

CHAPTER - III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SETTING

The concept of prostitution has been discussed in detail in Chapter I and the literature reviewed by researcher is described in Chapter II.

This chapter i.e. Chapter III is divided in to two sections - viz. Research Methodology and Research Setting.

Research Methodology :

The research methodology applied by the researcher was as follows :

Rationale and Significance :

Socialwork profession is primarily concerned with the vulnerable sections of the society. Women in prostitution occupy the bottom rung of the social ladder.

Their vulnerability as women is intensified many folds by the fact that they have accepted sex work as their occupation. Their social, economic and cultural handicap force them to accept flesh trade. The social stigma attached with the trade compels them to continue with the same and by the time their old age throws them out of it, the health hazards peculiar to their occupation hardly saves their little 'leftover' existence. Yet the intellectuals, the promoters of 'social justice'

and Human Rights Activists seem to have skipped this section of the society until recently. The recent Supreme Court judgement (Vishaljit vs. Union of India) and other judgements have compelled the state governments to shirk their inertia, plan out rehabilitation programme for the sexworkers and to ensure them human rights. In absence of any recent systematic data in Gujarat, it is difficult for policy makers to plan any meaningful, feasible action programme. The present study aims at bridging this information gap. It is hoped that the study will throw light on the problems and needs of the sex workers of the oldest red-light area of Gujarat state.

Its findings are hoped to be useful for policy makers, social activists, social scientists including psychologists, sociologists, social work professionals and historians. Since the respondents constitute a category of 'women in special circumstances', the study hopes to contribute a great deal in the field of women's studies as well.

Commercial sexworkers are identified as high risk behaviour group for HIV and AIDS and hence the Health Department of local self government and state government may also find the information on the lifestyle of sex workers relevant in planning AIDS/STD prevention programme. It being a sociolegal issue, the police and judiciary also may find the data useful. More than any one else, the sex workers themselves may find the report useful in fighting for their rights. Infact,

an earlier report by the researcher has been used by the lawyer representing the sex workers in the Gujarat High Court to their favour.

Objectives of the Study :

The broad objective of the study is to identify scope of social work intervention for the betterment of sex workers - especially the poor ones.

Following are the specific objectives of the present study :-

1. To study the socio-economic background of respondents before coming to flesh trade.
2. To explore the present living conditions, health facilities and civic amenities availed by the respondents.
3. To study the conditions of their children's stay including the arrangement for their education and medical facilities.
4. To find out the prevailing pattern of operating of respondents in flesh trade.
5. To study their attitude towards customers, brothel keepers and law implementing machinery i.e. Police and Judiciary.
6. To probe into their sex typology, self esteem, value profile and purpose in life.
7. To study their occupational adjustment and stress level.
8. To probe into their religiosity level.

9. To explore the coping strategies adopted by sex workers to manage crisis situations.
10. To study the aspirations, plans and rehabilitation potential of respondents.
11. To study the association between their age and income, period of service as sex workers and motivation/desire to leave sex work and their occupational adjustment and mode of entry.

Research Design :

The nature of study is exploratory descriptive. Primarily Social Survey method has been used to study the lifestyle of women sex workers in the Red-light Area of Surat.

To supplement the quantitative data, and to ensure coverage of certain subtle, subjective reactions of respondents to their environment, some methods of qualitative research --- mainly in depth interviews, life histories, case study and non-participant observation were also used.

Universe and Sample :

All the brothel based women sex workers living and operating in the red-light area of Chaklabazar, Surat in the year 1997 constituted the universe under study. It being a census, door to door survey, no sampling method was applied.

In Surat, the sexworkers keep moving from one place to another and hence their number fluctuated from time to time. The latest official list prepared in 1997 by the local police showed that in all there were 112 sexworkers housed in 36 brothels. The media however, claimed a much bigger number.

The researcher could interview 107 sexworkers during her period of data collection.

Hypotheses :

The hypotheses underlying the present study are as follows :

1. Poorer the socio-economic conditions of women, higher their vulnerability for entry into flesh trade.
2. Younger the age of sexworker, higher her income.
3. Longer the duration in flesh trade, lower the motivation to accept alternative occupation.
4. Higher the family dependency on sexworker, higher her self esteem.
5. Lower the willingness to enter flesh trade, lower the occupational adjustment.

Theoretical and Operational Definitions :

1. *Prostitute :*

‘Prostitute is a person who sells body for monetary gains’.

For the purpose of present study, the term prostitute refers to 'female commercial sexworker operating through brothels of Surat Red-light Area'. In the following chapters she is also referred to as 'sexworker' or 'respondent'.

2. *Procurers :*

'Procurers are the persons who supply new girls to the sex industry'.

3. *Pimps :*

'Pimps are the agents who bring customers' for sex workers. Operationally, both pimps and procurers are called "Dalals".

4. *Brothel Keeper :*

'A brothel keeper is a lady who owns and administers the brothel house and supervises girls operating as sex workers'. In practice they are called 'Gharawali' 'Mousi' or 'Mummy'.

5. *Customer :*

He is a person who visits prostitutes and buys their services in exchange of money. Locally, they are called 'Gharaks'.

6. *Lifestyle :*

For the purpose of this study, the term lifestyle refers to the patterns of thinking and behaviour dependent on social, economic, psychological life experience of respondents and their overall living conditions.

Tools of Data Collection :

A semistructured Interview schedule was the main tool of data collection.

Researcher's earlier experience of conducting research in the same area helped her to build a tool that was mainly structured in nature. However, some questions were kept open ended to enable the respondents to express themselves freely. Space was kept in the interview schedule to record any additional information supplied by the respondent or to note down important observations by the researcher both in respect of individual respondent and/or about the market practices in general. After going through relevant literature, selected scales of measurements were adopted keeping in mind the peculiar needs of the field and the research population. These include H.M. Bell's Occupational Adjustment Inventory (Bells, 1934). Attitude toward occupation, Attitude toward police, Attitude towards self and others, Religious Attitude (Shaw, Wright, 1967). The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) Projective test of individual and social values (Pareek & Rao). Measures of occupational attitudes and occupational characteristics (Robinson, 1976).

These scales were tested for clarity and relevance with the help of expert judges from the fields of socialwork, languages and social sciences. Other details of the scales are described at appropriate places in the following chapters.

Mostly interviews were conducted in the 'Girasthi' room i.e., space for personal use of brothel keepers. This was possible in case of big brothel houses. Some single room brothels were so small in size that interviewing a respondent there became impossible. It not only hindered privacy but also affected their business adversely. In such cases, space offered by a local community leader in the basement of a building was used. Police's suggestion to use space in police station or a nearby police chowky was humbly refused as the researcher wanted to collect data in an informal way, in respondents' natural and normal surroundings.

Over and above personal interviews some techniques of qualitative research were also used e.g. interviewing key informants like a private medical practitioner who was being consulted by many of the respondents, an Aanganwadi worker working in that area, a shopkeeper of a provision store etc.

Police records were also used as a secondary source of data.

Limitations :

Utmost care was taken to collect in-depth, detailed data from as many respondents as possible. However, circumstances beyond researcher's control paused following difficulties :-

1. Initially, the researcher tried to follow the list of respondents as per the police record, but because of the floating nature of the population both

intercity and within the city, She had to modify her list and plan the data collection schedule afresh:

2. Some respondents were left out because they were not present during the period of data collection.
3. Though a lady constable familiar with most of the brothel keepers in the area accompanied the researcher, the possibility of some sex workers not being allowed to be interviewed by the brothel keeper can not be ruled out. Most of the brothel keepers and sex workers co-operated well; few did express their reluctance to respond.
4. Sometimes, when a respondent was being interviewed, others gathered around her and hindered privacy. In some cases, the brothel keepers hung around while her 'girl' was being interviewed, possibly out of fear that she may be put into legal trouble. In such cases, researcher had to be tactful in interviewing the respondents. This has been narrated in detail under 'experiences during data collection'.

Chapterization Plan of Research Report :

The Research Report comprises of the following contents.

- * Preface
- * Contents
- * List of Tables
- * List of Figures, maps, photographs

Chapter - I : Introduction

- * Prostitution : Concept and Definitions
- * Classification of Prostitution
- * History of Prostitution
- * Prostitution in India
- * Legal History in Modern India
 - ITPA Act
 - Important Judicial Pronouncements
 - Proposed Bill by NCW

Chapter - II : Review of Literature

- * Prostitution
- * Life Style

Chapter - III : Research Methodology & Research Setting

- * Methodology
- * Setting
 - The city - location & History
 - Prostitution in Surat : Historical Perspective
 - Historical Milestones in Past Decade
 - Physical Lay Out
 - Intervention by Govt. / Non-govt. Organizations

- The Business Setup
- Important Vocabulary
- ITPA Crime Statistics : India, Gujarat - Surat.

Chapter - IV : Profile of Respondents

- * Personal and Demographic Profile of Respondents
- * Family Background
- * Children of Respondents

Chapter - V : WorkEnvironment and Rehabilitation Potential

- * Occupational History
- * Business Related Information
- * Customers
- * Health
- * Rehabilitation Potential

Chapter - VI : Data on Psycho Social Aspects

- * Attitude Towards Customers
- * Attitude Towards Brothel Keeper
- * Attitude Towards Law Implementing Machinery
- * Occupational Adjustment and Occupational Stress
- * Self Esteem
- * Sex typology

- * Purpose in Life
- * Individual and Social Values
- * Religiosity
- * Crisis and Coping Strategies

Chapter - VII : Case Studies

Chapter - VIII : Results, Discussions, Conclusions & Suggestions

Bibliographical References

Appendice :

- * Interview Schedule
- * List of NGOs in Nepal
- * News Clippings
- * Map of Surat City
- * Proposed Bill.

Experiences during Data Collection :

In social science research, one of the important factors that decides the quality of final outcome is the interaction between the researcher and his/her research environment. Social work research is a science but application of this science depends on the art of the researcher. The artistry of the researcher may not alter the results of the work but it can definitely enrich them.

The present study being an in-depth research work, the investigator took a lot of care in approaching her research population. It is felt that description of methodology would be incomplete without a detailed description of investigator's field experiences.

Knowing the field :

The first step was of collecting latest information about the setting. The researcher already had the basic information about the field setting as she had conducted a similar study on small scale some years back. However, informally, she met several people connected with this red-light area in their personal and/or professional capacity. These included local social workers, municipal corporation staff, I.C.D.S. and U.C.D. functionaries, Medical Officers from the civil hospitals and local police personnel. The important facts learnt by the researcher were as follows :-

- * Though the location of the red-light area remained the same as at the time of her earlier studies, there were visible changes in the physical layout of the series of brothels situated on the either side of chaklabazar road following the recent demolition drive by the Surat Municipal Corporation. This seemed to have affected the living and operating space of sex workers whose houses were partly demolished to broaden the road. They obviously had to squizz in smaller places.

- * According to a confidential source, in the name of 'morality', some builders having vested interest in acquiring the property occupied by sex workers had started creating disturbances in the area. They used police as well as local antisocial elements. The elements supporting sex workers reacted strongly to this. For a temporary phase the sex market almost stopped functioning and the matter went to the extent of a case of 'attempted murder'. The atmosphere was so sensitive and tensed that the police tightened their security measures. This in turn, left the sex workers with almost no business. They approached the High Court to seek justice. The business slowly started again. The local police posted 2 to 4 constables in the area round the clock to prevent any untoward incident, they were instructed not to disturb the sex workers so long as they functioned within reasonable (legal) limits.
- The above incidents increased the sex worker's needs to attach themselves with national level associations/unions. Thus, now, many of the sex workers even have their 'identity cards' issued by these organizations. Most of the Maharashtrian and South Indian sex workers have become members of Delhi based 'Bhartiya Patita Uddhar Sabha' led by Mr. Khairatilal Bholi. Whereas Nepalese sex workers are mostly attached to a Nagpur based organisation called 'Amrapali Shakti Sangh'.

- Compared to the times of the earlier studies, the local health authorities have assumed a more active role - probably due to the onset of AIDS. The Preventive and Social Medicine Department of Medical College has started intervention since 1992. Very recently, an Aanganwadi was started by the ICDS project which admitted children from normal families as well as of sex workers. Between the period of pretesting of research tool and actual data collection, a health centre had been started by the Surat Municipal Corporation.

Rapport :

The legal tugwar between the sex-workers and the government authorities made the researcher's task little difficult. The researcher did not want to carry out data collection hurriedly and pack off. She was obliged to take police escort (as otherwise entering their private premise was almost impossible) but she did not want her first introduction and entry through the police. She, therefore, contacted the Aanganwadi worker - an aged lady - after her working hours and explained her the purpose of her visit. Permission from authorities was obtained earlier. For several days, researcher went and sat at that place. Occasionally, she requested the Aanganwadi worker to introduce her to one or two main brothel keepers and also to sex worker mothers of Aanganwadi children. She explained in detail the purpose of her visit and introduced herself as a 'college-teacher'. The initial

suspicious looks of brothelkeepers and sex workers surrounding the Aanganwadi slowly turned into greeting smiles.

Sometimes the researcher would purposely reach the spot before the Balwadi was opened, so that she could gain a few moments to informally chat with the nearby shopkeeper or the police man/woman posted there, who in turn, would let the curious sex workers know that, researcher was a 'teacher from Baroda'.

Almost at this point, the Police Inspector of chowkbazar was requested to formally introduce researcher to the influential persons from the flesh market network. Researcher requested for their help and co-operation. They were assured to keep the sex worker's identity completely confidential. Some brothel keepers who knew researcher from the time of her earlier study, too, supported her and this was how the actual data collection started.

One very important aspect researcher kept in mind all along the period of data collection was her dressing. Researcher had observed that sex workers have developed an aversion towards political social workers. She therefore, did not want to identify herself as a socialworker with political background. She consciously avoided wearing khadi or rich cotton saris and diamond studded earrings etc.

She went in her normal 'middle class working housewife' attire, and it seemed to serve the purpose as some curious respondents felt comfortable enough

to ask researcher 'how much was her pay?' 'how many children did she have' and 'who cooked at home while she was at Surat busy interviewing them' !

Using Socialwork Skills :

Researcher's years of field experience as student worker and as social work teacher-researcher helped her a lot in minimising the limitations of the setting, and helped eliciting maximum relevant information from the respondents and understanding and interpreting their behaviour.

Over and above rapport building, the basic skills of listening, observation and interviewing were used. Some such instances are narrated below :-

Interviewing :

The interviews were conducted in red-light area itself. At times, many sex workers gathered around the interviewer and interviewee. Mostly, they responded positively when they were requested to come later to facilitate the privacy of the interviewee. However, when some brothel keepers insisted to accompany her inmate, researcher had to deal tactfully. She would alter the usual sequence of questioning and would spend more time asking about issues which did not concern the brothel keeper at all e.g. taking details of the religious practices, occupation of family members of respondents or geographic locations of the place. The 'Mausi' would soon lose interest and shift her attention to the other sexworkers sitting

outside or engage in a chat with the lady constable escorting the researcher. Researcher would switch to the sensitive questions related to business only after ensuring that respondent was not influenced by the brothelkeepers's presence.

Similarly, when respondents were unsure of their age, researcher would help them to ascertain her approximate age by asking questions like - How old was she when she got married, for how many years was she married ? After how many years she entered fleshtrade ? And whether she married/entered fleshtrade before or after getting her first 'Mahina' i.e. menstruation.

Listening :

Initially, most respondents denied paying bribe to police. One respondent repeated the same answer saying 'police ko paise ham nahin dete' meaning - 'We don't give money to police' but her expressions coupled with special emphasis on the word "Ham" (we) gave a clue to the researcher's ears. She, sounding to be casual promptly added a supplementary question - 'To Kaun Deta Hai ?' (-then who gives?) This fetched the correct response - 'woh Sab Gharawali Nipatati Hai' (All that is managed by the gharawali).

Observation :

While interviewing a respondent, the researcher observed that another sexworker who was waiting for her turn was glancing at the bunch of unfilled interview schedules with interest as if trying to read the title. When her turn came,

while responding to the question regarding her educational status she said she was an illiterate. Researcher got a feeling that she was observing keenly what researcher wrote or marked and that she could read and understand what was being written. To test out, researcher purposely spelt the name of her town wrongly, and soon respondent said 'Nahin Didi, Aapne galat likha' (No didi, you have spelt it wrongly).

Smilingly, when she was questioned why she said she was an illiterate when she could read so well, she clarified that she did not attend school but had learnt Bengali and knew broken English too but she was ashamed of having accepted such lowly work and would rather prefer to be known as an illiterate!

Professional Values/qualities :

The researcher's 'professional self' was really put at test during data collection. Having selected a topic which required interaction with a socially shunned class, the researcher was aware of the mental preparation needed for the work. Her earlier exposure to the field really facilitated her task and the process of data collection for present study enhanced her faith in the socialwork values.

Acceptance : Respecting Human Dignity :

Researcher could approach the respondents with ease. The fact that they were engaged in an activity like sexwork never came in way of interviewing. Even

with some of the 'tough' respondents, when the police escort tried to intervene to force them to respond, researcher firmly insisted that convincing the respondent was researcher's job and at no cost they should be treated harshly.

Similarly, in some brothels, researcher heard the respondents using indecent language with fellow inmates or with customers, but while interviewing the same girls, she did not allow that fact to affect her work.

The most difficult task was to bear the mixed smell of the cheap perfume and of mutton and fish being cooked just two or three feet away from where researcher was sitting. Coming from a strictly vegetarian Gujarati Brahmin family, in her personal capacity it would have been impossible for her to sit in that place for a moment.

Sitting there, interviewing one respondent after the other, without even letting her expressions change was perhaps the hardest test to pass; and the researcher was glad that she could manage it successfully!

Emotional Control :

When some young girls narrated how they were ill treated and abused by their own people, how they were entered into flesh trade and at times how they were exploited by the police, it really disturbed the researcher a lot. It required tremendous efforts to maintain the 'Researcher's role' and suppress the 'sensitive, emotional person' or leave 'an angry activist' in her behind.

Patience : Self Discipline :

While some brothel keepers easily co-operated and even provided separate place to sit and interview the girls, some others really tested out researcher's patience. They kept giving promises, but tried their best to discourage the researcher by disappearing from the scene at the appointed times or by sending researcher from place to place to get the key of the basement hall where she was supposed to sit and interview their inmates.

Once they were convinced that researcher was not going to give up, all these tricks suddenly ceased and the work went on smoothly.

Research Setting :

The lifestyle of sex-workers is greatly influenced by the location of the fleshmarket. Though basic activity of every flesh market is sale of sex, the business related factors like supply of sex-workers, demand for sex-workers, attitude of other sections of society towards the sex-workers and attitude of government and non-government agencies towards sex-workers - are all governed by the location of the place as well as the local culture, local economy and local polity. More so in Surat, where the history of sex trade is believed to have existed for more than two hundred years. Hence, before proceeding with the analysis of collected data, detailed description of the research setting is made in this chapter.

The City : Location and History :

The Surat city is situated on the bank of the river Tapi in the South Gujarat region on the western coast of India (Please see Appendix).¹ As described by Kamdin (1990), Surat was a port of prime importance for export - import. In the ancient days, flags of 84 countries were seen flying on their ships. The province surrounding Surat acquired the name of “Choryasi i.e. eighty four (84) Taluka” which continues even today. Surat port was well connected by roads to many parts of India and thus had become a main trade centre. Being one of the oldest trade centre in cotton textile, it received textile from different parts of India as well as some foreign countries. Silk used to come from China. After processing, the textile was exported to the countries in Persian gulf and ports of Red Sea, East Africa, South East Asia and Europe. It is a well known fact that Surat, being the most famous port of international trade, was the first place where East India Company set up big godowns to store the goods they traded in and built ports for protecting the same.

During the Mughal period, the Surat port became an important centre for Muslim ‘Hajis’ proceeding for ‘Mecca Haj’ from Surat. The Gazetteer of India (1877) notes that the SMC building, originally called ‘Mubarak Musafar Khana and Karavansara’, was built in 1644 and was used as ‘Sarai’ till 1857 and the present Civil Hospital Building was also a ‘Sarai’ (inn) for the Hajji pilgrims and

businessmen. It is noteworthy, that the present red-light area is situated on either side of 'Variavi bazar' close to an area known as 'Mugli Sara' even today. In fact, the Surat Municipal Corporation Building was originally a 'Sarai' and is neighbouring the red-light area. Both the old Sarai and the red-light area are located at a walking distance from the river bank.

In short, Surat fulfilled all the requirements for a flourishing flesh market. It was a port town and a business centre attracting many visitors, pilgrims and business men, and was inhabited by wealthy people who could provide patronage to art and beauty and who gave political shelter to sex-workers since the time of Mughal rulers.

Prostitution in Surat : Historical Perspective :

The city of Surat is noted to have interesting links with prostitutes.

As documented by 'Narmad' a famous Gujarati writer, poet and also a social reformer of the last century in his work in Gujarati 'Suratni Mukhtesar Hakikat' (Meghani, 1981) the very origin of Surat was connected with a prostitute or Kanchani Suraj / Surata. Narmad has described two interesting myths about a prostitute's role in creating the city of Surat. Though there seem to be some loose ends in these stories, they are briefly described here for two reasons : One, because they are directly linked with a prostitute- the subject of this research and second, though as myths, they are well documented in the work of an Indian writer, and some evidences justifying their truth are also available in the forms of

names of areas / places in modern Surat, possibly named after some characters of these stories. The story runs thus :

A 'Kanchan' (unlike ordinary prostitutes, 'Kanchans' were singing and dancing girls of a more private and respectable class) named Suraj from Rander (a town across the river Tapi - now a part of Surat) stayed for a while - waiting for the ship in the Machhivad of present Surat while leaving for 'Haj'. She was treated well by a Nagar Brahmin Zamindar's widow. Pleased by her hospitality, Suraj entrusted her wealth and precious ornaments to the widow till she returned from 'Haj'. On coming back from 'Haj' she refused to take her wealth back. While on death bed, Suraj bequeathed the Nagar Brahmin widow with that wealth and requested her to use the same for a good cause that could keep her memory for a long time.

Gopi, the child of that Nagar Brahmin Zamindar's widow built a 'Haveli' and 'Vadi' and started trading with big traders. The trade flourished and people from surrounding provinces started coming and settled there for business purpose. Gopi consulted an astrologer for giving a formal name to the city. 'Suryapur', 'Surajpur' or 'Suraj' names were suggested, but the ruler 'Badshah' of Gujarat did not like the idea of naming the city after a 'Kanchan'- a prostitute. Substituting 't' for 'j', Badshah changed the name from 'Suraj' to 'Surat' and ordered to keep the same name for the city. This was how the city became famous by the name Surat

in 1521. It is worth noting that a place named Gopipura is situated in the heart of modern Surat, and till recent past, most of the Nagar Brahmin families lived in and around this area.

According to another myth, 'Surata' was a concubine of the 'Badshah' of Roomsham (Constantinopal - the capital of Turkastan). After the Badshah left her, she was kept by a 'Saudagar' (businessman) Rumi. When Badshah learnt this, he was terribly annoyed and ordered both Surata and Rumi to leave the country. They came to Surat with all their wealth with which business flourished in the city. Thus, after 'Surata' the city was named Surat.

Other documented evidences of prostitutes in Surat are available from the work of Ovington and Manucci (Joardar, 1944). As noted by Joardar, "From Ovington's account we come to know that during Aurangzeb's time, a large number of prostitutes lived in the city of Surat (Ovington ; n.d. 153). From Mannucci also we come to know that at that time, there were six thousand houses where prostitutes lived (n.d. 11: 186)". Supporting this, Mannucci (1653-1708) - a European traveller's observations regarding Surat as the most industrially developed city of India and as a thickly populated city inhabited by lakhs of people were also noted by Kamdin (1990).

Emperor Akbar's (1556-1605 A.D) attempts to regulate prostitution by imposing restrictions included forcing prostitutes of the city to live together in a

place outside the city - the place was known as 'Shaitanpura' or the devil's quarters (Joardar, 1944, p.47). In Surat, even today, an area is known as 'Setan Falia'. No proofs are accessible to know whether there is any link between the present 'Setan Falia' with the 'Shaitan pura' of Akbar's time.

Sex Market in Modern Surat :

Surat has continued to be an important business centre. Over and above the diamond cutting and textile industries, many new companies have established their plants and townships in the nearby Hajira, Magadalla and Udhana areas. Enmass migration of labour both from within the state and outside the state to Surat has ensured steady demand in the sex market. The invisible traffickers on the other hand, actively ensure that supply in the flesh market continues.

There were several instances when the Surat flesh market was in the doldrums, al. most on the verge of closure. The threats came in form of legal attempts to evacuate / close down the market by the police and also in the form of wraths of nature like the ill famed plague epidemic. The market however has survived all such threats - at times by resisting in an organised way through hunger strikes, seeking protection of national associations like Bharatiya Patita Uddhar Sabha and approaching the court of law for justice or by temporarily flocking to Mumbai, Rajkot or other sex markets while the cleanliness and demolition drive during the mid nineties has definitely improved the outer environment, sex

workers in most of the brothels affected by the road alignment had to squeeze in smaller space.

SURAT RED-LIGHT AREA : HISTORICAL MILESTONES IN PAST DECADE:

Late 1989	C.P. Shri Bansal's efforts to close down sex market. Prostitutes sought Intervention by declaring hunger strike.
3-10-94	Business comes to a stand still in sex market due to threat caused by plague epidemic in Surat.
11-10-96	"Khairnar in city to rehabilitate sex workers".
17-12-96	President of a sex worker's organization Mr.Bhola's protest against closure of Surat sex market - Appealed Chief Minister to intervene.
23-3-97	"Sex workers of Surat, a harassed lot" - sex workers file a petition in Gujarat High Court demanding immediate action against police and for setting up of Rehabilitation Homes.
21,22-11-96	A committee consisting of Smt. Leena Mehta (Researcher) and Smt. Chandrika Vyas visited red-light area and interacted with key persons.
13-5-97	Based on the Committee's Report, State government declared its readiness to rescue and rehabilitate the sex workers before the High Court bench.
2-11-98	Centre for social study Surat organized a state level workshop on child sex workers in Gujarat. For the first time,in Gujarat, sex workers were invited to narrate their experiences.
20-3-2000	Police Commissioner Shri. Kuldeep Sharma issued a notification on 23-2-2000 asking traffickers & sex traders to vacate the area by 1-3-2000 using section 7 of ITPA.
April 2000	Sex Workers again seek intervention of Gujarat High Court. NHRC asks state administration to evolve a long term solution of the problem.

The Physical Lay-Out :

The brothel houses in the area can be categorised in to three.

- i) The old time buildings having several rooms, basement and 'chowk' or 'terrace' open to sky.

One could see the broken remains of the rich wooden furniture, like wooden beds with carvings and 'gallas' - (tables with drawer, used as counters - separate drawer used for collecting earnings of each sex-worker working under the gharawali) - reminding of the past glory of the place.

- ii) Old, but renovated buildings now divided in to several separate rooms owned by or let out to several gharawalis where in single room was used both for business and personal use.
- iii) Newly constructed two to three storied 'chawl' type buildings; each room occupied by usually more than one sex worker on rent.

Most of these are situated on the either side of the main road.

There are several shops and laris supplying the daily necessities including tea, cold drinks, laundry service, confectionery, chewing tobacco - kimam, pan and cigarette. As already mentioned earlier, the Municipal Corporation Office, school and police station are located at a walking distance from the place.

Government and Non-government Organisation's Intervention :

Until recently, no systematically planned, long-term intervention was known to have taken place in the area. Before 1990s occasional attempts at individual and/or organisational levels by the local women's organisation, civil hospital, police, of course, were made, but they did not seem to have yielded visible results.

The scenario, however, has changed since the early nineties. The PSM department of the Medical College started health focused intervention. Though U.C.D. office is situated at a close distance, the sex workers of this area are not covered by its programme as possibly they do not fit in the criteria of U.C.D. programme. Very recently, however, the Surat Municipal Corporation started an Aanganwadi for the children of this area. Similarly, a health center was also started during the course of researcher's data collection. The lady medical officer of the health centre and the Aanganwadi worker have built a good rapport with the sex workers and seem to enjoy good acceptance among them. Two private practitioners in the area also cater to the health needs of sex workers and are fairly popular among them.

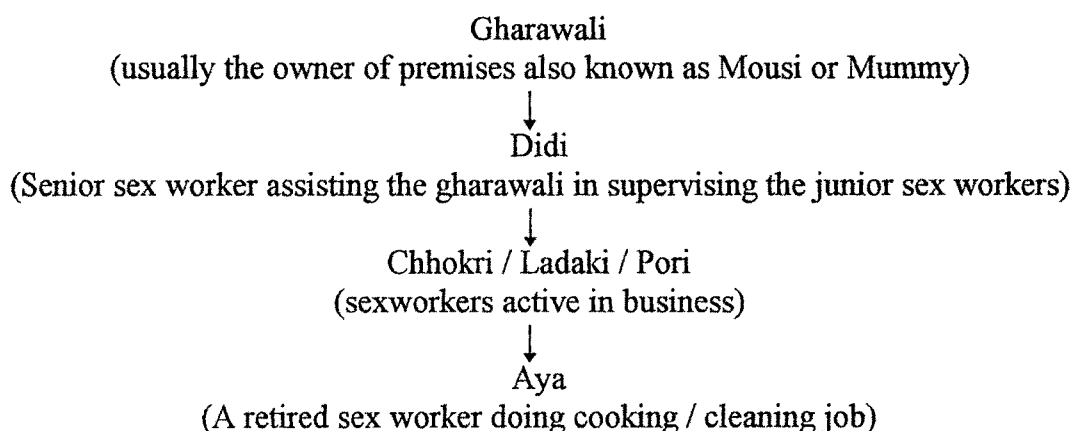
The Social Defence Department of the state government has set up a state level advisory committee mainly to look in to the problems of children of prostitutes and child prostitutes. Barring the provision of State (protection) Home

for women under the old SIT Act, the Social Defence Department has not succeeded in chalking out any special action plan for the development of this group for want of political will.

The Business Set Up :

Unlike in other red-light areas, business in Surat is officially run mainly during day time, stretching till late evenings.

The hierarchy usually is as under :



However, combinations of any other types are also not unusual. In some cases, sex workers hire a premise on rent and function independently, but have some business affiliations with a senior gharawali (eg. in case of police raids, their interest is protected by such senior gharawali or landlord).

Researcher could also observe some men active in the total network claiming to be either the leaders of their own groups or claiming to be distant relations of either 'Mousi' or 'Didi'.

An important observation, confirmed by the discussion with a senior brothel keeper revealed that presently, the total sex workers' community is divided in to two, based on their affiliations with the National Level Associations. As already mentioned in the earlier chapter, one group - mainly consisting of Nepalese sex-workers is attached to Nagpur based 'Amrapali Shakti Sangh' where as the others are attached to Delhi based 'Bhartiya Patita Uddhar Sabha'. A subtle tension prevailed between the two groups because of some difference of opinion in handling their common fund to fight against the move for their evacuation. This was evident from the sheer reluctance some respondents showed in visiting or talking to the members belonging to the opposite camp.

Another important observation was that religion was not decisive factor in the business set up. Intermingling of sex workers following different religions was quite common. Hindu brothel keepers having Muslim or Christian sex workers working under her and vice versa was quite normal. Similarly irrespective of

one's own religion, having faith in certain places like Khwaja Dana Durgah, Kim (a near by village on the outskirts of Surat) Durgah was also seen.

It was also noted that some leading senior 'gharwalis' have now shifted to other parts of the city (eg. Rander, Utran) along with their grown up children, now earning through self employment. These gharwalis came to the red light area during business hours and in their absence, other senior sex worker looked after the business.

After an incident of attempted murder of a person said to be connected with the flesh market, police is posted round the clock in the area. They, however, do not interfere so long as business is carried out peacefully.

Important Vocabulary

Sr.No.	Local term/Phrase	Pure Form	Literal Meaning	Meaning in Res. Setting Context	Special Remarks
1	Chakla Bazaar	Same	Chakla- crossing Bazaar - market	Red-light Area/Sex Market	--
2	Raand	Same	Widow	Prostitute	--
3	Bhadwa	Same	Pimps	Earning commission from a prostitute for bringing clients	At times used interchangeably for procurers and pimps
4	Dalal	Same	Middle man or Agent	Procurer	
5	Mummy	Same	Mother	Very Senior Brothel Keeper	Owning Large Brothel Houses
6	Gharwali	Same	House owner	Brothel Keeper	--
7	Auntie/Mausi	Same	Aunt	Brothel Keeper/Manager	Usually assisting a senior brothel keeper in day to day management
8	Didi	Same	Sister	Senior Sexworker of a brothel	--
9	Kholi	Same	Small room	One room accommodation usually in a chawl	--
10	Girasthi	Grihasthi	Domestic/home related	Room/place for personal use	A guest is made to sit in a place not used for business purpose

Sr.No.	Local term/Phrase	Pure Form	Literal Meaning	Meaning in Res. Setting Context	Special Remarks
11	Nirodh	Same	Prevention	Condom	A Popular brand name of condom
12	Topi	Same	Cap	Condom	--
13	Kela Lene Gai	Same	Gone to take a Banana	(She) is busy entertaining a customer	To suggest she is not free right now
14	Pura Kholana	Same	Opening Fully	Undressing completely	Higher rates are charged if customers demand complete undressing
15	Bithana	Same	Making one sit	Entertaining a customer	--
16	Gharak	Grahak	Customer	Sex service user	--
17	Munh se lena	Same	(taking) orally	Oral Sex	--
18	Pichche se lena	Same	taking from back	Anal Sex	--
19	Chandi	Same	Silver (metal) ulcer	Sexually transmitted diseases	--
20	Kam Nahin Bana	Same	Work could not be done	(Customer) could not (sexually) perform	When a customer is unable to use respondents' service owing to his inability - some sex workers return the money to the customer.

These were some general observations by the researcher about the research setting.

ITPA Crime Statistics : India, Gujarat And Surat :

After having seen the qualitative description of the research setting, it would be worth noting the statistical data regarding the incidence of crime related to prostitution at National, State and City level. The latest officially published data accessible to the researcher were from Crime in India (1997).

According to NCRB, Ministry of Home Affairs, The incidence (8,323) under the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act in 1997 showed steady decline of 38.1 percent during the decade 1987-97; 19.0 percent over the quinquennial average of 1992-96 and an increase of 8.0 percent over previous years. The crime rate was the highest in Goa (9.2) against the national average of 0.9.

Table A : Incidence and Rate of Crimes under ITPA and Percentage Changes during 1997 (Source : NCRB, CII, P.97)

Year	Incidence	Rate
1987	13453	1.7
1992	12580	1.4
1993	12496	1.4
1994	10132	1.1
1995	08447	0.9
1996	07706	0.8
1997	08323	0.9

(Figures rounded off)

* Quinquennial Average 1992-1996 = 10272 (1.1)

* Percentage change in 1997 [(+) Increase / (-) Decrease] over

* 1987 = -38.1

* Q.A = -19.0

* 1996 = 8.0

Table B : ITPA Percentage among Total Cognizable Crimes under SLL (All India) (Source : NCRB, CII, P.99)

Year	ITPA Crime head %
1993	0.3
1994	0.3
1995	0.2
1996	0.2
1997	0.2

(Figures rounded off)

**Table C : Incidence and Rate of Cognizable Crime under the ITPA
Crime head in States and Union Territories during 1997
(Source : NCRB, CII, P.100)**

Sr.No.	States / UT	ITPA Incidence	ITPA Rate
1	Andhra Pradesh	613	0.8
2	Arunachal Pradesh	000	0.0
3	Assam	020	0.1
4	Bihar	021	0.0
5	Goa	134	9.2
6*	GUJARAT*	005*	0.0*
7	Haryana	007	0.0
8	Himachal Pradesh	001	0.0
9	Jamm & Kashmir	002	0.0
10	Karnataka	1645	3.3
11	Kerala	041	0.1
12	Madhya Pradesh	016	0.0
13	Maharashtra	1653	1.9
14	Manipur	000	0.0
15	Meghalaya	001	0.0
16	Mizoram	001	0.1
17	Nagaland	000	0.0
18	Orissa	11	0.0
19	Punjab	03	0.0
20	Rajasthan	41	0.1
21	Sikkim	000	0.0
22	Tamilnadu	3863	6.4
23	Tripura	000	0.0

cont..

Sr.No.	States / UT	ITPA Incidence	ITPA Rate
24	Uttar Pradesh	57	0.0
25	West Bengal	28	0.0
	Total (States)	8163	0.9
Union Territories			
26	A & N Islands	000	0.0
27	Chandigarh	01	0.1
28	D & N Haveli	00	0.0
29	Daman & Diu	00	0.0
30	Delhi	117	0.9
31	Lakshadweep	00	0.0
32	Pondicherry	42	4.2
	Total (UTs)	160	1.1
	Total (All India)	8323	0.9

(Figures Rounded Off)

**Table D : Incidence (I) and Rate of Cognizable Crime under the
ITPA Crime Head in Cities of India during 1997
(Source : NCRB, CII, P.103)**

Sr.No.	Cities	ITPA Incidence	ITPA Rate
1	Ahmedabad	004	0.1
2	Bangalore	394	7.7
3	Bhopal	001	0.1
4	Bombay	1640	10.0
5	Calcutta	0026	0.2
6	Coimbatore	0292	23.7
7	Delhi	115	01.1
8	Hyderabad	058	1.0
9	Indore	005	0.4
10	Jaipur	019	1.0
11	Kanpur	00	0.0
12	Kochi	04	0.3
13	Lucknow	03	0.1
14	Ludhiana	00	0.0
15	Madras	377	6.0
16	Madurai	197	16.1
17	Nagpur	00	0.0

Cont..

Sr.No.	Cities	ITPA Incidence	ITPA Rate
18	Patna	002	0.2
19	Pune	002	0.1
20*	SURAT*	001*	0.0*
21	Vadodara	000	0.0
22	Varanasi	000	0.0
23	Vishakha Patnam	004	0.3

(Figures rounded off)

According to N.C.R.B. (M.H.A; 1997), - Offences under Immoral Trafficking and their prevention is predominantly an Urban specific crime demanding considerable attention of the Law Enforcement Agencies of the cities in detecting and curbing these unlawful activities. This offence which contributed 37.8 percent in the All India share (reported from 23 cities) seems to get disproportionate treatment in enforcement by the city police authorities. The police in the city of Bombay (1640) and Bangalore (394) have effectively enforced this Act whereas their counterparts in other mega cities (having population over 10 lakhs as per 1991 census) have reported less such incidence which clearly calls for greater intensification in the enforcement of this preventive law.

It must be noted here that Surat - where the present research was conducted - is classified as a 'B' class city based on the prescribed standards viz. population, size, male working population engaged in non- agricultural pursuits and density of population.

Disposal of Cases :

Table E : Percentage Disposal of ITPA Cases - 1997 (All India)
(Source : NCRB, CII)

Disposal By	Disposed %	Pending %	Total %
Police	86.8	13.2	= 100
Court	56.5	43.5	= 100

Table F : Percentage of ITPA Crime Cases Disposed of By Courts During 1997 (All India) (Source NCRB, CII)

Percentage of cases to total cases				Conviction Rate	
Compounded or with drawn	In which trials were completed			Pending Trial	(2) / (3) x 100
	Convicted	Acquitted or Discharged	Total		
	(2)	(3)	= (2)+(3)		
2.4	49.4	4.7	54.1	43.5	91.4

* The above table shows a high conviction rate at national level.

* The conviction rate of ITPA crimes in Gujarat during 1997 is 20.00 (as against All India Conviction Rate of 91.4%).

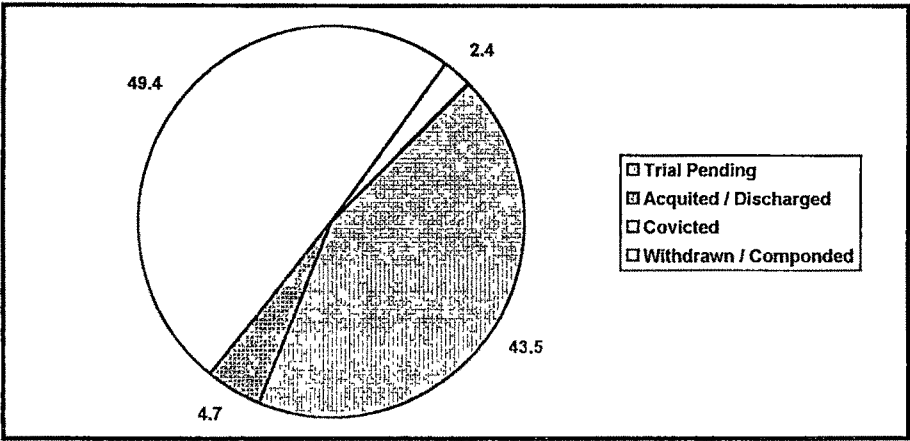
Table G : Persons Arrested under ITPA Crimes by Age Groups and Sex During 1997 (All India)

Age Group	Male	Female
Below 16 years	0	11
16 to 18 years	2	89
18 to 30 years	779	6940
30 to 50 years	479	2951
50 years & above	42	80
Total	1302	10071
	+ = 11373	

The table clearly shows that among the persons arrested under ITPA, majority is of adult females

Percentage of ITPA Crime Cases Disposed of Court 1997 (All India)

Pl. see Table F



In Gujarat the offencewise prison statistics of convicts for the year 1998 show that not a single conviction has taken place as far as judicial custody or imprisonment is concerned (Please see item No. 23 of the following page).

Table - H : Offencewise Prison Statistics - Gujarat State - ITPA

3.3 Offence wise (Categorising as Violent Crime, Property Crime etc.)

3.3.1 Convicts: Gujarat State :- 1998

Sr. No.	Offence	Age (in Years)															Total (All age Groups)		
		Below 16			16 & above but below 18			18 & above but below 30			30 & above but below 50			50 & above					
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
		3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
1.	2.																		
A. IPC Cases																			
1.	Murder (u/s 302 &303)	-	-	-	-	-	-	420	5	425	741	17	758	14	2	16	1175	24	1199
2.	Attempt to commit Murder (u/s 307)	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	-	49	69	9	78	28	4	32	146	13	159
3.	C.H.not amounting to Murder (u/s 304&308)	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	8	26	49	7	56	-	-	-	67	15	82
4.	Rape(u/s 376)	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	-	38	68	-	68	3	-	3	109	-	109
5.	Kidnapping & Abduction (u/s 363to 369,371to 373)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	8	4	-	4	-	-	-	12	-	12
6.	Decoyt (u/s 395to 398)	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	-	47	34	-	34	7	-	7	88	-	88
7.	Prep.& Assembly for Decoyt (399 to 402)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Robbery,(U/s 392 to 394, 397 & 398.)	-	-	-	1	-	1	8	-	8	7	-	7	6	-	6	22	-	22
9.	Burglary (u/s 449to452, 454, 455, 457 to 460)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	3	-	-	-	4	-	4
10.	Thefts (u/s 379 to 382)	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	1	42	44	3	47	1	-	1	86	4	90
11.	Riots (u/s 146to149)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Criminal Breach of Trust (u/s 406to409)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3
13.	Cheating (u/s 417 & 420)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	1	7	41	-	41	2	-	2	49	1	50
14.	Counterfeiting (u/s 231to 254A	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	9	-	9	2	-	2	14	-	14
15.	Other IPC crimes	-	-	-	2	-	2	39	-	39	48	-	48	6	-	6	95	-	95
16.	Total (A)	-	-	-	3	-	3	680	15	695	1118	36	1154	69	6	75	1870	57	1927

JD13/P.5.

3.3 Offence wise (Categorising as Violent Crime, Property Crime etc.) Gujarat State:- 1998

3.3.1 Convicts:

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20
<u>B. L. & SL Cases</u>																			
17. Arms Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	8	17	-	17	23	2	25
18. M.P.S Act	-	-	-	2	-	2	53	2	55	79	4	83	2	1	3	136	7	143	
19. Gambling Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	26	9	-	9	1	-	1	36	-	36	
20. Excise Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
21. Prohibition Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	89	-	89	69	2	71	8	-	8	166	2	168	
22. Explosive & Explosive Substa. Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
23. Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act ✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
24. Indian Railways Act.	-	-	-	3	-	3	38	-	38	37	-	37	15	-	15	93	-	93	
25. Registration of Foreigners Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	6	
26. Protection of Civil Rights Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
27. Indian Passport Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28. Essential Commodities Act.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
29. Antiquities & Art Treasure Act.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30. Dowry Prohibition Act	-	-	-	2	-	2	18	-	18	11	-	11	10	-	10	41	-	4	
31. Foreign Exchange Regulation Act-1973	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
32. Official Secrets Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
33. Prevention of Corruption Act.1988	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	
34. Conservation of Foreign Exchange & Prevention of Smuggling. Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	
35. National Secu. Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
36. Other SLL offence	-	-	-	11	-	11	48	-	48	103	-	103	25	-	25	187	-	18	
37. Total (B)	-	-	-	18	-	18	283	2	285	317	8	325	78	1	79	696	11	70	
38.(C) Civil & other cases	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
39.Total (A+B+C).	-	-	-	21	-	21	963	17	980	1435	44	1479	147	7	154	2566	68	263	

JD13/P.6

(Source : I. G. Prisons)

Bombay Police Act (S.110/117) :

It must be noted however that in Gujarat offences by prostitutes are also dealt with under sections 110 & 117 of Bombay Police Act possibly for two reasons :

- 1) Compared to the procedural requirements of ITP Act, those under B.P.A. (S.110/117) are less complex.
- 2) S.110 of BPA which contains provisions regarding indecent behaviour in public place, which are wide enough to cover prostitutes soliciting for customers in a public place.

The researcher, therefore, also tried to explore the incidence of cases under these sections in the state of Gujarat.

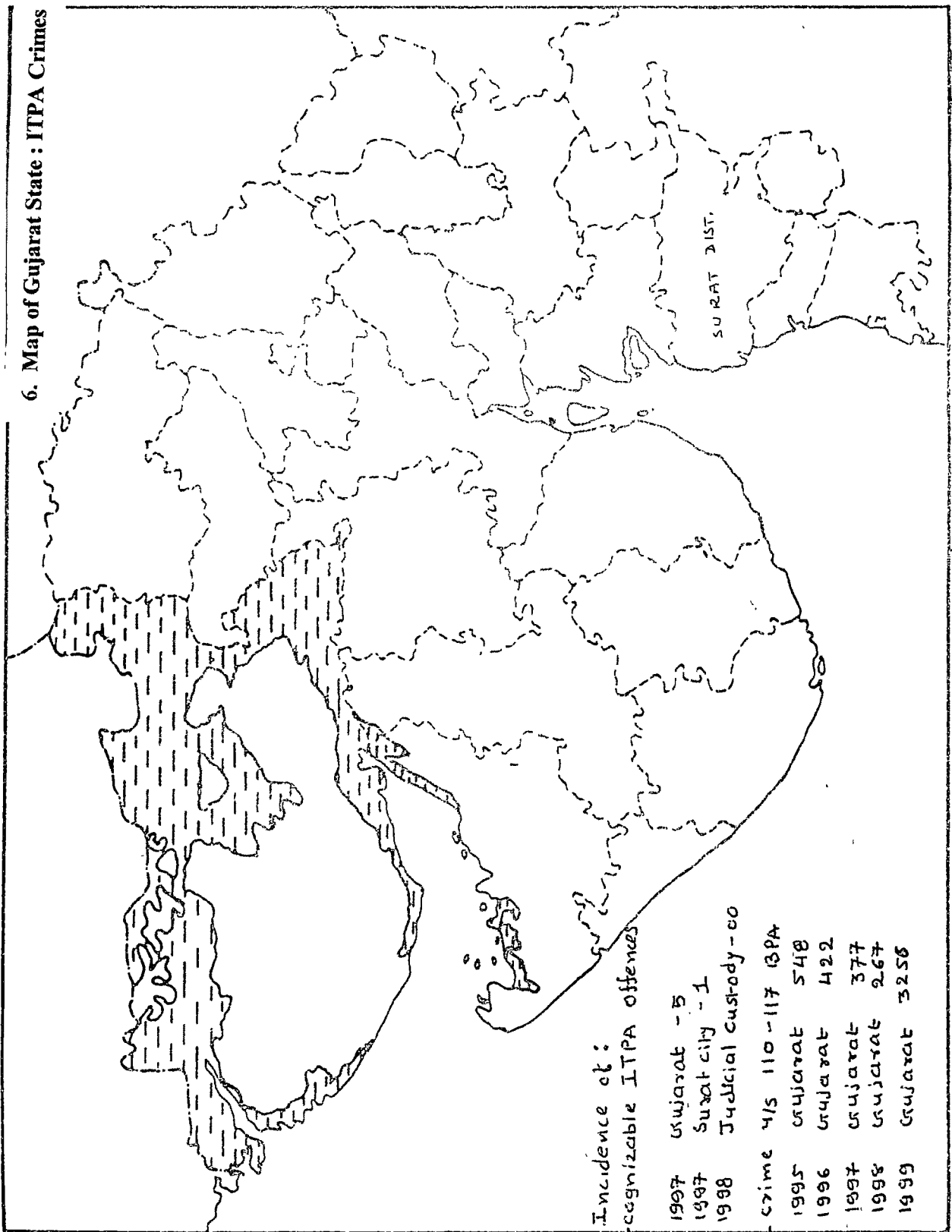
The following table on offences against women in Gujarat State, 1995 to February 2000 (CID Crime) shows item No. 14 B.P. Act S-110, 117. The three digit figures of previous four years (1995-98) show a sudden rise in the year 1999 which has reported 3256 offences under BAA 110-117.

Specific findings on Respondents of present study their family background and business related aspects are described in the following chapters.

Offences Against Women - Head Wise 1995 to February-2000										
Sr.	Head	Section	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Up to 2/00	Up to 2/99	Differ.
No.										
1	Rape Cases	376 IPC	251	253	321	311	3725	52	42	10
2	Kidnaping	363 IPC	627	551	769	914	10950	126	160	-34
3	Murder	302 IPC	326	345	376	345	4146	48	64	-16
4	Attempt to Murder	307 IPC	101	65	102	106	1253	10	12	-2
5	Dowry Death	304B IPC	55	63	85	63	750	9	8	1
6	Torture	498 IPC	1809	1909	2419	2989	36244	478	421	57
7	Molestation	354 IPC	1124	992	1073	1192	14230	144	198	-54
8	EVE-Teasing	509 IPC	74	87	83	114	1388	35	18	17
9	Abatement to Suicide	306 IPC	455	458	523	536	6471	77	91	-14
10	Grievous Hurt	325 IPC	267	283	300	305	3649	48	43	5
11	Simple Hurt	324 IPC	868	853	832	996	11919	116	140	-24
12	Child Marriage		50	34	21	17	213	4	5	-1
13	Attempt Suicide	309 IPC	100	150	221	234	2783	18	42	-24
14	B.P.Act	110.117	548	422	377	267	3256	32	48	-16
15	Suicide Death	Cr.R.C.174	1523	1475	1476	1638	19792	231	246	-15
16	Accident Death	Cr.P.C.174	2753	2804	3077	3767	44815	469	543	-74
17	Other	337 IPC	617	581	647	839	10057	140	148	-3
								0	0	
	Total.....	(1 to 17)	11548	11325	12702	14633	175641	2037	2229	-192
	C.I.D. CRIME									

Table - I : Offences Against Women in Gujarat State - B.P.A 110-117

6. Map of Gujarat State : ITPA Crimes



Incidence of:
cognizable ITPA offences

1997	Gujarat - B
1997	Surat city - 1
1998	Judicial custody - 00
Crime	4/5 110-117 BPA
1995	Gujarat 548
1996	Gujarat 422
1997	Gujarat 377
1998	Gujarat 267
1999	Gujarat 3256