual decision-making including safer sex practices. This paper focuses on ways in which sex-workers capitalize on clients' reluctance to use condoms in sexual exchanges. It also focuses on factors that affect sexual decision-making including safer sex practices. Further, this paper examines other elements of the sex industry that contribute to unsafe sex such as competition between women for clients and violence in the industry. This paper contributes to a growing body of literature in medical anthropology, which elucidates the complexities of sexual negotiations between men and women.

##### **Objective**

The study was designed to determine the general plight and health problems of inner city sex workers.

The broad objective of our study follows from this major concern. These are:

- a. To understand the trends and patterns of prostitution, and the structural and functional mechanism that reproduces and reinforces the processes that perpetuate the phenomenon.
- b. To analyse the roles and functions of the formal and voluntary agencies that were involved in containing and combating this phenomenon.
- c. It also involved awareness generation among the vulnerable sections and the target audience.

The **objective** of the study was also to ascertain general health problems and potential health information needs of inner city women whose occupation is sex work. The study was guided by the following questions regarding health:

1. What health problems do sex workers identify?

2. Do they talk about HIV/AIDS and STDs? (This question was included to determine whether these diseases are of primary concern to sex workers.)
3. What information do they appear to need?
4. What perceived barriers to health care do they identify?

### **Sample**

The researchers had access to a purposive sample of sex workers in Chaturbhujsthan, one of the biggest red light areas of Bihar located in Muzaffarpur district. The sample size was 55. The age group ranged from 15-45.

### **Methods:**

The study involved in-depth interviews with 55 members of the target community (sex workers). The interviews were analyzed in terms of social capital, empowerment, and identity. Information was gathered about their health problems, the nature of information they may need, and the barriers to obtaining health care and health information.

### ***Stratification principle for the units of inquiry***

In view of the sensitive nature of the interview with the respondents, interviews were conducted by a team of two persons –2 females.

### **Secondary data**

Material was also collected from published and unpublished sources. Interaction with law enforcement agencies in the district also provided a lot of valuable information. Moreover, the research involved critical study of the legal provisions.

### **Case studies**

Out of 55 cases 10 case studies have been prepared as a part of the paper, dealing in depth with the various facets of prostitution. The case studies have been categorised into five themes, as follows:

1. Trends and dimensions in prostitution
2. Profiling the extent and types of exploitation
3. Understanding the vulnerabilities that cause/perpetuate prostitution
4. Prevention and other proactive responses to prostitution
5. Law enforcement and other reactive responses to prostitution

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### 3

## **Profile of the Study Area**

### **Introduction**

This section provides a bird's eye-view of the general profile of the state where the study was carried out. It is an attempt to understand the ground realities, with a specific focus on those aspects which can throw light on the social spectrum that would have some bearing on the issues of gender and child rights which are cardinal/central to study.

### **General profile of Bihar**

Bihar is situated in the northern part of the country, bound by West Bengal in the east, Jharkhand in the south, Uttar Pradesh in the west and bordering Nepal in the north. It occupies a total area of 94,163 sq. kms. As per the 2001 Census, the total population in Bihar is 82,878,796, out of which 43,153,964 are males and 39,724,832 are females. The density of population is 880 persons per sq. km. In Bihar, the sex ratio was 921 in 2001, which has increased compared to 1991, when it was 907. But the child sex ratio has decreased over the same period of time. The child sex ratio was 953 in 1991, but came down to 938 in the year 2001. The literacy rate is 47.53 per cent, which is much lower than the all-India rate. Again, the female literacy rate, at 33.57 is much less than the male literacy rate of 60.32. The number of illiterates has increased from 31,986,516 to 34,968,650 (a difference of 2,982,134), negatively contributing by 9.33 per cent to the kitty of illiterates (Census of India, 2001). The school dropout rate is also quite high, with these children getting absorbed into the workforce. Bihar remains backward with respect to the economy. The gross state domestic product has gone down from 4.7 during 1980–90 to 4.2 in 1993–99 4.2). It is one of the poorest states among the major states of India, with 42.60 per cent of the population still living below the poverty line. Over the last five years, crime against women has decreased to a large extent on all heads except the 'importation of girls'. While the reporting under importation of girls was zero in 1999, it increased to 40 in the year 2000 and 83 in the year 2001. In 2001, it is also estimated that 73 per cent cases of importation of girls have been reported from this state.

### Demographic Data of Muzaffarpur (The area of study)

<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1961</b>
<b>Total Population</b>	3743836	2953903	2357388	4840681	4118398
<b>Male Population</b>	1941480	1551637	1201064	2434111	2011539
<b>Female Population</b>	1802356	1402266	1156324	2406570	2106859
<b>Urban Population</b>		274965	190416	253962	188825
<b>Male Female Ratio</b>	1000:928	1000:904	1000:945	1000:953	1000:994
<b>SC Population</b>		464362	368176	----	-----
<b>ST Population</b>		1156	648	----	-----

<b>SC %</b>		15.72 %	15.62 %	----	----
<b>ST %</b>		0.04%	0.03%	----	----
<b>Literate</b>	1456901	851995	571843	----	----
<b>Male Literate</b>	943928	603298	418905	----	----
<b>Female Literate</b>	512973	248697	152938	----	----
<b>Male Literacy Rate</b>	60.19%	48.44%	34.90%	----	----
<b>Female Literacy Rate</b>	35.20%	22.33%	13.20%	----	----
<b>Population Density</b>		931 PER Sq Km	743 PER Sq Km	----	----

### A Brief Overview of Chaturbhuj Sthan

**Total # of houses: 200**

**Number of families of sex workers:** Approximately 75

**Housing:** more than 2 families staying in a single house

**Population of sex workers/ family: 15-16** sex workers/family (consisting of young (12-16 years), middle aged (30-45) old female (55-60))

It was difficult to enter their homes, thus the task to identify their relationship was a tough job. Normally the 'Pimp' either marries the female sex workers or maintained illegitimate relation with them.

**Site of our meeting with the sex workers-** temple, or house of a few of the prostitutes.

**Tradition-** Girls work as sex workers in ChaturbhujSthan and boys work as 'pimps', those girls who are not able to enter into the profession are groomed as domestic servants.

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### Profile of the Victims

The spine-chilling sagas of sexual abuse are grim accounts of plucked innocence. Five of the six looked hardly out of their teens, but had already suffered the indignity and abuse for five to six years in the brothel. One of them, Sita had worked for almost a decade as a sex-worker and also had a two-year-old daughter. Asked if she knew who the father to her daughter was, Sita said, *"I do not know who her father is, but she surely knows who her mother is."* Sita was lured through a complex web of intrigue by a friend and she was eventually left with the 'Madams' of Muzaffarpur

Just fewer than 5 per cent of the victims stated that they were below 18 years of age. Among the latter, over a fifth, gave their age as under 18 years. Moreover, among the interviewed victims, some represented in the age group of 18–21 years and a large number in the 22–35 age groups had been pushed into the 'trade' while they were children. Some of them grew into adults while in the trade; many are still children.

The marital status and age of the respondents were also examined. More than 50 percent were unmarried. It is important to note that the respondents had married when they were children (i.e., when they were less than 18 years of age). This suggests that child marriage is among the key factors that makes women and children vulnerable to prostitution. The children who were staying with their mothers in the brothels were not only exposed to the exploitative ambience, but were also highly vulnerable to being themselves exploited sexually, and further violated. The majority of the respondents had more female than male members in their families.

ITPA provides for enhanced punishment for repeated offences. Therefore, brothel owners are careful that the women/girls who are arrested by the police use different names in each instance. There is a conscious effort on the part of all the exploiters to change the name of the woman/girl when she is brought back to the brothel after being bailed out. The community to which she belongs is also declared to be different, depending on the specific situation. In this context, the respondents were asked whether they gave different names each time they were arrested. While a little less than 50 per cent stated that they did not change their names, the majority did so at the behest of the brothel owners. This further reflects the high levels of exploitation that exist in brothels and the devious strategies used by owners to dodge the law.

On the question of consent, more than 75 per cent of the respondents revealed that their first sexual experience was forced on them. While the rest stated that their consent was taken, consent has no value when the victim is a child. Moreover, when taken under duress or by deceit, consent has no meaning. **When asked as to who were the persons who had sexually assaulted them, the respondents pointed an accusing finger at:**

- Those known to them;
- At their relatives;
- Their neighbours- This points to the exploitative ambience prevailing in and around their own homes;
- A host of persons including those in positions of authority or who enjoyed their trust;
- Pimps;
- Friends;
- Priests;
- Fathers-in-law;
- Brothers-in-law;
- Police officials;
- Domestic help.

**Place of origin-**

Muzaffarpur, Gaya, Kishanganj, Kolkata, Motihari, Raxaul, Sitamarhi.

### **Socio-Economic Condition:**

The study attempted to understand the socio-economic condition of the family before the victim's entry into commercial sexual exploitation. Only a fourth of the respondents had a monthly family income of Rs. 2,000 and above; 75 per cent had an income below this level, and the rest were not able to give details. Thus, a vast majority of the respondents came from poor families.

Women with personal characteristics of low self-esteem and lack of self-control reported to be vulnerable. Low levels of literacy, awareness and information are also risk factors. Most of these girls had not availed any formal education. Their lack of education and vocational skill and poverty had made them more vulnerable to enter the flesh trade. Economic deprivation due to various reasons and its associative conditions are among the most important factors that lead to vulnerability. *Environments lacking livelihood options or economic opportunities, with the accompanying pressures to work and earn, make peoples' lives on ongoing 'battle for survival'* (Sanghera 1999).

While few received incomes from the brothel owner, the others never received any income. The disparity in receiving income was due to the fact that the younger girls receive no payment, as they have to pay back cost of their purchase, which is neither given in writing nor clearly specified orally, and only a few years later they receive any amount. Maximum number of girls came from large families. The sharing of income forms an integral part of the sex business. *'This sharing of income makes the nexus between procurers, pimps, brothel keepers, local goondas and police so strong that they together promote prostitution'* (Mukherjee and Das, 1996).

The quickening pace of urbanisation and heightened mobility resulting from the development of road links are contributing factors. A culture of consumerism, materialism, commodification of individuals and commercialisation of sex distorts family needs and individual desires (NCW 1997; Raymond 2002). A mindset which judges children's worth by the amount of money they can earn, and how soon they are able to do so, has developed (ISS 2003b), justifying their exploitation by kin members. Discriminatory practices and social exclusion exacerbate the vulnerabilities of groups like Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Castes, ethnic minorities, tribal communities, and migrant workers.

In short, a dysfunctional home environment break-up of the family, marital discord, physical abuse, sexual abuse, drug use, family pressures, large families, families facing uncertain times, children in substitute care, gender discrimination within the family, desertion by husbands, husbands' acquiring a second or a third wife makes women vulnerable to prostitution.

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### **Profile of the Pimps & the Method of Recruitment**

***Characteristics of Pimps or Recruiters:*** Recruiters or pimps are neighbours, friends of families, relatives of friends, women who have migrated or who have been trafficked, women friends returned from big cities; husbands, fathers, boyfriends or lovers. They can be drug peddlers, head masons at construction sites, even band leaders in dancing/live bars or labour contractors. They either use friends and acquaintances to recruit or rely on word of mouth. Terms like ‘dalal’ or ‘dalali’ are used, to refer to pimps.

They are usually young men and middle-aged women who are significantly older than the young women/children they recruit. They are natives and agents who travel back and forth from home countries/regions to receiving regions and generally have links with the villages to which the victims belong. Procurers are reportedly substance abusers or gamblers.

Many of the recruiters are older women, who are either former prostitutes or are themselves in forced prostitution, trying to escape abuse and bondage by providing a substitute. Often, these agents speak several languages.

*The cycle of women oppressing women- for the pleasure of men- is also painfully evident in the issue of prostitution: as the city prostitutes age, their aim to become “madams” who will live off the sale proceeds of their victimised young girls. Often prostitutes who bear female children will introduce them early to the world of the brothel.*

#### **Recruitment**

***Place:*** People are reportedly recruited at places like cinema halls, bus stops, railway stations, streets and their homes. Other places mentioned are cafes, restaurants and ‘Dhabas’ (motel). State and national highways, quarry and construction work sites, and areas where locals are displaced without proper rehabilitation may also be sites for potential victims.

***Time:*** Some studies report that traffickers choose special times for recruitment. They take advantage of difficult periods, either before the harvesting season or during a drought, when many locals look elsewhere for income to survive. Pimps also keep themselves informed about severely impoverished areas or those which have suffered climatic, economic disasters.

***Methods:*** The range of the tactics or strategies reportedly used varies from the extremely violent (drugging, kidnapping and abduction) to persuasion, material inducements, befriending and deception. People are lured with fake job offers or false marriages. Girls are recruited in a number of ways. Take the case of Champaran. The Tharu (tribe) girls and their families are often deceived by the contractors who arrive in the village at construction sites. They offer marriage and all the comforts of modern urban life. They go through a local ceremony and leave the village never to be seen again. The girl ends up in the brothel. Girls receive training, how to approach customers, languages. During training they are locked and beaten up in small matchbox like torture chambers. Then

they are sold off to Bombay's Kamathipura red light area or Sonagachi in Calcutta. Arab Sheikhs buy these girls for a fat amount and make fraudulent marriage. They actually go through a marriage in order to take them to Middle East. Later they are abandoned.

### **Profile of the Clients**

To get an idea about the kind of men visit the brothels, the victims were asked about the occupation of their clients. Their responses show that the clientele consists of men from different walks of life. The largest category was from the labour class, followed by businessmen and students. Professionals such as police officials, doctors, also figured in the list. Politicians and criminals also figured in the clientele list.

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## 6

### **CASE STUDIES**

This case study has some protagonists each from different parts of Bihar and a few from Nepal. Even though rooted in the local conditions of a backward state in India, the victims' accounts are representative of the scenario of prostitution that unfortunately exists almost anywhere in the world. No country is immune to it. All names of victims that appear in this report have been changed on their request to maintain anonymity. The story covers the day to day events in their lives. *Some events were amusing; heart rendering and others were downright serious:*

The first, “**33 year old Sita**” represents a case of simple abduction. I had imagined – a shy, distressed and battered woman. But she was completely different from what I had thought. She happened to be a very mature woman. **She started off:**

I was married to Munna of Siwan district at the age of 15. I belong to a poor family. My mother is a widow. On receiving the news of my mother's illness I left for my village. I did not know that this fateful trip would change the course of my life making me land up in a brothel in Laltainpatti. My village was far. On my way back I sat next to a lady and a male. They offered me something to eat and I got a bad headache and I immediately fell unconscious. I was in a daze and they took me to some unknown place. I was not informed where I was being taken to or for what purpose. On reaching Muzaffarpur I was taken to the brothel keeper's house where I was sold for RS. 5000/-. Shambhu the brothel keeper gave me some food after which I fainted. Later, I was told that I had been sold and that I would only be set free if I could repay the money, which was invested in buying me. I resisted, protested, pleaded and begged and tried everything I could do to be set free. However, I was beaten up and forced to enter the profession. I tried to escape thrice but failed. I was asked to entertain 3- 4 clients a night and that meant working for 9 long hours a day. I was unaware of the personal hygiene and absolutely ignorant about any of the STDs and had heard nothing about AIDS. I had no idea of contraceptives and condoms. I had to work in unhealthy surroundings. She exclaimed - some customers felt that they didn't want to wear condoms and I had to persuade them to do so. I succeeded to persuade some. Some of my co-workers don't really insist on it as they feel that they could not afford to loose out on the money in case they refused. It was a question of survival. I was not paid for a period of three four years, as I was new to the profession. I was not allowed to contact my family members. I was confined to my room. Three years back Shambhu died but I could not quit the profession. I continued in the profession for 18 long years. Now, I am thirty-three years old and I have a son who works in a Bank. But she is unable to forget the trauma of brutal exploitation both physical and emotional. During a raid conducted by the police she was arrested. She is now even more depressed. She wants to go back to her son and resume her profession of tailoring. But will this be possible? Will her son accept her?

*“There is a need for redefining family values where the social attitude of treating women as secondary citizens should change. Patriarchal values in our society are internalised in*

*such a way that people subconsciously discriminate against women,” says Ms. Pratibha Subedi (a social worker). She also alleged that due to these internalised patriarchal values the state is inflicting discrimination against women. Since the burden of poverty is more severe in women, income generating and employment generating activities should be intensified in areas where women are more vulnerable to prostitution, added Subedi.*

**20 year old Shazda Khatoon** is a living example of patriarchal discrimination. She had been abandoned by her husband. When she was being interviewed, she showed signs of embarrassment or shame. How did she land up in the brothel?

‘I was born in a poor family. So, I was never sent to school. I tried very hard to study at home and even started to read and write. But then my parents arranged my marriage when I was just nine. At that age, wedding was just like a playful game of toys to me. After marriage I discovered that my husband was an alcoholic who used to beat me violently each day and night. I could not tolerate him any more and left him and went to stay with my parents. By then I was 15 and had a small baby. I was taken away by some unknown men. I asked them what they wanted of me. They answered; my parents had sold me off. I was too stunned to react. They sold me off to the ‘malkini’ (madam) in Chaturbhuj Sthan. I pleaded to let me go as I had a small baby. The lady asked, ‘who would return my money spent on you?’ She came out with a vegetable knife to frighten me and took my baby away, when I refused to trade my flesh. Finally, I had to surrender. So, I had to prostitute for the safety of my baby and to avoid their brutality. They would have kept my child and thrown me out if I had refused. The room, where I lived, entertained my clients and brought up my child, was barely seven feet in length and five feet in breadth. I was isolated from the outside world. I was not allowed to communicate with anyone but my violator. As a victim of prostitution I usually lived and worked at one and the same place. I needed communication but talking only to my violator made me accept distorted information about the world and about me. The only message I could get: life is worth nothing, I am worth nothing. What has happened is my fault and I "owe money". They have paid for me, and I had to pay them back.’ Certainly, I was never able to pay enough and was sold to another pimp. The greatest problem is that I lost my ability to control my life. I feel empty and stunned because of the fact that I cannot bear the emotions inside me. The police caught hold of her during the raid. *She has no place to go now.*

‘I never received any form of contraception. Girls who became pregnant would be given abortions. The brothel did not provide condoms. I never asked clients to use condoms because I was unaware about AIDS’, said **15 year old Maili**. She showed no signs of being ashamed or embarrassed, when she was being interviewed: I had left the poverty of my home village in Nepal when I was barely twelve and was lured to Muzaffarpur with a false promise for a lucrative job. Instead I was sold to a brothel. At first I resisted but I was raped by an old man. I became unconscious due to intense pain. I was viciously raped and tortured. I had no other option than to acquiesce to the customer’s demands. I was not in a position to demand the usage of condoms by the customer. Any resistance meant more violence. I was eight months pregnant with an unknown client when police arrested me in a raid. Now she is in a separate cell in Muzaffarpur jail.



When asked if she wanted to deliver the child, her answer tragically reflected a sense of despair: *"I would like to, if it were a girl... but boy, no way. Boy is of no use, as he will grow up and accuse me for being in this profession. But, my girl would continue my profession and will be a source of livelihood when I grow old."* What a pity, that her baby girl, a lucky few, would actually grow up to be denied the right to lead a life of dignity.

Tips provide the only source of income for most newcomers to the brothels. Without tips, girls are entirely dependent on the brothel owner for food, sometimes only one meal a day. In some cases this avenue of earning is restricted. **30 year old Nileema** was one of them:

*'I fell in love with a boy named Nagesh. I ran away with him to Kolkata and got married. I gave birth to a baby boy. Unknowingly, I seemed to have married a 'dalal' (pimp). He sold me off to a 'dalal' in Kolkata. I managed to run away to Bihar and landed up in Chaturbhuj sthan. For the first few years I was forbidden to ask for tips. We were supposed to give the owner any tips we received from the client. Now I have to work for my child. There is no other option.*

Quite a few of them have been bought from starving parents by unscrupulous pimps even before they reach their puberty, administered **steroids** to make malnourished children artificially fattened; they are packed off to brothels to serve as slaves to sex-starved, sadistic clients; against the law and the will of the young girls. Given an alternative option for decent livelihood there would be hardly any one left in the profession. The question for free choice does not arise.

**"Virgin" prostitutes are highly sought. Why? There is a myth that men suffering from venereal disease can cure themselves by engaging virgin girls. Consequently, sexually transmitted diseases (STD) are highly prevalent among such sex-workers.**

**How did 15 year old Nilam enter into the profession?** *Her answer was-* My mother died when I was a little girl. My father remarried. My stepmother hated me. So, I was never sent to school. I am an excellent dancer. So I started working hard for livelihood. Some people started to lure me with charms of a better life. I was a virgin. They used to tell me, "Look at your condition. We feel unhappy to see your hardships." Lured by false promise of marriage and better life I ran away with a young boy. We stayed at a remote hotel. A woman came to the hotel and gave money to my boyfriend. He explained that the lady was a distant aunt of his and she was loaning money to buy clothes for the marriage. I was asked to accompany her while he shopped. He left never to come back. I never realised that I was entering a brothel. I tried to escape but in vain. I pleaded to the brothel owner but she slapped me and beat me up blue and black until I was silent. I was shocked to know that my boyfriend had sold me off to the brothel owner for RS. 15,000. By that time I was pregnant. I had an abortion due to excessive bleeding and physical abuse. *Eventually Nilam was rescued after six months by the police from a brothel in Laltainpatti.*

It is dusk now and the journey continues. The girl who approaches me is barely discernible in the fading light. She is **Nasim**. *She says:* My grandfather who was a Rajput by caste converted to Islam. He was in the police. When posted at Muzaffarpur thana as ASI he became aware of the fact that the job of pimp was a better paying job. He fell prey to the flourishing flesh trade and quit his job. He started procuring women for the business. My father married my mother who was a prostitute. She left him and her children to marry her boyfriend. I never accepted the business and ran away. A local NGO adopted me and I am working for the benefit of the sex workers and their children. 'I am happy to be an NGO worker.' She is trying to mobilise other young girls from the red light area to work for the awareness generation of the sex workers. "But I am afraid of Anwar Mian and his henchmen, as they have come to know about me. My paternal grandmother and other relatives live in Laltainpatti. My two sisters are married. I have two brothers who are unemployed." Her mother quit her profession but she is penniless now.

The conversation with Nasim revealed another shocking fact about **Adolescent male pimps (aged 13-16)**. Young boys are lured with money to buy ghutkas, pan parag, tobacco. They become addicted to many other vices and spend extravagantly. They are trained to lure young girls into the profession.

We entered a house of a brothel owner. We saw a small hole in the kitchen that was hidden by utensils. Our inquisitiveness grew. Later we were told that nearly all the houses in Chaturbhuj Sthan had these chambers.

These **torture chambers** were *5-6 feet in length and 5 feet in breadth with just a tiny hole to breathe*. One had to crawl inside it. They are usually located in the kitchen hidden behind utensils. If a girl refuses to enter into flesh trade she is confined to that cell without food and water until she finally gives up. Sometimes more than 7-8 girls are locked in it making it impossible for them to breathe.

Selling children is, however, not the only way the 'Musahars' (rat eaters or the untouchable class) are trying to make out a desperate living. Over the years, a large number of their womenfolk have been initiated into prostitution to feed their families. Phani for instance, charges her clients Rs 10-15. Sitting in her derelict hut, **Phani Says:** "*What can we do? Should we die of hunger? There's nobody to take care of us anyway.*" The police also admit to increasing cases of prostitution in the community.

The next evening, we reach the dark side of the highway, 40 kilometres from Motihari. We see a 'dhaba' (motel) and stop there to have tea. In the dusky evening that small shed was barely visible. It was located on the barren stretch of land. It is one of the many dhabas that dot the highway a woman peeps through the door. 'Are you from police?' She asks us. As she becomes comfortable that we are not from the police, she discloses her name. '**I am Shakuntala**. I am 45. I run the dhaba. I am in business with a few girls from the nearby villages. I was married at the age of 15. I am a school drop out. Since now I have crossed the age to trade my body, I have a few girls who do this work for me. They are all in their early teens. Instead of selling just cooked food, I also offer women as an 'additional service' to truck drivers. I take Rs. 10-20/client from the girls. We are often harassed by the police for 'hafta' (bribe). The dhaba is located on the highway.

There is not much light. A closer look reveals some girls sitting with Shakuntala who are garishly made up, wearing bright saris. The dhaba owner, Shakuntala says- 'the more beautiful the girl, the more she earns. Some are compelled by circumstances to enter the flesh trade and some opt for prostitution'. If a girl is beautiful, she can get more than five clients a day. She is unconcerned about the reasons, why the girls come here. 'Who bothers why they are here? Many have been in the profession before coming here but they are with me because they have a better earning as the highway is busy.' A girl sitting next to Shakuntala who is an orphan says, 'We are often beaten up and raped by clients who demand free service. The police do not register complaints of assault. Sometimes we work all night from truck to truck to earn a livelihood. We are in dire need of money but all we get is torture, shame and disgrace. Many who cannot return to their homes earn a precarious living on these highway dhabas.' 'I came here because I saw other women in finery, but I find that there is not much of a show at all,' says one of them.

False offers of employment are common ruse used to entice potential recruits in factories and other such places. **21 year old Amina Khatoon** says – *'I was tricked job promise by pimps who offered a job in the carpet factory. I have spent more than ten years in the brothel before finally up in the prison during the raid'*.

**We** saw a woman sitting on the floor of the prison with a boy in her lap. I went to her. Who was she? 'I am **Noor**'. How can one explain in words the pain one feels when one sees little children of these sex workers sleeping on the floor, oblivious of the pain and humiliation their mothers go through while entertaining someone who wants cheap sex? "I want to become a doctor... I want to become an engineer... I want to study like other children." These might be the dreams of these children of sex workers. But will their dreams be ever fulfilled? They have been subjected to the most traumatic experiences in life. Some are suffering from congenital disease, some from STDs. Some are child sex workers too.

**We** met a few other girls who started off by saying - "that generally people dote such a lot of film stars but in their opinion they also move around with men, dance, sing, get wet in the rain and seduce them, and lead lifestyles that does not necessarily come under the socially acceptable mode. How is it different in any way from what we are doing except that we charge for the services? They had made their point very clear in their own way

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## 7

### **Law & Law Enforcement** **Attitude of the Police & NGOs**

#### **The 1956 Act (SITA- The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act)** **ITPA- Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986 (ITPA)**

The perception of the victims regarding laws on prostitution and their enforcement was also studied. A huge percentage of the respondents were not aware of any law. They had no knowledge about any law prohibiting child sexual abuse and child commercial exploitation. A large number of them stated that the pimps were either never arrested or if arrested succeeded to get themselves out on bail and continued their activities with impunity. Many alleged that the pimps had effected their release by bribing the police. The study clearly brought out the fact that law enforcement, in most places, violates the rights of victims. It is a common practice to arrest, charge sheet, prosecute and convict the trafficked victims. Human rights violations are rampant during the rescue and post-rescue efforts. Hence, there is a need for radical change in the law enforcement practice and methods.

The movement led by a few **NGOs** is strong but still young. Over half the respondents were unaware of any NGO working on issues related to them and a fifth knew of NGOs engaged in HIV prevention efforts and other health issues. A little number was familiar with NGOs working for the welfare of their children. Since protection and rehabilitation of the victims are important components of efforts to combat sex work, the respondents were asked about their perceptions and knowledge in this regard. A huge percentage did not know of any rehabilitation scheme or Programme in existence. A very small number of the respondents had a fair idea about programmes which provided for vocational training, counselling services, schooling of children, health interventions, etc.

When police take action against brothels suspected of enslaving minors, the resulting police raids often are planned poorly and seldom are coordinated with NGO's or government social agencies. NGO's claim that without advance notice of police raids on brothels, they are not able to lend valuable assistance in identifying and interviewing underage victims. Moreover, police do not seek advice or assistance from NGO's in planning law enforcement action to protect the victims during raids. Therefore, the police action often worsens the situation of the girls and women indebted to traffickers and brothel owners. Girls rescued from brothels are treated as criminals and often are abused sexually by their police rescuers or by the staff of government remand centers, where

they are housed temporarily before being brought back to the brothels as a result of the bribes paid by brothel operators, or legally released into the custody of traffickers and madams posing as relatives. In these cases, the debt owned by the girls to the brothel operators and traffickers further increases as the costs of bribing or legally obtaining release of the girls is added to their labor debt. There has been an increase in the number of minor children, both girls and boys, entering the sex trade. In spite of penal provisions against persons procuring minors for the sex trade, the law has not curbed the forcible entry of minors into the flesh trade. The largest hurdle in criminal procedure is that the complaint must be made to the police. But, the reality of the situation is that where there is widespread illiteracy and poverty, minors are unaware of their rights, unaware of where they are, and what they are being used for.

Government commitment is yet to materialise in real action: the police are still to be proactive in their investigation and crackdown on the criminals involved; the law has yet to convict the accused pimps and brothel owners. Laws against sex trade should be made harsher supportive and strictly enforced. It's good that the police was brave enough to arrest the notorious brothel owner Anwar. The arrest of Anwar Mian by the police was a major breakthrough for the police and anti – prostitution activists. He owns the maximum number of brothels from Muzaffarpur to Siliguri.

***Situation may not be that grim, yet is undoubtedly a daunting task, evident from what we too discovered on this dimension. For example:***

Rani Bai, a former prostitute, who owns a brothel *Rani Manzil* (named after her) is now a ward commissioner (elected representative in the local municipality of Muzaffarpur). Instead of working for the benefit of the prostitutes she still runs the brothel. She has also close links with influential politicians. An ex – Minister of the Bihar Government, who claims to chair the Patita Uddhar Sangh (Prostitutes' Welfare Organization) is sitting idle with no plans to rehabilitate these women in distress.

Even the lawyers are more interested in fighting cases for the pimps rather than the victims for easy money. Such forays into and linkages in the world of politics of the pimps and brothel owners do hinder an effective law enforcement.

***A Lady Jail Officer's take on the law enforcement:***

***“The pimps have political links as they are a help during election campaigns. Obviously when they commit crime, the political pressure becomes active”.....“Prostitution is deep rooted and it is impossible to curb it due to political nexus and protection it enjoys. The VIPs with red light beckons flashing on their cars are the real culprits, so how do you think that the problem can be curbed, let alone finished?”***

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## 8

### **Their Future & Aspirations**

#### **What is their future?**

The study also attempted to assess how the survivors viewed their future. When asked whether they would like to continue in the same 'trade', 60 per cent of them answered in the affirmative and the rest did not respond. Many wanted to remain a prostitute as they thought that it was the easiest way of making money.

***There was also a response like this, though miniscule in number:***

**If given other job options would she quit prostitution? Nileema's counter-question was –**

***'What will be my salary? My monthly expense on my son's schooling and my own lifestyle is approximately RS. 5,000. I like the monetary benefit and the luxurious lifestyle it offers. I want to remain a prostitute. It is the easiest way of making money'. I also have sexual satisfaction I was missing after running away from my husband'.***

#### **Their reasons behind remaining a prostitute**

- Social stigma;
- No other marketable skill;
- No education;
- Family members dependent on their income;
- No status in society, and
- No other place to stay.

#### **Other versions**

A large proportion of girls also stated that that they would not like to return to the brothel because they disliked the job. Some answered- No plans. A few wanted to marry and get settled.

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## 9

### **Findings**

#### **Some Facts**

Sex workers (N = 55) ranged in age from 15 to 45 years old. Most women do not choose prostitution; rather, they are forced into this type of work because of poverty, or lack of education. These factors, in addition to their lives on the streets, expose sex workers to a number of health problems other than, or in addition to, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

75% of them were illiterate. Among the sex worker population, almost 10 % were adolescents. More than 50 % were unmarried. A large number in the 22–35 age groups had been pushed into the ‘trade’ while they were children. 50 % of the sex workers had their first sexual encounter when they were between 10 and 14 years of age. 75 % of the respondents had their first sexual encounter forced on them. 30 women reported being raped since entering prostitution. While few received incomes from the brothel owner, the others never received any income.

#### **Findings on Health Issues**

One major health problem identified was gonorrhea. The respondents were aware of HIV/AIDS. However, none of them were in know of whether she was suffering from it or not. 90% of them said they were willing to use condom, but very few were able to use it. They say it mostly depended on the client’s preference and consent. 80 % had gynaecological problems. Some other diseases that were mentioned: asthma, high blood pressure, hepatitis B, dizziness & eating disorder.

#### **Coping with the Health Issues: A Huge Challenge**

Accessing health care is a major concern for all women in the sex work. While the ‘immoral whore’ image makes it difficult to get good medical treatment, illiteracy, ignorance and fear of the medical establishment makes the women vulnerable to exploitation and extortion. Reproduced below are the few responses which highlight these:

Sex workers typically shy away from medical treatment, which results in further decline in health status. Further, Medical staffs at public hospitals have an unsympathetic, indifferent and often humiliating attitude towards them. Medical staffs often ask sex workers about the client’s enjoyment and other irrelevant questions that are embarrassing. Doctors and social workers force to have free sex with them. Doctors often refuse to treat or admit sex workers to hospital, saying they are AIDS carriers. In this context, sex workers typically shy away from medical treatment, which results in further declines in health status. *When they fall sick or become 'too old', many do find their way home. But they also take the HIV/AIDS virus back to their villages, where its awareness is low.*

Depression, thoughts of suicide, and grief caused by the loss of family were some of the other problems mentioned by the women.

Lack of information appeared to be a barrier to health care. Some women did not know where they could get health care. Others knew they should seek medical care, but, it seemed to be low on their list of priorities.

A woman is a prostitute *“only for the limited period of time that [she] engages in the activities, and the woman pursuing this occupation has no more of an identity, fate, or permanence than a man has who is a professional baseball player or soldier”*.

### **Total Isolation**

The victim is isolated from the outside world. She is watched and is allowed to communicate with no one but her violator. The woman victim usually lives and works at one and the same place. She needs communication but talking only to her violator makes her accept distorted information about the world and about herself. There is only one message: life is worth nothing, she is worth nothing. What has happened is her fault and she "owes money". They have paid for her, and she has to pay them back. Certainly, she can never pay enough and is sold to another pimp.

### **Other Issues**

Sex workers in Bihar claim that harassment, extortion, and occasional arrests on soliciting charges usually characterise police intervention. The police seldom are seen as a positive force that addresses the violence of pimps and traffickers while protecting underage girls from bonded sex labor. A commonly held view among sex workers and NGO's is that local police and politicians responsible for the red light areas receive bribes from organized crime networks to protect the lucrative sex trade.

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## 10

### **Redressal Mechanism**

Gender discrimination and the patriarchal mindset are important constituents and catalyst in the vulnerability of women and girl children. Prostitution in women and children is on the rise. And yet, the redressal mechanisms are woefully inadequate and the way the various governmental agencies have dealt with this gross violation of human rights has left much to be desired. This dichotomy calls for an in-depth understanding of the dimensions of prostitution in India as also the need for creating an authentic database, which would help devise appropriate measures to protect human rights with greater vigour.

The prevention strategies need to be oriented accordingly-

#### **State Support Measures**

1. At the micro level, prevention of trafficking in the source areas requires a working partnership between the police and NGOs. Public awareness campaigns and community participation in the prevention programmes hold the key to prevention. This is best achieved by community policing.
2. **Accountability:** Fixing accountability of the government officials, whose duty it is to ensure prevention of crime, is another aspect that needs to be stressed.
3. Once rescued, the victims are often sent to rescue homes. The study shows that in many places, the police are reluctant to carry out rescue operations because of the lack of rescue homes. This is an aggravating factor perpetuating prostitution. There is a genuine need for an adequate number of proper Homes, where post-rescue care and attention can be given to the rescued victims. This will help in prevention of re-trafficking also. These Homes should have adequate infrastructure and human resources to counsel the rescued victim, detraumatise her and empower her. Proper knowledge and skill-based training should be provided, keeping the best interests of the victim in mind. These training programmes should not only empower her economically and socially but also make her aware of her legal rights and redressal mechanisms.
4. The children of women who are subjected to commercial sexual exploitation are highly vulnerable and liable to be trafficked at any time. Therefore, preventing trafficking of these highly vulnerable children requires their rescue without any delay. In such situations, effective intelligence, followed by prompt law-enforcement, can prevent trafficking. Vulnerable persons who are on the threshold of exploitation need to be rescued.
5. Effective counseling can help the victim to decide for herself as to what would be the best course of action for her. This approach would prevent her from getting a reentry into the profession (prostitution).

6. Sometimes, the brothel owners, pimps or traffickers come in the guise of the victims' parents or relatives. They bail them out from the courts/rescue homes, etc., only to drag them into sex work. Therefore, proper identification of parents/relatives needs to be done before releasing victims of prostitution.
7. The media has a large role to play in preventing prostitution. The media can make the public aware of their rights and, thereby, generate and augment human potential against exploitation. It can promote various government schemes addressing the vulnerability factors. The media can also facilitate the working of NGOs by creating public opinion in favour of them and, thereby, making their programmes broad-based. At the same time, the media also has to keep in mind the provisions of law that protect the victims' exploitation. Section 21 of the Juvenile Justice Act prohibits the publication of name, etc. of a juvenile involved in any proceeding under the Act. Section 228A IPC prohibits the disclosure of identity of a victim of rape and certain other offences. Keeping in view these legal provisions and the rights of the victims, the media can play a powerful role in preventing prostitution and trafficking.
8. **Political will** is an essential requirement.
9. Involving local leaders
10. **Legal literacy:** "Creating legal awareness is one of the most important functions of any Social Action Programme because without legal awareness it is not possible to promote any real social activism," says Justice P.N. Bhagwati.
11. Condom programmes should be initiated and encouraged.
12. Sensitisation of police personnel and the law making authorities, can help change the inhuman attitude of society towards sex workers. But, until then, it shall remain a criminally legal trade.
13. Helplines and help booths are very important requirements for providing timely help to any person in distress. Childline, Patna has been instrumental in preventing several children from being exploited.

### **Empowerment Measures**

- ☐ Education
- ☐ health services
- ☐ Childcare
- ☐ Employment
- ☐ Housing
- ☐ Counselling
- ☐ Legal assistance

The problem is deeply rooted in the socio-economic, political and cultural reality of the context in which it occurs, although this may not be its immediate cause. The culprits are the pimps and recruiters about whom relatively little is known. This gap has to be urgently addressed, along with the demand factors which drive prostitution. It is a

fundamental violation of the rights of human beings and shows a blatant disregard for the dignity of a person.

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## 11

### Epilogue

**W**e visited Chaturbhuj Sthan after a gap of six months. Kalidasi, the oldest prostitute died due to old age illness. Maili {*see the box on Maili on page 15*} delivered a baby boy who died (no evidence as to whether he was born dead or was killed by her). Noor's seven-year old son's custody has been finally given to his sisters while she languishes in jail. Many of the sex workers are still in jail for the lack of legal assistance. Those who have been released are again back in the business. They are still prone to the infection, as they don't have the power to say no to sex without a condom.

We came across an astonishing fact that some three years back a well established social organisation had received a huge grant of RS. 2 crores from the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment for the rehabilitation of the Muslim sex workers and their children. But no follow up was made to look into the activities of the organisation. Who were the beneficiaries and who actually benefited will always remain an unanswered question. Subsequent to the raids, many NGOs have established their offices in the Chaturbhuj Sthan area for the rehabilitation of the sex workers. But have they succeeded in their purpose, remains a question mark. Many in that area complained that they were not the actual beneficiaries selected under the **TRYSEM** scheme being run by an NGO. The sex workers demand centers that would give them a chance to start a new life by training them in livelihood skills. Besides psychiatric help, which includes individual and group counseling, they want to be a part of the mainstream society.

The situation is worse in areas like Chaturbhuj Sthan which are underdeveloped. Much remains to be learned about the complexities of translating theoretically and politically vital notions of "community participation" into practice among hard-to-reach groups. The fabric of local community life is shaped by non-local structural conditions of poverty and sexual inequality in ways that challenge those seeking to theorize the role of social capital in community development in general and in sexual health promotion in particular. Very little has been done to ameliorate the lot of victims. Whatever measure have been taken have not been effective. The Government of India's action plan of 1998 to combat trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of women and children has not delivered desired results. Moreover, the plight of the victims calls for strong legal action against pimps, clients, brothel owners and all other exploiters. Many more family counseling centers and short-stay homes need to be set up. NGOs should be provided with assistance to set up short-stay homes. Targeted interventions should also include publicity

campaigns focused on potential victims and for raising public awareness about this social scourge. Finally, nothing can be more effective in making an impact than reduction of poverty levels, improving the status of women through education as well as economic and social empowerment.

### **Sometimes a ray of hope.... but too short-lived**

The police with the help of NGOs set up a vegetable market in order to generate livelihood for the sex workers in the process of a rehabilitation attempt. Chaturbhuj sthan was renamed 'Ujalanagar' (city of light). But the darkness again prevailed, sooner than later. Because of the pimps' vested interests and political connections, this experiment could not go far. Life is back to usual, with prostitutes back in business. People hardly recall that this place was ever named Ujalanagar (city of light).

Chaturbhuj Sthan renamed '**Ujalanagar**' by the police, where the prostitution is at its height, sex workers have a sad dark tale of their life. It's not a fiction. It is the naked truth. The stark reality that haunts the life of many girls and women. The result of their "**bad Karma.**" No one hears the cries of those sold innocents who are trying to have their voices heard outside the confines of the Red Light Area. Place far away from the madding crowd, young girls are bargained everyday. Everyday someone is sold. No doubt, this will go on for a long time. No doubt, many girls will sacrifice their happiness and freedom to free their parents from the burden of heavy debts. But someone has to stop the selling of innocents.

### ***The 'Missing Women' among the 'survivors': Where are they?***

In the 1980s, Nobel Laureate Prof. Amartya Sen revealingly demonstrated that worldwide some 100 million women have gone "missing". This results from family neglect and discrimination [e.g.: starving the daughters for feeding the sons; neglecting girl's health issues; and the like], that could not let them survive beyond a few years in life. But, those who manage to survive still go missing! A recent NHRC report on Action Research on Trafficking in Women and Children in India - 2002-2003 makes this startling disclosure: Every year, many among the reported missing 22,480 women and 44,476 children on an average annually go missing by vanishing into brothels! For the women, a mere survival-- in itself so uncertain and vulnerable, as Sen has shown-- is no guarantee to a secure and a dignified life. Condemned to live a hellish life, as this report shows, can perhaps be worse than death!

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## *Appendix 1*

### **Glossary**

1. Chaturbhuj Sthan- Name of Bihar's one of the biggest red light area located in Muzaffarpur district;
2. Dalits- Members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, neo-Buddhists, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion
3. Bihar- Second largest state in India
4. Goondas- Goons
5. 'Dhabas'- Motel
6. 'Dalal' or 'Dalali'- Refers to Pimps
7. 'Malkini'- Madam
8. Laltainpatti- A small area located in Chaturbhuj Sthan in Muzaffarpur city of Bihar
9. Rajput- Upper caste
10. Ghutkas- Tobacco
11. Tharu - Tribe
12. Kamathipura - Red light area in Bombay
13. Sonagachi – Red Light area in Kolkata
14. The 1956 Act (SITA)- The Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act
15. ITPA- Immoral Traffic Prevention Act
16. CSW - Commercial Sex Workers
17. Childline- Helpline for children in Patna
18. TRYSEM- Training of rural youth for self employment
19. Kalidasi- Oldest profession of prostitution
20. Ujalanagar- city of light (Chaturbhuj Sthan renamed by the police)
21. Karma- Fate
22. SITA - The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act

## *Appendix 2*

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**AREA OF STUDY**