CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

India and Japan

My study aims to research into both the Indian and Japanese societies through prostitution and know their similarities and differences, which can in turn build happier societies for all women and men and establish more friendly relationship in closer relations of both countries more and more in future.

The Japanese have viewed India as the country of the origin of Buddhism for a long time. Indian culture came to Japan directly and through China and Korea. Exchange between Japan and India is said to have begun in the sixth century A.D., when Buddhism was introduced to Japan via the Korean Peninsula. It is believed that an Indian scholar, Dharma who is called Daruma San, visited Japan in the 7th century A.D. Buddhist priests from India went to Japan, where they spread the Buddhist teachings. Indian culture, filtered through Buddhism has had a great impact on Japanese culture and thought, Japanese living in the traditional Shinto emphasis on living in harmony with natural surroundings were receptive to Buddhism to stress to live in harmony with all living things, whether plants or animals and this is the source of the Japanese people’s sense of closeness with India.

A 12th century Japanese Buddhist scholar Kobo Daishi from the island Shikoku traveled to China and met and exchanged ideas with Indian Buddhist pilgrims who had come to China around the same time.

The Indian gods and goddesses came to Japan. They were changed their names and worshiped in temples in Japan.

1 The Indian god Ganesh, the elephant–headed son of Shiva and Parvati, is the most auspicious and popular god in India. He is the Lord of New Beginnings. Worshipped in many guises, he is Vighneshwara, the Remover of Obstacles, and Siddhidata, the God of Prosperity and Success. He was introduced in Japan during Heian period (794–1185). It is called Seiten and
also a part of Mikkyo (esoteric Buddhism) and is a God of Joy (Kaikiten). Images of Kankiten can be found in many beautiful Japanese temples.

② Brahma (Divination of Brahman, the fundamental principle of the universe, The creator. Four Faces Rides a swan) was introduced in Japan during the Asuka period (593–710). It is called Bonten (Four Faces Four Armas) in Japan.

③ Vishnu (Divination of the Sun. The Preserver. Four Arms Holds a conch, a Chakra and rides a Garuda. 10–22 Incarnations [9th incarnation was Buddha] was introduced in Japan during Heian period and has called Naraenten (Protector of Buddhism).

④ Siva (Origin 700 B.C. called Rudra during the Rig Vedic period. "God of Destruction and Recreation." Has 1008 different names. Four arms. Holds Rishihul. Rides the ox Nandi. Also has symbols of Nataraja (Dancing God and Linga [phallic symbol]). Siva is called Daijiziten in Japan. It was introduced in Japan during Heian period as Protector of Buddhism.

⑤ Sarasvati which was introduced in Japan during Nara period (710–794) is called Benzaiten, Goddess of good fortune holding biwa (a Japanese mandolin) in Japan.

⑥ Lakshmi (originated in 2nd century. Goddess of wealth, beauty and fortune. Wife of Vishnu) was also introduced in Japan during Nara period. It is called Kisshouten (Goddess of good luck) in Japan.

⑦ Indra was introduced during Asuka period and it is called Taishakuten in Japan. Mahakara, which is Incarnation of Siva was introduced during Nara period. It is called Daikokuten, Reconciliation with Ohkuninushino-Mikoto (Japan’s native god).

⑧ Vaishravana which is called Bishamonten was introduced during Asuka period. He is a protector of Buddhism in Japan.

⑨ Varuna (originated in 1200 B.C. Rig Veda Age. God of Justice) is called Suiten (Protector of world. God of water transport and occupation).

⑩ Yama (originated 1200 B.C. Older than Rig Veda. God of Death. Rides a buffalo. It is called Enmaten introduced during the Heian period. Protector of world. Lord of the world of death.

⑪ Hariti (originated in 2000 B.C. Earth of Goddess of the Gandhara region according to the primitive faith. nate) was introduced during the Heian period and has called Kishibojin (a wicked woman turned pious Protection for safe
birth and child rearing.

The Edo period (1600–1868), also called the Tokugawa period, dates from 1600, when leyasu Tokugawa (1542–1616) defeated his principal rivals in the Battle of Sekigahara, to 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration. leyasu issued his first anti–Christian edict in 1612 because he was very suspicious that Christianity was politically dangerous to his regime. After the Shimabara Uprising of 1637–38 the shogunate took an extreme anti–Christian measures. Regulation of foreign trade also moved in parallel. In 1635, Japanese nationals were forbidden to travel abroad or return home from overseas (Prohibition of Foreign Voyages). In 1639, Portuguese ships were excluded from Japanese ports, and only the Dutch and Chinese were allowed to trade at Nagasaki. Japan entered its period of National Seclusion that was to more than two centuries. In result, there was no direct link between India and Japan as well.

Direct exchange began only in the Meiji era (1868–1912), when Japan embarked on the process of modernization.

"In the 19th century, after the Meiji restoration, contact with India was resumed and oddly enough, this time it had something to do with tea. After the last Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837–1913) left the capital Edo and retired to his native fiefdom in Shizuoka, he came across an enterprising young man by the name of Tada Motokichi. Tada was rewarded for his loyalty by the gift of some land where he started a green tea plantation. In appreciation of his many skills—mechanical and human—the Meiji Government in 1876 selected him to go to India to study black tea cultivation. Tada studied about two years in India, visiting Calcutta, Darjeeling, Assam and returned to Japan with seeds of tea bushes used for the preparation of black tea and with the designs of the machines used in the processing of black tea. This was the first introduction of black tea into Japan."

From then on, bilateral relations developed around Japanese purchases of tea, cotton and other raw materials from India. Japan sold many kinds of machinery and textiles to India.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) enhanced Japanese interest in India. Works of Tagore were published in Japanese in the 1980s. Tagore came to Japan three times. He won the Nobel Prize in 1913. When he came to Japan the first time in 1916, he delivered lectures at Waseda and Keio Universities in Tokyo and Otani and Ryukoku Universities in Kyoto. At the Otani University, Suzuki Daisetsu, the great scholar of Buddhism, in particular Zen Buddhism interpreted Tagore’s lectures. The intelligentsia in Japan have been fascinated by them. Japanese artists like Okakura Tenshin (1862–1013) and Yokoyama Taikan (1868–1958) visited India and learned from Rabindranath Tagore at Shanti Niketan.

"Okakura Tenshin, who were fully conscious of this tangible and yet somewhat indefinable quality of Asian-ness. In this, he found an echo in the thought and writings of Rabindra Nath Tagore, who like Okakura Tenshin, saw that there was much in Asian civilization and Asian cultural practices that was similar, and much which was worthy of preservation and development. In Japan, therefore, because of this ancient Buddhist link, India in the minds of many Japanese is associated with the Buddhist message of peace and compassion."\(^2\)

"Okakura, greatly influenced by Tagore, advocated that it was wrong, as many Japanese at the time believed, to reject everything that was "Asian", even if it had intrinsic beauty and worth. Fukuzawa Yukichi, on the other hand, and thinkers like him advocated a "root and branch" type of reform, taking on wholesale ideas and institutions from the West… Fukuzawa, who founded Keio University, was an extraordinary intellectual and a prolific translator who produced books on a bewildering range of subjects and published them at his own publishing house, thus making knowledge about Western concepts and technologies available to the average Japanese at reasonable prices."\(^3\)

\(^2\) Ibid., pp.86-87.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp.38-39.
In 1898 Swami Vivekanand visited Japan on his way to the Chicago Parliament of Religions. The Head Priest of Enkakuji temple in Kamakura represented Buddhism at the Chicago Parliament of Religions. He traveled on the same ship with Vivekanand. Jamshedji Tata, the Indian industrialist traveled to Japan on his way to America and observed the rapid industrialization of Japan after the Meiji restoration.

“There were other important connections. It would be recalled, for example, that the Japanese victory over Russia in 1904–05 had a profound impact on India’s National Movement, splitting in into the “Constitutionalists” on the one hand, and others who taking inspiration from Japan, wished to take “direct action” against the British in order to achieve early independence.”

Rash Bihari Bose and Subhash Chandra Bose are famous in the history of Indian–Japanese relations. Bihari Bose exiled himself in Japan and the Indian nationalist Subhash Chandra Bose came to regard Japan as an ally in fighting the United Kingdom’s colonial rule to further Indian independence during World War II. Rash Bihari Bose married a Japanese woman and lived in Japan.

After World War II, the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal was held. The Indian judge Radha Binod Pal (1886–1967) came from Calcutta and served on it. His judgement was published by Heibonsha. Since then many Japanese have had deep admiration for the reasoning given by Pal for his inability to go along with the other judges in finding Japanese war time leaders ‘guilty.’

“Pal was the only dissenting judge who found them ‘not guilty.’ The publication of his judgment had had a profound impact on the Japanese people; it also gave India a positive image, as being a country which produced men like Mahatma Gandhi and Pal who believed in fairness and humaness in their approach to the problems of the world.”

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4 Ibid., p.40.
5 Ibid., p.xiii.
Pal was the only expert on International Law on the Tribunal which had judges from 11 other countries. The books concerning Pal's judgement and his life have published continuously by several publishers and authors. Many Japanese have remembered and respected him every summer. Independence Day of India is August 15, 1947, while the anniversary of the end of the war in Japan is August 15, 1945.

"...Pal opined that if war crimes were on trial, other foreign leader should also be summoned to the trial along with Tojo (Hideki, the prime Minister). The decision to drop atomic weapons on defenseless civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, leading to many thousands of deaths and radiation related illnesses for several generations of Japanese, was in Pal's view as hideous a war crime as anything committed by Japan."

Besides, the image of India in post-war Japan received a boost as a result of Nehru's international reputation as Gandhi's successor. In 1949, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru donated an Indian elephant Indira as a gift to the Japanese children to Ueno Zoo in Tokyo. Almost all the big animals in the zoo had been slaughtered anticipating air raids. As many as 1,500 letters by the Japanese children asking for an elephant were delivered by an Indian trader to Nehru. The elephant named Indira after Nehru's daughter arrived by boat on September 23rd. This brought a ray of light into the lives of the Japanese, who still had not recovered from Japan's World War II defeat. Two days later she was introduced to the public and 85,000 people came to see her. and in 1950 the elephant Indira traveled around Japan and was seen by four million people. Japanese. When Nehru visited Japan in 1957, he met the elephant Indira at Ueno Zoo, accompanied by his daughter. Indira died of old age (49 years old) in August 1983. Her death was widely covered in the Japanese press and was mourned by many.

Concerning Indian elephants, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi presented two more elephants, Asha and Daya (meaning hope and compassion) with her messages dated on August 29th, 1984. Asha and Daya reached Japan on September 20th, 1984. Indira Gandhi was assassinated on October 31st.

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6 Ibid., p.27.
Defense Minister George Fernandez presented another elephant, Surya (meaning the rising sun). Three elephants are still alive.

India's friendship with Japan after the war helped a great deal when Japan returned to the international arena. By 1958, Japan's economy had recovered sufficiently to enable Japan to offer economic assistance to other countries. India was among the first recipients of Japan's Overseas Development Assistance.

The economic assistance and technological cooperation extended by Japan proved of considerable help to India, and became symbols of the high regard and esteem that post-War leaders of Japan and the people in general had for India.

Today everyone in Japan knows that India has become one of the top software nations of the world. After Prime Minister Mori visited India in August 2000, the number of IT companies operating in Japan has gone up from 40 to almost 70. The number of IT workers increased from 1,000 to over 2,000. Global Partnership was announced in August 2000 to import about 30,000 IT engineers to Japan. The then Minister of IT, Pramod Mahajan came to Japan in September 2001. Prime Minister Vajpayee came to Japan to create a "Global Partnership between India and Japan in the 21st Century in December 2001.

At the very moment the Indian connection in the economic field is the most apparent in the IT industries. About 20,000 Indian IT engineers are said to be working in Tokyo and surrounding areas.

It is said that India and Japan should set out in concrete terms the political, economic and other goals of their "strategic global partnership" announced by Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, during Mr. Singh's visit to Japan in December 2006. The two leaders worked on this issue during Mr. Abe's visit to India scheduled August 2007.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe aimed to conclude an agreement with India to promote about 40 projects aimed at increasing cultural, academic and other exchanges during his forthcoming visit. Japan's economic aid to India will include yen loans totaling about ¥39.6 billion for two projects, including a plan to improve the nation's water and sewerage system. During a visit to India in April 2005, former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi met with Indian
Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to agree 2007 would be designated as Japan–India Friendship Year. During Japan–India Friendship Year, there were many events both in India and Japan and closed without hindrance.

As a concrete step to realizing the goal of closer bilateral relations, the presidents of Tokyo, Waseda and Keio universities, among others, visited India and exchanged opinions about intercollegial cooperation with the presidents of major Indian universities, including the Indian Institutes of Technology. Tokyo university set up the branch office in New Delhi in 2007.

The cooperation is designated to increase the number of Indian students studying in Japan, relatively small in number compared with those from China.

Tokyo University made an announcement to open the new postgraduate course to accept the students all over the world as well as the excellent Asian students and bring up Asian leaders in 2009.

“That new course would be analyzed Asian societies. The fixed number to be enrolled in a master’s course is 15 students and the one of a doctoral course is 8. The lectures are given in English. The entrance examination would be in American style. This is unusual in the universities in Japan. Japan, the world’s second largest economy is in negative growth for ten years.”

“...this is still a country with enormous reserve of wealth, including Japan’s huge personal savings. For example, in the Post Office system alone, which only recently has been converted into a public corporation and which consists of both postal banking and postal insurance sectors, there are savings of about ¥250 trillion, a sum which is equivalent to the combined GDP of several nations of the world! In fact, the postal savings poor in Japan is larger than the entire US Banking industry!! Likewise, designer and fashion Moghuls like Gucci, Yves St. Laurent and Hermes, have their biggest market in Japan. It is a little known fact that designer bags, shoes and clothes manufactured by these world class companies, sell almost 70% of their annual output to Japanese

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Asahi Newspaper, January 20, 2008.
customers. This is done through outlets in this country, as well as through outlets in the major cities of the world like London, Rome, Paris and New York which are visited annually by close to 15 million affluent Japanese every year. So while international travel may have contracted slightly after September 11, the scare over SARS and the Iraq war, the affluent Japanese are still one of the most covered and desirable visitors in the tourist trade… In the streets of Japan also there is no visible poverty, no images of a country that has been reeling under a recession and economic contraction for almost a decade…”

And why should I focus on a study comparing Indian and Japanese prostitutes and society?

**Why Study Prostitution in India and Japan?**

(1) The recent election in Japan

There was the election of the Upper House on 29 July 2007. And the Ruling coalition LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) and Komeito Party was thoroughly defeated. LDP was officially formed in 1955. This party has remained in uninterrupted power except for one brief interregnum for over 50 years.

The cause of defeat was distrust to the ruling party. The Democratic Party of Japan meanwhile took over as the leading force in the Upper House. Despite the huge setback for his LDP, Prime Minister Abe said he would plan to stay in power. But he suddenly resigned as Prime Minister on September 12th in 2007. And Mr. Yasuo Fukuda, former Chief Cabinet Secretary and Mr. Taro Aso, Chief organizer of LDP and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs announced Prime Minister’s candidacy. This is the third challenge for Mr. Aso.

On September 15, 2007 the Asahi Newspaper reported a few examples of their expenses from the reports of the balance of payments about their political funds paid by the government. I will show their payments for Ryotei (Traditional Japanese Restaurant or high-class Japanese-style restaurant)

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and clubs here.

"Mr. Fukuda paid ¥168,000 for the high-class Ryotei in the famous hotel in Tokyo on March 20th, 2006. By comparison with him, Mr. Aso paid noticeably money for bars, clubs and Ryoteis. He is a frequent goer to the exclusive clubs in Ginza and Ryoteis.

Mr. Aso paid ¥177,000 for the exclusive clubs in Ginza on August 22nd, 2006 and ¥2,170,000 for Ryotei in Kagurazaka and ¥1,240,000 for snack bars in Ginza on February 14th, 2006. He paid ¥2,140,000 for eight Ryotei and bars to eat and drink on on August 22nd, 2006. Moreover, he paid about ¥390,000 for famous grilled meat restaurant and ¥550,000 for Japanese-style restaurant in Akasaka and other restaurants. He spent most of his funds for association and organization provision on his eating and drinking. 70% of the funds for his political activities were used for his and his friends' eating and drinking." 9

Their funds are paid from tax which Japanese people have to pay for the government every year. Mr. Yasuo Fukuda is a son of the late Prime Minister Mr. Fukuda and Mr. Aso is a grandson of the late Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida (Administration as Prime Minister; May, 1946–May, 1947, October 1948–December 1954) and his father-in-law is the former Prime Minister Mr. Zenko Suzuki.

Shigeru Yoshida was famous for squandering his own huge money on playing in the society of geisha. His wife Yukiko was dead. But he had geisha named Korin whom he loved. He retired the political world in October, 1963 and lived with Korin and treated her as his wife publicly even if he didn’t register their marriage all his life. It is said that he didn’t register their marriage because of ‘satisfaction’ to his wife. In those days it was publicly permitted men to have "two wives." (On September 23rd 2007, Mr. Fukuda was elected Prime Minister.)

They said that LDP " was defeated like the elections which Prime Minister Uno because of his geisha scandal had been lost."
The unprecedented scandal revealed by a geisha

Mr. Sosuke Uno (1922–1998) was the 75th Prime Minister of Japan from June 3, 1989 to August 10, 1989. Uno was forced to resign after less than three months (exactly 69 days) amid a sex scandal revealed by a geisha (Kagurazaka geisha; geisha living in Kagurazaka). The controversy surrounding Mr. Uno's extramarital affair was more focused on irresponsibility rather than immorality. Mr. Uno did not support his mistress, geisha Mitsuko Nakanishi at the very least not with an appropriate amount. He did not pay enough money which she had expected. He had paid her ¥300,000 for one month but she had expected him to pay ¥1,000,000 as the standard price every month. Then he had thrown her away after a few months. She was lack of money and asked him to pay more money (¥1,000,000) on the night when he became prime minister on phone. But he only paid ¥300,000 as before. He did not care to show her proper respect and keep her mouth shut. He was stingy and arrogant to her and it let her complain publicly. She approached the Mainichi Newspaper. The Sunday Mainichi reported it.

He had married his wife Chiyo for love. Mr. Uno did not apologize Mitsuko Nakanishi but his wife did.

Did Uno's mistress dislike him but maybe was she enforced to have relationship with him by Okasan or Mamasan?

The Japanese public blamed him. But she was criticized by geishas' society unexpectedly. She was said that she violated geisha's code by them. A geisha has the reputation of being most discreet and trustworthy. A geisha must never utter a word about her clients and their doings. According to the prestigious Shinbashi geisha community, she did not deserve the title of geisha as she never had any proper training for the profession.

The story was not widely publicized in Japan until the Washington Post reporter brought international attention to Uno. The geisha institution came into the limelight in the world press. And Japanese wives demonstrated that they were not complaisant as they once were in such matters. For the first time in Japanese political life, Uno's scandals showed that a married politician's association with a geisha could be criticized as womanizing. Because a liaison with a geisha had long taken for granted.
claimed that there was a harmonious coexistence between a man’s geisha and his wife. His wife maintained the home and bore children for the man, while the other played with him and it was common for the geisha and the wife to know each other as there was a clear division of their respective social roles.

In the twenties century, Japanese wives came to have a keen awareness of Uno’s scandal. It is also the first time for a geisha to complain publicly in the society of geisha. Their world was secret and hidden. I will mention about the mistress of Prime Minister, Uno and the effects of his scandal in the Chapter VI.

Not only Japanese housewives but many Japanese women, particularly the young ones started asking why Japan was several decades behind its major Western countries in giving women equal rights and freedom and in allowing women access to the top jobs. Many people thought a quite revolution had begun.

(3) Geisha in Meiji Period (1868-1912) and Sadayakko

It was said that every ambitious student of Meiji Period had two aims of life: to become a minister of state and to have a geisha.

“In those days geisha were the heart of high society in Japan. An evening’s entertainment would not have been complete without a bevy of geisha to bring sparkle and glitter to the occasion. At theatre opening and first nights, geisha were always invited. The role of a man’s wife was entirely different. Her job was to be the matriarch, to stay at home and take care of the family and children. Decent women were not expected to be brilliant conversationalists or witty companions. They had no idea how to flirt, that would have been most unseemly.

It was accepted, that men needed charming companions to be seen on their arm at public occasions and for private amusement too. That was where the geisha came in. Many powerful men of the new government who had started out as rough provincial samurai had broken with conversation and married their geisha lovers, and all of them had geisha mistresses. Count Ito, for one, was married to an ex-geisha named
Umeko: when he later became prime minister, she was the first lady of the realm. This gave the geisha a considerable degree of social cachet and at least the appearance of respectability.

The geisha, in fact, posed very serious competition to the faithful wife. ¹⁰

Count Ito means Hirobumi Ito (1841–1909). He was the Meiji Japan’s first Prime Minister and the 1889 Constitution of the Empire of Japan (or Meiji Constitution) was largely the work of Ito Hirobumi. He was strongly influenced by German constitutional theorists. He was a great progressive and the advocate of women’s education. He was a playboy and notorious libertine.

He was a geisha’s regular customer saying "When I like best is a geisha companion to entertain me after work."

Kawakami Sadayakko (1871–1946) became a geisha at the age of sixteen and later she became Japan’s first international actress. In 1886 when she was fifteen, Ito Hirobumi was her mizuage danna (a deflowerer & first patron).

By the time she was twelve, he (Ito) in the forties had staked his claim to become her mizuage danna.

"Ko-yakko’s virginity was a priceless commodity. As she reached puberty, Kanekichi pondered the all-important question: who should perform her deflowering? She had invested a huge amount of money in her young charge. She had bought her for a large sum. She had supported her throughout her children and teenage years, paying for her education, kimono, food and housing, giving her pocket money and taking care of her needs. Mizuage — the youthful geisha’s formal deflowering — was the primary way in which the proprietress of a geisha house recouped her investment. It generated an enormous amount of money, for the deflowerer was required to pay a fee equivalent to the cost of a small house for the privilege. If the girl was alluring enough to entice someone of the highest prominence, it could also be an excellent provision towards her future. The chances were great that her deflowerer would continue to be her danna or patron, providing her with financial support and an

indispensable network of connections. This is what all geisha hoped for, to be the mistress of a powerful man.”

“When she was sixteen [by the Japanese method of counting age: fifteen] she took on the geisha name of Yakko. Soon afterwards it was revealed that she was supported by Ito Hirobumi, prime minister of the time. So she had nothing to fear any more.”

“After three years Yakko was released from his mistress by Ito. And he became her friend and adviser. She needed to find someone to marry her while she was still desirable... Marriage offered a way out. If a geisha married, she had to give up her career in the flower and willow world. Nevertheless, if she wanted to have children it was the most acceptable course. It was a way to step into mainstream respectability and the best chance of secure position in the years come.”

By 1891 Kawakami Sadayakko was enjoying the favours of two danna and two lovers at the same time. And in 1892, she married Kawakami Otojiro of student political theater fame, and in 1900 joined Kawakami’s theater troupe entertaining at the Paris exposition. This earned her enormous popularity, and instant recognition in the West.

(4) The Japanese rank of the Gender Empowerment Measure

Japan has been influenced by the West throughout the twentieth century, both before World War II and after, as a result of the post-war occupation of Japan and its political reconfiguration along American lines. Superficially, the countries bear some similarities, particularly due to Japan’s U.S.-sponsored constitution. It includes the equivalent of an Equal Rights Amendment, Article 14, which states that Japanese men and woman are equal under the law, although this clause has never been fully realized.

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) of the United Nations

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12 Ibid., p.41.
13 Ibid., p.54.
Development Project (UNDP) ranks Japan forty-second among seventy-five countries in 2006. Norway ranked first and Sweden second. Among Asian countries Singapore ranked eighteenth. Even in 2002, GEM ranked Japan thirty-second. These ratings take into account such variables as income, female administrators, parliamentary seats held and share of income. The index of gender gap of the difference between man and woman ranked Japan seventy-ninth among one hundred-fifteen countries. The rate of female members of Parliament was 9.4% and ranked Japan eleventh among twelve countries in 2006. In Sweden it was 47.3%, Norway 37.9% and Germany 31.6%.

The rate of female senior civil servants in Japan was 1.8% and ran last in eleven countries. Singapore 62.0%, Sweden 42.0%, Australia 33.0%. The data suggest that women in Japan are engaged in a far more difficult struggle to gain true equality.

But feminism has existed for over one century and has developed its own concerns rooted in culture and social traditions. The contemporary Japanese feminist movements which emerged in the 1970s was not a simple transplant of its Western feminist movement, although it wasn’t denied that it was influenced by ones in America and other western countries.

And geisha are considered as typical Japanese women or Japanese prostitutes in foreign countries. Are they prostitutes? As they belong to the special world in Japan, even the ordinary Japanese little understand them and their specific world.

Americans and Westerners often come to Japan with the stereotype that Japanese women’s status is extremely low.

Japanese men frequently call their sons and wives “stupid.” While Japanese women are increasingly pursuing their own careers, the wife’s conventional role in the home still remains in many families. In traditional Japanese families, wives are called “Okusama” or literally “Mrs. Interior,” They play the role of managing household affairs from within the house. Most observers believe that Japanese women are a half step behind their Western and American counterparts. Many westerners assume that America is automatically ahead of Japan.

But I have three expressions “Japanese houses are rabbit hutches,” Japan
is a men's paradise," and "Japan is an abortionists' paradise," which Mother Teresa of Calcutta described about Japan. She came to Japan a few times.

(5) In India

When I came to India at first on October 31st 1978, I little knew India more than what I had studied in high school. As I had had an interest in Women's Studies, I felt drawn towards Mrs. Indira Gandhi. My husband was abruptly transferred to New Delhi when I was in the end of eight month pregnancy.

But I was majoring in English Literature in university and the graduate school. Therefore, I was much more interested in England and America. By chance I came to India with one month and 28 days old son after delivery. It was on Diwali. In Japan I could go out and ride a small bicycle before delivery. But after delivery, I could not go out of the house even a close-by leaving only a newborn baby easily. My parents and relatives were living far away and we Japanese generally do not keep a housekeeper. I had to resign myself to stopping joining the doctoral course in Japan.

Before coming to India, Japanese Tibetan scholar had taught me the custom of "Sati (Suttee)" in India.

As soon as I started to live in New Delhi, I was unexpectedly invited to work as full time Lecturer in the Department of Japanese in the School of Languages, Jawaharlal Nehru University by the late J.N.U. Professor Emeritus Dr. Satya Bhushan Verma. In India he was the pioneer to introduce Haiku, a Japanese poetic form and how to make it to India. It comprises 17 syllables (5-7-5 syllables) and has to contain kigo, a word that expresses a season. Then I taught Japanese culture and literature to Indian students and graduate students for about two years.

Prime Minister was Indira Gandhi (1917-84) at that time. In Japan we could not imagine the lady Prime Minister. With the introduction of Member of Parliament, Dr. Lokesh Chandra, I could luckily have a chance to talk and take a picture with her.

I came to New Delhi with a wish to continue to study English literature, particularly English writer George Eliot in the Victoria period, 19 century even in India as I could employ a babysitter.

I joined the doctoral course of the Department of Humanities & Social
Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology (I.I.T.) Delhi, by the introduction of Dr.H.S.Kakar of Delhi University. Though he was a scholar of George Eliot he recommended me to join I.I.T.Delhi. As I had been conferred two master degrees from different universities in Japan and the duration of my stay in India was limited, he did not think it necessary to study in the M.hil course of Delhi University. In those days I often visited him in his residence in Janak Puri. I remember one scene and what he said even now. He was lovingly holding a pretty small dressed up girl next door to his on his lap. I was holding my son on my lap. He said calmly as usual, "She is loved and cherished by everyone. But if this is a boy, he will be loved and cherished more than a girl. In India, a deal between a girl and a boy is different. People don’t celebrate the birth of a girl child in the same way as we celebrate the birth of a male child.”

The head of the department of I.I.T. was Prof.Purnima Mathur. My supervisor was (Padmashri) Dr.Sunita Jain. In India I admired the working women who had the final say in the government, in J.N.U. or I.I.T. or in the office more than in Japan.


That Report was coincided with the celebration of 1975 as the International Women’s Year. The study about the status of Indian women was coincided with the study about the status of other countries in the world. Women of the World was based on these reports.

(6) The Impression about India

The Indian magazine National SOLIDARITY dated Independence Day Number, 1979 carried my article "Japanese Lady’s Impression About India" as the following:
I arrived at the Delhi Airport with a lot of expectations and anxiety. It was October 31, 1978, the night of Diwali. Many candles were flickering on the streets from the airport to my residence in Delhi. I was deeply impressed with the solemnity of the atmosphere. The house adorned by a plenty of beautiful and colorful flowers and tropical fruits presented a moving sight. I felt as if I was being offered a warm welcome into India.

Nine months have already passed since then. I have had many chances to talk with Indian people and come across Indian customs.

**Easily Flattered**

I feel several differences between India and Japan. One of them is the difference of language expression. I came across many cases contrary to Japanese expression. For example, I told one lady who has a degree of M.A., "You are very intelligent, aren't you?" To my surprise, she proudly replied on the spot, "Yes, I am very intelligent", stressing on the word "very". Most of the Japanese people will reply, "No, No, I am not so intelligent ", even if he (she) thought himself(herself) to be intelligent.

One day I had a chance to talk to a man accompanying a beautiful wife and said to him, "Your wife is beautiful". Contrary to my expectations, his reply was: "Yes, yes. She is a very beautiful and a very splendid woman". He added the words "very", "very splendid woman". Of course his face was brightened. What a great difference I felt! On the same situation, most of Japanese men will answer, "No, no, or No, not very".

When a Japanese husband introduces his wife, he will tell you, "this is my Gusai(it literally means a foolish wife). Of course you, smart Indian ladies will think that the wife must get angry. No, we Japanese wives are smiling! You will think those wives must be really foolish. But this is our custom. When I expressed to a lady, "India has many splendid women as well as you". She replied flatly "Yes, of course". Oh, what frank and honest expressions they are! How frankly without any pretension Indian people express themselves! If we Japanese express in Indian style in Japan, we will be blamed by others.

**Ideals Valued in Japan**

As a professor of Tokyo University, Ms. Chie Nakane analyses the Japanese society is vertical. In Japanese society, not "individualism"
but the ideas, "Be submissive to authority" or "service above self" has valued. In the book "How to come in contact with others", the author instructs the readers how to come in contact with his seniors:

"Be reverent towards your seniors, always assuming the attitude that you learn from them. Never think that you are on the equal footing with them. Let them fill superiority over you".

As a person becomes tamed by the "You are right" habit, which he manifests not only towards his seniors but towards everyone, he eventually gives negative answers such as "No, no, not, I don't know" and "I don't understand" to everything, despite having his opinion, or else he remains silent.

Modesty is Prime

So, Japanese people are told to be very modest. In Japan modesty is one of the important virtues. To keep authority or seniors at respectful distance & to be modest at a respectful distance & to be modest, we use Sonkei-go(respect words) and Kenjogo(modesty words) in daily life. If we mistake how to use such words, it often becomes an irreparable error for us. Those words are derived under the influence of a national isolation policy, feudalism and Confucianism. Of course we have got the idea "individualism" from America after World War II. But I feel in everyday events that Japanese society has remnants of ancient customs. In this society, we, Japanese women were strongly enforced submissiveness and obedience.

An American Catholic priest reported the following:

"When I arrived in Japan for the first time, a kind, middle-aged gentleman, a lawyer, had been asked to meet me and guide me to my lodging in Tokyo. Very up-to-date in his western dress and speaking fairly good English, he set me at ease at once. But there was one woman, so quite and demure, standing off to one side. She smiled sweetly and bowed, as the gentleman informed me that she was his wife. But the shock came as we proceeded down the street to catch the taxi. Not with us, but behind us, she walked, at least a few yards, faithfully carrying her husband's briefcase".

He added, "Of course, that was almost twenty years ago".

An Interesting Survey

But a survey conducted by the P.M.'s office in May 1971 on the social
The consciousness of the youth showed very interesting results in respect of the status of women. Those who believed that men & women were equal were 34%, those who believed that men were superior to women were 59% and those who believed that women were superior to men were only 3.2%. Even now and even the Japanese youth and intelligent people have not still accepted the changes about the status of women.

Do you know the condition of Japanese housewife? They are locked up in the home, exploited at work, pushed out of the way in matters of political decision making, denied her sexuality and conditioned by the media and the culture patterns of her surroundings.

Mrs. Arene, president of the International Alliance for Women reported Indian women "the smartest in the world". I cannot say easily whether they are the smartest in the world or not. Indian society is certainly different from our society. How many ladies are working in every social field in India?

You have the great leaders. One of them is Jawaharlal Nehru. In the present and the past times.

He maintained that without economic freedom, other aspects of equality would prove superficial. Women must, therefore, be trained to participate "in every department of human activity" play an active part in all professions and spheres.

We are not without great leaders. But in vestiges of Confucianism, even today we, Japanese women are struggling.  

(7) Dowry Problem in North India

I was pleased to know that the family was the most important for Indian people. I was happy to see a husband and a wife are very close and affectionate. Amazingly I could see a peacock, cattle, an elephant and a camel not in the zoo but in the city. There was a monkey in the groves and near or in the Diet Building! People were feeding them and pigeons! The gods

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of a monkey and an elephant were whoshiped. Cobras were beside gods and on their bodies. There was a festival of a snake goddess in the Western India. I felt what a nice country India was. Many were vegetarians. A small white lizard was crawling on the wall in the house. People did not harm them. People did not try to kill the flies. In Japan they would be flapped by flapper or killed by insecticide spray in a matter of seconds.

Every country has positive and negative aspects. India was also not exceptional. I came to know the cross section of Indian society that I could not think in Japanese society.

I read the article “Women Are For Burning” on April 22, 1979. Subtitle was “SUBHADRA BUTALIA investigates dowry deaths.”

It was written, “Shrill screams rent the stillness of a warm October afternoon in a South Delhi colony last year… A young woman (Hardeep Kaur) was burning, in full view, on the first floor of an industrialist’s house.”

She was the 21-year-old housewife. She alleged that her husband and mother-in-law had set her on fire in her dying statement to a magistrate. Dowry was the tragedy.

“The immensely rich in-laws had established their righteousness, and the same neighbours, who on the day of the incident, had looked shocked, were willing to believe that there was something wrong with the girl….. even though a woman was burnt to death every other day in the nation’s capital, precious little was done about it….. According to a Delhi police report, 350 women were burnt to death in 1975, the International Year of the Women and in 1978, more than 200 women were burnt to death….. many women ended their lives because of harassment at home principally over dowry…. More demands which, if not fulfilled, lead to harassment and often to death, so that a new bride and more dowry can be brought into the house…. Centuries of suppression and indoctrination have made women accept like with the stoic ‘not to reason why’ attitude. They are objects to be sacrificed at the alter of mammon…. According to a senior medical officer of aDelhi hospital, 80 per cent of burn cases are fatal. Since burning generally takes place inside the house, and since it does not leave any tell-tale clues, it can conveniently pass for an accident…. The anti-dowry act was passed in 1961, and amended
during the emergency. But of course it exists only on paper... Police records confirm that most of the women killed in this way are in the 20 to 35 age group. ... Some doctors, police officials and social workers feel that dowry deaths have become a tremendous social problem linked to the treatment women are given as a sub-caste. From time immemorial, their bodies have been used, abused, bought and sold, harassed into premature old age and burnt to death. ... those who took to prostitution were never burnt. ... 15

In the articles not only one case but also several cases were reported. As I could not believe the article easily, I asked my Indian friend whether the article was fiction. She said that it was true, though she had never witnessed the case. She was unmarried then. But she sometimes fasted for the longevity of her would-be husband. What ever were the Indian police doing? I went to see the writer, Mrs. Suvhadra Butalia to make sure the fact in 1979.

(In 2003 I went to see the author to talk about the translation of her book "The Gift of a Daughter - Encounters with Victims of Dowry" (2002) into Japanese. That author was Mrs. Suvhadra Butalia! The author and the lady whom I went to see in 1979 were sama. She remembered me. I could meet her again after twenty four years passed. She was in the eighties (eighty-six years old in 2008). And she continues to fight against the difficult task, the dowry problem since she witnessed Hardeep Kaur's death, the dowry death in the neighborhood for the first time in 1979. She continues to work in the morning in Karmika, the group in which she works. I knew that she was my old friend Ms. Urvashi Butalia's mother. She founded the first Indian feminism publisher, Kali for Women with Ms. Ritu Menon in 1984. She runs the feminism publisher, Zubaan and Ms. Ritu Menon runs Women Unlimited.)

The dowry problem began to make a fuss in the Indian newspapers and the magazines. It was only in 1977-78 that the active actions against dowry murders were initiated, when the Mahila Dakshata Samiti, Indian Women's organization began to investigate and follow up these cases. In early 1978 they published the report, in which they revealed that many deaths that were disposed of as suicides or accidents were actually murders. I heard that the

15 Butalia ,Subhadra , Women Are For Burning. (The Times of India, April 22,1979) p.11
main reason for the quick spread of the anti dowry agitation was the middle class women's distrust especially toward the police after the Emergency (June 25th, 1975 – March 21st, 1977). The dowry problem was so widely publicized. The dowry deaths and dowry problems were shown as one of the most important issues for all strata of Indian societies.

I have read innumerable newspaper about dowry problems from at that time to today. The Hindustan Times dated June 27th, 1979 wrote about Mrs. Sashi Bala.

"New Delhi, June 26—Was six month-pregnant Sashi Bala murdered or did she commit suicide?.... Her mother, Mrs. S.R. Chadha, in her complaint to the police has alleged that her daughter was murdered by her husband and in-laws over dowry. Mrs. Sashi Bala, 24, an arts graduate from Delhi University, was found "dead" in her in-law's house on March 17. The post-mortem report said she had died of burn injuries.... According to Mrs. Chadhar, just two days before Sashi was allegedly murdered by her husband and in-laws, she had returned home, wept and pleaded that she did not want to go to her in-laws house because she was being ill-treated..."\(^1\)

Her mother went to the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and some MPs. She ran from pillar to post in search of justice. I also met her in the different women's organizations several times. Her efforts ended up vainly.

I read the article with the large picture with the caption" a large crowd of men and women demonstrating outside the Patel Nagar police station on Sunday against the authorities' failure to apprehend the culprits involved in the alleged burning of a young bride, Mrs. Kanchan Chopra."

About 200 people demonstrated in front of the Patel Nagar police station for three hours and demanded the immediate arrest of Kanchan's husband and in-laws.

"According to Kanchan's father Mr. M.L. Bedi, his daughter had

\(^1\) Dowry takes another toll, (The Hindustan Times, June 27, 1979)
complained to him an hour before the burning incident that she was frequently beaten up by her husband in her in-laws’ presence for not having in sufficient dowry. After her death the body was handed over to her parents. Her husband did not turn up at the cremation and the last rites were performed by her parent. …

“Kanchan’s father, Mr. M.L. Bedi of Malviya Nagar, said they had wanted the SHO transferred because not only had he made no attempt to arrest his in-law Mr. Jitender Chopra, but he had even said that the Chopra family was innocent, and therefore no arrests could be made…”

To begin with, the parents related to the dowry death did not help their daughters though they knew their miserable conditions.

I remembered the article of Mrs. Subhadra Butalia again:

“Apparently there is a large section in our society that subscribes to this callous way of thinking. That is why even though a woman is burnt to death every other day in the nation’s capital, precious little is done about it. Years ago, in Lahore, we had heard of a woman who used to kill her daughter-in-law in childbirth. She killed three women before public conscience was aroused. She was dragged to the police station and successfully prosecuted. But that was an isolated case.

The situation today, unfortunately, has worsened beyond belief…’Kill the bride and marry again, for what’s one woman after all?’ seems to be their belief…. Men kill their wives and within months remarry because a wife is so easily available. Parents of girls close their eyes to the stigma of possible homicide. More than that, in this most blatant expressions of avarice, man finds in his mother his most powerful accomplice. Is it that the older woman, in her bid, to keep her hold on the son, seeks to reaffirm the Oedipal relationship?”

17 *Protest against bride-burning* (The Hindustan Times, July 2, 1979).
18 *Dowry Murder Leads To SHO’s Transfer* (The Statesman, July 2, 1979).
19 Butalia, Subhadra, *Women Are For Burning* (The Times of India, April 22, 1979) p.11.
I have these articles in those days even now I had wanted to study English Literature even in India, but the influence of these articles on me was so tremendous that I began to read the article about dowry problems carefully and I was gradually opened up a new world, Indian Women problems and sociology.

In the streets of India there was visible poverty and knew India was exploited most by the British in Victoria Era. Most works of George Eliot have many pages and are very thick. British people in 19 century had a lot of time to read such books. England flourished most in Victoria Era. Their wealth came from mainly India. Poor people do not have time to read books. They have to work to eat from early morning till night. I convinced that literature was like luxury goods.

I read "Her Gold and Her Body" (1980), the first book concerning the dowry problem and went to see the author Mrs. Jamila Verghese to make sure the fact again. I realized the dowry problem was serious around Indian women. I published this Japanese edition in Japan in 1984. Mrs. Jamila Verghese recommended me to see an earnest social worker the late Mrs. Sarla Mudgal, who was a representative of a Delhi voluntary social welfare organization, Kalyani. Whenevever I consulted with her about my research, Mrs. Mudgal advised me kindly.

After returning Japan from India, whenever I went to India, I started to visit to talk with women in the women’s organizations, Dr. Vina Mazumdar (Centre For Women’s Development Studies), Ms. Suman Krishan Kant (Mahira Dakshita Samiti & Joint Action Front Forum), Ms. Jyostna Chatterji (Joint Women’s Program), Ms. Kamla Bhasin (FAO), Smt. Devaki Jain (Institute of Social Studies), Saheli (Female Friend), Karmika, Ms. Madhu Kishwar & Ruth Vanita (Manushi), Mrs. Sarla Mudgal (Kalyani)....in Delhi. In Bombay, I talked with Dr. Maithreyi Krishna Raj & Dr. Neera Desai (S. N. D. T. Women’s University) and Ms. Nirmala, Ms. Flevia & Ms. Vibhuti Patel (Women’s Centre).....I visited Indian Government (Ms. Margaret Alva). I got the lists of women’s organizations in Delhi which were given some funds from the government. I visited these organizations in the lists one by one.

Some tried to have poor and women to go through job training. They taught
them how to use the sawing machine and how to embroider....Some organizations taught how to use nursing bottles and milk-powder. In some organizations, I met victims. They showed me burnt faces and bodies. I remembered meeting one woman whose face and body sustained hideous scars. She was thrown acid by her husband spasmodically. I met a father and a mother whose daughters, they said, were killed by their husbands and in-laws because of dowry. They were suffering from the cases and visited women organizations as the last resort. In Japan we could advance a legal claim for damages and we would recover damages and offenders would be punished strictly.

And I attended the women's conference in India and met many women social workers, Ms. Rinki Bhattacharya, Dr. Promilla Kapur, and a supreme court lawyer. I attended the international conference out of India and the United Nations and met Prof. Pam Rajput and other delegates from India. I could talk with Indian reporters Mr. Ashwini Sarin (the Indian Express), Lalita Balakrishnan (Eve's weekly), Sujata Madhok (The Hindustan Times). My old friend, Dr. Renuka Singh brought me the Sikh's refugee camps after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated unfortunately. All of them and their books gave me an energy to continue to research Indian social problems.

3 Dowry Problem and Domestic Violence in South India

Dowry problem was not only a phenomenon of North India. The newspaper in South India reported the cases. And I published the Japanese edition (2004) of "Death By Fire: Sati, Dowry Death and Female Infanticide in Modern India" (2001). Before then, from January 17 to January 28, 2004, I visited Mumbai, Kodaikanal, Madurai, Chennai, New Delhi, Rajasthan, Vrindavan.

In Rajasthan I visited Deorala, Rajasthan where a young Rajput woman, Roop Kanwar was burned alive on her husband’s funeral pyre on September 4th 1987 and met her father- in-law and in-laws. They said that the police became very strict and would punish them if they would talk about that sati in details.

Then I went to Meherangath Fort in Jodhpur and saw the imprint of women’s hands and girls’ hands in concrete. They committed sati. They were wives and daughters of kings.
I went to Kodaikanal in Tamil Nadu to see Maria Selvi. I had often seen the beautiful scenery of Kodaikanal in Tamil movies.

I knew that she was a beautiful and charming woman and had done many part-time jobs as a housekeeper but she could not find a job like before. Her husband whom she married by arrangement was unemployed and drunkard. She was set on fire after their argument by him night of November 27th 1993. But she decided not to prosecute her husband. She was afraid of his vengeance to her and her daughter. How about the police? The Japanese police were very kind. We could trust them. But in India Selvi told me the same words in the book.

"About the local police she said, 'You have to have money—big money—no point otherwise. They only work for bribes and my husband's family can pay them more than I can.'

Her family had negotiated a 'deal' with his family after the 'accident'. It had been agreed that no complaint would be made if he kept away from Selvi, Ramya and Kodaikanal."20

I often remember my Indian friend's word. He graduated from Delhi University and became an Indian policeman. When he visited my Indian residence for a greeting wearing his brand-new police uniform, he told me that the amount of bribes was larger than his salary.

"'What law?' she promptly shot back. 'The police here only work for bribes. It is best not to involve them in anything.' She was quite emphatic. She went to say that it was not for precisely this reason that she had refused the doctor's offer of a transfer from his clinic to a proper hospital, where free government-sponsored skin grafts may have been possible. She would have questioned by the authorities. The police would have been involved and she had decided to avoid that at all cost. She feared retribution on the one hand, and on the other, did not want to make any false statements about the 'accident' which would exonerate her husband.21

When I was running on the street in New Delhi by auto-rickshaw, it touched a car and overturned. People gathered and rescued me from auto-rickshaw soon. Someone asked me whether I was safe. I had a headache but was slightly injured in my arms and legs. I said, "Yes." Then he said to me, "Do you have a friend in New Delhi?" I said, "Yes." He said, "If so, you had better leave here as soon as possible. Before the police come here." I could not understand why I had better leave there before the police come here. I did not know the driver's safety. In Japan we had better wait for the police. He made another auto-rickshaw stop and put me aboard. I left there. I can understand his advice now.

"She (Selvi) had been barrered and sold to a man she did not love for the sake of 'respectability', for the sake of preserving her 'family's sense of honour'." 22

"Selvi's house on the hill had become her dowry. The marriage her parents had arranged for her.....was to a man who no home of his own." 23

She wanted to take no legal action against her husband and he (Indian lawyer) agreed that the police were corrupt, especially in cases involving domestic violence, and that courts throughout the country had a gender bias that is so deeply traditional, it makes one despair.

In Kodaikanal, one employee of the hotel where I stayed brought me to his village and his family. He had to support many family members by his salary. On the way, he told me that his married sister got burned and died. Her husband threw kerosene on her. I asked a vain question if he reported the police. He said, "No. My sister's husband threatened us to hurt her children. As we don't want to be hurt them, we do nothing." How can their real father

21 Ibid, p. 76.
22 Ibid, p. 72.
23 Ibid, p. 74.
hurt his real children? In India women and children have to endure dreadful domestic violence.

"He (Indian lawyer) told me (Mala Sen) that the killing of female babies was terrible and almost insoluble problem in the south, and that the state of Tamil Nadu had the worst record in India." 24

In Bombay, I had read the following article in the Indian newspaper: out of 8,000 fetuses aborted following sex-determination tests, 7,999 were reported to be female, the one exception being that of a Jewish woman who wanted a daughter.

According to one survey in Japan, 23 percent of married women have experienced at least one abortion without regard to sex. There are so many abortions by unmarried girls and women (extramarital relations). There are many doctors who profit from this situation and the priests who keep temples dedicated to the souls of aborted or miscarried fetuses.

Most families in India hope and wait for a son. I hear in many areas of Northern India women fast and pray for sons and the traditional blessing for a pregnant woman is "May you have sons" and in many rituals connected with pregnancy a son is desired. I hear most pregnant women dream of having male children. The most popular and fond image of a child is that of "Krishna", the male child. A girl hear sigh "start preparing for a dowry". "Better luck next time."

According to the report by the National Crime Records Bureau, the number in 1991. In these days violent dowry harassment is an increasingly visible phenomenon in India.

An average of one dowry death is reported every 77 minutes according to the National Crime Record Bureau and victim support groups say complaints of dowry harassment are rising, fueled by a rising climate of consumerism.

"Everyone is becoming more and more westernized – they want

24 Ibid, p. 78.
expensive clothes, they want the consumer objects which are constantly advertised on television. A dowry is seen as an easy way to get them," said Varsha Jha, an official with the Delhi Commission for Women. Officials at the commission see about 40 abused women every day, and estimate that approximately 85 percent of these cases are related to dowry demands, a figure that they say has grown over the past five years. People are getting more greedy and aggressive in their dowry demands," said Jha of the Delhi Commission for Women. "You might expect that as the country becomes more and more Westernized, this traditional practice would be dying out, like other traditions, but actually the reverse is true. The old habits remain.

The burden both of dowry payments and lavish weddings is one of the main reasons why female feticide— the practice of aborting female fetuses — remains widespread in India. In 2006 a report in The Lancet, a British medical journal, indicated that as many as 10 million female fetuses may have been aborted in India over the past 20 years by families trying to avoid the expense of having a daughter and hoping to secure themselves a male heir.

At the headquarters of the Delhi Commission for Women, the chairwoman, Walia, was meeting relatives of a young woman, Kusum Hardina, who set fire to herself a few weeks ago because she felt so desperate at the constant pressure from her in-laws to extract a higher dowry payment from the family.

On Sept.22, she fought with her mother-in-law and brother-in-law over the dowry and then in a fit of anger poured kerosene over herself and set it alight. As she lay dying in hospital, she gave a statement to the police saying she had done it because she was being harassed for a dowry, Walia said. She had tried to explain to her parents that she was being tormented, but they told her to stick with her husband. It is very unfortunate, but even educated boys are doing this. The rich set standards for the rest of society. I have no hope that this is coming to an end," Walia said.

The ratio of population in India published by the United Nations was female 933 per men 1,000 in India. (female 1,041 in Japan). The Indian ratio was the worst. Recently it was female 880. Some parts in India was
In Japan dowry prevailed before 1945 especially among merchants and daimyos (Japanese feudal lords), but it goes without saying that we don't have the dowry problem or the dowry system in Japan now. Brides are not burnt by their husbands or in-laws in Japanese society. Such murderers will be inevitably arrested by the police. Nobody in Japan can get away with such a crime.

The sex-ratio

The unwelcome daughter are killed using the most effective, locally available and locally acceptable method—stifling with a heavy blanket, feeding them some poisonous herbs, drowning them. They are killed by using advanced science and technology before they are born.

Amartya Sen who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 1998, says:

"even within the demographic domain, gender inequality can manifest itself not just in the old form of morality asymmetry, but also in the new form of sex-specific abortions aimed at eliminating female fetuses. This ‘natality inequality’ reflects the fact that many parents want the newborn to be a boy rather than a girl, given a general preference for boys in many male-dominated societies. The availability of modern techniques to determine the gender of the fetus has made such sex-selective abortion possible and easy, and it has become very common in many societies… This ‘high-tech sexism’ has changed—and is continuing to change—the female–male rations at birth."

"The crimes against the girl child are committed by the most impoverish

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and desperate. This is far from true. In the heart of some of the most prosperous pockets of the country, there is a darkness that has manifested itself in some of the most damning statistics to emerge from the 2001 Census. As independent India has moved ahead, its attitude towards the girl child has, as the 2001 Census suggests, regressed to the dark ages. From 976 girls per 1,000 boys in 1961, the sex ratio has fallen below the 900 mark for the first time. What is more revealing is that the imbalance is most pronounced in some of India’s wealthiest parts.

The worst offenders are Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana and Rajasthan. The fashionable and affluent districts of south-west Delhi has witnessed a 50-point drop in the past decade, and in eastern Punjab’s Fategarh Sahib, the ratio hits a national low of 757 (from 874 in 1991). Clearly, the Indian preference for a male child remains deep-rooted—and dangerous. Every year, an increasing number of girls are being killed before they are born. Despite being illegal, the sex determination industry has become more brazen in its operation, more sophisticated in its techniques and more commonly available...

"In Chandraprakash Dwivedi’s cinematic adaptation of Amrita Pritam’s novel *Pinjar*, the three daughters of an affluent Amritsar-based jump in joy, hugging each other when their middle-aged mother delivers a baby boy. Soon after, the eldest daughter is abducted by a Muslim youth but she manages to escape and return to her parents, "Go away, die or disappear. You are a daughter—how can we take back a kidnapped, humiliated girl? You should have died before birth," lament her parents. That was pre-Partition India. When girls were considered "burdens" and parents killed or abandoned their newborn girls. Half a century later, modern urban India—which should have provided the blueprint for a completely new order of cultural thought and practice—still clings to the same beliefs. It kills girl children before they are born. Education, global exposure and affluence, all of which translates into easier access to expensive technology, have made it easier to select the sex of the child...." But it is the social belief that having sons is the only way to continue the family lineage that perpetuates this," she (Union

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Health Minister Sushma Swaraj adds. Even rising education levels have not shattered the myth that having a son is the solution to every emotional, economic, spiritual and social problem in life. 

According to India Today, November 10th, 2003, between 1991 and 2001, the sex ratio in the 0–6 age group in many urban centres declined.

Girls per 1,000 boys:

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<th>City</th>
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<th>Sex Ratio 2001</th>
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<td>904</td>
<td>850</td>
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<tr>
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<td>All India</td>
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</table>

Aroon Purie, the editor-in-chief of India Today says:

"India, be it rich or poor, continues to treat its daughters as unwanted citizens. A country that considers half its human resource pool as unworthy of being born can only have a bleak future."

I have read that a village in Rajasthan is proud of the fact that no baraat has entered their villages for several decades. By killing all the girls born in their village the proud Rajputs have escaped their insulting situation of being somebody’s wife’s brother.

But we must not forget the words of Mother Teresa described about Japan; "Japan is an abortionist’s Paradise."

Ancient India

In the Vedic Period (1700–900 B.C.), the birth of a daughter did not welcome her family as the birth of a son, but a girl was not exposed as unwanted babies. They received education like boys. Women studied the Vedic literature. They had also the right to perform the Vedic rituals by themselves. Brides, being well trained and grown up at the time of their marriage. Though the family property was under the control and management of the patriarch or the husband, women had control over gifts and property received at the time of marriage. I hear that later Vedic texts declare that women have no right of inheritance as they are weak. Leviratic widow marriages were prevailing.

The custom of sati did not exist in the Vedic age. There was not the seclusion of women in Vedic society. Marriage was not regarded as a secular contract; it was a religious ritual which enjoined the husband to regard his wife as a god-given gift. Gandharva or love marriages were not uncommon. Monogamy was usual, but polygamy was permitted and practiced by the rich and the ruling classes. Polyandry was unknown.

Dowry somewhat existed, but it is clear that the dowry deaths did not exist. Women were not a commodity, a thing on sale. Being grown up, the prospective bride and bridegroom themselves often settled the marriage.

The Vedic family was of the patriarchal type. It was a joint family consisting of the father, the grandfather, sons, nephews, and their wives. The patriarch controlled the family property and could theoretically divide it in any way he liked. But normally the division was made equitably. The family of matriarchate type was unknown to Vedic society. When and how was adamant patriarchy deeply imbedded in Indian culture? The father was expected to deal most kindly with the sons, who were expected to be most obedient and courteous to their parents. But were there female infanticide and female feticide in Vedic Period?

It seems that the position of women in India gradually deteriorated through the passage of time. During the period of codification of social laws, women were bracketed with the Sudras, and were denied the right to study the Vedas, to utter Vedic Mantras, and to perform Vedic rites. After then, during such an age, it was not to be expected that women would continue to enjoy the old privilege of choosing a life of single (celibacy). Marriage and domestic life became compulsory for women, and unquestioning devotion to, and self-effacing service of, husbands became their only duty.
The wellknown dictum of Manu is the following:

"Even in their own homes, a female—whether she is a child, a young woman, or an old lady—should never carry out any task independently." 31

"As a child, she must remain under her father's control; as a young woman, under her husband's; and when her husband is dead, under her sons." 32

"She must never want to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; for by separating herself from them, a woman brings disgrace on both families." 33

Woman is protected by her father during childhood, by her husband during youth, and by her sons during old age. She is never fit for freedom.

"The teacher is ten times greater than the tutor; the father is a hundred times greater than the teacher; but the mother is a thousand times greater than the father." 34

But mothers were honoured as the pivots of their families and wives as spiritual partners of their husbands. All the spiritual strivings of men were considered useless, unless their wives also participated in ancient India. Did foreign invasions and conquests make the position of Indian women the worst?

11 The Ideal of Hinduism

It is said that four aims of life are spoken of in Indian literature: dharma (moral behaviour), artha (wealth), kama (pleasure), and moksa (salvation=release from the cycle of rebirth impelled by the law of karma) and moksa like nirvana (Buddhism) is by far the highest ideal of man and the

33 Ibid, Chapter 5-149.
34 Ibid, Chapter 2-145.
whole Indian view of life is to be understood and evaluated in this perspective. The unselfish conduct in Buddhism and Jainism were influenced by their Mother religion Hinduism. Its thought had an influence on Mahatma Gandhi, Asoka and Visvesvara. Visvesvara was a leader of Shiva sect and founded maternity hospital in 1183.

The veterinary (animal) hospital was witnessed in sixteen century by an English traveler. It shows that the service to the others was to not only human beings but also to all living things. There was the discrepancy between the ideal written in Hindu scriptures and real conducts in Hinduism as well as other religions. Hinduism has continued for 3000–4000 years.

During its long history, Hinduism was also experienced reformation to the religious degradation several times by great religious thinkers. Ram Mohan Roy (1774–1833) founded “Brahma Samaj” on the base of Upanishads. He had Sati prohibited. This bad custom equivalent in crime had never been permitted in any Hindu Scriptures. This custom prevailed among some the Hindu upper classes. Akbar the Great (1542–1605) in Mughal Empire and a Hindu king of Maratha tried to eradicate this bad custom but they did not succeed in it.

Dayananda Sarasvati (1824–83) founded “Arya Samaj” in 1875. Gautama Buddha (563–483 B.C.), Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) and Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) were earnest over a social problem. Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), disciple of Ramakrisna (1836–86) founded “Ramakrisna Mission” and did social welfare activities to spread education and give poor people medical services. B.G. Tilak, the leader of Independence Movement noticed Bhagavad Gita first. And Mahatma Gandhi followed him.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) made a protest against Hinduism, which remained unchanged and in Gitanjali by which he was awarded a Nobel prize for literature in 1913, he told Hindu to throw away prayer only to praise, sing and use beads. To whom do you pray in a dim temple closed all the doors? Open your eyes and realize there is not a god before you. There is a god beside farmers who cultivate the wasteland and workers who pound a stone to pieces to make a road.

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open
tjine eyes and see thy God is not before thee!

He is there where the tiller is tiling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil!"35

In Hinduism many belief faiths and many ceremonies achieve a consensus on unselfish service, to renounce worldly desides and trust in honesty and love. It is to believe Krishna’s words, namely, "Don’t hate all living things, be friendly, be compassionate, throw away the idea “mine” and “I”, don’t be influenced our joys and sorrows and be patient."

In medieval times, the social status of women deteriorated. But it is not clear that it was influenced by Islam or changes inside Hindu society.

What is a prostitute?

I had an interest in the status of women in the countries written in Women of the world, too.

In July in 1987, I published the Japanese edition of Women at Point Zero written by an Egyptian writer, Dr. Nawal El Saadawi. I found this book in England. This book is her masterpiece and she was conferred France–Arab Friendship Literary Award by this book.

It was written based on the real story of an Egyptian prostitute. Dr. Nawal El Saadawi had worked in the Egyptian prison as a medical doctor and met a woman who refused to appeal to save her life and chose to be executed. She had had chance to survive. She told Dr. Saadawi about her life before being executed. Reading this story, I shed tears over her life. At that time I had never been to Egypt. Egypt is also a reinforced patriarchal Muslim country. I thought both of Egypt and India were by far more religious and more patriarchal countries than Japan then. Though I was and I would never able to approve prostitution, I knew how the usual woman, being left poor and alone in the patriarchal society, had to become a prostitute in the struggle to live and had to die.

I had never known prostitutes in my real life and had not been interested in them. Through this book I knew that a prostitute was not a particular kind of a woman and how she as a prostitute was suffering and struggling through her life.

In these days, in the modern and recent Japanese society we could not see women's problems under the cloak of an economic prosperity more clearly and vividly than in Indian society as everyday incident. In Japan it is a fact that the problem of sexual discrimination is being improved year by year, day by day in schools and universities through education of gender equality. We sometimes read the articles that by sexual discrimination, male teachers lost their jobs in school.

Asian or Western interest in Japan has grown consistently since World War 11, but surprisingly little is known about Japanese women though I have often heard one word "Geisha."

Is the relationship of Japanese men and women or husbands and wives happy and do they love each other? I used to feel something strange about them. I often feel that husbands and wives in India are happier than in Japan. What is the reason?

Through the comparative studies of Indian and Japanese prostitutes, I would like to analyze the difference of the status of women, culture and societies of both countries.

At the beginning of the research, I did not know that the study of prostitution has been inhibited by the fear that a social stigma will be placed to one who conducts such a research in Japan as well as in India. But I think it is very important to study it if I was interested in gender equality and much happier future societies and the close relationships of both countries.

I started to think the relationship between dowry and Indian prostitutes at the bottom of an Indian society. I wondered whether the condition of Indian prostitutes was a summation of Indian women’s problems and understand deeply a similarity and difference between Indian and Japanese societies.
**Objectives of this Study**

The objectives of this research are as follows: it undertakes the exploration of my research are as follows: It undertakes the exploration of

(A) the historical and cultural contexts of prostitution in India and Japan.

(B) It analyzes the nature of sexuality in the background of social structure and cultural values and traditions in the two countries. This analysis particularly takes into consideration the past and the contemporary processes of social, economics and technological changes in the society.

(C) In addition to the exploration of the documentary and historical literature, the study of the problem of prostitution aims at empirical case studies both in India and Japan.

(D) Finally, a comparative analysis of the nature and dimensions of the prostitution and the gender issues involved has been undertaken.

**The Methods and Location of Research in India and Japan**

**INDIA**

The research technique in the present study in India has been intensive fieldwork in red light areas of Delhi and Mumbai.

Bombay [In 1995 Bombay has been officially renamed ‘Mumbai’ (its original Marathi title). But my interview with sex workers in Falkland Road and Kamathipura (the largest area of prostitution in Bombay) was mainly in 1992. So I often use the word ‘Bombay’ instead of Mumbai and ‘prostitute’ instead of ‘sex worker’ in this thesis.] was a small coastal port-town of 500,000 inhabitants forty years ago. At present it is a city of skyscrapers, film studios and big business and crowded industrial metropolis of 15 million people now. On one hand there are luxury hotels, high-rise business houses, and
air-conditioned shopping centres; on the other hand, the slums of homeless, jobless poor and refugees who flood in at an average rate of 10,000 new families per day. They come in search of work or money, and most of them end up sleeping on the streets. Lately Bombay has quite a few people lying around in the streets. Bombay was a familiar city to me. I used to come to Bombay to see my Indian friends and collect materials for my research about Indian women. I used to go to see professors of S.N.D.T. University and activists of Women’s Centre in Bombay. Bombay is a second city of ragged, squalid slum dwellings having grown up outside the modern business capital of gleaming plate-glass buildings. The city shows, like Calcutta, powerful contrasts.

The reason why I wanted to talk with sex workers was that I wanted to know their plight summed up the problems of Indian society and the reality of poor Indian women as well as the elite women.

To research sex workers in Bombay for this thesis was different from my previous researches. At first I had seen so-called red light areas from the window of a taxi. It was difficult for me to get down from a taxi and directly interview girls and women in prostitution. First of all I would not understand their language Marathi. Girls who were wearing heavy makeup and knotted their hair with red ribbons looked young. According to one report 86 percent join the profession due to poverty and want; 5 percent enter the profession voluntarily; 4 percent due to bad company; and 5 percent due to ill-treatment of husbands, in-laws or parents-in-laws.
In India, prostitution is regulated under the special law, the ITPA (Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986) and it is neither legal nor illegal. If a woman chooses to voluntarily indulge in commercial sex, it is not an offense under the law in India. However, the law prohibits various activities that are associated with organized prostitution of an exploitative nature such as pimping, brothel keeping, living off the earning of a prostitute, etc. Prostitution therefore tolerated and regulated under the Indian Law. This is supplemented by some provisions in the Indian Penal Code 1860. (This provisions in the laws as they exist today reveal an underlying gender bias: that prostitution is a necessary evil and the law is there to protect society. Women who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking are often revictimised under the law).

Prohibited by the law, prostitution is openly carried on at Garston Bastion

36 Source: Prostitution in Metropolitan Cities of India: Central Social Welfare Board.
Road (G.B. Road) in Delhi.


G.B. Road (renamed as Swami Shraddhanand Marg) is a popular marketing centre for machinery, hardwares, sanitary goods, building materials, etc. This market is frequented by traders from all over the country. Apart, being a populous area it is a conjunctive corridor embracing streaming traffic to and from Ajmeri Gate, Connaught Place, Sadar Bazar, Khary Bowly, Naya Bans and Railway Stations.

The ground floors house the market, the first and second floors are brothels occupied by women of all ages, communities and provinces carrying on the flesh trade in improvised dingy and stinking wooden cabins. In the building, there are many rooms like a honeycomb. There are 5–6 prostitutes in a six-mat room. There are 10 – 20 prostitutes in a ten-mat room. One madam in each room is in charge of the prostitutes in her room. At the corner of the room there is a small concrete room.

Though I had researched about Indian women, I had never heard the word ‘G.B. Road’ before I began to research for this thesis. During my researches, I could know the man named Mr. Khairati Lal Bhola.

Of late I read the book in which the author was writing that she gave up approaching because G.B. Road was very dangerous and fearful place.

It was lucky for me to be able to interview many sex workers who were working in G.B. Road. Moreover, I did not need to feel much fear to the places and people. Women were very kind to me and brought me drinks and snacks. They cared about me a lot. They were very modest, gentle, kind, and pure. I think that I could make a success of my interviews in G.B. Road because sex workers and mesdames had much confidence in Mr. Khairati Lal Bhola, president of the Bharatiya Patita Udhar Sabha—an organization dedicated to the upliftment of prostitutes, I have to greatly appreciate for Mr. Bhola’s kindness. He introduced me to mesdames of kothas I will talk about him in the latter part of this thesis.

He said that he had been dedicated to the upliftment of prostitutes of

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G.B.Road since one April night in 1984.

And on March 25, 1988, the Supreme court, on a civil writ petition filed by Mr. Bhola on behalf of the Bharatiya Patita Udhar Sabha, issued notice to the Union of India, the Delhi Administration and the principal of an administration-run school in which could well be the prelude to a landmark judgement for women in India.

He initiated the process of “adoption” of the children from redlight area, G.B.Road by the Directorate of Social Welfare, Delhi Administration. While no legal documents have been signed, the Directorate of Social Welfare, Delhi Administration, has decided to look after these children until they are grown up to fend for themselves.

Then I started to research and interview prostitutes in Falkland Road and Kamathipura (the largest area of prostitution in Bombay (Mumbai) several times mainly in 1992. The prostitutes' lives were much harder and more pitiful than I had imagined.

Today women in prostitution who are victims of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking are identified and targeted as the major carriers of the HIV/AIDS virus. It must always be remembered that these women and girls in prostitution indulge in high risk behaviour under circumstantial compulsions. Their lives and health are under direct control of the brothel keepers / pimps.

Dr. I.S. Gilada is a doctor and secretary general of PHO (Peoples Health Organization [India]), (formerly honorary secretary of IHO [Indian Health Organization]). Whenever I go to Mumbai even now, I pay a visit at his clinic to do honor to him and get recent information about his work. He has devotedly being treated HIV/AIDS patients for more than twenty years.

He was the first to rescue a Nepali girl (Tulasa Thapa) from the brothels in Bombay in 1982. It has being indicated that the high rate to be infected with AIDS in India is one of serious social problems since in the mid 1980s. And when the Indian government did not take effective measures to stop HIV/AIDS in India, he was courageous enough to start the preventive strategies such as awareness programmes to women, clients, and brothel owners and distribution of free condom to women in red-light districts in Bombay (Mumbai). Many did not know even condom. He has continued this
strategies and medical treatment to HIV/AIDS patients for more than twenty years. And though the country launched the National AIDS Control Programme ten years ago, the level of awareness about HIV/AIDS is very low especially in villagers.

"India announced that it had 3.97 million HIV-positive cases, making it the country with the second highest number of people with the infection in the world. The National AIDS Control Organization (NACO) produced the figures after conducting a three-month survey across the country last year (2001). "The estimated number of adults living with HIV in the country for 1998, 1999 and 2000 was 3.5 million, 3.7 million and 3.8 million, respectively," NACO said. "In 2001, the total number of HIV infections was estimated at 3.97 million." Unofficial estimates put the figure at closer to 5 million."

The number of patients who are infected with AIDS is more than 5 million in India in 2001. Even though 2.5% of Mumbai's population suffers from AIDS, it is said that the figures are grossly underreported due to absence of a recording system, but actual figures could be double the projected figures. And they said that the number of cases of HIV infection spread through commercial networks in India might double by the year 2005 unless preventive measures are increased. Heterosexual contact accounts for 85% of HIV cases in India. I have seen many patients including a husband and a wife at the clinic of Dr. Gilada in Mumbai.

In 2002 Maharashtra had over 1,000 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) battling AIDS. Although NGOs received over Rs. 10 billion in funding from overseas (30%) and the Central Government (70%), barely 10–20% of the money was used. Gross misappropriation has prompted the social wing of the National Control Organization (NACO) to set up guidelines for running of NGOs and to increase surveillance. Around 1992 the number of NGOs was not many.

I often followed the activities of IHO (Indian Health Organization)

Dr. I. S. Gilada was a honorary secretary. He is a secretary general of PHO (Peoples Health Organization[India]) now. He introduced me a social worker of IHO and she showed me brothels in Falkland Road and Kamathipura and I could talk with girls and women.

Fieldwork was not easy for a foreign researcher under different languages and circumstances. But as I was a female researcher, sex workers showed me natural faces as a mother and a woman. I could understand the much hardships and pain of their lives.

**New President of India**

In India Smt. Pratibha Devisingh Patil (72) assumed office as the 12th President of India on July 25th 2007. She is the first woman President to have been elected to this august office for last 60 years. Immediately prior to election as the President of India, she was the Governor of Rajasthan from November 8th, 2004 till June 21st, 2007.

She has represented India in a various international fora and she was a delegate at the World Women’s Conference, Beijing, China in September, 1995 and worked actively for the women and children and the underprivileged sections of society. As President of India, she said in her inaugural address on 25th July, 2007:

"...One of the unique features of our national movement, of our freedom struggle, was the equal participation of men and women. Among the many who led that battle against foreign rule were brave women like Rani Lakshmibai, Begum Hazrat Mahal and Kitturu Rani Chennamma... Indira Gandhi as India’s first and only woman prime minister, showed us that the upliftment of the underprivileged and alleviation of poverty must remain the foremost and sacred duty of those who hold public office...

Today India stands at the threshold of a new era of progress. The nation is moving at historically unprecedented rates of growth... To realize the full potential of our people, we must invest in their capabilities and empower them with modern education and comprehensive health care. We must banish malnutrition, social evils, infant mortality and female
foeticide. I wish to express my full commitment to the protection of child rights. We must wage a relentless campaign against poverty, ignorance and disease to seek a better future for our children.

I am deeply committed to the cause of education and would like to see every person, man and woman, boy and girl, be touched by the light of modern education. Empowerment of women is particularly important to me as I believe this leads to the empowerment of the nation…"

Her speech encourages people and women not only in India but also throughout the world.

I also used many books and the Newspapers articles and NGO reports concerning the sex workers which I had collected as some of my sources for my understanding of Indian prostitution.

**JAPAN**

I used the method of the direct and indirect interviews. It was not easy for me, a female researcher to interview many sex workers directly in Japan because prostitution is prohibited by the law and many do not want to admit themselves sex workers, and strangely speaking, many are unconscious what they are doing even if they sell their bodies. In Japan the boundary between ordinary women and sex workers is not clear. But anyway I could interview some girls and boys and research about geisha

And I used books and references about geisha and prostitution, gender studies, history, culture, tradition, religion, etc..

Then I surveyed the opinions of 267 Japanese university students who were in four universities and one junior college in Tokyo about “Enjo kosai” (prostitutes of teenage schoolgirls [schoolboys]) in January, 2008. They are freshmen and sophomores from late in their teens to early in their twenties (18 – 21 years old) except one male student of in his late forties who joined the university in a framework for a member of society.

The number of male students is 166. And female students are 74. The students who didn’t write their sex are 27. The total are 267 students. Their answers were useful for my research.
TABLE 1.2

PROPORTION OF STUDENTS FOR SURVEY

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