ANNEXURE – I

HIV/AIDS AND WOMEN SEX WORKERS

A study in East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh

Demographic Information

1. Name (full) :
2. Age :
3. Education Status : Illiterate/ Literate/ Primary/ Secondary/ Higher
4. Social Background : OC/ BC/ SC/ ST/ Others
5. Marital Status : Unmarried/ Married/ Divorced/ Widowed/ Deserted
6. Economic Background:
7. Family Type : Nuclear/ Joint/ Broken families
8. Residential Status : Parents/ Spouse/ Paramour / Relatives/ Friends/ Separate
9. No. of dependents :
10. How is your work organized?
   1. At Home/ Secret  2. At a Brothel/ Lodge
   3. Highway/ Street  4. Call girls
11. Unforeseen Reasons
   1. No response  2. Traditional Occupation  3 Harassment by husbands
   4. Harassment by family members 5. Take care of Dependents


15. Migration
  1. From village  2. From mandal HQ  3. From district HQ
  4. From neighbouring region  5. From other states

16. Number of Clients per a day (24 hours): <2/ 3-4/ 5-6/ 7-8/ >9

17. Working Time per a day
  1. 3AM to 10AM  2. 10AM to 2PM  3. 2PM to 6 PM
  4. 6PM to 10PM  5. 10PM to 2AM

18. Number of Coitus per a day: <2/ 3-4/ 5-6/ 7-8/ >9

19. Safety Measures:

20. Preferences of Sexual Behavior of Customers
  4. Oral  5. Abnormal

21. Awareness of parents/ relatives about the profession of women sex workers
  1. Aware and accepted  2. Aware and not accepted  3. Not aware

22. Awareness of husband about the profession of women sex workers
  1. Aware and accepted  2. Aware and not accepted  3. Not aware

23. Awareness of children about the profession of women sex workers
  1. Aware and accepted  2. Aware and not accepted  3. Not aware

24. Awareness of neighbours about the profession of women sex workers
  1. Aware and accepted  2. Aware and not accepted  3. Not aware
Influenced factors determining the respondent to became a sex worker

1. Family Factors
   a) Insufficient income  b) Family disputes  c) Dependent children
d) Husband harassment  e) Dissatisfaction of marital life
f) Other than family problems

2. Relatives Factors
   a) Dependent Parents/ in-laws
   b) Take care of sibling & their children
c) Ill-treatment by parents/ step parents
d) Relatives instigation
e) Immoral living and sexual abuse

3. Caste/ community Factors
   a) Traditional occupation  b) Inter caste marriage disputes
c) Inter caste instigations  d) Social customs
e) Lack of education and sex education

4. Social Factors
   a) Working environment  b) Migration and Neighborhood
c) Human trafficking and peer groups  d) Rape/ persuasion by other
e) Gender inequality, advertisement and about movies

5. Behavioural Factors
   a) Illicit relation  b) Luxury life  c) Hobbies and habits
d) Sexual urge  e) Comprising life
Knowledge about the profession

1. Do you know the HIV/AIDS transmit from one person to other through sexual intercourse? 1) Yes 2) No

2. If yes, how do you know about this?
   a) Co-sex worker (   )
   b) Media (   )
   c) NGOs (   )
   d) Pamphlets (   )

3. Did you use condom at the time of sexual intercourse? Yes / No

4. Do you have knowledge on proper usage and dispose of condom? Yes/ No

5. Who told about usage of condoms?
   a) Co-sex worker (   )
   b) Media (   )
   c) NGOs (   )
   d) Pamphlets (   )

6. Do you have habit to consume alcohol/ drugs? Yes / No

7. If yes, how long you are in this habit?
   a) < 1 year  b) 2 years  c) Above 2 years

8. Do you consume alcohol/ drugs at the time of sexual intercourse?
   a) Yes b) No

9. Did anyone suggest you this is not a good profession?  a) Yes
   b) No
10. If yes, who are they?

   a) Co-sex worker  
   b) Counsellors  
   c) NGOs  
   d) Friends
Problems

1. Problems faced by the sex workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems with</th>
<th>Many times</th>
<th>Some times</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Police</td>
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<td>2. Public</td>
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<td>3. Clients</td>
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<td>4. Co-sex workers</td>
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<td>5. Political leaders</td>
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2. If you face problems with the above said persons, who will help you?
   a) Co-sex worker  b) Friends  c) NGOs  d) Social workers

3. Do you infected by HIV?       Yes / No

4. Why you doubted you are infected by HIV?
   a) Sickness  b) Unsafe sexual participation
   c) Sexual participation with HIV patient  d) Suggested by NGOs

5. Where did you go first time for the testing of HIV?
   a) Private hospital  b) ICTC  c) NGO’s  d) Government hospital

6. Do you go for test voluntarily or any other referred?
   a) Voluntarily  b) Doctor  c) NGO’s  d) Co-sex workers

7. How do you feel at the time of infection or diagnosed?
   a) Very sad  b) Shocked  c) Cried  d) Other (angry, silent)

8. How do you manage the crisis situation?
   a) Support by co-sex workers  b) Friends  c) NGOs

9. Who came forward to support you at this situation?
   a) Friends  b) relatives  c) Co-sex workers  d) NGOs

10. Do you have any legal problems?       Yes / no
    If yes, who supported you in advocacy?
       a) Co-sex workers  b) Friends  c) NGOs
ANNEXURE – II

PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

According to A.P District Gazetter, (1979) “East Godavari district for a long time not a homogenous unit and its component parts are ruled by various dynasties at different periods of time such as the Mauryas, Satavahanas, Vishnukundins, Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, Imperial Cholas, Velanati Cholas, Kakatiyas, Musunuri Chiefs, Reddis of Kondavidu, Gajapatis of Orissa, Qutb Shahis, Mughals and Asaf Jahis. In the early British period the constituent parts of the present district are at first administered by the Chief and Council at Machilipatnam, but in A.D. 1794, Collectors, who are made directly responsible to the Board of Revenue, are appointed at Kakinada and Rajahmundry. Several changes took place in the administration of the district till A.D. 1859 when the districts of Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam and Guntur are reconstituted into Godavari and Krishna districts. In 1904, the eastwhile taluks of Yernagudem, Eluru, Tanuku, Bheemavaram and Narasapur (excluding the Nagaram Island) are transferred to Krishna. On the 15th of April 1925, Krishna district was again bifurcated and West Godavari district was constituted” (Pp1-2). In the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh, the historians have traced out an inscription of people which dates back to 1139 A.D. These inscriptions suggest that the eight year old girls in the temple of Nagesvara performed various forms of dance. Entertaining dancing girls are also found among the Nizamas of Hyderabad. Two categories of Telugu girls are classified among them as dancing girls, like ‘bogams’, ‘sani’ ‘jan’ and
‘nayakan’ who are attached to names of Hindus and Mohammedans. A comprehensive picture of this group was given by Sayed Siraj Ul Hassan. Bogams are originally working in the temples of Lord Siva and Vishnu. They are considered as the ‘servants of the Gods’, but at present times they are seen engaged in singing, dancing and prostitution to earn their livelihood. The initiation ceremony of the Bogam takes place when she is married to the idol of Lord Krishna and in case of Jan when she is married to a dagger. In the case of the Bogam, for marriage a sixteen pillar post is put up at the bride’s house where the idol of the Lord Krishna is bought on an auspicious day. The bride is made to stand in front of the idol and a curtain is placed between them. Then the officiating Brahmin recites the marriage vows and wedding is performed in an orthodox manner. The corresponding ceremonies are similar to those of Munnur Kapu marriage. In the Nagavali day, the bride sits besides the idol and offers prayers to the consort of Lord Siva and Gowri. Betel leaves and vermilion are distributed among the dancing girls who gain the function. These dancing girls perform dances, sing songs and bless the bride. After the ceremonies are over they return to their houses. The girls start at an early age to perform and learn the art of dance and are able to perform till the age of 30 or 40 years. Girls who dance in the temple are required to dance daily in front of the idols. While they perform their dance in front of the idols, the priests continue their work of officiating and offering prayers to the idols. But, these girls are having ornamented and dressed in silk or muslin dressed when they are to perform in public. The bogams sing songs in praise of Lord Krishna and about his deeds also. In Andhra Pradesh, the situations of such temple dancers have changed after the passing of a legislation which banned their
association with any such works. During 1986, when the ban was formulated, there are sixteen thousand Devadasis in Andhra Pradesh (Nagendra Kumar Singh, 1997).

According to the 2011 census East Godavari district has a population of 5,151,549, where 2,569,419 are male and 2,582,130 are female. This gives it a ranking of 19th in India (out of a total of 640) and 2nd in its state. The district has a population density of 477 inhabitants per square kilometre (1,240 /sq mi). Its population growth rate over the decade 2001-2011 was 5.1%. East Godavari has a sex ratio of 1005 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 71.35% (Census, 2011). The average literacy rate of East Godavari in 2011 found higher (71.35%) compared to 65.48% in 2001. On a gender basis, male and female literacy was 74.91% and 67.82% respectively. With regards to sex ratio in East Godavari, it stood at 1005 per 1000 males compared to the 2001 census figure of 993. The average national sex ratio in India is 940 as per the 2011 census. There were total 492,446 children under the age of 0-6 against 613,490 of 2001 census. Of total 492,446 male and female were 250,086 and 242,360 respectively. The child sex ratio as per census 2011 was 969 compared to 978 in 2001. In 2011, children under 0-6 formed 9.56% of East Godavari district compared to 12.52% in 2001.

The present study has been conducted on female sex workers of East Godavari district which is divided into five Revenue Divisions namely Kakinada, Peddapuram, Amalapuram, Rajahmundry and Rampachodavaram, 60 Revenue mandals and 1011 Grama Panchayats. The entire agency area is
under one (Rampachodavaram) Revenue division. The district is large with high density of population, situated on the North East of Andhra Pradesh in the geographical co-ordination of 16-30° and 18-20° of the northern latitude and 81-30° and 82-36° of the eastern longitude. The district is bounded on the north by Visakhapatnam district and the state of Orissa, on the east by Bay of Bengal on the south and on the West by West Godavari and Khammam districts. It can be broadly classified into three natural zones the delta, upland and agency tracts.

The East Godavari district is known as rice bowl of Andhra Pradesh with lush paddy fields and coconut groves. It is the rice granary of Andhra Pradesh, attracts tourists to have a glimpse of its rich cultural heritage, where the lush paddy fields swaying in the breeze appear to dance in a celebration to life. The climate is comparatively equitable and it is very warm in April to June with a maximum temperature of about 40°C. The normal rainfall of the district is 115cm. More than half of the rainfall is brought by Southwest monsoon. While the rest of the rain falls during northeast monsoon period i.e. October and November. The entire area comprises of red loamy soils. Minerals such as Bauxite, Graphite, Tungsten is found in this agency area. Major portion of the forest in the agency area belongs to mixed deciduous species with low-density, poor growth and height expect in some areas where the growth is fairly dense. The principal species growing are Terminalia fomenste, Terminalia chebula, Terocorpus marspuiam, Albezzia, Cassifistula, Cumini. Though wild life has enormously decreased due to the poaching and deforestation, the animals like Deer, Sambar, Rabbit, Leopard, Spotted deer and Bison are found in this area.
The present subjects are women sex workers belonging to non-tribal, tribal and others like Christians and Muslims. The non tribal communities include Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vysya, Reddi, Kamma, Velama and Kapu communities and also people belonging to other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. The tribal communities inhabiting Eastern Ghats include Konda Reddi, Koya Dora Konda Dora, Konda Kammara and Valmiki women are also part of the subjects.

The district is pre-eminently a unilingual, because Telugu is the language spoken by the 98 percent of the total population and the script is Brahmi. The Urdu language is spoken by Muslims. The literacy rate of people is 71.35 percent (Census, 2011). Traditionally, men commonly sport a Dothi and Kurtha. Among the Kshatriyas, the turbans worn by them are made to bunch out at the left side above the ear; the younger people wear trousers, pants and shirts. The women wear blouses and sariees. Shalwar and Kameez are also put on by some Muslim women; Purdah is no longer as rigidly observed as of old, particularly among the Upper Class Muslims. However, now a days, all communities wear modern dresses. The tribal people are generally scantily clothed. The clothing of women is nearly as limited as that of the males. All women are fond of flowers, bangles, bottu (a sticker or bindu which is applied by between the eye brows). Ornaments like tali, and mattelu (silver rings on the toes) are worn especially by married Hindu women, because these ornaments are the seal and symbol of marriage and are discarded only in an unfortunate event of widowhood. Some of the Muslims and Christian women, particularly Catholics, put on bindi. With regard to food, rice constitutes the staple food in the district. The non-vegetarian diet consists
of mutton, chicken, and fish. Brahmin and Vysyas are vegetarians. In the upland areas and more particularly in agency areas people eat ragi, jowar and bajra. It is observed that the men consume alcoholic drinks. Both men and women smoke country cigars (chutta). In addition, reverse smoking (addapoga) is common among the old rural women.

They strictly observe the rule of caste endogamy and clan exogamy; prefer to marry daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt followed by uncle niece marriage. Monogamy is common form of marriage. Muslims allow polygamy. Among Muslims marriages are usually negotiated and settled by the parents of the boy and girl. Nikha, which is the actual marriage ceremony, is performed at the bride’s house by the Quazi. Adaptation of a boy or a girl has no religious sanction. Christians follow many of manners and customs associated with the Hindus but the actual marriage ceremony is solemnized in a church by a priest. The dowry system that is bride groom price in cash and kind demand made by the bride groom’s parents from the bride’s parents as cash other costly gifts in the shape of land, house clothes and jewellry, as a Hindu institution has now spread to the Muslims and Christians as well. The tribal people follow marriage by “negotiation” which is the common mode of acquiring a mate but at the same time “marriage by elopement” is also noticed. They practice bride price in both kind and cash. The wedding ceremony is usually taken place at the bride groom’s house. The system is patriarchal where patriarchal descent and patrilocal residence is observed. Nuclear families are common although a few joint families are noticed among these people.
The Brahmin has no more a monopoly of learning and traditional priesthood, than the Vysya of trade, the Kshatriya of governance and sudra of tilling the soil and they no more follow their traditional caste occupations. Now a day, in all the communities there is a common hunger for more and better education and uniform glamour for white-collared jobs and positions of power in public life. The tribal economy is primarily agro-forest based; most of them are agriculturalists. The Konda Reddis depend on ‘shifting cultivation’. They also gather minor forest produce roots, tubers, nuts and collection of firewood from the forest. Politically, the Kammas are dominant. In caste disputes people approach their ‘Kulasangam’ and settle their disputes. Every village will have a chief, called ‘head man’. The traditional tribal council settles disputes in the tribe. The ‘head man’ (Naidu) solves inter tribal disputes. Recently the Government of Andhra Pradesh has clubbed few villages together and formed a statutory village Panchayat. The president and members are elected by tribal people who are above 18 years, the Panchayat looks after the general administration and oversee the developmental works of village. But it is observed that even today the ‘headman’ is powerful in regarding decision making disputes, marriages and other specific rituals. The head of the village works as a coordinator between the people and Government.

The Kalavantulu traditionally dancers and singers in the Hindu dancers and singers in the Hindu temples. They are also known by various other names like the Bogamvallu, Devadasi, Basavais, Ganikulu, Sani etc. They are assigned duties of cleaning and decorating the temple and idols airing flowers. They also fanned the idols using chammaras and when the idol of the
deity is carried in procession, they carry the Kumabhaharati, the sacred light and they sing and dance before the deity. Other than few references in the Puranas and other Hindu literature, there is not much information available on the origin of the Kalavantulu. Old Hindu literature mentions seven classes like, data (one who gives herself as a gift to a temple); vikrita (one who sells herself to the same purpose); bhritya (one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of the family); hrita (one who is enticed away and presented to a temple); alankara (one who, being well trained in her profession, is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen); and rudraganika (one who receives regular wages from a temple and is employed to sing and dance). The Madaras Census Report (1901) states the Devadasis as dancing girls attached to the Tamil Temples who earn their living by dancing and singing. The term ‘deva’ means deity, and ‘dasi’ means servant. Devadasis are believed to be the offspring of handed uniforms of members of different castes.

Thurston (1909) is of the view that this community dates back to the 9th century A.D. when temple building in Southern India was a common activity. The Devadasis consider themselves as the descendant of Ramba, who was a cannot dancer Devendra executive of the empire. Yet, there are some who believe that they originated from a Buddhist community. The male sanyasis were called yogulu and the female sanyasinis are known as yoginilu among the Buddhists. Due to the sexual exploitation of the termites by the male sanyasis, the term yogini is also called bhogini derogatively, and their descendants are known as Bhogamvallu. The term Devadasi actually comes into use, when Hinduism underwent revival and if led to the formation of
Devadasis as a separate caste who are assigned the temple duties. This profession was supported by both the state and the church, that the Turkish ambassador to the court of Vijayanagaram in the 15th century described women of this class as living in state-controlled institutions. Thurston states that, these women did enjoy a considerable social position.

Devadasis found their patrons among the earlier rulers who gave them agricultural lands as maddila manyam, devadasi manyam and gajjela manyam as a payment for this services the temples. The Bhagavatulu of Kuchupudi who belonged to the Brahmins trained fee Kalavantulu females in the court of singing and dancing right from child hood. They acted the part of ‘Bhaamakalapam’ and ‘Rukminin Kalyanam’. The male members trained in the playing of musical instrument like maddila, fidelu and harmonium. According to Thurston “the dancing girl’s caste are now practically the sole repository of Indian music, the system of which is probably one of the oldest in the world”. Rev. Philips states “dancing girls” are the most accomplished woman among the Hindu. They read, write, sing, play as well as dance”. The social position of the Kalavantulu temples changed with the changes in socio-economic factors and with the decline of the ancient kingdoms, they either took up prostitution to earn their livelihood or became concubines to the zamindars and pettandars for whom having concubines was a symbol of prestige.

During the time of dedicating a female Kalavantulu to a temple they are married to the deity of the temple and this ceremony is worked by the tying of the tali armed the women’s neck by the oldest woman of the community on
behalf of the deity. The marriage of the woman to the deity also symbolises that she will never be a widow and hence is considered as a “muthaiduva” (without widowhood) till death. Her presence during marriages is auspicious and she prepares the nallapusalu (black beads) which is an important item of Hindu marriage badge. The highest landowning castes during earlier times invited male and female member of the Kalavantulu to entertain the guests during marriage ceremonies and this was called “Bhogam melam”.

The Kalavantulu community also engaged in adoption of children from other communities, hence Thurston (1909) states that the Devadasis are the only classes of women, who are under the Hindu laws administrated, adapt girls themselves. Thruston also states that this caste claims their superiority over Sani, Rajadasi, Turaksani etc. The situation however changed during the later part of the British rule due to reformist movements. In 1900 the members of this community started a caste association they advocated of having this daughters married in normal way so as to remove the stigma on their community. Distributed throughout the state and concentrated in Krishna District, the Backward Class Commission Report (1970) notes that, the actual population size of Kalavantulu could be higher as the members are unwilling to identify themselves due to the fear of social stigma. They tend to identify themselves with other communities. For instance, the Kalavantulu belonging to Rayalaseema region identify them with the Balija and in Coastal Andhra, they identify themselves as the Telaga language and are non-vegetarian in diet. Earlier the female child took up the traditional occupation of singing and dancing and the male child was married off to other economically poor castes. If a family did not have a girl child from another community for the
continuation of the traditional occupation, which changed after the 1900. The Kalavantulu took up different occupations after giving have up their traditional occupations. They become tailors, carpenters, petty traders, agriculartist and some worked as Government employees. They observe all Hindu festivals and go on pilgrimage to Tirupati and Srikalhasthi. They have two different ways of disposing the dead, the Vishnava set cremate their dead with a Sathani priest presiding over. The Siva set bury their dead with a Jangam priest looking over the burial (Bapu Haranath, 2003)

**Procedure of Kannerikam (marriage)**

The Kalavantulu community in the field area performs Kannerikam ritual when a girl attains puberty. They explain that they dedicate a virgin girl to the deity offering different services which are highest form of worship to the deity. The ritual starts with fixing an auspicious time by the temple priest. The virgin girl that is to be offered for the temple services is taken to the deity during the sun set. The girl is taken to sanctum sanctorum and was made to sit before the deity. In between the idol and the girl they place rice flour and on this different varieties of sweets five, seven or nine numbers and similar number of fruits, milk and a variety of flowers. The doors of the sanctorum are closed and the girl alone sleeps in the temple. They believe that the girl in question loses her sense and goes in to a deep sleep. In the morning doors will be opened when she knocks. If the imprints of the feet of the deity are noticed in the rice flour then it will be considered that the girl is blessed by deity and she will be considered as holy. She is entitled to share in the produce obtained from the temple Inam lands.
The prostitution as an occupation is outlawed by the Government with stinging to ban based on legal acts. This ban resulted in the changes in the procedure of Kannerikam. In recent times the girl in question is not kept throughout the night in the temple but was ceremoniously kept in the sanctum sanctorum and it will be for three consequent nights. Then she is taken back to her home. This process advertises her availability to the rich landlords of the area who compete for sexual favors since sex with a virgin girl is considered highly desirable and pleasant. The girl is offered to the highest better and a highly influential person. In Muramanda village a virgin girl is offered an amount ranging from Rs Rs 10,000-20,000/-, a princely sum where majority of the people are in below poverty line. On an appointed date the client visits the girl’s house and he is considered as son in law to their house. He is given qualitative food for three days and is treated as distinguished guest. Then the client ties Mangalasuthram (marriage tie) around the girl’s neck. In other parts of the district however there is a variation in the procedure while in some cases it is the paternal aunt who ties yellow thread. In Peddapuram, Mangalasuthram is tied around a knife and it will be placed in the neck by one of the paternal female relatives.

The bed room is decorated with Jasmine and other flowers. Different varieties of sweets in three, five or seven (odd numbers), fruits and milk are placed in the room. The bed is decorated with flowers, garlands and sprinkled with perfumes. The virgin girl has to wear white saree, and she is decorated with jewels and flowers. Her parental aunt or any other female family member takes her to the bed room. The auspicious time for the first sex is fixed. Certain restrictions are placed on the Kannerikam girl who would be sex
worker and the groom (client). They are not forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages on these nights (first night) nor did they allow non-vegetarian food. It is also pertinent to note that the auspicious time is fixed for first penetration. Since, normally the girls are of tender age (below 16 years) and the clients usually are of middle age, the forcible penetration of the male organ sometimes ruptures the vaginal walls causing physical pain and over bleeding. In such cases the girl is sent to the hospital clandestinely. However currently as per law this will be considered as a rape as the girl is minor. This will be treated as case of harassment punishable by the stringent laws enacted by the law courts against the marriages of minor girls. The law is totally violated in the rural areas of India and the female sex workers are no exception. In such situations the expenditure will be borne by the client. However, if the client resorts to unnatural sex (other than vaginal) such clients will be sent out of the house with a stern warning not to visit their house again. The respect that is bestowed normally (treating him as son-in-law) is not applicable in such cases. If the girl becomes pregnant some times in such situations, since condom is not used in this ritual and the absence of condom used in coitus with the client who had first sex, it is optional for the girl either to have pregnancy or to terminate it. If she wants to terminate pregnancy it will be during either third or fourth month of pregnancy. Among the traditional communities, the procedure adopted for Kannerikam is similar to the normal marriages among Hindu castes. The difference being in normal marriages the bride’s father and mother perform the ritual of washing the feet of the bride groom, whereas in these communities since the lack of knowledge of identification in the biological fatherhood, the girl’s mother herself alone
performs ritual by tying a towel around her waist. The auspicious time for this ceremony will be decided by a Brahmin Purohit attached to the family unlike in some other lower castes. The girl is decorated with jewels and flowers as in the case of the bride in other communities. The mixture of Jeera and Jaggery is placed on the head of the bride and groom during the auspicious time fixed for marriage. The special pujas are performed to Ganapati (Elephant god) and Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth). The goddess Lakshmi is being worshipped for her blessings to bestow the wealth. Both the groom (in this case the wealthy client) and the bride (in this case the girl to be initiated into sex work) will take pledge in the name of the deities. The client will make this promise as in the case of normal marriage to be observed throughout their lives as they consider their union as eternal but in this case this promise is sharing in the name of the gods, which is purely ritual in nature. The girl who is to be initiated to sex work will offer her body and treats him just like any other customer after few days. However some privileges are given to the person who had first sex with her. If his visits are infrequent, he will not be charged with the usual rates for sex, except for a few gifts and she will not insist on the use of condom by such a person to perform the sexual act. The desire of the male members to have sex with virgin girls is being exploited by traditional families by conducting “Kannerikam” ritual for a number of times for the same girl.

The Dommara community also known as Dommarollu and Dombara lead a nomadic life whose women also indulge in sex trade. According to Thurston “Dommaris are buffoons, vagband dancers, pantomimists, marionette exhibitors, tumblers, acrobats and snake-charmers, who travel
from place to place and earn a living by their exhibitions in public streets and bazaars and who hold a law position in the social scale”. They speak their own language called Dommari but do not have written script for it. They consume county brand liquors and smoke tobacco and they also use betel and snuff. They are non-vegetarian in diet and their marriages are some like that of the other Hindus. The custom of bride price (oli or chanubaluvara) is still prevalent. Their marriage rules are not very strict and women often practice prostitution. Prostitution is locally called ‘sani’ and there is no stigma attached to it and the huts they reside in have the figure of peacock on the roof tops which symbolises their residence (Rami Reddy, 2003).