Review of Literature

Prostitute is not at all a criminal. She does not violate anybody or anything but is herself violated. --- Jwean D’Cunha

The present effort is to understand the concept ‘mainstreaming’ through the view of NGOs, the intervention programmes NGOs extended to the mainstreaming of commercially sexually exploited women, and the limitations NGOs face in both the practical field and with respect to government policies and programmes. This chapter presents a detailed review of literature on the concept of women in prostitution.

Most of the literature available on prostitution or trafficking for prostitution consists of reports on studies, conferences and workshops conducted by international and domestic NGOs. Compared to the literature available at the state-level and national level, the regional level studies are fewer in number. All these pieces of literature focus on the women in prostitution, the social, economic, and health condition responsible for this status, and so forth. The tragedy is that the studies have focused very little on the role of NGOs in bringing commercially sexually exploited women, from exploitative situations to mainstream society. Though not exhaustive, the current review explores different perspectives, debates, positions and conclusions on prostitution. This chapter is organized around the major themes that emerge from the literature.

Social Concern:

Coming to terms with Commercial Sexual Exploitation or ‘Prostitution’, as it is commonly called, is an issue human civilization has been grappling with since time immemorial. Some societies have tried to come to terms with this apparent affront on human dignity by trying to differentiate between pornography and prostitution, legitimizing one and declaring the other illegal. Certain others have chosen the easy way out by opting for legalization of the practice itself and thus, providing social sanctions and conveniently pushing the moral, ethical and developmental challenges surrounding the issue under the carpet.
Prostitution is often referred to as the oldest profession in the world, a position deeply grounded in patriarchal values involving moral, religious, health and human rights issues. Prostitution is a sector characterized by economic exploitation, corruption, and links with crime and is one which governments find difficult to deal with (Lim 1998). ‘The large-scale accumulation of capital takes place through a progressive appropriation and decimation of women’s and children’s bodies, sexuality and entire beings’ (Raymond et al. 2002). The majority of the victims are women and young children, mainly girls. The trading in human beings and their exploitation in varied forms by traffickers/mediators/pimps/gharwalies is the most despicable violation of human rights. Human rights, guaranteed by the Indian Constitution, are inalienable, non-negotiable and universal.

However, a large part of human civilization, as it enters the 21st century, still believes in finding ways of eradicating commercial sexual exploitation. The efforts are in different segments and are all inching towards evolving an ideal, but workable developmental model for addressing the issues, an idea which is gaining prominence in international circles, among NGOs, governments and concerned citizens.

Every civilization has dealt with prostitution according to its own customs, morals, and culture; it is a universal problem which has existed since the birth of organized society. At one time, a prostitute was considered an important entity as she was provided an outlet for unleashing the sex emotions ingrained in all living beings. Prostitution, like any other profession, had its own days of glory and glamour and decay and gloom. We can observe that on one extreme we find the trade flourishing under the patronage of the royal umbrella and on the other the avowed policy of the state to abolish prostitution and to award heavy punishments to all those who indulge, engage or connive at it.

In fact, at different times in Indian history, commercial sexual exploitation has been both tolerated and encouraged as a necessary evil and also prohibited and regulated, publicly whipping and burning prostitutes so that their examples could serve as a lesson to men and women of loose morals. Thus, we can say sexual exploitation for commercial purposes has existed in one form or another in all classes based on a patriarchal social order (Shankar “Sex Workers on Bangalore: A Socio-economic Profile” pg. 280). Ancient Indian Society permitted prostitution, in one form or the other, and also gave it religious sanction. The same has been mentioned in Mahabharatha and Ramayana.
During those times, visiting a prostitute was viewed as a way to receive good luck and the women in prostitution enjoyed more honor and a more significant place than housewives. According to Mahabharatha, prostitutes were a ubiquitous adornment to all public festivals and special seats were allotted to them. In public festivals they wore red garments, a red wreath, and gold. Apart from gracing public occasions, they also constituted an essential part of the revenue on a battle field and kings would also keep them in their inner apartments. The prostitutes performed a valuable social function in a sinful world; what she does is morally wrong, no doubt, but worse evils will arise if she does not provide a safe outlet for human lust. It was believed during those times that removal of prostitutes would cause grave moral danger to society just as the removal of the filth or sewer would fill whole place with pollution.

While condemning prostitution, one also has to fix responsibility squarely on the man who exploits her and treats her flesh as an object of purchase and enjoyment. The prostitute is a scapegoat (Mathur, Gupta, 1965). Man visits her and satisfies his lust and after her flesh ceases to give him pleasure, she is thrown on the street, uncared for and unprotected. If society has to succeed in suppressing prostitution, its attention will have to be devoted both to woman, the seller and to man, the buyer.

Gandhiji rightly observed as early as in 1923 that, “it is a matter of bitter shame and sorrow and of deep humiliation that a number of women have to sell their chastity for man’s lust. Man, the law-giver will have to pay a dreadful penalty for the degradation he had imposed upon the so called weaker sex.” He was unyielding in his opposition to this institution and wrote, “Man is primarily responsible for the existence of these unfortunate members of society. Let the Indian man ponder over the fate of thousands of sisters who are destined to a life of shame for his unlawful and immoral indulgence. The pity of it is that the vast majority of men who visit these pestilential haunts are married men and therefore, commit a double sin. They sin against their wives to whom they have sworn allegiance and they sin against the sisters whose purity they are bound to guard with as much jealousy as that of their own blood sisters. It is an evil which cannot last for a single day, if we men of India realize our own dignity”
During the years that have followed, rapid Industrialization further aggravated the evil, providing wide transportation facilities which strongly contributed to the field. Thus, in sum, it may be observed that though commercial sexual exploitation existed in the pre-Vedic age styled as promiscuity, it was followed later on by semi-promiscuity. When the institution of marriage became legalized and sanctified, commercial sexual exploitation became clearly demarcated and continues to exist in one form or the other.

**Types of Prostitutes:** In various stages of the history of Indian society, forms of prostitution were explained by many authors, thinkers, and activists. The tantras described five sorts of harlots-

1. Rajaveshya – the one who served kings
2. Nagari – those who were common city sex workers
3. Gupta Veshya – who were generally respectable women secretly following the profession
4. Deva Veshya – the sex worker in the service of the temple or the gods
5. Brahma veshy or Tirthagai – one who carried on her business at places of pilgrimage

C.B. Mamoria, in his book titled ‘Social Problems and Social Disorganization in India’, classifies commercialized prostitution that we can observe today as –

1. Common prostitutes, who are in the age between 16-18 and works under the brothel keeper. The brothel keeps make money out of these young girls’ earnings. But the prostituted women here are poorly paid, socially isolated and suffering from one or the other type of mental illness.
2. Hotel prostitutes are engaged by hotelkeepers. These girls/women live in private houses and educated, pleasure seeking and luxury loving girls and a number of them belong to decent and respectable homes.
3. Decentralized prostitutes are those who have filtered into different localities where in they trade independently. This classification is the contribution of implementation of SITA.
4. Hereditary prostitutes are those who have received the practice from their mother with no shame attaching it to a life of immorality. The women know the art of singing and dancing and train their daughters in these fields.
5. Backwards and tribal prostitutes are basically recognised through their cults/race.
6. Religious prostitutes are those who are dedicated to the service of God or royal courts.

7. Traditional prostitutes were found around the places of the former Rajas, Jagirdars, Zamindars and the aristocrats. These are the women who were destined to perform social services for the rulers at the time of the festivals, entertain audiences at court functions, and become the paramours of princes or Sardars in the State.

8. Foreign prostitutes are those who cater to the needs of the high class gentry in the port towns and large cities of the country.

9. Mobile prostitutes are called prostitutes on wheels. They are nomadic/migratory in nature which means they shift their camp from one place to another. This was very common in medieval warfare, wherever the army moved, an entire bazaar and prostitutes moved with it.

10. White collar prostitutes are from the affluent sections of the society. This class includes the married and unmarried women of upper classes who carry on prostitution in secret. It is ‘prostitution dignified’.

11. Contract prostitutes are those who are engaged by their patrons for a fixed period of time, on payment of a fixed amount, whereby the contract prostitutes are expected to render service only to the patrons who engage them during the period of contract.

Women in commercial sexual exploitation seem to have grown in the aftermath of distress such as the super cyclone of 1999 and floods of 2001. Very little information is available on this because the phenomenon has not received the attention it deserves and also the activity take place in disguise; so far, the problem has not been subjected to any systematic study because of the clandestine nature of trafficking. It was found that there is a wide gap between the information available from government sources and the situation in the field, whatever data are available at the government level differ a great deal from the data furnished by NGOs. Moreover, none of the NGOs have yet made any detailed studies covering the state as a whole. Only on the basis of secondary information, newspaper publications, scattered sample studies, and hearsay, is the nature and gravity of the problem being assessed and projected. Such an approach lacks authenticity and for this reason clear-cut recommendations for dealing with the problem are not forthcoming. While this growing and serious problem has attracted the attention of the National Human Rights Commission, there is no clear perception of the magnitude
and dimension of the underlying causes and specific interventions required for remedial measures.

In 1996, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography stated that, ‘All reports indicate a dramatic escalation of the number of sexually exploited children all over the world’ (Baker 1999). Children are preferred, as they are more likely to accept practices which older prostitutes may refuse. There are also myths relating to them that strengthen this preference for child prostitutes. For instance, it is believed that sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV infections, can be cured and virility can be increased by having sex with young girls. Younger girls are also preferred because they can put in more years of work as prostitutes (Nirmala Niketan College of Social Work 2003). These assertions and beliefs are referred to in almost every report on prostitution.

**Prostitution at Global Level:**

Women as a prostitutes have many names in English such as prostitute, prostituted women, whore, harlot, sex worker, commercial sex worker and sex trade worker.

Religious literature is replete with information on prostitution. The Old Testament contains several injunctions against prostitution. There are also several denunciations of the sacred prostitutes attached to the temples of Canaan, by the prophets, particularly Hosea. In this context, it is worth mentioning that Tamat, one of the three women mentioned in Christ’s genealogy in the New Testament, acted as a prostitute to obtain a child through her father-in-law in order to continue her blood line. Jesus Christ, who preached and practiced compassion, brotherhood and love, was extremely considerate towards immoral women.

Greek prostitutes known as Hetaera were accomplished women in their own right and were also talented and intelligent companions. King Solon set up State Houses of prostitution in Athens which were managed by government officials who were ordered to take care of the establishment and fix prices.
The female temple prostitutes were known in Hebrew as ‘Qedesah’. However, we become aware of the fact that ritual prostitution was widely practiced in Israel and that the expulsion of such ritual functionaries was an integral element of reform movements in Israel, beginning with Josiah. The temple prostitution was an integral part of society and was practiced in both Aryan societies like Greece and Rome, as well as in eastern societies like Egypt.

Rome was full of incidents where professional prostitutes played key roles in the background. Tiberius of Rome created a vice squad and a supervisory police under the control of aristocrat Ozonius Prisenus. Justinian enacted various laws punishing accomplices of prostitution, but was sympathetic towards prostitutes. In 1347, Queen Joanna of Naples created a government brothel in Avignon, where the prostitutes were fed, clothed and even paid wages. Alphonsus IX of Castile made prostitution as something not punishable but the traffickers were not spared either. In the 19th century, prostitutes were offered free medical care in Paris and this example was followed by Britain.

**Vulnerability factors of women being prostitutes:**

In the literature surveyed, there seems to be a broad agreement of the facts that lead to sex work, though, there is uncertainty about their precise roles. While some reports view vulnerability factors to be the root cause of sex work, others state that “they merely exacerbate the vulnerability of the marginalized and disadvantaged groups and render them increasingly more amenable to a variety of harm” (Sanghera 2002). Vulnerability factors relate to the socio-economic and political contexts of people that are interlinked and can be divided into two categories – personal circumstance and socio-structural forces (Raymond et al 2002; DePaul University 2002). These factors are generally listed in the context of commercial sexual exploitation. Mukherjee & Das (1996) identified,”“57 factors which play the role of causal agents to push women and girls towards prostitution”.

**I. Personal Circumstances:** People with low self-esteem and lack of self-control are reported to be especially vulnerable to trafficking (UNDP 2002). Low levels of literacy, awareness, and information are risk factors. Economic deprivation and associated
conditions are also listed as factors that lead to vulnerability. Almost all the reviewed studies and reports stated that a high percentage of trafficked people belonged to low income groups. The greater the degree of impoverishment, the higher the risk of falling prey to trafficking (Mukherjee and Das 1996; DWCD 1998; UNDP 2002). People with disabilities or “women who may suffer from ‘disfigurements’ are also considered vulnerable” (Ganthia 2003: 5).

A dysfunctional home environment, created by things such as broken families, marital discord, physical abuse, sexual abuse, drug abuse, family pressure, 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, is considered to make people vulnerable to trafficking.

II. Socio-Structural Factors: The socio-structural factors influencing and determining these circumstances are industrialization and globalization, economic crises, economic decline, disruption or underdevelopment, economic policies such as privatization, liberalization, the withdrawal of subsidies and the commercialization of agriculture. Other factors include the erosion of subsistence agricultural practices, the loss of traditional livelihoods, and inflation. Labour market demands and policies also influence vulnerability. In a global market, women and girls are increasingly being hired as service providers.

Some of the political factors influencing vulnerability are conflicts that cause disruption and instability, immigration policies, and human rights violations by the state. Poor governance, limited law enforcement or implementations of labor standards also increase vulnerability (ADB 2002: 9). Environmental calamities and disruptions also put people at risk.

The quickening pace of urbanization and the heightened mobility resulting from the development of road links are contributing factors. A culture of consumerism and materialism distorts family needs and individual desires (NCW 1997; Raymond 2002). Discriminatory practices and social exclusion exacerbate the vulnerability of groups such as scheduled tribes and castes which account for nearly 50% of prostitutes, other
backward castes which account for 12% to 27% of prostitutes, ethnic minorities, tribal communities, undocumented migrant workers and stateless people or people in refugee camps (DWCD 1998).

The available literature emphasizes the fact that sex work occurs in the context of increased instances of human rights violations against women. These include the violation of women’s reproductive rights, the right of female infants and fetuses to life, domestic violence against women, custodial violence against women, violence against women in public places and the violation of women’s rights to decision-making, to land assets and other resources (Sanghera 1999; Karmakar 2001; ADB 2002; Raymond et al 2002). In cases where their families or guardians push women or girls into trafficking circumstances, such action is not seen by others as being harmful since the girls/women are considered chattels of their fathers or guardians and further protection from their community would be inappropriate (ADB 2002).

**III. The other Perpetuating Factors that influence women to be in prostitution:**

The present day conditions make it difficult to study a prostitute’s motivation, to recognize each individual’s constellation of motives and formative experiences. The causes for women being in prostitution may be grouped as follows:

Predisposing factors are those in the prostitute’s background, such as the broken home caused by the death of parents or guardians or husband, unhappy married life due to ill treatment, vices and bad habits of husband, parental promiscuity, lack of parental control and improper guardianship, approval or tolerance of prostitution in the immediate social milieu and psychological disturbance as neuroses.

The next factor is attraction. The attracting factors are those which are advantageous to the prostitute herself. They are larger earning, easy life, spirit of excitement, sexual gratification, etc.

The third factor is precipitating factors, including economic pressures, no chance for a desirable marriage, enticement, or persuasion by a pimp or other prostitutes, an unhappy love affair, in-law conflicts, etc. (Sharma, Ram Nath, 1982, Indian Social Problems, Media Promoters & Publishers Pvt., Ltd., 1982).
Punekar and Kamla Rao, who conducted a study of prostitutes in Mumbai, have mentioned many causes which led these women to prostitution. They have grouped these causes under six headings. In the first group is included death of parents or husbands, etc. In the second group are included economic causes such as poverty and destitution. In the third are included domestic causes such as ill treatment or neglect by parents, husband or relatives etc. In the forth group, kidnapping, deception, bad influence, etc. are included. Under the fifth heading is physiological significance such as sexual urge, illegitimate pregnancy, etc. and the sixth heading addresses mental health and social attitudes such as ignorance, desire for easy life, and low moral values. They also point out that there is always more than one cause which leads one to prostitution (Punekar and Rao, Kamla. A Study of Prostitutes in India).

In general, the causes of prostitution can be divided into two main headings: biological, which is a natural phenomenon, and socio-economic, which is the creation of society. The biological course operates through the sexual urge in human beings. It is only through great efforts that a man can control his sexual desires, but it is not possible to do so in all cases. Among the socio-economic factors is the poverty of the female who, in the absence of any other means of support for herself or for her children, resorts to prostitution.

In summary, the most predominant factors responsible for women in prostitution are:

1. Hereditary factors in which the practice continued in certain families from generation to generation. It is handed down from the mother to her daughters.
2. Hunger and poverty are the major areas to focus under Economic factors, which strongly contribute to the number of women in prostitution.
3. Under-age employment – because of poverty, many females have to work in hotels, offices, industry and shops at an immature age. At this impressionable age, they are easily misled by lust-keepers.
4. Unhealthy working conditions – In Indian situations, women getting employment through intermediaries are not very uncommon. These intermediaries and agents recruit women and keep them at their mercy. Whenever an opportunity presents
itself, they exploit it fully and often succeed in receiving a sexual bribe. Once the woman falls prey to their lust, they make a professional out of her in no time.

5. Religious Customs – Religious customs like Devadasi, in which dedication of young girls to the deity takes place, take a commercial form within no time.

6. Social conditions like disintegration of joint family, double standard morality regarding sex, plurality of views, decline of morality in social system, taboos, family conditions, false promises, recreation, social customs and traditions, etc. directly contributed to the women in prostitution.

7. Industrialization and urbanization, which provide men and women with an opportunity to work together for a long time, thus giving the chance for illicit sexual connections. The combination of low wages and raising prices cause some women to turn to prostitution in order to maintain themselves and rectify their monetary deficiency. Various surveys have shown that women in prostitution are more industry workers than in any other segment of the society.

“Sex trafficking is driven by a demand for women’s and children’s bodies in the sex industry, fuelled by a supply of women who are denied equal rights and opportunities for education and economic advancement and perpetuated by traffickers who are able to exploit human misfortune with near impunity” (Phinney 2001).

Insufficient or inadequate laws, poor enforcement, ineffective penalties, minimal chances of prosecution, the relatively low risks involved, corruption and complacency, invisibility of the issue, and the failure of governments to implement policies and provide adequate services for victims, all play a role in perpetuating trafficking (DWCD 2002; Phinney 2001; UNDP 2002; Nirmala Niketan College of Social Work 2003).

**Modes of Entry into Prostitution:**

Three modes of entry into prostitution have been identified (Yadav K.P., 2006):

1. Voluntary, which indicates that the female prostitute-to-be approached the owner/manager of a sex establishment herself.

2. Bounded implies the involvement of parents or guardians who receive money from an agency or owner for giving away their daughter.
3. Involuntary involves the use of deception and coercion of the women by any agent or owner/manger.

Here, voluntary does not necessarily mean free choice or informed consent, but the prostituted women would mean very different from what prostitution is in fact.

**Organization of Prostitution:**

**Recruitment:** Recruitment places are cinema halls, bus stops, railway stations, airports, streets, cafes, restaurants, beauty contests and beauty parlors, state and national highways, quarry and construction work sites.

**Time:** Difficult periods, either before the harvesting season or during a drought.

**Methods:** Violent actions (drugging, kidnapping and abduction) to persuasion, material inducements, befriending and deception. People are lured with fake job offers or false marriage offers.

Studies on prostitution offer some information on the recruitment techniques that are used (Rozario 1988; SOS 2001; ADB 2002). In a CSWB study 11.90% of the respondents listed deception by someone as a cause for entry into prostitution (Mukherjee and Das 1996; 42). According to another study, 11% of trafficked women were lured, while 11% were abducted and 9.2% were sold or resold (Rozario 1988: 76).

Traffickers/pimps/middleman approach women and girls in groups as it help them to win their trust. In India, recent news stories show a trend of traffickers using marriage bureaus, placement agencies, and tutorial agencies as a front for luring people.

**Recruiters:**

They can be neighbours, family friends, relatives of friends, acquaintances returning from abroad, women who have migrated or who have been in sex work, husbands, fathers, boyfriends or lovers. Some recruiters may be gay men who were trusted by women because of their sexual orientation.
Types of Operations:

Prostitution, in the present day context can be done through organized international and local networks, or by occasional traffickers. Thus, traffickers may operate alone, in small gangs or as part of organized crime groups (Trafficking in Women and Children in India 2005). Gangs and criminal groups are reported as the dominant mode of trafficking in South Asia (Sanghera 2002; Nirmala Niketan College of Social Work 2001). However, as a part of an organized network, traffickers have less freedom and make smaller profits compared to the profits they would make as independent operators.

Movement Routes: “…. Patterns and routes are often highly complex, ranging from trafficking within one country and cross-border flows between neighbouring countries to inter-continental and globalized trade’ (Tumlin 2000). Generally the movement of trafficked people is from less developed areas to more developed regions. Thus, the flow of trafficked women and children moves from the South to North, from countries in economic, social and political crises to more socially and politically stable countries, or from rural to urban areas.

Routes are usually divided into origin, transit and destination points and some reports also mention collection and dispersal points. Correspondingly, nations are categorized as sending, transit or destination countries. Some countries may belong to more than one category, as in the case of India, which is a destination, source and transit point.

There are three routes into prostitution for most women in India, 1) deception, 2) Devadasi dedication and 3) bad marriages or families. For some women their marriages were so violent that they preferred prostitution to remaining with their husbands. Husbands or families introduced some women to prostitution and many families knew what the women were doing, but ignored it as long as they reaped the benefits from it. (Malini Karkal "Down Memory Lane," The Maharashtra Times, 19 November, 1997)
Internal Trafficking for Sex Work: Some Facts of Prostitution in India Today:

International Estimates:
The scale of the phenomenon is difficult to judge and is equally difficult to collect data on because of the clandestine nature of the operations. ‘…The trade is secretive, the women are silenced, the traffickers/pimps are dangerous and not many agencies are counting’ (Hughes 2000). Among the most quoted figures are the United Nations estimates that, ‘4 million people a year are traded against their will to work in flesh trade, many of them minors’ and that, ‘in the last 30 years, trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Asia alone has victimized more than 30 million people’ (Westwood, n.d.).

In India, the most quoted figures depicting the magnitude of prostitution are from the CSWB survey of India’s six metropolitan cities, conducted in 1990. According to the study, the total population of prostitutes in all the cities combined was between 70,000 and 100,000 (Mukherjee and Das 1996). It also reveals that 30% of them are below 18 years of age and 40% of them were inducted when they were less than 18 years old. 71% of them are illiterate and 80% of them are from rural areas. It also states that 60% of sex workers belong to SC/ST and OBC and, not surprisingly, a large majority of them are Hindus since Hindus are the largest segment of the Indian population. Another report estimated the number of prostitutes at 900,000 (Gathia 1999). According to the 1992 estimates of the Indian Association for the Rescue of Fallen Women, there are 8 million prostitutes in India and another 7.5 million call girls.

Calculations of trafficked people are generally made with reference to commercial sexual exploitation. In India, the stigma attached to prostitution and the clandestine nature of operations makes it doubly difficult to arrive at authentic numbers (Guptha 2003). To give a sense of the total magnitude of the problem, estimates of adult and child sex work are generally classified as cases of trafficking. The figures quoted show a high degree of discrepancy and the possibility of ascertaining the authenticity of the quoted figures that have been arrived at is rarely stated. Most studies state that around 30 to 90% of women and girls are under 18 years of age at the time of their exploitation (Mukherjee and Das 1996; UNICEF 1994: 10; YMCA 1995: 10; Ganthia 1999; Ganthia 2003: 9, SOS 2001).
The number of women and children in sex work in India is stated to be between 70,000 and 1 million. Of these, 30% are below 20 years of age. Nearly 15% began sex work when they were below 15, and 25% entered between 15 and 18 years (Mukherjee and Das 1996). A new item published in the Statesman (12 August 2002) states that roughly 2 million children are abused and forced into prostitution every year in India. A rough estimate prepared in 2000 by an NGO, End Children’s Prostitution in Asian Tourism, reveals that there are around 2 million prostitutes in India, 20% of them being minors. A study conducted in 1992 estimated that at any given time 20,000 girls are being transported from one part of the country to another (Guptha 2003).

Approximately 200 girls and women in India enter prostitution on a daily basis, 80% of whom are coerced into it (SOS 2001). There are reportedly 300,000 to 500,000 children in prostitution in India (Patkar, Praveen and Preethi, Patkar 2001: 11).

According to the National Crime Records Bureau’s (NCRB) data, in 1999 there were 9,368 cases of trafficked women and children in India. The incidence of trafficking has shown a steady increase since 1997, increasing by 7.7% in 1998. Reported crimes against women were highest in Tamil Nadu (10.5%). Further, the total number of cases of kidnapping and abduction registered in 1999 was 15,956. Among the female victims, 1,960 were reportedly kidnapped or abducted for marriage and 9,159 for prostitution (ADB 2002: 19).

The relative lack of information and quantitative data on trafficking stems from various dimensions of the problem that make accurate assessments difficult. The clientele wish to remain anonymous, the clandestine nature of the traffickers’ activities, the low visibility of exploitation itself and the victim’s fear of the police and their exploiters, all ensure that few details are revealed. Thus, researchers find it difficult to locate sources and face non-cooperation from those involved (Phinney 2001: 3; Blanchet 2002: DWCD 1998).

India is considered a source, a transit point and a destination for trafficking in women. Women from India, Bangladesh and Nepal are mostly sent to the Middle - East and other locations for forced prostitution via, Mumbai, Kolkata and different South Indian ports. Similarly every year, hundreds of poor girls from Orissa are exported either under pretext
of marriage in U.P. or lucrative jobs in big cities. The victims generally belong to rural areas and happen to be uneducated, unemployed, poor, and ignorant and unaware of the fate that awaits them.

According to UNDP (1998) and also studies conducted by Jeevan Rekha Parishad, around five lakh women in India, including thousands in Orissa, are victims of immoral trafficking. Trafficking in women and their sexual exploitation are reported to be widespread and rampant in states of Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. According to the India Centre for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (ICITP), more than 40,000 tribal women, mainly from Orissa and Bihar, have been victims of trafficking.

Trading in human beings and their exploitation in varied forms by traffickers is one of the most despicable forms of violation of human rights. Trafficking in its widest sense includes not just sexual exploitation, but also includes forced labor and services, trade in human beings for removal of organs, etc.

Prostitution is increasing in India where there has been fear over the spread of AIDS and reports of young girls being abducted and forced into prostitution. There are approximately 10 million prostitutes in India (Human Rights Watch, Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996)

 Trafficking from neighbouring countries accounts for only 10% of the coerced migration in India, with approximately 2.17% from Bangladesh and 2.6% being from Nepal. The share of interstate trafficking is estimated at 89 % (ADB 2002: 8).

 Women from Karnataka were found to constitute 45.6% of the prostitutes in Mumbai, while interstate movement in the case of women in Bangalore was as high as 72.11%. At the same time, 93.60% of the prostitutes in Hyderabad were from within Andhra Pradesh (Mukherjee and Das 1996: 34-35).

 Men who believe that AIDS and other STDs can be cured by having sex with a virgin are forcing young girls into the sex industry; seven year old girls are neither uncommon nor

Every day, about 200 girls and women in India enter prostitution, 80% of them against their will (Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and Planning Rural-Urban Integrated Development through Education (PRIDE).

Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil, Nadu and Uttar Pradesh are the high-supply zones for women in prostitution, while Belgaum, Bijapur, and Kolhapur are some common districts from which women migrate to cities, either through an organized trafficking network or due to socioeconomic forces (Central Social Welfare Board, Meena Menon, "Women in India’s Trafficking Belt", 30 March 1998). Bangalore is one of the five major cities in India which together account for 80% of child prostitutes in the country (Seethalakshmi S., "Karnataka girls being sold to Goa brothels," Time Of India, 28 May 1998).

It takes up to fifteen years for girls held in prostitution via debt-bondage to purchase their freedom (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

Children of prostituted women are victims of sexual abuse as well. Children are forced to perform dances and songs for male buyers and some are forced to sexually service the males (Meena Menon, "Tourism and Prostitution," 1997).

A survey of prostituted women in India reveals their reasoning for staying in prostitution (in descending order of significance): poverty/ unemployment; lack of proper reintegration services, lack of options; stigma and adverse social attitudes; family expectations and pressure; resignation and acclimation to the lifestyle. Of 1,000 red light districts all over India, cage prostitutes are mostly minors, often from Nepal and Bangladesh.

There are more than 100,000 women in prostitution in Bombay, Asia’s largest sex industry center, with approximately 20,000, or 20% of these women under the age of 18 and 90% serving as indentured slaves (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual

In Bombay, 95% of the children of prostituted women become prostitutes. One child, who had repeatedly been sodomized by the men who bought his mother, decided to become a eunuch. He was ritually castrated (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996). The light of the children of prostitutes is reported to be dismal (Nirmala Niketan College of Social Work 2003).

The largest red light district in India, perhaps in the world, is the Falkland Road Kamathipura area of Bombay (film, "The Selling of Innocents" 1997). In the Kamathipura brothel district in Bombay, more than 70,000 prostituted women and girls are bought by three men a day and condoms are seldom used. Escape is rare (Tim McGirk "Nepal's Lost Daughters, 'India's soiled goods’", 27 January 1997).

Eunuch Lane in Bombay has more than 2,000 eunuchs in prostitution. The eunuchs, or hijras, have deep religious roots in Hinduism. As young boys they are abandoned or sold by their families to a sex ring and taken into the jungle where a priest cuts off their genitals in a ceremony called nirvana. The priest then folds back a strip of flesh to create an artificial vagina. Eunuchs are generally more available to perform high-risk sex than female prostitutes, and some Indian men believe they can’t contract HIV from them (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

There are many dhabhas, or small-scale brothels, along the Solapur-Hyderabad highway, which provide women as an "additional service" to truck drivers and motorists. One woman who runs a dhabha had previously been in prostitution. Now, with a shed, two cots and a few girls from nearby villages, she owns the brothel. "I rented this place for Rs. 1000 a month and take Rs. 20 per man from the girls (Meena Menon "The Twilight Zone," The Hindu, 27 July 1997). A brothel owner along the Solapur-Hyderabad highway reported that he has two women and takes a Rs. 15 commission for each man. Since this is illegal, he pays the nearest police station Rs. 1,000 a month as a hafta, or bribe. If a girl is beautiful, she will be bought by five to ten men a day. The
owner’s monthly earnings can reach Rs. 4,000 to 5,000 (Meena Menon "The Twilight Zone," The Hindu, 27 July 1997). Another brothel owner along the Solapur-Hyderabad highway reported that prostituting women is good a business. He has 10 to 12 girls and pays the police Rs 6,000 as a monthly bribe. He goes to Bombay to bring women and girls, implying he was part of a bigger network (Meena Menon, "The Twilight Zone," The Hindu, 27 July 1997). The women and girls in the dhabhas, or brothels, along the Solapur-Hyderabad highway are threatened, harassed, forced to service men, or goondas, freely and beaten by men and police. Local farmers abuse them also. Police do not register any complaints of assault. In one case, a woman who was running over unfamiliar fields to escape from the police in pitch darkness stumbled into a well and was killed. Sometimes, bodies of women are found on the fields, half eaten by animals. Another woman had her ears cut off, was robbed and left unconscious on the road (Meena Menon, "The Twilight Zone," The Hindu, 27 July 1997).

Findings of different research studies in India:

A study by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), highlighted that among trafficked girls, 20.7% were below 18 years and a majority were pushed into the trade at a very young age. More than 60% of the victims of commercial sexual exploitation were also victims of child marriage. Of them, 32.5% had been pushed into brothels while they were less than 16 years old, while 21.4% where in the 16-17 years age group. Shockingly, the data shows that 50% of the traffickers were women. While the traffickers adopted different modus operandi, 51.9% lured the victims with job offers and 16.3% with false promises of marriage. Almost 50% of traffickers focused on rural areas for recruitment (Times of India, January 11, 2006).

The failure of the government in rehabilitation is reflected in the high re-trafficking rate. A study found that 17.5% of rescued trafficking victims had been rescued once earlier, 1.8% rescued twice before, and 6.6% rescued more than twice. It was also found that more than 57.5% had been arrested earlier. Without proper rehabilitation, it was observed that they have no option but to return to the brothels. The failure to arrest those involved with exploitation in brothels is highlighted by the fact that 34.5% of brothel
owners have never faced by police during the law preceding and 54.5% of them had avoided arrest by bribing police officials.

In another action conducted in 11 States (of which 9 were large states) reflected that about a quarter of the trafficked persons were children below 16 years of age at the time of trafficking. About two-thirds of the adult victims were unmarried or divorced/separated/deserted/widowed. A large proportion of the victims belong to the lower strata of society. Generally, those who are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation come from a poor economic background and are mostly engaged in the informal sector of employment, belonging to improvised households in rural areas and urban slums. Women and children with low awareness of their rights or their exploited situation and orphans having no caregivers are inducted into commercial sexual exploitation. Those who belong to communities that practice and legitimate commercial sex work due to cultural factors are a direct source for victimization.

Different organizational structures and hierarchies, modes of operation, and types of prostitutes are described in the available literature (Mukherjee and Das 1996; Mukherjee 1997; DWCD 1998; ADB 2002). Prostitution is carried out from rooms, apartments, small hotels and exclusive clubs under the guise of call centers, friendship clubs, beauty and massage parlors, and along national highways. A new category that seems to be emerging is that of ‘flying prostitutes’. Based on rough estimates, ‘the number of prostitutes operating outside the purview of the regular brothel system would be several times more in Delhi when compared to other states and police sources state that there are “around 10,000 to 15,000 female prostitutes in Delhi” (Gupta 2003). Thus, commercial sexual exploitation takes place at various locations, which keep shifting.

But there are almost no reliable estimates of the number of women who are into commercial prostitution. The degree of financial independence varies among prostitutes (Karmakar 2001; Shalini and Lalitha 1996; Mukherjee and Das 1996). Regarding overall profits, Kamathipura (in Mumbai) alone generates at least $400 million per year, with 100,000 prostitutes servicing men 365 days a year, averaging six customers per day, at $2 per customer (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996). Ganthia
(1999:20) estimated that transactions in prostitution were worth Rs 185,000,000 in a day and Rs 37,000 crore per year. Children as young as nine years of age were apparently purchased for Rs 60,000 at auctions where Arabs bid against Indian men (SOS 2001). A study in Delhi found that 15.4 per cent of the prostitutes had no idea of their earnings, as controlling agents cornered all their wages (Shalini and Lalitha 1996). The sharing of income forms an integral part of 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 1996:67).

Districts bordering Maharashtra and Karnataka, known as the "devadasi belt," have trafficking structures operating at various levels. The women here are in prostitution either because their husbands deserted them, or they are trafficked through coercion and deception. Many are devadasi dedicated into prostitution for the goddess Yellamma; in one Karnataka brothel, all 15 girls are devadasi (Meena Menon, "The Unknown Faces"). Approximately 50,000, or half of the women in prostitution in Bombay, are trafficked from Nepal (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996). The brothels of India hold between 100,000 and 160,000 Nepalese women and girls, 35% were taken on the false pretext of marriage or a good job (Radhika Coomaraswamy, UN Special Report on Violence Against Women, Gustavo Capdevila, IPS, 2 April 1997).

A 2005 study by UNIFEM (Sen, A. 2005: A Report on Trafficking of Women and Children, UNIFEM) which interviewed victims of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation who had been rescued found that they were forced to service an average of seven clients a day; they could not exercise choice with regards to wearing condoms or other safe sex practices; 30% were suffering from a sexually transmitted disease and 8% had contracted HIV; 20% were children aged below 18 years of age, the majority of which had been trafficked at a very young age; 57% of them had been previously arrested by the police, but were not offered any support or rehabilitation so they were forced to return to brothels; 60% were victims of child marriage; 45.6% had their first sexual experience under the age of 16 and 22% had been working in a brothel when they were aged less than 16; 68% were lured into brothels with the promise of jobs and 50% of the traffickers interviewed for the study focused on rural areas for recruitment, targeting
communities which are particularly vulnerable, due to lack of employment, illiteracy, and social and gender discrimination.

Another report confirms Karnataka as one of the major trafficking supply states. There is a high volume of trafficking to tourist destinations such as Goa and Mumbai. It is estimated that 45% of the prostitutes in Mumbai are from Karnataka. 15% of trafficked women who were interviewed in a study carried out by UNIFEM were trafficked from Karnataka, the second highest total after Andhra Pradesh (Sen, A. 2005: A Report on Trafficking of Women and Children, UNIFEM).

**Research Findings at International Level:**

Trafficking in women and girls is easy along the 1,740 mile-long open border between India and Nepal; trafficking in Nepalese women and girls is less risky than smuggling narcotics and electronic equipment into India. Traffickers ferry large groups of girls at a time without the hassle of paperwork or threats of police checks and the procurer-pimp-police network makes the process even smoother. Bought for as little as Rs (Nepalese) 1,000, girls have been known to fetch up to Rs 30,000 in later transactions. Police are paid by brothel owners to ignore the situation. Girls may not leave the brothels until they have repaid their debt, at which time they are sick, with HIV and/or tuberculosis, and often have children of their own (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998).

More than 40% of 484 prostituted girls rescued during major raids of brothels in Bombay in 1996 were from Nepal (Masako Iijima, "S. Asia urged to unite against child prostitution," Reuters, 19 June 1998). 160,000 Nepalese women are held in India's brothels. About 45,000 Nepalese girls are in the brothels of Bombay and 40,000 in Calcutta (Women’s groups in Nepal, ‘Trafficking in Women and Children: The Cases of Bangladesh, pp.8 & 9, UBINIG, 1995).

Of the 5,000-7,000 Nepalese girls trafficked into India yearly, the average age over the past decade has fallen from 14-16 years old to 10-14 years old.
In Bombay, one brothel has only Nepalese women who men buy because of their golden skin and docile personalities (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996). 2.5% of prostitutes in India are Nepalese and 2.7% are Bangladeshi ("Devadasi System Continues to Legitimize Prostitution: The Devadasi Tradition and Prostitution," TOI, 4 December 1997).

Every year, between 5,000 and 7,000 Nepalese girls are trafficked into the red light districts in Indian cities. Many of the girls are barely 9 or 10 years old. 200,000 to over 250,000 Nepalese women and girls are already in Indian brothels. The girls are sold by poor parents, tricked into fraudulent marriages, or promised employment in towns, only to find themselves in Hindustan's brothels. They're locked up for days, starved, beaten, and burned with cigarettes until they learn how to service up to 25 clients a day. Some girls go through 'training' before being initiated into prostitution, which can include constant exposure to pornographic films, tutorials in how to 'please' customers, and repeated rapes (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998). Of the 218 Nepalese girls rescued in February 1996 from a Bombay police raid, 60-70% of them were HIV positive (Tim McGirk "Nepal's Lost Daughters, 'India's soiled goods," Nepal/India News, 27 January 1997).

India, along with Thailand and the Philippines, has 1.3 million children in its sex-trade centers. The children come from relatively poorer areas and are trafficked to relatively richer ones (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998).

In cross border trafficking, India is a sending, receiving and transit nation. Receiving children from Bangladesh and Nepal and sending women and children to Middle Eastern nations is a daily occurrence (Executive Director of SANLAAP, Indrani Sinha, Paper on Globaliation and Human Rights”). India and Paksitan are the main destinations for children under 16 who are trafficked in south Asia (Masako Iijima, "S. Asia urged to unite against child prostitution,” Reuters, 19 June 1998). Girls in prostitution and domestic service in India, Pakistan and the Middle East are tortured, held in virtual imprisonment, sexually abused, and raped (SANLAAP India).
Hundreds, if not thousands, of Bangladeshi women and children are held in foreign prisons, jails, shelters and detention centers awaiting repatriation. Many have been held for years (Fawzia Karim Firoze and Salma Ali of the Bangladesh National Women Layer Association," Bangladesh Country Paper: Law and Legislation").

Calcutta is one of the important transit points for the traffickers for Bombay and Pakistan. 99% women are trafficked out of Bangladesh through land routes along border areas of Bangladesh and India, such as Jessore, Satkhira, and Rajshahi (Trafficking in Women and Children: The Cases of Bangladesh, pp.18 & 19, UBINIG, 1995).

70% of students surveyed at a wealthy high school seek a career in organized crime, citing their reasoning as "good money and good fun" (surveyed student, [Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996].

Policy and Law:

The UN Convention of the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949), and the supplementary convention on the abolition of slavery, the slave trade and institutions and practices of slavery, have been signed by most of the SAARC countries, including Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Trafficking in Women and Children: The Cases of Bangladesh, p.9, UBINIG, 1995).

Although prostitution is legal in India, brothel keeping, living off the earnings of a prostitute, soliciting or seducing for the purposes of prostitution are all punishable offenses. There are severe penalties for child prostitution and trafficking of women (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

Since mid-1997, the International Monetary Fund's structural adjustment policy for India has given rise to the economic and sexual exploitation of women in export processing zones, where 70-80% of workers are young women (Sujatha Fernandes, "Growing Women’s Movement in India," Green Left Weekly, 20 July 1997).
The devadasi tradition, still prevalent in many parts of India, continues to legitimize child prostitution. A devadasi is a woman married to a god and, by being sadasuhagan or married, is blessed at all times. As such, she becomes the wife of the powerful in the community. Devadasis are known by different names in different states. In the Vijapur district of Karnataka, girls are given to the Monkey God (Hanuman, Maruti) and known as Basvi. In the Shimoga District of Karnataka, the girls are handed over to the goddess Renuka Devi. In Hospet, they are given to the goddess Hulganga Devi and in Goa, a devadasi is called Bhavin (the one with devotion). The tradition lives on in other states in South India. Girls end up as prostitutes in Bombay and Pune. The Banchara and Bedia peoples of Madhya Pradesh also practice "traditional" prostitution (Farida Lambey, vice-principal of the Nirmala Niketan College of Social Work, "Devadasi System Continues to Legitimise Prostitution: The Devadasi Tradition and Prostitution," Times Of India, 4 December 1997).

**Official Corruption and Collaboration:**

In Bombay, top politicians and police officials are in league with the mafia who control the sex industry, exchanging protection for cash payoffs and donations to campaign war chests. Corruption reaches all levels of the ruling Congress Party in New Delhi. Many politicians view prostitutes as expendable commodities (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

The mafia kidnapped a Dutch doctor compiling an ethnographic study for the World Health Organization. He was released three days later and warned to stop probing the links among politicians, the mob and prostitution (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

Underage girls are rarely found in brothels because the pimps and owners receive tip offs from police about impending raids (Meena Menon, "Tourism and Prostitution," The Hindu, 14 February, 1998). In one brothel in Bombay, the police receive weekly bribes.
called haftas from the madams. Cops harass the girls, take their money, and demand free sexual services (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

South Central Bombay is home to the biggest organized crime family in Asia, run by Dawood Ibrahim. In 1992, 40 candidates in Bombay’s municipal elections and 180 of 425 legislators in Uttar Pradesh had criminal records. Shantabai, Bombay’s most powerful madam controlled as many as 10,000 pimps’ and prostitutes’ votes in a 1985 election. Bombay’s sex industry has evolved into a highly efficient business. It is controlled by four separate crime groups: one in charge of police payoffs, another controlling money laundering, third maintaining internal law and order, and the fourth procuring women through a vast network stretching from South India to the Himalayas. Of the four mafia groups in Bombay, the most powerful is Mehboob Thasildar, the procurer of women. Thasildar opened a restaurant on the ground floor of a two-story, block long brothel he also owned, one of the biggest in Bombay, with more than 50 prostituted women (Indian government sources, Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

Actions of NGOs:

The Karnataka State Commission discovered a major trafficking network for Women smuggling 12-18 year-old girls from various impoverished districts to contractors who run brothels in Goa. The contractors pay the parents for their girl children under false pretenses (Seethalakshmi S., "Karnataka girls being sold to Goa brothels," Time of India, 28 May 1998).

The exploitation of Nepalese women and girls may never end, “for some there is too much easy money in it, for others there's nothing to be gained by lobbying for its abolition. Surely, for now, it can be monitored. Its magnitude can be lessened,” says Durga Ghimire, chairperson of a 98-NGO-strong pressure group, National Network Groups against Trafficking. She feels that the alarmingly low rates of female literacy, coupled with the traditionally low status of the girl-child in Nepal have to be addressed to tackle the problem. Gauri Pradhan of Child Workers in Nepal Concerned Centre (CWIN)
emphasizes the need for collaboration by the two governments on this issue (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998).

There are several shelters run by various Katmandu-based NGOs working against trafficking and towards rehabilitation of girls who manage to escape or are rescued from Indian brothels. This is not easy work; relatives of the rescued girls generally do not want them back and Nepal's government is worried about the spread of HIV, as many of the trafficked girls have contracted the virus while enslaved in India (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998).

As of mid-1998, Sanlaap shelter in Sneha, India had 25 to 30 rescued prostituted children, 60% of which were HIV positive (Indrani Sinha, SANLAAP India, "Paper on Globalization & Human Rights").

NGO workers, who urge prostitutes to use condoms, have to get the mafia's consent, and promise to ignore the child prostitution (Shilpa, a 30-year-old social worker who has spent five years in the red-light district, Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

Official Response and Action:

139 prostituted Nepalese girls were rescued through a police raid in Kamatipura, India and were then repatriated to Katmandu (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998). Rehabilitation of trafficked women and children forced into prostitution in Indian brothels is hampered by the lack of Indian government support and agenda for their rehabilitation. The sending country may not come forward to claim the victims and younger children may not know where they originally came from. (Soma Wadhwa, "For sale childhood," Outlook, 1998).

Conditions of commercially sexually exploited women in Prostitution:

The major players in the sector other than prostituted women are pimps who are considered to be the ‘pillars of the sex industry, viewed as protectors and more welcome than the police’ (DWCD 1996). Clients are profiled as men separated from their families,
visitors in tourist and religious centers, other abusers, businessmen, politicians, transport operators, drivers, cleaners, migrant laborers and students (Shalini and Lalitha 1996). The nexus between prostitution, politicians and government officials is frequently revealed by press reports.

Prostitution has become an area of concern in 20th century. Trafficking is the new face of prostitution as more than 90% of the trafficking is taking place for commercial sex work. Two main patterns of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation have been documented. “The traditional “two-step” pattern targets women already working in prostitution to be trafficked abroad, whereas the more aggressive “one-step” pattern targets women and young girls directly in their villages to be trafficked for prostitution abroad. With the increased demand for younger women arising from the fear of HIV infections, the “one-step” pattern is beginning to dominate’ (United Nations 2000).

**Health and Well-being:**

Madams take sick women to one of the red light districts’ 200 unlicensed doctors, who give the women mood elevators, IV drips of colored water or medicinal herbs. The women must pay for this "treatment" with cash from moneylenders, and the mafia collects a percentage from the "doctors" (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

60% of prostituted women in Bombay's red-light district areas are infected with STDs and AIDS (CATW - Asia Pacific, Trafficking in Women and Prostitution in the Asia Pacific). A magazine publisher in Bombay said AIDS would benefit the country because it will depopulate the vast underclass (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

In July 1990, mob bosses permitted Savahdan, a charity group, to repatriate 700 South Indian prostitutes to Madras, most of them were HIV positive. It was perceived as a cheap way of getting rid of HIV infected girls. Many women, too sick to prostitute, are thrown onto the street. Government hospitals won’t treat prostitutes who are HIV
positive, or are developing symptoms of AIDS. In Bombay’s J.J. Hospital, an HIV infected woman was refused treatment, though she was bleeding and her condition was life threatening. She delivered a baby in the brothel [Government report, Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996].

In Bombay, the girls are bought by an average of six men a day who pay US$1.10 - 2 per sex act to the madam gets the money upfront. To pay for movies, clothes, make-up and extra food to supplement a diet of rice and dal, the girls have to borrow from moneylenders at an interest rate of up to 500%. They are perpetually in debt (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

In 1991, Bombay’s 100,000 prostituted women averaged 600,000 sexual contacts a day. At the time 30% were HIV positive, the chance of transmission was 0.1%. On that basis, 200 clients were being infected with HIV everyday, 6,000 each month (Robert I. Freidman, "India’s Shame: Sexual Slavery and Political Corruption Are Leading to An AIDS Catastrophe," The Nation, 8 April 1996).

**Impact of Sex Work:**

**On Individual:**

Women in prostitution usually suffer from greater personal deterioration than men due to the existing double standard and as a result, they suffer from complete moral collapse. Their personal efficiency is generally impaired by the mental conflict and physical strain on their marginal existence. Repeated violations of the code are almost certain to bring about irreparable loss of status. Women in prostitution are reportedly traumatized by their experiences. Depression and suicidal thoughts are common. The mental and emotional state of the survivors may include malevolence, helplessness, withdrawal, dissociation, self-blame and identification with the aggressor, distraction, a foreshortened view of time, and normalization and shaping, so that the victims convince themselves that their experiences had to happen instead of viewing them as traumatic (Saarthak 2002: 3-6). Some of the observed psychiatric disorders among survivors of trafficking are post-traumatic stress disorder, depressive disorder, dissociative disorders, psychotic disorders.
and eating disorders. Women who are made to bear the responsibility of upholding their family honor through their sexual purity/chastity face additional stress because of the prevalent morality.

Besides being stigmatized as outcasts and facing moral and legal isolation (Giri 1999: 68), trafficked people are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection, drug addiction, high-risk abortions, and teenage pregnancies, which may affect their reproductive health for life. A study by an NGO in Dhaka found that more than 20% of street children prostitutes die before reaching adulthood. Almost 22% become physically invalid and are fit only for begging (SOS, 2001: 22). As a result of such psychological trauma usually remaining un-addressed and unresolved, ‘the abused turn into abusers’, with a high probability of them becoming criminals. The consequences of being a child labourer and its adverse impact on the development of children are well documented.

Psycho-social impacts:

Social values in the realm of sex are, at present, confused and paradoxical. Chastity and faithfulness have been held up as the primary virtues for women, while men have been overlooked in the sexual disorder. Prostitution and trafficking are the processes that demolish a person and are not just the geographical relocation for exploitation. It takes courage to stop, deconstruct and understand the reality faced by the survivor of trafficking, let alone live it. A significant number of survivors of trafficking are isolated and not accepted by the community on their return from the destination to which they were trafficked. The family, community and even the representatives from the police, judicial process and NGOs may blame the survivors for their traumatic experiences. The survivors’ behaviour is sexualized by their experience of commercial sexual exploitation. The way they dress, talk and carry themselves is interpreted by most people as being ‘characterless’ and ‘wanting it’. With this process of labeling starts the process of rejection of the survivors by their family and community. It also starts misdirected efforts to ‘counsel’ them to be girls from ‘nice’ backgrounds who do not do such things. The personal disorganization resulting from prostitution is due to the fact that the person concerned received condemnation at the hands of men and women and is excluded from
the society. Women suffer great personal deterioration due to the existing double standards in the society. These also lead her to suffer a complete moral collapse.

The Mental Health Impact:

The survivors of trafficking for prostitution are disabled by the mental health impact of their experiences. A significant proportion of survivors require years to cope with this disability. There are three potential impacts on survivors:

- The developmental impact of trafficking,
- Thoughts and feelings associated with trafficking
- Psychiatric disorders resulting from trafficking

The Developmental Impact of Trafficking:
To understand the impact of trafficking on the psychological development of a young person, it is important to first understand the development of an adolescent who is not trafficked.

During adolescence, young people go through the process of developing their identity and learning some key methods to deal with life. Young persons are likely to develop certain abilities through the adolescent period such as the development of abstract thinking, views and beliefs about themselves, the ability to think about others, the ability to think critically, and the ability to think creatively.

A person is normally trafficked into sex work at their developmentally vulnerable age. In contrast to the young people described above, trafficked youngsters are faced with fear, anger, and uncertainty. They feel helpless and the only future they see for themselves is a fantasy of rescue, which eventually dies out. The development of their identity is suddenly abbreviated by the negative experience of abuse and trauma that goes with the experience of trafficking. At this age, the adolescent also explores his/her sexual needs and responses and the process of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation has a severe impact on the sexuality and selfhood of the person. How does a person who has been brutally raped and traumatized make sense of his or her sexuality? They would begin to question their normal sexual needs and their body’s physiological responses to
sexual stimuli would generate guilt. How the survivors manage their relationships, how they feel about their bodies and how they perceive themselves are questions which, as an outsider, one cannot even begin to answer.

The rehabilitation process usually does not address the impact on the development of the trafficked young person. Knowledge of the developmental impact is fundamental for helping the person rebuild his/her life. It is important to recognize that it is not possible to undo the experiences that the person has gone through and the impact of these experiences on the way the person thinks about himself/herself. If one has a blurred and negative view of oneself, it is obvious that one will face extreme difficulty in feeling empowered enough to take up options in other spheres of one’s life.

Thoughts and Feelings of a Survivor:

The thoughts and feelings of a survivor are permanently affected by her traumatic experiences. Some of the thoughts and feelings a survivor may have are described below. All of these may not be present together in a single survivor. These are not the only thoughts and feelings that the survivors experience and they do have other age-appropriate thoughts.

Malevolence: The experience of trafficking and repetitive abuse causes two key belief systems to determine the survivor’s behavior. These are, ‘You cannot trust anyone’ and ‘If you trust, you will always be hurt’. The person stops believing in people and finds it difficult to form relationships.

Helplessness and Withdrawal: The survivors learn that they cannot change the circumstances they find themselves in. They give up trying and begin to see themselves as helpless. They withdraw and isolate themselves and remain disconnected from the world. Nothing affects them; they are neither happy nor sad. They develop a ‘blunted’ response to all the changes around them, even when the context changes, i.e. when they are rescued and placed in a rehabilitation facility, their sense of helplessness and withdrawal persists.
Dissociation: Survivors give up thinking actively about the context. The link between negative feelings and the events and thoughts that trigger them is not acknowledged, as if recognizing the cause of these feelings will be more terrifying than the feelings themselves. This is a method of surviving, despite every situation and everything around them reminding them of the trauma they experience. As survivors cannot do anything about their experiences, their minds detach emotions from the tragic events. This is called dissociation.

Normalization and Shaping: Survivors facing trauma learn to see it as a normal or routine experience. The experience is not seen as traumatic, but as something ‘that had to happen’.

Distraction: Another strategy for the survivors is to get involved in what is happening around them in order to distract themselves from the memory of traumatic experiences. This includes experimenting with drugs, alcohol and seeking short-term relationships.

Self-blaming and identification with the aggressor: Survivors begin to blame themselves to make sense of their experience of prostitution. It is perhaps easier to say ‘I must have provoked them to hurt me’ than to understand the actual causes. The aggressor is seen as correct and having the right to hurt and control.

Foreshortened view of time: The survivor may feel that his/her life is without a future, as the long term does not exist for the survivor. Thus, from the prostituted person’s perspective, there are no risks or consequences or any possibilities of change.

Psychiatric Disorders in Survivors of Prostitution: A significant proportion of people who are exposed to trafficking develop psychiatric disorders. In any given population of young people, the prevalence of psychiatric disorders can be as high as 20%. In a vulnerable group, such as victims of prostitution who have gone through trauma, there is likely to be a higher prevalence of psychiatric disorders. A research study conducted by an NGO reveals that more than 40% of the population suffered from psychiatric disorders. The disorders commonly noted are as follows:
1. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder: Post traumatic stress disorder is characterized by a marked generalized anxiety that is triggered by any cue that reminds one of traumatic stimuli in the past, leading to a numbing of sensations and the reliving of past traumatic experiences. Post traumatic stress disorder is an extremely disabling disorder. The impact of the disorder could be worse than losing the functions of limbs and eyes at the same time.

2. Depressive Disorder: Depressive disorder may present itself as sadness, inability to enjoy oneself, lack of interest in day-today activities and negative thoughts about oneself, the future and the way one is perceived by others. There could also be disturbances in sleep and appetite.

3. Dissociative Disorders: Dissociative disorders may be present as fits of unconsciousness, amnesia, multiple personality disorder, or as a “possession state”.

4. Psychotic Disorder: Psychotic disorders may present themselves as delusions (false unshakable beliefs), hallucinations (perceiving things without stimuli), or behavioral difficulties. There is a lack of insight into one’s condition and experiences and there could be a gradual deterioration of personality.

5. Eating Disorders: Eating disorders such as bulimia nervosa or anorexia nervosa may present themselves as an ‘altered body image’ resulting in starvation or eating binges.

Psychiatric symptoms in survivors usually remain undiagnosed and the survivor comes to be classified as ‘difficult’ or ‘uncooperative’ during the rehabilitation process. A person with a psychiatric disorder is emotionally more vulnerable than other survivors. Such a person does not feel empowered to use the rehabilitation resources, voice her needs, or participate actively in the process. The missed diagnosis of a psychiatric disorder further adds to the disability of a trafficking survivor.

Cost of Disability Caused by the Mental Health Impact:

It is well known that a person who experiences sexual violence and exploitation is likely to be disabled and may not be able to fulfill her needs and potential. The impact of the violence remains on the survivors for a long time after the incident has taken place and decreases his/her productivity.
The cost would rise if the actual expenditure of all the contributory factors for prostitution, that is abuse and neglect in the pre-prostitution scenario, can be included as well.

The cost would further rise if the expenditure for the judicial and investigative processes were included.

The cost would become realistic if costs from smaller towns and cities and not just the major centers were included.

The costs would further increase if one were to include other outcomes of trafficking, not just commercial sex work.

**On Family:**

The effects of prostitution not only limit to the personal disorganization of the prostitute, but also affect her family directly. A married woman in prostitution, who resorts to clandestine prostitution, may contract a disease from her clients which will then be transferred to her spouse. Children of parents suffering from venereal diseases are likely to be maimed for life and are often born blind or with the infections of their parents, such as HIV/AIDS. Illegitimate sex relations may also cause friction in the family which may end up in divorce, or separation; this type of environment may influence the children negatively and cause them to become anti social in the community in future.

**On Community:**

Prostitution brings widespread disorganization to the community in which it operates. We can look at it from two standpoints: one is economic or commercial and other is health. Prostitution, when allowed to operate, lends itself to commercial exploitation and becomes institutionalized or legalized. In its legalized form, it becomes deeply rooted in the deteriorated local communities of the larger cities. This means that due to its relatively permanent position in the city, it becomes still more accessible to the public and as a result, increasingly more profitable. In turn, this situation strengthens the hands of the persons engaged in this business (Madam G.R., Indian Social Problems, P.No.209). This causes a demoralization of social values. If prostitution is legalised in the society, especially in India where it is not a crime unless a third person benefits from it, homes in a residential colonies may have licensed brothels called ‘call flats’. Alcohol
may be sold or indecent shows added as an additional attraction solely for the purpose of increasing customers for the primary business. No protest would be able to combat these establishments since prostitution would be in the form of a legalized institution. At that point, social action will die.

Many studies reveal that prostitution is the main channel for spreading many venereal diseases such as syphilis, cancroids, gonorrhea etc. These diseases contribute largely to sources of insanity and their victims are particularly likely to commit violent crimes. There is tremendous economic waste from syphilis in the loss of working hours alone. In addition, there is an enormous annual cost of care for syphilis in private and public institutions as well as in mental and nervous institutions. Because of the inability of the lower income groups to secure treatment, these diseases set in motion a vicious economic cycle. The consequences of prostitution do not stop here; it leads to many other social problems. Commercial sexual exploitation involves the violation of a whole gamut of laws and human rights. It becomes a threat to society because mediators/traffickers operate across borders with the growing involvement of organized criminals and by generally undermining the rule of law. Commercial sexual exploitation threatens the very fabric of society because it involves not only criminals, but also law enforcers. It manifests and perpetuates patriarchal attitudes and behaviours which undermine efforts to promote gender equality and eradicate discrimination against women and children (ADB 2002: 45).

**Prostitution Tourism:**

Foreign tourists are frequenting India because of its relaxed laws, abundant child prostitutes and the false idea that there is a lower incidence of AIDS (Rahul Bedi, "Bid To Protect Chedren As Sex Tourism Spreads," 1997).

India is one of the favored destinations of pedophile sex tourists from Europe and the United States ("Global law to punish sex tourists sought by Britain and EU," The Indian Express, 21 November 1997).

Multinational tour operators, hotel companies, airlines, and travel agencies are setting up the tourism agendas for Goa, India and the world over; however, they ignore the host
communities (Roland Martins, Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz, "While the Locals Visit the Temple to Pray, You Will Have Bikini-Clad Women Moving Around," Herald, 4 October 1997).

**Legalization of Prostitution:**

Legalization has proved to be an ineffective way of tackling trafficking and exploitation in other countries where the registered prostitutes are always fewer in number to the unregistered one. Ironically, when legalization is implemented in a country where sex work is still stigmatized, it merely pushes a large section of the sex trade underground. Women do not want to be publicly recognized as prostitutes, not only in India, but in any other part of the world. They have felt it as a forced medical checkups. A black economy of trade in women usually exists alongside the registered sector, and the exploitation of these women is often worse than it is under toleration laws. Therefore, many women choose to remain outside the law rather than register themselves. In India today, legalization would simply give the state more power to interfere in the lives of the women because publicly identified prostitutes would be extremely vulnerable to abuse and extortion from the administrators with whom they have to make contact.

The business of trafficking is characterized by low investment and high return. The cost of procurement is conditioned by several demand factors including physical appearance, age, complexion, submissiveness and region of origin of trafficked persons. The traffickers either raise their own resources or are funded by brothel owners. Those who help the traffickers in the procurement of women and girls are paid on commission basis. A major aspect of the business is also that the caregivers conspire with traffickers in taking money in return for their women and children.

 Trafficking from neighbouring countries accounts for only 10% of the coerced migration in India, with approximately 2.17% from Bangladesh and 2.6% being from Nepal. The share of interstate trafficking is estimated at 89% (ADB 2002: 8).
**Legislation on Prostitution:**

The current legislation in India, in the form of Immoral Traffic in Persons (Prevention) Act (PITA), provides for punishment of prostitutes who do not keep their profession hidden from the public and deals with the excesses of exploitation in the industry. Prostitution is tolerated, meaning that it is neither legal nor illegal. A prostitute is not committing a crime when she practices privately and independently, but she cannot solicit legally in public. In theory, prostitutes are left alone to carry on with their work, provided it is not within 200 meters of a public place. India’s legal approach towards prostitution has shifted since the 20th century from legalization to toleration. Socially, zones of tolerance, known as red-light areas, have always existed, but the legal status of them has altered.

During the British period, the first legislation on prostitution was passed. The Contagious Disease Acts, 1869, were British acts that applied to all countries falling under British Rule. As a requirement under this act, prostitutes were supposed to register themselves with the police and regular medical checkups were insisted upon. This resulted in many women going underground or evading registration because this act indirectly depicted prostitutes as disease-carriers. This controversial act was suspended in 1883. Later on, provisions were made in the Indian Penal Code (ICP) to deal with sexual offences with the intent of protecting modesty and protecting women against forced illicit sexual intercourse. The ICP continued to criminalise trafficking, and clauses regarding public indecency and public nuisance could be used against the prostitutes themselves.

Bombay is the state, which takes credit of having effective checks on prostitution when the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act was passed in 1923. Under this act, living off the earnings of the prostitution of another, soliciting in a public street or place, procuring, keeping, managing or assisting in keeping or managing a brothel, permitting to use the premises for a brothel, and prostitution in prohibited areas were offences. Later, similar acts were passed in Madras (1930), Bengal (1933), Uttar Pradesh (1933), Punjab (1935), Bihar (1948), Madhya Pradesh (1953), with certain modifications. Some separate acts were also passed to protect girls from forced prostitution. They were the U.P. Naik Girls Protection Act (1929), The Bombay Devadasi Protection Act (1934), and the Madras
Devadasi (Prevention of Dedication) Act (1947). Under the Cantonment Act of 1924, officers commanding a station were given certain powers for the discontinuance of brothels in cantonment areas. Under the Municipalities Acts, certain states put certain restrictions on prostitution, such as loitering for prostitution or the discontinuance of the use of brothels in the vicinity of places of worship or an educational institution, etc. Similarly, Children Acts contain provisions to protect children.

As a direct result of India being a signatory to a United Nations declaration on the suppression of trafficking in 1950 in New York, the All India Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act 1956 (SITA) was passed. This was later amended to the current ITPA. Both of these acts intended to criminalise pimps, landlords, brothel-keepers and traffickers. Ironically, PITA allows for toleration of red-light areas by hitting prostitutes visible at public place. However, even if a woman does not solicit or practice in a public place, the law continues to stigmatize her by criminalizing living with or being in the habitual company of a prostitute (sec. 1.2 (a) of PITA) and also by giving power to the state to remove a child who lives with a prostitute in a brothel in red-light area. One who visits places used by a prostitute or associates with any person who leads an immoral, drunken, or depraved life is also criminalized (Section 15(2) of the Juvenile Justice Act).

The legal status of prostitution in India not only has a significant impact on the lives of those individuals involved in prostitution, but also reflects the current attitudes of the state and of mainstream society towards prostitution.

If we concentrate on the implementation of laws regarding prostitution, we see that their implementation has been used mostly against the prostitutes themselves rather than their exploiters as a result of the worldwide system of toleration. Although the intention of ITPA was to decriminalize the prostitutes and hit hardest at the traffickers, pimps and brothel keepers, in practice the opposite has happened; the two clauses affecting the women have been used while the rest remain almost ineffective.

With regard to the experience of the practitioners, it can be understood that in practice the police do support the existence of prostitution and see their role mainly as eliminating excessive exploitation such as the trafficking of minors. They usually implement the laws
when the women are too visible or when there are complaints from the public. The extent of police cooperation with brothel keepers and traffickers and their harassment of prostitutes is a reflection of the double standard of morality prevailing in the implementation of the law. There are known cases of the police refusing to accept First Information Reports against traffickers. Apart from all of this, the police largely contribute to the harassment the prostitutes undergo; the police are known to visit them regularly for the purpose of extorting money and mass arrests are often made, primarily of the prostitutes and also of the clients and, although very few charges are actually brought after these mass arrest, money changes hands (Carolyn Sleightolme and Indrani Sinha; Guilt without Trail, 1996).

The Double Standards of the Law:

In spite of all these acts, the problem of prostitution could not be tackled. That is because prostitution by itself is not a crime in India and the acts deal only with particular activities connected with its practice. These laws define the government’s policy towards the problem and provide the tools to the officials entrusted with its enforcement, but the mere existence of a law is no guarantee that the problem itself is being effectively tackled. The very attitude of the law implementers, being an apathetic, corrupt and untrained force, contributes a lot to the unsuccessful implementation of laws. For example, there was no restriction on brothels away from educational institutions, religious places or any other public places (Madan, G.R, Indian Social Problems, vol. I, pg. No. 213).

When we look into the present law, it ensures that the field is accessible, not offensively public, and that the prostitutes are allowed to work, but without legal protection. Legal approaches to prostitutes can be broadly divided into three categories: legalization, prohibition, and toleration. Legalization accepts the institution of prostitution and gives full legal rights to prostitutes, often accompanied by registration, licensing and compulsory medical check-ups. Prohibition totally criminalizes the activities of all categories of people related to sex trade, such as brothel keepers, pimps or clients, etc. The third approach is that of tolerance, which criminalizes the organizers, but not the sex workers themselves. This is intended to suppress prostitution gradually by tackling the exploitative elements without harming the women in prostitution.
India’s legal approach is one of limited tolerance, where being a prostitute per se is not an offence and practicing sex work privately and independently is also not a crime, but practicing and soliciting in or near a public place is a punishable offence.

Efforts India has Made to Combat Human Trafficking:

In September 2006, the Indian government responded to the trafficking issue by creating a central anti-trafficking law enforcement “nodal cell.” The nodal cell is a federal two-person department responsible for collecting and performing analysis of data related to trafficking, identifying the causes of the problem, monitoring action taken by state governments, and holding meetings with state-level law enforcement. In October 2006, the central government passed a law banning the employment of children in domestic work. In July 2006, the Maharashtra government was given authority by the Supreme Court to seal brothels. The government already has laws in place to prohibit bonded and forced labor, set in place by the Bonded Labor Abolition Act, the Juvenile Justice Act, and the Child Labor Act. In 2007, three state governments established anti-trafficking police units, the first of its kind in India.

Despite the legal efforts that are taking place, enforcement of the law leaves room for improvement. In 2006, for the entire country of India, only 27 convictions for trafficking offenses were reported. From October 2006 to December 2006, 1,672 child labor violations were reported, but no one was criminally prosecuted. Also in 2006, 685 suspected sex traffickers were attained, but no convictions were reported. Two specific examples given in the Trafficking in Persons report pertain to rescue missions. In New Delhi, 234 children were rescued by police from embroidery factories and rice mills. The owners of these businesses did not receive punishment. Forty-three government-run rescue missions freed 275 victims of commercial sex trafficking; however, the government did not report any convictions on those accounts as well.
Conclusion:

It is a well known and well documented fact that women in Indian society occupy a disadvantaged and secondary position. In all aspects of society - sexual, economical, socio-cultural, and demographic – women do not enjoy equal status with men. The problem of violence against women in the family and society is also not new; women in our society have been the victims of humiliation, torture and exploitation from time immemorial, irrespective of the fact that they were also worshipped. Family is considered as the first agency, which provides not only emotional and material support to its members, but also serves as a basic source of personal satisfaction, socialization and social control. With the consideration of family as a private domain, even abuse, exploitation, injustice, discrimination and violence are allowed in our patriarchal system.

Women’s social and domestic lives had generally suffered a radical change and women have come to occupy a position of inferiority both at home and in society. This inferiority has been built because of a lack of knowledge, education, social systems, etc. This inferiority stole their will and strength to protest the violence committed against them. The patriarchal society of India is using this condition of women to treat them as recreational bodies, just as the feudal lords sexually exploited women from weaker sections.

The role that NGOs have played is a good role in the area of women’s development. The difficulties they face in trying to bring about social change are issues that need to be discussed in detail. The present study aims at understanding the different roles played by the NGOs and the problems they are facing in handling the roles.