CHAPTER III

SOCIETY & GENDER & SEXUALITY

According to Article 3, UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, women and children, 2000, trafficking in persons shall mean "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, or abduction of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the services, slavery or practices, similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs." According to rough estimates, worldwide at least 700,000 women and children alone are trafficked every year.  

"The Trafficking is also described as "trade in human misery". The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates around $8 billion is generated each year by the global trafficking industry. "The Trafficking in Persons, 2002, released by the US State Department (Office to Monitor and combat trafficking in Persons) indicated India is not doing enough to curb trafficking."

"Trafficking in women and children is not only for prostitution but also for bonded labour, domestic work, illegal organ transplant trade, begging, drug trafficking, camel jockeys in the Middle East, pornography and mail order bride among other forms of exploitation." But I will first focus on trafficking in women and children for prostitution and prostitutes, gender, and sexuality in Indian society.

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42 Srivastava, Aparna. Human Trafficking with Special Reference to Delhi. A William Cary Study & Research Centre and Joint Women's Programme Publication supported by UNIFEM South Asia Regional Office (Anti Trafficking Programme) and USAID, The year of publication is unknown, p. 1.
1. PROSTITUTION IN INDIA

[1] Gender and violence

In India, due to social, religious and economic factors women occupy lower social status. Hindu scholars treated women and sudras as impure and inauspicious. In some parts of the country women was treated more or less like an animal.

The birth of female children in India generally has never wanted since about the times of the Ramayana in Indian society. The mythological stories are orally transmitted from generation to generation, which has created the image of a woman as self-sacrificing suffering hardships for the sake of her husband and family like Sita. The ideals of “pativrata” and custom of “Sati” reduced women to physical and mental slavery of men. Many times, infant girls were killed.

Today the amniocentesis test helps the family do away with the child shaping in the womb as female today. The practice is fast spreading in the name of family planning and controlling the birth of undesired daughters. Female children are killed on birth in some social groups. There are some villages known as being a no-daughter village where no groom came to marry a bride. Therefore population of women was proportionately less than the male population.

The 2001 Census data and other studies illustrates the terrible impact of sex selection in India over the last few decades. The child sex ratio (0–6 years) declined from 945 girls to 1000 boys in 1991 to 927 in the 2001 Census. Around 80% of the total 577 districts in India registered a decline in the child sex ratio between 1991 and 2001. About 35% of the districts registered child sex ratio below the national average of 927 females per 1000 males. In the 1991 Census, there was only one district with a sex ratio below 850. But in the 2001 Census, there are 49 such districts.
TABLE 3.1


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Ratio</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of Total Population</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>927 (females for 1000 males)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0–19 years</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 4 years</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(There are many State variations, with some States recording a sex ratio below 850.)

Female girls who survived also are not well nurtured during early childhood. Female children seem to survive larger numbers than male children during the first year of their birth. But in the next four years more female children die of malnutrition or sheer neglect. It is a well-known fact that in all classes and castes females are less cared for than males in the event of illness. Patriarchal controls are strengthened even at early stage. This affects the access of the girl child to both education and health.

2.5 million children die in India every year, accounting for one in five deaths in the world, with girls being 50% more likely to die. One out of 16 children die before they attain one year of age, and one out of 11 die before they attain five years of age. India accounts for 35% of the developing world’s low birth weight babies and 40% of child malnutrition in developing countries, one of the higher levels in the world. Although India’s neo-natal mortality rate declined in the 1990s from 69 per 1000 live births in 1980 to 53 per 1000 live births in 1980 to 53 per 1000 live births in 1990, it remained static, dropping only four points from 48 to 44 per 1000 live births between 1995 and 2000.

According to the 2001 Census report, amongst all peoples living with disabilities, 35.9% were children and young adults in the 0–19 age group. Three out of five children in the age group of 0–9 years have been reported to be visually impaired. Movement disability had the highest proportion (33.2%) in the age group of 10–19 years. This is also largely true of mental disability.

The girl’s entire socialization process generally is oriented towards making her an obedient mother and wife. The girl has to start working from early
childhood at home, the world's highest number of working children is in India. While on the one hand girls are being killed even before they are born, on the other hand children who are born and survive suffer from a number of violations. According to *Study on Child Abuse: India 2007* India has the world's largest number of sexual abused children, with a child below 16 years raped every 155th minute, a child 10 every 13th hour and one in every 10 children sexually abused at any point of view.

**TABLE 3.2**

ENROLMENT UPTO PRIMARY LEVEL (IN MILLION)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990–91</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991–92</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992–93</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993–94</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994–95</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>62.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relentless elimination of children from the education system takes place during the earliest grades. 44% of children enrolled in Grade 1 leave before reaching Grade V, and 63% of those originally enrolled do not reach Grade VIII. The main reason of this heavy rate of dropouts is poverty. The children who do not continue in the system are largely drawn from families of landless agricultural labourers and poor peasants. For dalit children and tribal children the situation is much worse. There is a strong gender bias. What is the use of sending the girl to school? Who will do the work at home if she goes to school? If she studies too much it will be difficult to get her married. These are just some of the common sentiments behind the shocking fact that 50% of girls drop out before completing primary education. This is when the enrolment of girls is much lower than boys. 43

The India Country Report for the Beijing Conference (1995) estimates that a girl works for 10 hours a day on an average for 315 days in a year. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (1986) bans employment of children under 18 years in certain fields such as transport, railways, ports, cracker and fire works, etc. Employment of children is also regulated under several

legislations such as the Factories Act(1948), Mines Act, 1983, Apprentices Act ,1951. The cut off age is 14 in most cases. But, in reality, outside the home, the girl as well as the boy labours in the low or unpaid agricultural work, works in construction sites, works as child laborer in small scale industries which require cheap labour and nimble fingers at work such as matches, bidi, carpet making, fire works, gem stone polishing, lock making, etc, and works as domestic helper for urban households requiring cheap domestic labour. And these Acts in India look like pies in the sky. The penalizing provisions have hardly effect on violators of the law. And poor girls are vulnerable victims of trafficking into prostitution.

Men need women for physical satisfaction and sexual pleasure. After the Sarde act was passed, Hindu men do not marry more than one wife by law. But it is common among powerful men and many social groups to marry more than one wife for their satisfaction. In fact, it was even considered as a status symbol to have more than one woman.

In old times kings and zamindars could possess more than one wife or mistress, and often several mistresses. The kings and zamindars used to keep these women for a shortwhile and then disowned them after they had served their purposes. Such women would not only fail to get a suitable match or alternative partners but also they would be subject to social ostracism. Prostitution has been invariably looked down upon through centuries. The prostitutes have never had the status as the married women.

Women even today do not have any choice in the matter of marriage. The choice of the father or the elders of the family is to be accepted. The Child Marriage Restraint Act(1929) stipulates the minimum age of 21 years for boys and 18 years for girls. But child marriages continue in rural areas of states like Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chattisgarh and even Kerala. Moreover, young girls are married to men much older than they are or already married. This kind of marriage is not always for a proper marriage. These girls, in numberless cases, are sold into flesh trade.

The case of nine-year-girl Ameena was reported widely by the Indian media in October, 1991. She was purchased for Rs. 10,000 by a seventy-five-year Arab Shekh Yahyah-al-Sageih. Fortunately she was rescued. But many girls like Ameena never return.
In educated and elite urban social groups some of girls are allowed to marry the men of their choice. Largely in such cases the young girls are disowned by the parents and so incidence of such girls committing suicide is large. A woman is not allowed to choose her husband, if she does so, she cannot fall back on her parental family in the event of any dispute arising within her marriage.

Women are expected to strive hard keeping their married life happy. They are asked to make a number of sacrifices and serve the husband’s family dutifully. A woman marries into a family and looks after all the member of the family, not only her husband.

After marriage, a woman is expected to be the husband’s shadow. She has to do her husband’s bidding and her advice is not sought. If the husband expects her to stay with his parents when he is going away to another country, she cannot insist like Sita in Ramayana that she would go with him.

Her earnings are usually managed by him or his elders and she cannot direct the expenses of her income. Nor does she have any control over her dowry.

Extra-marital sex is not allowed to women. If husband is having a sexual relationship with another woman, he may be guilty of the offense of adultery. The law dealing with adultery is not fair, as it does not give rights to a woman that are equal to those of her husband. If a woman is having sexual relationship with a man other than her husband, her husband can prosecute the man with whom she is having relationship. But woman has no such right to prosecute her husband if he is having an extra marital affair. The only person who can start a case against the person committing adultery is the husband of the woman with whom adultery has been done (Section 198(2)).

Rape victims are punished by the society and not the men who commit the crime. A women’s purity, chastity before marriage and loyalty to the husband during married life are considered very important.

Women depends on their fathers before marriage on the husband during married life and after his death on their sons. The pattern of women’s dependence has not much been changed since the times of Manu, the ancient Hindu Law giver and the Ramayana. Manu equated woman with a slave and his laws are submitted woman completely to man and they are still the sanctioned codes of conduct accepted by women.
As Sita found the way out of the marriage finally by entering the womb of the mother earth, many young women in India today find a way out of her marriage by giving up their lives. The ever increasing number of young wives burning or killing themselves away points to the fact that they are not prepared to live in a stone-like way. They are too sensitive to continue existence. The widowers then, marry again very soon.

Marriage institution regularizes the sexual activities of men and women within the marriage. When marriage becomes the rule, the sex outside matrimony bonds came to be looked upon as sinful, immoral and illegal.

[2] Indian Prostitutes and law

As per the "Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act" (PITA) as well as the "Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act" (SITA), prostitution per se is not an illegal activity. It is the exploitation of the prostitution which is illegal and crime. I will mention more about law in "Indian prostitution and law" in the Chapter V. But does prostitution exist without the exploitation in India?

The prostitutes have never enjoyed the status conferred on the married women. The man who goes to prostitutes is never defamed, only the women who practices is defamed. And most often prostitutes are criminalized for soliciting in a public place. The law must view these women not as delinquents but as victims of circumstances.

[3] Extramural Exploitation and Police

Exploitation through the males designated as clients or customers, pimps (mostly males) and brothel owners is the most obvious fate of these girls and women. It also invites an almost equally vicious network of quack medical practitioners, traders of daily utility articles, etc. like clothes, cosmetics and the police into a well organized nexus, that engulfs their lives.

The traders sell daily utility articles by the price usually hiked to 50 to 100 % of their market costs. Besides this, most purchases are made on credit-loan transactions with the trader and a further interest of 60 to 100 % is usually applied to the credit accumulated. Debt traps are one more enforcement of prostitution.

Police is a well-known part of the prostitution rackets. Most brothel
owners regularly pay money to policemen, this payment is referred as Hafta, weekly payments. Non-implementation of the provisions of PITA (earlier SITA) is always to the advantage of the police and these women are arrested on some or the other pretext and then money is extorted from them. Simulated raids result in terror and harassment of the women leaving the pimps, brothel owners unraffled. Well meaning officials end up complaining of their helplessness, even to stop the extortion by their colleagues and give up their attention due to the absence of any social support.


Dr. I. S. Gilada (Indian Health Organization [I. H. O.], present-day People Health Organization [India] [PHO]) says that it is myth that most women in prostitution have entered the prostitution for money or sexual urge and 70% of those interviewed told that they joined prostitution due to force. Besides the interstate trafficking, international traffic in the form of supply of girls from Nepal to India and supply of Indian girls from India to the countries in the West is very common. He estimates that nearly 1 lac girls are brought from Nepal every year for the purpose of prostitution in India. According to IHO study the following are the causes of entry into prostitution.

1. Abduction and selling unwanted children

   This is the most common cause. The rackets in the trade of selling of infants are often led by private medical practitioners.

   Statesman, New Delhi reported the following news on 23rd April, 2003.

   “A doctor–couple running a nursing home and three employees were arrested in Bhopal on 10th November 2001. The couple was caught red handed selling a three-month-old girl for Rs. 30,000 to a decoy couple. The baby’s mother was an unwanted mother. This nursing home was selling babies at fixed prices of Rs. 50,000 for a male and Rs. 30,000 for a girl. Police sources suspected a chain of nursing homes, especially in old Bhopal area, to be involved in the racket.”

44 Statesman, New Delhi, April 23, 2003.
② Devadasi system:

Devadasi system contributes to about 15% of total prostitution in India. The percentage of Devadasis amongst the Bombay (Mumbai) prostitution is 15–20%, in Nagpur, Delhi and Hyderabad – 10%; in Pune it is 50% and in the Satara, Miraj, etc.) it is up to 80% of total prostitution. The control as well as the state laws to ban this system seems to be ineffective and the system continues because of myths, misconceptions and superstitions.

③ Rape

About 6% of the girls coming to prostitution, come after incidence of rape. Rape of the girls is a great social stigma and in some circumstances the victims of rape are not even accepted. When they do not find any safe places in society and do not expect any better future perspective, they find their way into prostitution.

④ Incest

About 8% of girls or women came to prostitution because of the incidence of incest. The most common incest is between Father & daughter, followed by Uncle & niece. When the young victim of incest cannot stay at home, she cannot expect safety anywhere in the society and end up in prostitution. In certain circumstances, there are the cases, where the girls were sold by their own father or uncles or the brothers-in-law after subjecting them to incest.

⑤ Marriage

Dr. Gilada mentions that 15 to 20% of the women in prostitution in Pune came through marriage (sold by their husbands) though the problem of prostitution directly through marriage is not very common in Bombay.

⑥ Children of Women in Prostitution

Female children of the women in prostitution end up in prostitution (99%), as there is no safe place for their children and there is no program till date for these young children to get them out of these areas and to give them alternative livelihood. Neither any Government nor any voluntary agency have an effective project to prevent those young girls from going into prostitution.
Causes of Trafficking of Women and Children

Numerous Napali girls are trafficked into India. Why are women and children trafficked easily?

1. Porous borders and relaxed controls work to the advantage of traffickers. Bribing the border patrol on both sides of the divide is done without much difficulty for "smooth passage."

2. Another factor that works in the traffickers' favour is the similarity in the racial features of the people of three countries—India, Nepal and Bangladesh. Indians in the Terai region are impossible to distinguish from the Nepalese. Indians in Southern Bengal and Bangladeshis look very much alike. 45

3. Increasing demand from paedophiliacs has trapped younger sexual partners—girls and boys frequently as young as 10–11 years old—in the commercial sex sector is linked to many clients seeking Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS)-free partners. Traffickers fish in the stream of migration and can easily identify those who are most easily deceived or coerced. 46

Targets of Traffickers

- Adolescent, young girls or children from broken homes
- Women subjected to sexual abuse, rape and violence/deception in marriage who are stigmatized in society
- Poor families, especially those with many girl children
- Single women: abandoned, widowed or unmarried
- Families where girl children perform household chores such as fetching water, firewood, etc. in an insecure environment which makes them easy prey for traffickers
- Children from socially and economically backward dalit and tribal families
- Families where men are incapable of or have no work
- Those communities where prostitution is sanctioned by custom, such as

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46 ABD Guide for Integrating trafficking concerns into ADB operations.
Nat, Kanjar and Bedia tribes

- Communities where is prostitution with religious sanction, such as Devadasi, Basavi, Jagin practices

[7] Hereditary classes, and tribes of prostitution

In India, allegedly, there are hereditary classes, and aso tribes of prostitutes and pimps who demand upon this trade for their very subsistence. They earn their daily bread by offering their bodies. Even their mothers and husbands have been found to train their daughters and wives for this trade.

Maharashtra

Women in the backward areas of Maharashtra can still be mortgaged. This was disclosed in the Maharashtra Legislative Council by Revenue, when he revealed that a woman who was mortgaged with a moneylender so that the family could raise a loan for the marriage of one of their daughter was released after a complaint was made to the police. It was further revealed that moneylenders were operating in the backward areas of Marathwada and Vidarbha where it is still a common practice to mortgage women for the purpose of raising loans.

Gujarat

'Saxaniyas', a mongrel tribe of Wadia and Buddhanpur in North Gujarat live off prostitution. The women sell their body for livelihood. The men are mostly indolent parasite. Boys are kept in the family but girls, considered illegitimate, can not have husbands and take to prostitution or concubinary. It is believed that there is at least one prostitute in each family.

Madhya Pradesh

It abounds in gypsy and nomadic tribes. Due to meager and insufficient

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means of livelihood these tribes take to prostitution. In Ratlam and Mandaor District are Bhachada tribals. Bedia or Kanjars in Chambal and Bundel Khand areas. In Chattisgarh the poor and scheduled class blooming young girls are forced to flesh trade. Girls of ‘Sanei clan’ from Rajgarh District in Madhya Pradesh are taken to Mumbay, Calcutta, and Agra for sex selling.

‘Sansis’ are criminals by birth. Allegedly in 1918 they came to Rajgarh from Rajasthan. Maharaja Vikram Singh tried to rehabilitate them in the village of Kadia, Gulkhery and Mulkhery by allotting them lands from cultivation, etc., but all in vain.

Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan — the Bedias

The Bedias are dispersed in large parts of three of the larger states of North India.

TABLE 3.3
CENSUS DATA ON THE BEDIAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rajasthan (Bedia, Beria)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>6,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>5,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1,356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uttar Pradesh (Beriya)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>30,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>25,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>4,278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At present they are designated as scheduled castes or scheduled tribes in the three states. Unmarried girls of the Bedias are professional prostitutes and have been doing prostitution for two or three generations. And the inhabitants of Bedias community are entirely dependent on the prostitution of them.

"...the women born into a Bedia family remain unmarried. They engage in prostitution in order to provide for the economic needs of their natal family. Bedia brothers, that is, the men although not economically productive, do marry. Most interestingly, the wives of the Bedia men do not engage in the primary subsistence activity of their husband’s family, that is, the men, although not economically productive, do marry. Most interestingly, the wives of the Bedia men do not engage in the primary subsistence activity of their husband’s family, that is, prostitution. But they are largely responsible for all the domestic work including cooking, washing, cleaning, and children. The family, as also the community, is thus composed of three “kinds” of social actors: unmarried women, indolent men, and the wives of these men. The children of both the Bedia men as well as the unmarried Bedia women invariably fit into one of these positions sooner or later.” 49

In a Bedia community women can either marry or engage in prostitution. The daughter of a prostitute woman is neither necessarily expected to engage in her mother’s profession nor is the daughter of a married woman inevitably

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49 Ibid. p.8.
expected to marry. The bedia women are expected to lead either the lives of women engaged in prostitution or of married women. In general Bedia men and Bedia women desire to have more daughters in order to secure their future. The birth of a daughter may be described as an income of a hundred thousand rupees. A few Bedia women, who are married off by their families, have been married to Bedia boys. Marriage for a Bedia woman does not mean an escape from the economy of sex work. The husband of a Bedia woman would be as indolent and economically depend upon his sisters as the brothers and other men in the young woman’s natal family are. Although an earning Bedia woman is by no means in independent control of her income, a Bedia wife has no income to call her own, and often not does her husband.

"a wife has to suffer the drudgery of household labor—something a woman engaged in prostitution can avoid to a considerable extent. For a Bedia woman, the choice, if any, between prostitution and marriage, is then between having some earning power of one’s own with a certain degree of autonomy it allows, even if minimal, as opposed to a condition of economic subordination to one’s husband and to those on whom the husband is also dependent. Marrying thus merely places a Bedia woman in a more subordinate position within the familial economy of sex work. The young Bedia women are conscious of the inferior position that awaits them if they get married and, understandably, they are not particularly enamored by it."\(^{50}\)

"Within a patrilocal setting, a married woman has to sever off her relations with her natal family to a great extent and concomitantly establish a life-long tie with an affinal family. But a Bedia woman engaging in prostitution need ever sever ties with her natal family."\(^{51}\)

The Bedia women support their families, most men receive an amount roughly equivalent to an informal sector worker’s wage (Rs. 50–100) as daily

\(^{50}\) Ibid. p. 42.

\(^{51}\) Ibid. p. 40.
pocket money from their sisters. And the sisters feel ashamed if their brothers have to engage in a low-income job. A shortage of women of the Bedia community causes the escalating requirement of bride price for men and a large amount of bride price payment by the groom's family. Because of it, many Bedia women have to continue to engage themselves in prostitution.

About sexual morality of the Bedias, Agrawal mentions that they regard the possibility of engaging their married women in prostitution to be shameful. It amounts to a loss of face, metaphorically describes as "the cutting off the nose." A wife's engagement in prostitution brings shame to her husband's family. In the interest of fulfilling her familial obligations, a Bedia woman engaged in sex work overlook the ideal of female chastity. But a woman married to a Bedia man is expected to strictly adhere to the ideals which the former openly thwarts. Agrawal was told by a middle-aged wife of a Bedia.

**Bombay – Visiting Shakhes and Arabs**

They allegedly pay rupees thirty-five thousand to fifty thousand in advance to book girls for short period marriages.

These girls send homes lots of money. Thus other girls get tempted by this quick prosperity and try to pursue the same trade. Even husbands and other relations prompt their young women to patronize this trade and live easy and luxurious life.

**Jaunsar Bawar Region of the Himalayas**

Among the Koltas send women to brothels under conditions referred to as batai, a clear analogy drawn from sharecropping. (J. Gupta [1990])

**Andhra Pradesh (Jogini System)**

Infant girls are condemned to a life of extreme exploitation, slavery, bonded prostitution and poverty. Marriage pandals are decorated amidst drinking and dancing parties. The child girl of 6 years of age is dressed and decorated like a bride. The priest ties a 'Mangal Sutra' around her neck.

When she approached the age of 14 years, a local landlord comes to her
hut, takes her away at night. Satiating the lust of the landlord is the last phase of her complete sum and she is consigned to harrowing existence in the prime of her youth to lead a disgraceful life passing from one hand to another.

It is alleged there are over 10,000 Gangas in Andhra Pradesh. Like the Devadasi System, the Jogins are an equally exploited lot condemned to lead a risky life of insecurity.

**Sumangali**

The young Jogin after her first marriage ceremony becomes ‘sumangali’—one who cannot become widow. Often she lends in a situation where to keep her body and soul together she is available for all and sundry.

**[ 8 ] Devadasi**

Many erotic paintings in Hindu culture and erotic sculptures adorning Hindu temples have impressed visitors as the most striking element in the Indian culture. The Hindus imagine a heaven full of dancing girls of the night, fairies or sex angels, the *apsaras*, who were more beautiful than any women on earth. Meneka was the most beautiful of them all. The *apsaras* were inspirational to gods, heroes, and men. So Hindu temples were decorated with images of *apsaras*. In the temples there were many devadasis, who were symbolically imitated *apsaras* in a heaven and had to give men on earth similar to what the gods received. *Deva* is a generic term to represent the deities of heavenly paradise and *Dasi* is a woman who is in willing servitude. A devadasi is a servant of God. Every morning the temple girls sang and danced to honor the god; in the daytime they swept and cleaned, and fanned the images of the gods to make them cool. And in the evening they sang and danced for the god again. They were earthly joys and inspirations for men on earth who visited the temples.

Old Hindu temples had not only *apsaras* but also the mother goddess and female deities of the lower ranks naked from the waist up.

"The temple dancers of the time were similarly scantily clad. Well into the twentieth century in South India, women could be seen outdoors with bare
breaats, but over the last two centuries, even Hindu women steadily used longer clothing to cover themselves. This shows the later influence of Islam and Christianity. Hindus painted and decorated their gods. Temple dancers might deck themselves out in similar ways with precious stones, perfume, and beautiful materials. Tattooing was common, and women painted themselves with saffron and blackened their eyelids. Necklaces, rings, and bracelets could be of copper, silver, or gold, depending upon income. 

"The heyday of temple prostitution seems to have been the first millennium A.D. When paid sex occurred in the temple environment, near the holy inner sanctum, the temples tended to derive a considerable income from it. Foreign travelers in India often described Brahmin priests on hunt for beautiful young girls in the country villages."

"The girls were the adornment of the temples, and their presence attracted those who contributed substantially to the sacrificial gifts entering the holy sanctuary; they were admired locally, like present-day pop stars. The Brahmin who managed the coffers of the temple placed a high value on his girls...... When King Tajaraja built a pagoda in Tanjore, he furnished it with four hundred temple dancers. In the ancient Samanatha, there were usually five hundred devadashi. This would account for around-the-clock dancing and singing.... The dancing girls were not the only singers: the Brahmins also performed songs, theirs being of the highest spiritual content."

As time passed, prostitutions, musicians, and dancers were assigned to lower castes. It meant that the prostitution and prostitutes lost status. And this made it easier for common people to approach prostitutes. It goes without saying that all dancers are not prostitutes.

Temple prostitution disappeared in the West, Babylonia, Jerusalem, and Rome by the 3rd or 4th century. And India abolished temple prostitution in 1948. But it still remains in a few temples in North India and in many temples in

53 Ibid. p. 78.
54 Ibid. p. 78.
About ten thousand girls every year are condemned into a life of sexual servitude (concubinage) and subsequently into prostitution under the name of Devadasi.

In South India, there is a small temple, the shrine of a goddess called Yellama alias Renuka, where thousands of girls are dedicated to the goddess on a auspicious day of full moon in January or February every year. These dedicated girls form 15% of total women in prostitution in India and particularly in the border districts of Karnataka and Maharashtra States their percentage is nearing 70 to 80% of the women in prostitution. All of them had entered prostitution in an extremely organized form to the extent, at a later stage. Girls wanting to be brought into prostitution would first be made a devadasi and this would make the entry easier with the support of ‘religion.’

Mythological Explanations and Feudal land owning systems

Goddess Renuka, the wife of sage Jamadagni was a woman who was so chaste that she was capable of carrying water in a pot that had been made of fresh clay. One day when she went to river to bring water for ablution, she saw a couple bathing and for the first time she had sensuous feelings for the male. At this the clay pot burst, and Jamadagni realized the adulterous feeling in his wife’s mind. In his anger, he had asked their son Parshuran to be-head Renuka. Parshuran, unhesitantly obeyed and did as his father asked and beheaded his mother. Pleased with his son, Jamadagni told Parashuran he would grant him any boon he desired. Parashuran promptly replied that he wanted his mother back. Around that time, a Harijan woman ‘Yellamma’ happened to walk past, and her head was placed Renuka’s corpse and she arose as Renuka-Yellamma. This is why Yellamma is a goddess largely worshipped by Harijans and most devadasis are Harijans too.

Myth and traditions often are the superstructures of the “will” of the dominant classes. In order to diffuse this threat of revolt, the landlords conspired with the priestly class who with their ideologic hold over the peasant and their cultivated craftiness invented a system which acquired religious sanction. Thus a method of concubinage evolved safeguarding the interests and needs of the landlords at the same time ensuring that the
reactionary potential of the peasants was amputated with religious fervour and faith.

With the post-war transformations and the high emphasis on industrialization and urbanization, the original system of concubinage has been appended to organized urban prostitution.

② Socio-Economic factor

Social backwardness seems to be the most closely linked factor to both devadasis and prostitutes. Most of the girls dedicated are from Harijan communities (the scheduled caste people). Besides social backwardness another is the low-income status of the families dedicating the girls. After the dedications and puberty the girls are 'sold' at private auctions to a master who pays initially a sum of money to family. The family often also receives on-going financial gains through the girl's earnings on prostitution and also money required for bringing up, marriage and future care is also saved.

The relatively low educational status has added to the complexity of the situation, thereby maintaining the superstitions.

An approach concerned with specific educational projects, related to health, myths & misconceptions, evolution of clear ideas, etc. would also a most appropriate, logical & effective solution to this age-old problem.

③ Superstitions

The decision of dedication of the young girl to the Goddess Yellamma is usually linked to health, i.e. presence of matting of hair, whitepatch, eczema, leprosy, mental retardation and any other illness. Some dedicate girls as a prayer for a variety of personal gains, i.e. begetting a son, to ward off personal disaster etc., sacrificing a whole human life to achieve some temporary gain. Most of the times, a particular lady goes in “trance” and points out at a girl, or shouts a name of a girl, or demands a specific girl. It is perceived as a call from Goddess Yellamma and subsequently that a girl is dedicated and married to Goddess. Thus dedications are governed by superstitions
Lack of Medical Facilities

The absence of an effective health care system has also played a major role in maintaining the system. Because of this, people expectantly turn to supernatural forces for healing and curse. This has further created some myths and misconceptions, leading to looking for a remedy in the process of dedication to Goddess. The magnitude of the problem is further increased by the fact that the environmental conditions are poor and personal hygiene is almost non-existent. In addition to this there is no structure for providing education and correct medical knowledge that would eliminate myths and misconceptions. In chronic illnesses like leprosy or mental retardation, dedications and supplication to the goddess seems to be the last and only hope for them. A health education program, the knowledge about healthy environmental condition, the hygiene and other aspects of prevention and the knowledge would hopefully eliminate the myths and misconceptions that are working as maintenance factors in the whole system.

Family Traditions

The word tradition conveys to us the phenomenon of continuity and this is the thing that played an important role in the Devadasi System. From the initiation of the system centuries generations after generations have blindly followed the system despite the striking changes in the environmental conditions. The commonness in almost all backward communities has worked as a major influencing factor in the maintenance of the tradition. At the family level, the concept of duty towards dedication, seems to be operating strongly. Dedication the eldest daughter (this is an alternative to infanticide, and it secured to have a boy with the help of the god next time) or at least one daughter per family seems to be a common occurrence. At present the pressure from within the community seems to function as an ongoing regulatory factor. A girl who had a devadashi as her mother had the deity as her father becomes part of the devadasi family.

Urban Prostitution

As the girls dedicated through their marriage with the goddess makes
them ineligible for marriage in future, the remaining part of their lives, is expected to be passed through serving the initial master, who bought her at the auction ceremony, and at later date entertaining men all through their life, to get the blessings of the goddess. The specificity of the situation plus the religious sanction attached to it, makes the entry of a dedicated girl into prostitution quite justifiable and thus providing opportunity for organized prostitution. The two important factors that maintain the flow of dedicated girls from rural areas to urban red-light areas are: Anonymity provided by foreign territory (urban areas away from native places) and material rewards while functioning in an urban infrastructure, because of relatively high charges per client and more turnover of the number of clients. Thus Urban prostitution serves as an end point in the ongoing process and positive reward.

* Touching ceremony······As the girls are dedicated to the goddess during their childhood, they are taken back home after the ritual of the dedication ceremony. A sale-auction is arranged, when the girl attains puberty. The highest bidder present at auction gets the first chance to tough the girl and he becomes her first master. This ceremony is named as ‘toughing ceremony’.
2. PROSTITUTION OF POSTWAR JAPAN

— Is Japan a men's paradise?

After the war two things became stronger
—women and nylon stockings.

popular postwar Japanese saying

After atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Emperor Showa decided that Japan would have to "bear the unbearable" and accepted its defeat. World War II ended on August 15, 1945. A few weeks later General Douglas MacArthur, the Americans and Allied Occupation Forces came to Japan and occupied Japan for seven years (from August, 1945 to April 1952). During this period the Japanese government was subject to the authority of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), a term that referred both to the commander himself (General Douglas MacArthur until 1951 and then General Matthew B. Ridgway) and to supporting bureaucracy of several thousand officials, most of them Americans. During the early years of the Occupation, they pushed through a sweeping series of reforms that the Constitution of Japan, the Land Reforms of 1946, a revamping of the educational system, curtailment of the economic activities of the zaibatsu, and major changes in the legal codes to support equality of the men and women and lessen the authority of Japan's traditional patriarchal family system, revolutionized Japanese society and the status of Japanese women. By the constitution the emperor was reduced to purely symbolic status. A military establishment was renounced in Article 9.

Then I will research the change of Japanese society and Japanese women through prostitution of postwar Japan here.

In the postwar Japan, the saying "After the war two things became stronger—women and nylon stockings" was very popular. And before going to India in 1978, I often heard the words "Japan is a men's paradise." I would like to know its reality.
The Anti-Prostitution Law (passed by the Diet on May 21, 1956)

When General Douglas MacArthur, the many Americans and Allied occupation forces came to Japan in August 1945, they saw 60 percent of the houses in Tokyo had been destroyed. In the streets in Tokyo there were thousands of desperate women and wives who had lost their families and their husbands. They do not have any means to support themselves except by prostitution. Some of the streetwalkers were called panpan girls ("bang-bang girls," referring to the speed of the transaction). They grabbed Gls and tried to sell their bodies to exchange for chocolate and food.

"Using a term the GIs could understand, they called themselves 'geisha gals.' Among Westerners, 'geisha girl.' Among Westerners, 'geisha girl' became the catch-all term for anyone of dubious morality, from hostesses at bars, cabarets, and dance halls to the lowliest streetwalkers. The authorities, nevertheless, were perfectly aware the real geisha were a different species. They were excluded from the directive and the imperial edict and on appropriate occasions top American officers enjoyed geisha parties. The government discreetly sponsored the Shinagawa quarter which was popular with Americans. They also offered a subsidy to the Shimbashi quarter, though the proud Shimbashi geisha refused it. Bar, teahouses, and geisha houses were officially permitted to reopen on October 25, 1945."

In Japan a movement which regarded the selling and buying of sex as a violation of human rights and tried to abolish the regalized prostitution system, was followed persistently by a few Japanese groups since the Meiji Era. And there was one legacy of the occupation which could not be forgotten for Japanese women. General Douglas MacArthur and his cohorts had given Japanese women a voice. They had the vote. After the 1946 elections, there were thirty-nine women lawmakers in the Diet, the Japanese Parliament.

There were numberless people struggling to maintain the status quo who regarded that prostitution as a social necessity. Brothel-keepers hastily got together the All-Japan Association for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases to

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keep their brothels operating. But the efforts of women’s organizations and others both in and out of the Diet, which was supported by public opinion proved fruitful. The Anti-Prostitution Law (the Prostitution Prevention Law), outlawing public solicitation and management of prostitutes, was unanimously passed by the Diet on May 21, 1956.

The law was enacted for the purpose of “preventing and suppressing prostitution by publishing certain acts such as promotion of prostitution and at the same time by taking measures for the guidance and rehabilitation of those females who, judging from their character, behavior and environment, are prone to prostitute themselves,” and the law became the fundamental law concerning preventions of prostitution in the country; it consists of two parts, penal servitude of brothel keepers and the rehabilitation and protection of the unfortunate women.

The latter was enforced since in April last and as the result institutions for the unfortunate women were set up at various places and consultants were appointed throughout the country, and they were making efforts to prevent the poor women from becoming prostitutes and protect and resuscitate prostitutes. Stipulation of penal servitude was enforced from April in 1957, so brothel keepers had to give up their business at the latest by that time. Under the law, procurement of prostitutes for clients and exploitation of prostitution of others were prohibited, and the operation of so-called “brothels” and other forms of operation of houses of prostitution which made profits directly or indirectly from prostitution of others were completely banned. Those who operated houses of prostitution in violation of the law were given severe and heavy punishment. So-called licensed prostitution system was abolished in Japan. In theory government-sanctioned prostitution was ended after 367 years since the warlord Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1537-1598) permitted to build the red light district in Kyoto in 1589 and after 339 years since Tokugawa government issued an order restricting prostitution and the government specified the site called “Yoshiwara” for red light districts in Tokyo.

[ 2 ] The protection of former prostitutes

After the The Anti-Prostitution Law was enforced from April in 1957 and
licensed prostitution system was abolished, how could the former prostitutes live?

In 1962, the sum of ¥476,080,000 ($1,304,328) was earmarked for the fiscal year budget as the funds to be used for the protection of former prostitutes. Out of this sum ¥11,000,000 ($30,137) was appropriated for a new project of establishing their colony. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial Association 1962: No. 66, 1).

The great achievement of The Anti-Prostitution Law of 1956 was to make organized or enforced prostitution illegal.

Though it is impossible to buy and sell women now, but various loopholes, liberal interpretations of the law and loose enforcement have allowed the sex industry to prosper and earn an estimated 2.5 trillion yen a year.

[3] Japanese terms and the definition of prostitution in Japan

Many terms have been and used for the sex industry in Japan. Baishun, literally “selling spring” or “selling youth”, has turned from a mere euphemism into a legal term used in, for instance, the name of the 1956 Anti-Prostitution Law (Baishun-boshi-ho; the modern meaning of the word is quite specific and usually only used for actual (i.e., illegal) prostitution. Mizu-shobai (Mizushobai), the “water trade”, is a wider term that covers the entire entertainment industry, including the legitimate, the illegal, and the borderline. Fuzoku, literally “public morals”, is commonly used to refer specifically to the sex industry, although this covers dance halls and gambling and the more specific term seifuzoku, “sexual morals”, is used instead.

Article 3 of the Anti-Prostitution Law of 1956 states that "No persons may either do prostitution or become the customer of it," but no judicial penalty is defined for this act. Instead, the following are prohibited on pain of penalty: soliciting for purposes of prostitution, procuring a person for prostitution, coercing a person into prostitution, receiving compensation from the prostitution of others, inducing a person to be a prostitute by paying an "advance", concluding a contract for making a person a prostitute, furnishing a place for prostitution, engaging in the business of making a
person a prostitute, and the furnishing of funds for prostitution.

However, the definition of prostitution is strictly limited to coitus. This means sale of numerous sex acts such as oral sex, anal sex, and other non-coital sex are all legal. The business Affecting Public Morals Regulation Law of 1948 (Fuzoku eigyo torishimari ho", amended in 1985 and 1999, regulates these businesses.

[ 4 ] Modern types of the sex industry

(1) Soaplands

After the Anti-Prostitution Law was passed in 1956, unlicensed prostitution rapidly grew. Some of the most famous old houses of the Yoshiwara closed their brothels. Most carried on another name "Toruko" (Turkey) or "Toruko Buro" (Turkish baths). Toruko Buro is the predecessor of soapland. Yoshiwara is the districts of many soaplands now. Shimabara in Kyoto and Shinmachi in Osaka are not existed. Toruko Buro in which there were steam bath and a woman who cleaned the customer’s back started at Higashi Ginza, Tokyo in 1948. In 1949 "Hakata Onsen Toruko" in Kyushu, "Shinsekai Toruko" in Tokyo, "Susukino • Toruko Centre" in Hokkaido started in operation.

In 1955 some Toruko Buras started operating sex service.

In 1984 one Turkish young man protested that the name of his country was named to the facilities to prostitute through Turkish Embassy. After protests by the Turkish ambassador, these became known as "soapland."

In the room of soapland there are bath, chair and bed. A woman often offer a nude massage with a woman’s body: breast, tongue and waist and "full service." "Full service" means intercourse, which is illegal. Customers pay the front desk clerk for the bath but pay the woman individually for the "full service."

Thus the soapland which is facilitating a bath creates no legal liability or the woman who, by not soliciting publicly, is not covered by the law. The woman does not stay the night with the customer. It is said that women can earn extraordinarily even if they do not have an education.
The present price of the first-class soaplands in Yoshiwara: a bath charge: ¥30,000 and the total charge: ¥80,000, or a bath charge: ¥35,000 and the total: ¥100,000, or a bath charge: ¥25,000 and the total: ¥75,000.

The middle class soaplands: a bath charge: ¥20,000 and the total charge: ¥60,000 or a bath charge: ¥10,000 and the total charge ¥30,000. \(^6\)

But in Osaka-fu, Aomori Prefecture, Yamagata Prefecture, Nagano Prefecture, Toyama Prefecture, Nara Prefecture, newly-built soaplands were prohibited and there are no soaplands now.

Women of the Women’s group in Tokyo made an investigation from August to October in 1998, they distributed 20,000 questionnaires to their acquaintances and collected 2,502, among which 1,152 have experienced to buy women. If men under 24 years of age were excluded, more than 50% of men had experienced to buy women.

I read this following report on “The Women’s news, Japan” dated July 20, 1998.

80% of them had experienced to buy women till their early twenties.
36% were in their teens. 45.4% were from 20 to 24 years old.
81.3% of the places of buying sex were soaplands. 28% were the places they traveled by sex tours to foreign countries, e.g., Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and the Philippines.

57% of their motives were that they were tempted by their friends and acquaintances. 53% were from curiosity.

Half of them had bought women less than ten times and 20% were more than 30 times. 58 men had bought women more than 100 times.

Concerning whether they speak to their wives or girlfriends about their experiences, the majority answered that they would hide them. 26.5% of them answered that they did not mind it or they would speak to them about them positively.

The rate of virgin Japanese men from thirty to thirty-five is about 10 percent. The 30 percent of twenty-year-old men and women are virgin.

In modern Japan, there is no buying and selling of women as before. What kind of women work in the soaplands and the sex industry? There are many women who are in huge debt or work for their boyfriends of yakuza or gangster in the soaplands. It is true that there are many women who have pimps. At the same time the number of the women who start to work to earn huge money by their own free will has increased.

① Nao

I will quote Nao’s case as one example.

"Nao is a daughter in a rich family. Her family are kind parents and sweet younger sister. She was graduated from a good school and employed in the company safely. She had never frustrated. She begged her parents to allow her to live alone in the apartment house near her house. She started to play at night and work part-time in the “kyabakura” with her friend to get pocket money and sometimes go to the host clubs from curiosity. She had thought that she would loved someone, marry with him, have a baby and a family like her mother in the future.

But one day she fell in love with one host at the host club in Kabukicho (Shinjuku, Tokyo). Her salary as an office worker could not give him a feeling of satisfaction. On his recommendation, she began to work in a high-class soapland to give her beloved money and presents (bend over backward). And She used front payment (the club) ¥ 119030000 and back payment (money and presents for him) ¥ 28930000, totally ¥ 147960000 from February, 2000 to August, 2003.

She left him, a soapland and Kabukicho and got back to the normal life. She had kept a diary, “Diary of Tsubasa” on Web site for six years since 2000. The readers and the editor on Web site had taken note of it. This real story was published in 2007 changed persons’ names and its title.
(2) Fashion health and pink salons

There are “fashion health,” massage parlors that usually offer oral sex. And pink salons are called “pin salo,” too. This cannot be defined as prostitution. Because a woman serves a man by her tongue. And this is not prostitution under The Anti-Prostitution Law. And as for fashion health, it takes only thirty minutes or one hour in the small room. The price is ¥10,000.

About pink salons, a customer is drinking alcoholic drink in a salon, a woman comes to the customer. She serves him by her tongue in a shadow of a chair.

(3) Image clubs

This is called “ime kula.” The recent customer cannot be satisfied with just sex easily. So a woman acts the part of a nurse and high school student.

(4) Delivery Health and Delivery Fashion Health (Deri–Heru)

Delivery Health is called “Deri Heru,” This appeared in the latter part of the 1990s.

Erogenous zone massage is called “Seikan massage.”

They operate via delivery health services. They go to the customers’ houses or hotels. These cannot be defined easily as prostitution. By case by case, some women allow the customer to sex by his negotiation. In Japan the service by using a woman’s tongue has been prospering in these days.

(5) Kyabakura (Cabakura) and Kyabajo (Kyabakura Hostesses)

In Japan the words of kyabakura(cabakura) and kyabajo (kyabakura hostesses) are popular in these days. Kyabakura is a portmanteau of cabaret and club.

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Kyabajo does not always mean a prostitute.

Hostess clubs are a common feature in the night-time entertainment industry of Japan: establishments that employ primarily female staff and cater to males seeking drink and attentive conversation.

The more recent host clubs (undermentioned) are similar establishments where primarily male staff cater to females. Host and hostess bars are considered part of mizu shobai or “water trade” in Japan.

The most popular place would be kyabakura (cabakura). It’s set charge is usual 5000-9000 yen. Hostesses called “kyabajo” are generally hired for their looks and /or personality. In some kyabakura the customer can check the girl’s face in front of the entrance. They light cigarettes, pour drinks, offer flirtatious conversation, and sing karaoke in an effort to keep the customers entertained. Hostess can be seen as the modern counterpart of geishas, providing entertainment to salaried workers after work.

Patrons are generally greets warmly at the door. In some instances, a customer is able to choose who he spends time with, while most often is it decided by the club. The hostess, however, will leave after a certain amount of time or number of drinks, offering the customer a chance to see a fresh face.

In addition to their on-site duties, hostesses are generally obliged to engage in paid dates dohan with patrons outside of the bar and regular working hours. This system generates repeat patronage of a particular bar of developing attachments between particular customers and hostesses. Sex occurs on these paid dates. And while hostesses may be deduced pay for not having enough dohan dates, most also run on commission system in which they receive a percentage of sales. This is also the reason why the hostesses sell their bodies. And it is said that in the high proportion hostesses sell their bodies.

(6) Enjo Kosai (the Prostitution of Teenage Schoolgirls in Japan)

The number of teenage prostitutes began to climb around 1974. By 1984 the number reached alarming levels and is still increasing. National Police Agency statistics for 1995 show that 5841 female minors were involved in telephone club liaisons or other sex-related activities. One quarter of these
girls were still in junior high school.

One third of all reported cases of prostitution in Japan are teenagers, who are female high school students or junior high school students. They are called “Enjo kosai” which is the euphemism used in Japan for the prostitution of teenage girls. A middle age man (about 40–50 years old) will date a girl young enough to be his daughter. They get to know each other via “terekura” (telephone club, that is a kind of pink phone, very popular among teens girls to make some pocket money). These men might go to the restaurant and have a chat, or go to the cinema, or the hotel.

Girls always get money from men in exchange of their company. They also get presents from them (sometimes very expensive). Lot’s of these men like girls in school uniform. With the long falling white socks, a pure Japanese fantasm. They say girls who actually sell their body are more numerous than we would expect. Some surveys say as much as 10% of girls between 15 and 25 do it. They can get ¥30,000 (10909 rupee) for a “uri” (literally. sale, which is of their body), in less than an hour, much better than a student job at Macdonald that makes only ¥700 (Rs.233) or ¥800 per hour. That explains how they afford their Louis Vuitton and Chanel bags, clothes by Gucci and Versace or even a Bulgari watch at 2 millions yen.

The money is a significant appeal. Girls brought into police custody from a 1994 police round-up of several date clubs said that they were not poverty-stricken, but wanted the money to buy expensive clothes.

In Japan nowadays the department stores and other shops are full of brands from France or Italy. Prada bags, clothes, Chanel bags, purse, key ring, Feragamo shoes, bags, clothes, Versace clothes, Hermes watch, blouse, Christian Dior lipsticks and other cosmetics… Most of Japanese women like to have brands and generally have some of brands, which are very expensive but durable. Their design is beautiful. In European countries the high-class used to buy them. But in Japan the majority of young and old women in the cities prefer to buy brands, so do high school and junior high school girls. They are surrounded brands which they want. Students cannot buy expensive brands by their part-time jobs easily. This is one of the reasons why “Enjo kosai” take place. The girls doing Enjo kosai are doing it as if a part-time job. (But I also know that mostly female and male university
students buy one brand bag or what they wanted or spend money on their school club activities and traveling after they worked part-time for many days during their holidays and saved money).

1  **Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey**

According to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government survey of 110 high schools in Tokyo in 1996 summer by mail, 4 percent of high school girls confessed that they had experienced "Enjo kosai".

The Congress of Parents’ and Teachers’ Associations surveyed 2400 third-year students in Japan. 16.7 percent of girls answered that they did not have opposition to “Enjo kosai.”

2  **Survey by a Japanese journalist**

Ms. Tomoko Ooji, a journalist surveyed had 100 girls wearing the school uniforms replied to a questionnaire on the street in Shibuya for two days on Sep. 21 (Sun.) and 24 (Thurs.) in 1997. The reason why the girls were wearing the school uniforms even on Sunday was that they were picked up more easily by men. Ms. Ooji was surprised that 16 girls had had experienced "Enjo kosai." 12 of 16 girls had experienced only dates without involving sex.

Their pocket money from parents averaged ¥6712. The expenditure only for cell phone and beeper averaged ¥9200. Ms. Oji wondered how they could buy their clothes and brands. Almost all of them answered that they had a part-time job. 84 girls who had not experienced "Enjo kosai" answered it would be dangerous or be disgusted. (Ooji 1998:150–158)

An unemployed girl called the number of telephone club written on free tissue from her house on account of her friend, "I am looking for a man who will accept Enjo Kosai. If you want, please leave your profile and the desired amount to this message. I want from 3(¥30000) to 5(¥50000)." Within a few minutes 5 or 6 men replied her message. And she and her friend, a senior high school student chose the man whose voice was the kindest. "I am salary man of the 30th. I can accept your desired amount. The number of my cellular phone is ……… Please contact my number." The high school student replied him, "Can I seen you today?." She appointed the rendezvous and after one
hour, she called the man near there and the man wearing suits took out his cellular phone. She could confirm the man. "I am sorry I want to change the rendezvous in front of the convenience store. She confirmed the man was not a gangster and corrective training man. And she approached him and said, "Are you the man who left the message?" "Yes, did you call me?" "From ¥30,000 to ¥50,000." "Ok." She followed after man toward the hotel district. The man looked back to her, showed her his police officer's ID and said, "Do you know this is prostitution?" And she was brought to the police station in Osaka. She (19), a public high school student and her friend were exposed by the charge to inducement of violation of the Anti-Prostitution Law in 1997 March. Normally by this kind of case, only the man is punished and the girl is guided as the victim.

But the teenage prostitution has rapidly increased nationally and 66.2% of the girls guided by sexual deviation under 18 years old are junior or senior high school students in 1996. The Osaka Police wanted girls to know "Enjo Kosai" are both prostitution and crime and planned to expose even girls who looked for the customers in 1997 January. This case was sting operation. Anyway she wanted her pocket money. She was brought up by her mother. But she had to remain in the same grade and won't graduate from school. She could not ask her mother to pay school expenses for another year and started to work at the snack bar. But she could not earn more than ¥10,000 because of her latecomer and absentee.

She had the cellular phone and beeper and needed from ¥20,000 to ¥30,000. She wanted money to eat with her friends and buy her clothes. She could not ask her mother more pocket money. She wanted to solve her problems for herself. Then I remembered Telephone club and wanted to earn money by "Enjo kosai" by which she could earn much money quickly.

This was not the first time to seek the man for "Enjo kosai." One month ago she looked for the man of the 30th through the telephone club and went to the hotel to have sexual intercourse and received ¥35,000. She had already had sexual experience then but felt sick to a man. But she got money from the man for the first time. She spent ¥35000 on her clothes quickly. (Ooji 1998: 54–60)

Several distinct societal factors have contributed to the outbreak of teen prostitution. The mass media stimulate desire. Many ordinary magazines for
Japanese women and girls in their teens are full of advertisements of brands. Girls are especially stimulated their material desires.

At the same time, Japanese are exposed the vast amount of the pornography every day. In Japan the photos of naked women even in the first-rate newspapers in Japan like "The Times of India" or "The Hindustan Times" in India are sometimes seen. Japan was the world's biggest producer of child pornography. 1000 illegal pornographic tapes are produced in Japan every month. 19.3% of Tokyo high school boys are interested in using the Internet to access pornography. Pornography can be accessed through computer networks.

In November and December 1997, a survey polled 1928 high school and university students as well as 1244 parents of high school students in Tokyo, Osaka, Mie, Fukuoka and Okayama Prefectures. Of students who have used the Internet several times:

Of students who have used the Internet several times, 51.1% of male university students and 46.2% of male high school students have accessed pornographic material on the Internet. 4% of female university students and 8.2% of female high school students have accessed pornography.

Of students who said they knew of the Internet, 80% responded they were aware they could access pornographic material. 57.8% of male high school students and 30.4% of female high school students said it was acceptable to look at pornographic material on the Internet.

According to the government, during the year there were 1582 sex-related crimes associated with Internet dating club. Child prostitution and pornography cases in which police apprehended suspects increased to a record 2229 incidents, an 8.8 percent increase compared with 2006.

TV which Japanese children watch every day also shows sex scenes, violent destructive scenes in the daytime and in the evening. New technologies also made communication easier. Today we can contact with anyone secretly by using a beeper, a portable telephone or a personal computer. There are many girls who call a telephone dating club just in fun and only to make fun of lecherous middle-aged men who are waiting for a telephone from a girl in a telephone dating club.
As the result of the data which the police recorded in" the police white paper " about the causes of girls guided by the sexual deviation, their "curiosity" was the highest motive about 40% in 1984, 88 and 92. But "to get money to play" is the highest about 50% in 1996. Recently "to have luxurious things and brands " is overwhelmingly the highest motive. Ms. Ooji, journalist reports that those motives are not true for every girl and introduces the case of a 15 years old girl, who was a senior of the public junior high school student. After she ran away from home due to complicated family circumstances, she had sexual relations with about 30 men to get the sleeping place and earn the money for food.

She ran away from home without money because she was scolded by her parent whenever she was playing with her friends and came home late at night. When she was walking downtown, she got the tissue paper on which was written the free dial of the telephone club. She had had the knowledge from the magazine or my friend that the man would bring her the hotel and give her ¥20000 or ¥30000 if she called the telephone club. As she did not have the place to sleep, she called the club for the first time. When she was 14 years old then, she began to tell a lie that her age was 17. As the telephone was free, she called several times and could meet a man.

He said that his age was 20 on phone. She met him and had dinner with him. He looked kind. The next day he treated her curried rice. He was like her brother. Then she was asked to go to the hotel and had sexual relations with him. But he did not give her money. She also did not ask him money. After then she went to the hotel with men who picked up her and talked with her through the telephone club and they bought her food and underwear. Some men sometimes gave her ¥3000 or ¥10000 as a pocket money. Within three months, she went to the hotel with about 30 men. When she was guided by the Osaka Police, she only had a few thousand yen and condoms in her Boston bag and felt in desperation that she could have sexual relations with numberless men.

The Osaka Police discovered that she was introduced one man after another man among gangsters. The police arrested the leaders of the gangsters. And she went back home. (Ooji 1998:65–67)

She was being dragged into the abyss slowly by the gangsters. But it
was lucky for her to be guided by the police and to be able to come home.

Ms. Ooji reports that a sixteen years old girl was drugged to the eyeballs. She was picked up by a man on the street and went to his apartment house. When he sexed, he needed a shot of drug on her arm. She could not have forgotten drug since then. Though she was a high school student, she sold her body by calling the telephone club and bought drug. And she was arrested on a charge of drug possession by the police in Gifu prefecture.

Ooji introduces the case which the girl (12), a junior high school student in Yokohama in Kanagawa Prefecture, was killed by unemployed Junichi Hidaka (26) in 1995 November. As soon as she entered the junior high school, she started “a telephone club play” and came to know Hidaka living in Oita Prefecture in Kyushu in July and she visited his house in Oita. In September he came to see her in Yokohama. As she wanted to go to Kyushu with him, he brought back her to Kyushu. Her parents applied to the police for their missing daughter. Hidaka was living with his parents. She had lived with him in his house for two months till she was killed. Their parents trusted their children. As her parents believed their daughter blindly, they could not imagine that she had other men with whom she had associated on “a telephone club play” except Hidaka.

His mother urged her son to send her to her house, but she did not want to go back. He told a lie that he would show his house which he had lived before and brought her to Kobe in Hyogo Prefecture. He persuaded her to go back to her house there but was refused it firmly by her. He was angry and decided to kill her because he wanted to be released from her.

3 Japanese TV Star’s life until now

I will introduce a TV star’s life until now here to show one side of Japanese young girls whose family are usual in the society. (She was very popular, but suddenly retired from the world of show business recently.) Ai Lizima (then, 28) wrote Platonic Sex (2000). This book was at the top of the best seller list for a while, six editions within one and a half month.

“Her father maintained very strict home training. Her mother often wore kimono at home and an obedient wife and an ideal wife. She wants
her daughter to be a bright and polite, in a word, an ideal daughter. Her mother repeated her 'Study for you and for your future.' She took lessons in various arts almost every day after school. She had private lessons of the piano, an abacus, calligraphy and halberd. Her father bear her palm by a ruler whenever she lost her concentration on her study or her posture was not straight when she sat in front of her desk. Then she ran away from home. She started to live with her boyfriend and sniffed paint thinner. When she was sixteen, she started to work for the snack bar and earns ¥10,000 per day. Then she became a club hostess in Roppongi with ¥27,000 per day. She moved to the rented house. The rent was ¥138,000 and bought top brand things one after another. When she was seventeen, she became a hostess in Ginza. She worked for four hours from 8 P.M. to 12 A.M. and ¥40,000 per day. She earned money for playing. She did not like working 'golden time' from 8 P.M. to 12 A.M. According to her book, she had 'charitable relations' (to sell her body) with a middle aged man who paid her ¥3,000,000 and other men.

Then she became an AV (adult video) star with ¥10,000,000 as contract money. She had wanted to study in New York. When she was eighteen, she could go there. She had orthopedic surgery of her breasts and became a popular TV star. She says that she was backed up the times. She just did what she liked to do. She had lived only for her pleasure of the moment in her teens and had misunderstood how to show her personality.

Her life is one example of some young Japanese girls' lives. She made her story public and did not come under attack. What did it mean that she won popularity among young people?  

A new law in 1997

There are the rising trend of violation of the Anti-Prostitution Law, emergence of new sexual business along with the degeneracy of sexual morality frequently referred to as commercialization of sex in the getting of the pleasure-seeking climate of society and victimization of minors. In big cities, many obscene pictures of nude women

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are posted on telephone booths and in other public places to solicit the public for prostitution. Offenses relating to new type prostitution are committed one after another in Japan. Under such circumstances the government authorities concerned are now intensifying education of the public on the need for abolition of prostitution through effective application of the law.

In Tokyo, for example Kabukicho in Shinjuku small space has innumerable sex "facilities"; strip theaters, peep shows, "soaplands," "lovers' banks," porno shops, sex telephone clubs, karaoke bars, clubs, etc. It is full of allurements.

Tokyo has introduced measures to combat the rising trends of teenage girls selling sex to older men through 'telephone( chat) clubs. It is now illegal to put up posters and fliers advertising the clubs within 200 yards of school and also for any such establishment to let girls under 18 inside.

A new Japanese law went into effect on 16 December 1997 making paid sex with a child under age 18 a criminal offence. Until then, there was no punishment for the clients of prostitutes. Anyone who pays for sex with anyone under 18 will be liable to up to a year's jail term and a fine. Prior to this law sexual contact with children under 13 was illegal but relations with a teenager aged 13 or over was allowed, unless coercion was involved.

Kenichi Aitani, 44, a Buddhist priest, was the first man charged under a 1997 law that made it illegal to buy sex from someone younger than 18. He was charged with paying a 17-year-old girl for ¥24000 ($185).

Whatever new laws we have, however, Japanese society sets many new traps fit the modern age for catching girls.

It is generally easy for Japanese men to buy women's bodies, even teenage girls. Japanese men, who declared proudly the false tradition that "Nomu" (drinking), "Utsu" (gambling) and "Kau" (whoring) are "Otokonokaishou" (the excellences of men) till recently, do not feel it sinful or shameful. And they (the tips of the iceberg) are arrested and their names, ages, offices, the amount they paid the girls under 18 to buy sex are come out in the open on the newspaper.
(7) Sex tourism (tour)

I have rarely heard sex tours since the Japanese bubble economy burst. As I mentioned above, the investigation made by women's group in Tokyo in 1998, 81.3% of places of buying sex were soaplands. 28% were the places. Japanese men travelled by sex tourism to foreign countries, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and the Philippines.


Its title was "A Wife Who Cannot Stop Her Husband Going To Buy Sex."

Nokyo (Farmers cooperative) has taken sex buying group tours in Taiwan for ten years. Though she requested her husband not to join that year's tours as a staff member of Nokyo, he felt obliged to participate in sex tours. If he did not attend, he said he would be ostracized and made to feel ashamed for giving into his wife's demand. When she asked him to take an AIDS test on his return from the tour, he refused. She concluded the letter sent "the Asahi Newspaper" by saying "Isn't there anything that a wife can do about sex tours except saying ,"Safe journey, take care! while handing her husband a package of condoms?"

And many Japanese wives overlook their husbands' whoring by their silence.

Some of men used to have sex tours to buy teenage girls and women in foreign countries insolently say that they buy women to help poverty for the developing countries. If they go there by sex tours, a large crowd of women gather to sell their bodies in the hotel. The late Yayori Matsui, a journalist, used to say "If men really want to help such teenaged girls and women, there are many ways except whoring. I doubt if such men can respect women whom they buy."

(8) Non-Japanese women

Though Japanese men constituted the largest number of Asian sex
tourists, over 150,000 non-Japanese women are in prostitution in Japan, mostly Thai, Filipino and Russian women. They generally come to Japan under the pretense of sightseeing or studying to avoid the stiff immigration laws in Japan and get jobs as waitress of cabaret, dancer or prostitutes which are provided through the arrangement by brokers. In most cases crime syndicates have their bands for the purpose of raising funds and commit acts of exploitation of prostitution of female juveniles or foreign females.

As cases of trafficking in persons are recently increasing in Japan and women and children are brought to Japan from abroad for the purposes of sexual exploitation and forced labor, lawyers, researchers and about 10 NGOs, who had been working to protest human rights of women and foreigners, started "the Japan Network Against Trafficking in Persons," a national organization to combat against the situation on October 18, 2004. The Network aims to clarify the actual situation of trafficking in persons and enact a "Law Against Trafficking in Persons," which will include provisions on prevention, protection and rehabilitation of victims, and punishment of traffickers.

On June 16, 2005, the House of Representatives unanimously passed the bills to receive the Penal Code and the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law at its plenary session, making them into legislation. It was legislative actions for ratifying two protocols of the U.N. Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Under the revised Penal Code, those who buy humans would face imprisonment for between three months and five years. Those selling humans would face a jail term of between one and 10 years. Heavier punishments are stipulated for buyers of humans in some cases. Those who buy minors face three months to seven years in prison.

Buyers for such purposes as profit-making and obscene acts and removal of organs face a one-to 10 years jail terms. Those who transport victims of abduction and human trade to other countries face two or three years of imprisonment. Under the revised immigration law, a clause was created to protest victims of human trafficking for such purposes as prostitution. Even if such victims have overstayed their visas, they are exempt from deportation. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial Association 2005:No.94,1)
Geisha in Tokyo

Geisha show a part of Japanese culture now. The word geisha consists of two kanji, “gei” meaning “art” and “sha” meaning “person” or “doer” The most direct translation of geisha into English would be “artist” or “performing artist. They are trained in a number of traditional skills such as Japanese classical dance, singing, playing instruments such as the Shamisen (a three-stringed instrument), Ikebana (flower arrangement), wearing kimono, conversation, alcohol serving manners and more. Geisha continue to study and perfect these skills throughout their careers as geisha.

A successful geisha must demonstrate beauty, grace, artistic talent, charm, perfect etiquette, and refinement. They wear elegant kimonos and beautiful white make-up. Only guests with a long time connection with an ochaya, the tea house (in Kyoto) and a ryotei of Karyuka (in Tokyo) are allowed. A ryotei is a traditional Japanese restaurant in Tokyo and Karyukai is the elegant, high-culture world of geisha; the word’s literary meaning is “the flower and willow world.”

And a teahouse in Kyoto and a ryotei of Karyukai in Tokyo do not take on a new client (an ichigen-san, a chance customer or stranger) even if he can afford it without an introduction. A prospective guest must be invited by someone already acquainted with the teahouse or the ryotei. Women can be guests there.

For example, some hold the membership parties with geisha anyone can participate in and lunch parties for ladies, while the regular guests are also well treated. Others are geisha performances at the theater and outdoor such as Japanese dance under the sponsorship of Karyukai and the festivals & the festivals & annual events in local area. The common Japanese will be more opportunities to see geisha and their performances other than at a ryotei.

The profession of a geisha is a very expensive business especially and a geisha party can easily cost thousands of US dollars. The total number of geisha in the 1920’s was 80,000 in Japan, but today the number of geisha has dropped to 10000 due to the westernizing of Japanese culture and
demand and the improvement of the status of Japanese woman.

In the past, two primary images, Mt. Fuji and Geisha have been associated with Japan in the West—Mt. Fuji and Geisha. Today, however, the country is more likely to be associated with the brandnames of technological products. The westernization of Japan, which has accelerated since World War II, has changed Japanese society considerably. It is now rare to come across traditional dance or music in everyday life, and Japanese women wear kimono on special occasions, such as New Year’s Day, Coming-of-Age-Day ceremony, wedding reception, etc., less so by men than by women. Most Japanese wear Western-style clothing in daily life. The younger generation is more interesting in the piano or guitar than traditional Japanese instruments, likewise their music of choice is likely to be yogaku (western music), rather than hogaku (traditional Japanese music).

Geisha cannot refuse to serve alcohol to men at a geisha party. But if a man generally asks a woman to serve him alcohol at the office party, it will be treated sexual harassment to a woman.

② Are geisha prostitutes?

Geisha are frequently depicted as expensive prostitutes in Western popular culture.

“Today they seem respectable enough in fact there is a powerful geisha PR lobby driving home the point that geisha are not prostitutes with such insistence that even the most out-of-touch Westerner must have got the message by now.”

Geisha are entertainers, their purpose being to entertain their customer by reciting verse, playing musical instruments, or engaging in light conversation. Geisha engagements may include flirting with men and playful innuendos. Clients, however, know that nothing more can be expected. In a social style that is uniquely Japanese, men are amused by the illusion of that which is never to be. Geisha are not engaged in enforced paid sex with clients especially after the Business Affecting Public Morals Regulation Law

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of 1948; "Fuzoku eigyo torishimari ho" (amended in 1985 and 1999).

*Geisha* have sometimes been confused with the traditional high-class legalized prostitutes called *oiran* in the Edo period (1603–1867). Like *geisha*, *oiran* wear elaborate hairstyles and white make-up. A simple way to distinguish between the two is that *oiran*, as prostitutes, tie their *obi* (sash) in front. *Geisha* tie their *obi* in the back in the usual manner. During the Edo period, prostitution was legal and prostitutes such as the *oiran* were licensed by the government. By contrast, *geisha* were strictly forbidden from holding a prostitution license, and were officially forbidden to ever have sex with their customers. (See about Japan in the next chapter.)

During occupied Japan after World War II, many Japanese prostitutes marketed themselves *geisha gals* to American GIs as I have mentioned earlier. It is said that these prostitutes became known as "*geisha girls*" and carried the image of *geisha* as prostitutes back to the United States.

3  **Geigi and Shougi**

The Anti-Prostitution Law passed by the Diet on May 21, 1956. There were *geigi* (*geiko*) in Kyoto (*geisha* in Tokyo) and *shougi* in almost every Hanamachi or Kagai (flower town) till the first period of 1956. (See the below concerning *geigi, geiko, geisha* and Hanamachi.)

*Geigi* and *geisha* sell art and *shougi* used to sell their bodies. They were recognized as two different profession. But they are often confused.

4  **Onsen geisha**

Also, *geisha* working in *onsen* (hot spring) towns such as Atami and Yugawara — etc. are called *onsen geisha*. *Onsen geisha*, who are prostitutes that have co-opted the term *geisha*. Prostitutes wear the bow of their *obi* or sash in front of their *kimono*, but *geisha* wear their *obi* at the back.

*Onsen geisha* have been given a bad reputation due to the prevalence of prostitutes in such towns who market themselves as 'geisha.'

In contrast to these 'one-night geisha,' the true *onsen geisha* are in fact competent dancers and musicians.
It is appropriate for geisha to have a patron (danna), whom she is involved with emotionally, economically, and sexually, however it is up to the geisha whether she wants one or not.

A geisha and geiko who sleep with customers easily are called "Makura (pillow) geisha," "Mizuten (all available) geisha" and "Korobi (tumbling) geisha."

From a maiko to a geiko (geigi) in Kyoto

Kyoto is considered by many to be where the geisha tradition is the strongest today, including Gion, Kyoto.

The geisha in these districts are known as a geiko, a word from the Kyoto dialect. A geiko in Kyoto is often called geisha in Tokyo. The "geigi" is often used as an official name of the "geiko."

To become a geiko (geigi), she had to be the daughter of a former geiko or accepted by an ochaya, a teahouse before World War II and usually beautiful little girls who were orphaned or from poverty-stricken families were sold to an ochaya by relatives. Today, however, no one becomes a geiko as a result of poverty and a geiko chooses her profession of her own free will.

Most of modern young girls who want to be a maiko (literally means "dancing girl" but is usually translated "trainee geisha" or "apprentice geisha") or geiko come to the okiya (the lodging house) in Kyoto from other parts of Japan without experiences to practice Japanese dance and traditional Japanese music. They come with yearning to become a maiko and a geiko. Some of them access into Website first.

The okiya is a kind of show business production to teach young girls artistic accomplishments and customs, prepare kimonos and send a maiko and a geiko to the ochaya. They live in the okiya. The okasan or okamisan ("mother" who runs the house, the okiya) live with them and a maiko and a geiko before independency and teach them even ordinary decency as well as artistic accomplishments, customs and Kyoto dialect patiently in daily life. After they practice them for about one year, they will come out as a maiko or
a geiko. During one year, they have to master Kyoto dialect, how to wear komonos or promises in the traditional society.

As a maiko used to do up their own hair, she has to become accustomed to such a hair. A geiko or geisha wear a wig of Japanese hair style. The costumes of maiko and geiko are different. The costumes of maiko place a special emphasis on prettiness and childishness. Their obi (sash) is five meters, which are tied hanging long at the back to look beautifully from the behind. It is said that the costumes of maiko were the same as the costumes of city girls in Kyoto in the end of Edo Period (1600–1868).

Traditionally the okiya (some okiyas work combined with the ochaya) would invest a lot of money to train these girls and dress them in brightly colored kimonos. In the ochaya, the okasan or okamisan taught the girls like the present-day. They performed various chores while observing the geiko. When they reach a certain level, the girls become “maiko” (15–20 year old girls) which are apprentices to geiko. This word is made of the Chinese character mai meaning “dancing” and ko meaning “child.” It is the maiko, with her white make-up and elaborate kimono and hairstyle, that has become the stereotype of a “geisha” to westerners, rather than the true geisha. It is said that there are only 55 maiko in Kyoto now. In present Japanese society as a whole, where women have more opportunities than ever before, most young women do not consider the life of a maiko an option. Even some ochaya families advise against it because of the difficulties of the life. In Tokyo the words “oshaku,” “hangyoku,” or “hinagi’ for “maiko” in Kyoto are used.

A maiko accompanies a geiko on her appointments to learn and become accustomed to the job. Usually at the age of 20, a maiko girl decides if she is going to become a geiko. If she gets married, she must quit.

The initiation ceremony

The initiation ceremony is called “erigae” or “erikae” and means “changes of collors, namely, “Hangyoku” or “hinagi” become “geisha” in Tokyo and “maiko” become “geiko” in Kyoto. This is called commonly “mizu–age.” At one time this was when the collar of a maiko changed from red to white. Also, up until World War II, this was when a girl underwent mizu–age (defloration), a ceremony that revolved around the girl losing her virginity to
the “highest bidder.” This system was established in Meiji Period (1868–1912) when the admiration of virginity for women was generalized and the value to be virgin was soaring. The value of maiko, hangyoku and hinagi, therefore, went up and their garments became gorgeous.

If she had a danna, a patron, it was he who deflowered her. If not, the task fell to a mizu-age danna or erikae-danna, a man of rich and distinction, trusted by the okasan to treat the inexperienced girl considerately. There was no relationship between the mizuage-danna and her life thereafter. The word mizu-age originally meant the unloading of a ship’s cargo or catch of fish and later income from an entertainment business but which in this context was a euphemism for the maiko’s defloration. Without payment by mizuage-danna, it was difficult to pay the expenses when she was “maiko” or “geiko.”

(The customs of a mizu-age danna or erikae-danna have disappeared lately. The modern girls come to Kyoto to become a maiko and a geiko by their own free wishes. They do not come weeping because of their parents’ debts. So they do not need to deflower their virginity to reduce their parents’ debts. But their garments (kimonos and sashes) are still so expensive that geisha cannot manage easily without a patronage, lover, or papa even now.)

More often than not, a danna is not only much older than his geiko, but also married. However, there are cases of dannas who are bachelors and who marry their geisha. (In fact I also know men who married geiko.) If this happens and her nenki (a term of service) still has time to run, he has to take over all her outstanding debts to the okiya. He can wait until the end of her service period, in the meantime continuing to pay her hanadai (time charges) in order to meet her. Occasionally, when a patron wishes to marry a geisha but is reluctant to do so while she belongs to the profession, the okasan will arrange for her to be adopted by a family outside the hanamachi (the area of Japanese cities where the geisha and maiko and geiko live and work).

If a patron wishes to break off his relationship with a geiko, he consults the okasans of both the okiya and ochaya. This process is called the mazu, which refers to the one-off payment he must make to the geiko. The original meaning of the word is not clear. The okasans discuss with the danna the amount of the mazu, which the geiko receives through them. In
addition, the *danna* must pay the monthly allowance for three months thereafter. In a case where the *geiko* wishes to break off the relationship, she also consults her *okasans*. Usually they will try to persuade her not to take this course of action, but if her mind is made up, they will inform the *danna*. If discontinuing patronage is the *geiko*'s idea, the *danna* does not have to pay *mazu*.

As a result of economic and social changes in Japan since World War II, fewer men are rich enough to become the patrons of a *geiko* and a *geisha* and some *dannas* have had to renounce their patronage on financial grounds. The decline in the number of *dannas* is also a result of the fast pace and complexity of modern-day life. Many modern Japanese men who may once have been interested in becoming a *danna* cannot be now be bothered with the complicated procedures and traditions involved. Japan has also experienced a big decline in interest in the traditional arts.

**The Japanese culture**

The importance of dance in the Japanese culture and the *maiko*, *geiko* and *geisha* most likely originate from ancient religious practices and *shirabyoshi*, female courtesans in the end of Heian Period (794-1185) and Kamakura Period (1185-1333). (See the next chapter about the origin of the *geisha*).

The nineteenth century saw the development of many of the dances that are now the most common dances performed by the *maiko*, *geiko* and *geisha* at both private parties and public events such as festivals. Dances such as the Miyako Odori and the cherry dances, dances that originate in the Japanese cultural value of Cherry Blossoms, arise out of the nineteenth century.

The use of the color red in dress and makeup is very significant to Japanese society. Red is denoted as a color of beauty and happiness. Red undergarments are thought to ward off menstrual pain and keep the female reproductive organs healthy and functioning. Red is also thought to be erotic to men. Geisha traditionally wear crimson lining under their *kimonos* (depending on season) as well as bright red lipstick made from safflower extract and red rouge, made from the petals of crimson flowers.

Until the Meiji period (1868-1912), *geisha* and other performers were known
to permanently stain their teeth black, the significance of which is not certain.

Geisha nowadays

The world of geisha was a culture that allowed Japanese women to be independent and economically self-sufficient, as they did not marry. Geisha are expected to be single women. Those who choose to marry must retire from the profession.

It is said that it was traditional in the past for established geisha to take a danna, or patron. A danna was typically a wealthy man, often married, who had the means to support the very large expenses related to a geisha’s traditional training and other costs. But this occurs even today as well. Because the costumes (especially kimono are very expensive).

Until quite recently, up to the beginning of the Showa period (1926–1989) nearly all marriages in Japan were arranged by the respective families of the bride and groom, with the main ambition being to preserve rank rather than securing the person’s happiness of the parties involved. It was difficult for young men from the middle and upper classes to meet women.

Under these circumstances, a rich Japanese man would typically come to have two women in his life, his wife and his loved one. It came to be considered normal for wealthy and powerful men to have liaisons with geisha. For an attractive girl whose family situation gave her little hope getting married for real, this arrangement could be attractive too. She could lead a better life than would otherwise have been possible and she could actually have a say in who she accepted as her patron.

Geiko and geisha women are not perceived as a threat to a marriage in Japanese culture. Traditionally, the wife and the geiko and geisha have completely separate roles in society.

While it is true that a geiko and geisha is free to pursue personal relationships with men she meets through her work, such relationships are carefully chosen and unlikely to be casual.

Five flower towns in Kyoto and the number of geiko and maiko

Even the modern geiko and geisha still live in traditional geisha houses.
called the *okiya* and *ochaya* (in area called "hanamachi" or "Kagai" (both mean flower towns), particularly during their apprenticeship. Many experienced *geiko* and *geisha* who are successful enough choose to live independently. This *hanamachi* (*kagai*) tends to be a very tight-knit community and good reputation of a *maiko*, a *geiko* and a *geisha* is not taken lightly. In Kyoto "*Gokagai*" (five flower towns) is used as the general names of five areas where a *maiko* and a *geiko* live and work and people frequent even now. Though in Kyoto there are six *kagai*, i.e., "Kamishichiken," "Gionkoubu," "Gionhigashi," "Pontocho," "Miyagawach," and "Shimabara" now, Gokagai are the areas except Shimabara. The high-class restaurant served Japanese food is called "*Ryoriya*" in Kyoto. In Tokyo it is often called "*Ryotei*.

The number of a *geiko* and a *maiko* in Gokagai in Kyoto was 1200 in Taisho Period (1912–1926). The number of *geiko*, *maiko* and *ochaya* (Feb. 28, 2007) is 196 (*geiko*), 77 (*maiko*) and *ochaya* (165) respectively. The number of the *ochaya* has decreased.

### TABLE 3.4

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Maiko</th>
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<td>548</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
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<td>2006</td>
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<td>71</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**The tradition's decline**

It is said that in the past times a *maiko*, a *geiko* and a *geisha* were

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probably the only profession in Japanese society which the women were consistently ranked above the men in the profession. They also allowed women to work into old age and because of the high cultural value on this preservation of traditional art and culture gave the women an inherent value and respect that they might otherwise be unable to obtain.

Young women who wish to be a *maiko*, a *geiko* or a *geisha* now most often begin their training after the junior high school or even high school or college, with many women beginning their careers in adulthood.

While the interest in *geisha* and their exotic appearance have spawned various popular culture phenomena both in Japan and in the West, a sluggish economy, declining interest in the traditional arts, the exclusive nature of "the flower and willow world," and the expense of being entertained by a *maiko*, a *geiko* or a *geisha* have all contributed to the tradition’s decline. Fewer and fewer men are willing to pay the high cost of the flower and willow world when other entertainers (hostesses) are available. For the Japanese girls it is much easier to become a Western-type entertainer, a hostess. It is possible that the Japanese women who used to become *geisha* who wished for independence and tried to get rid of the accustomed mother/wife role can find more opportunity for success in the office. A love for the traditional arts seems to be the most important motivating factor for women who choose to become *geiko* and *geisha* today. They should be respected as preservers of traditional art and culture. We should not see all *geisha* (*geiko*) (as many Western people do) as prostitutes.

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### Flower towns in Tokyo

In Tokyo Karyukai of Shimbashi, Akasaka Yoshicho, Kagurazaka, Asakusa and Mukoujima are well-known. Their areas are called "Rokukagai," six flower towns in Tokyo.

The *Ryotei* (high-class Japanese traditional restaurant) "Inagaki" in Yanagibashi closed a business in 1999 and Yanagibashi Karyukai was dissolved in the same year. *"Geiko,"* formally *"Geigi"* in Kyoto usually call *"Geisha"* in Tokyo. *"Maiko"* in Kyoto is called as *"Oshaku,"* "Hangyoku," or *"Hinagi"* in Tokyo.
TABLE 3.5

THE NUMBER OF GEISHA AND RYOTEI IN KAGAI (FLOWER TOWNS) IN TOKYO (2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shinbashi</th>
<th>Akasaka</th>
<th>Yoshicho</th>
<th>Kagurazaka</th>
<th>Asakusa</th>
<th>Mukoujima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geisha</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryotei</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Geisha and Ryotei has decreased and the Rokukagai (six flower towns) in Tokyo as well as the Gokagai in Kyoto fall into a decline. The marked declining tendency of flower towns are shown in all parts of Japan.

"society was changing. Japan was entering the modern world at an unprecedented pace. The men for whom geisha were an essential part of their lives were growing older. A new generation was coming into power which no longer understood or appreciated the gracious old ways. Gradually the number of geisha began to fall."

"Instead of showing off their connections and limitless expense accounts by hosting teahouse parties, powerbrokers took to entertaining in French restaurant or glitzy hostess clubs in the polish Ginza district or inviting their colleagues for a weekend of golf as a private golf club where the membership alone cost far more than weeks of weeks of teahouse parties. In the new world of big money, fads, fashion, schoolgirl prostitution, host clubs, and a bacchanalian world of sexual titillation, the geisha retired deeper and deeper into the shadows, jealously guarding

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their ancient culture."

Six flower towns in Tokyo and the society of geisha

Yanagibashi Karyukai dissolved in January, 1999 after the last ryotei "Inagaki" closed a business. There remained about 20 Yanagibashi geisha then.

1. Shimbashi Karyukai located in Ginza, the most popular downtown in Tokyo is outstanding among the Karyukai nationwide because of its high quality of the artistic accomplishments. It had rapidly flourished under the support of Meiji government officers, and committed itself to improve the artistic accomplishments in Taisho Period. It dates back to 1857 the Shimbashi Karyukai was founded. The year of 2007 is the 150th anniversary to commemorate the birth of the Shimbashi geisha. Shimashi is also known as one of the "Kagai" with ryotei getting the cream of the excellent Japanese architecture and serving the high quality Japanese dishes concentrate.

"Kagai" is a Japanese geisha district, the word's literal meaning is "flower town", where geisha re carry on the business of selling their art accomplishments.

Azuma Dance, the dance festival performed by Shimbashi geisha, is held at the Shimbashi Enbu theater for 4 days at the end of every May. It dates back to 1925 (in Taisho period) the grand opening ceremony of the Shimbashi Enbu Theater was held. Just after World War II, Marichiyo, a star of geisha, made a debut from Azuma Dance. Since then it became one of the national events attracting many fans nationwide.

(I watched Azuma Dance at the Shinbashi Enbu theater for the first time on June 1st, 2008. It was impressive.)

2. Akasaka Karyukai had once become popular among the military and flourished as the first class Karyukai along with Shimbashi Karyukai in Meiji Period. Post–World War II, it was favored by politicians and executives of giant corporations. With Akasaka losing its popularity, "the 2006 Akasaka Dance" held the first in 9 years triggered to invigorate Akasaka. On behalf of

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63 Ibid., p.214.
the Japanese Karyukai, Akasaka *geisha* performed at the Washington cherry blossom festival in 2007.

The supplement "the 100 beautiful Japanese women" of the January & February issue, the magazine "Bungei kurabu" issued in 1908 (Meiji period) inserted the photographs of 100 *geisha* chosen nationwide. *Manryo*, Akasaka *geisha* was chosen first by a sweeping majority of votes as the result of popularity poll by readers. She became an adopted daughter in the *geisha* house when she was eight years old. As soon as she made her debut when she was fourteen years old, she was the center of attention. Akasaka Karyukai became famous nationwide. But after four years (1911), when she was eighteen years old, she quitted geisha as her patron paid extraordinary money.

3. Yoshicho Karyukai located in Nihonbashi Ningyocho (the name of place, Yoshicho does not exist now), the center of economy is the oldest Karyukai among six *kagai* (flower town) in Tokyo. Geisha had been performing their skills around Yoshicho having flourished as a theater town in Edo period (1600–1868). Kawakami Sadayakko (1871–1946), a world-famous *geisha* known as Madam Sadayakko (I had already mentioned partly in INTRODUCTION) was a former Yoshicho *geisha*. It is interesting to read her comparison between the lives of women in Japan and America when she was on tour in Boston.

"You know the women of Japan are not esteemed as they are here. They (women in America) are not educated or given the opportunities which men have. All my life I have believed that women could do many things as well as men could they but have an equal chance….

And here I am, astonished more than I can ever tell you, at the value with which I see women regarded everywhere. At home, the woman makes every sacrifice and suffering for the man. Here the men love the women so they will suffer everything, do anything for them. At home the woman is nothing in society, here she is everything. I shall never forget how the American women are cherished by the men, and when I return to Japan I hope to have at least a little influence in making my
countrywomen a more important factor in the life of the nation."64

'Hamada ya” founded in 1912 is the only ryotei (a traditional Japanese restaurant) remaining in Yoshicho.Yoshicho was Motoyoshiwara, legalized red light districts in the early of Edo period.(See Chapter IV.)

TABLE 3.6

THE NUMBER OF GEISHA AND RYOTEI IN YOSHICHO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ryotei</th>
<th>Geisha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>About 300</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>A few</td>
<td>About 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Kagurazaka remains the most elegant atmosphere of kagai in Tokyo. In Meiji period (1868-1912), Kagurazaka had become popular among the intelligent as a secret entertainment spot because many novelists (Tsubouchi Shoyo, Ozaki Koyo, Izumi Kyoka, Souseki Natsume and Kafu Nagai) lived and loved Kagurazaka and Waseda University used to stand. Kagurazaka is often described in their novels. There is a definite trend to promote the Karyukai as an asset of Kagurazaka, through the revival of “Kagurazaka Dance” performed by Kagurazaka geisha and workshops about Karyukai held by the local NPO (nonprofit organization).

(I went to watch Kagurazaka Dance on April 5th, 2008. I was so beautiful.)

TABLE 3.7

THE NUMBER OF GEISHA AND RYOTEI IN KAGURAZAKA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ryotei</th>
<th>Geisha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>About 150</td>
<td>About 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the fifties</td>
<td>About 80</td>
<td>More than 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* On December 30, 2007, Mr. Shibuya, the owner of ryotei "Chigetsu" told me that two ryotei were destroyed by the fire in 2007. The number of ryotei became 6 at the end of 2007.

5. Asakusa Karyukai located in the back of Sensoji Temple Kannon do. It is the traditional kagai dating back to the latter Edo period. There are many annual events geisha participate in. Among of all, "Sanja Festival" held in the middle of May (the most exciting festival in Asakusa) invigorates the Karyukai. Asakusa Karyukai is the only Karyukai four Taikomochi(male geisha) belong in.

TABLE 3.8

THE NUMBER OF GEISHA IN ASAKUSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Geisha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>About 750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Around 1955</td>
<td>About 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>About 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>About 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>47 (geisha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 (Male geisha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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66 Ibid., p.72.
67 Ibid., p90.
6. Mukoujima Karyukai is famous for the biggest number of geisha and having many young geisha in Tokyo. Mukoujima Karyukai located near the eastern Sumida River hold several annual events (the seven deity tour on New Year, the cherry blossom festival in spring, the Sumida River Fireworks in summer) attracting people's attention to Mukoujima. Furthermore, the second Tokyo Tower will be built in Mukoujima in 2011.

Geisha are usually trained in the okiya (the lodging house) and work at the ryotei. The ryotei also serve Japanese food. In Mukoujima many ryotei work combined with the okiya, and cherish young geisha and recruit new geisha all the time. (Asahara 2007, pp. 6–105)

(10) Hosts

There is "Del–Heru" (Delivery – Health), a kind of Fuzoku (Public Morals) shops. Prostitutes of "Del–Heru" are delivered to the customers' houses and hotels for the sexual services. In Japan not only women but also men are working as male prostitutes of "Del–Heru." I hear that women to buy men are housewives, unpopular prostitutes, office workers...so on...

Though the number of "Commercialized Sex" for men is more than for women, we have a host club, which is similar to a hostess club, except that female customers pay for male company. Host clubs are typically found in more populated area of Japan, and are famed for being numerous in Tokyo district such as Kabukicho (200 shops) in Shinjuku, Osaka’s Umeda and Namba. Customers are typically wives of rich men or women as hostesses in hostess clubs or even some young girls.

The good looks are also the most important for hosts. If they become popular, they can have a chance to have very luxurious lives and become famous. (For this reason, one of my male university students was in deadly earnest to become a host). Hosts pour customers drinks and will often flirt with their customers. The conversations are generally light-hearted. Hosts are often an age between 18 and their mid-20s. While hostess bars in Tokyo often have men out on the streets getting customers to come into their clubs, hosts often go out onto the streets to find customers (referred to as ‘catch,’) but these are usually the younger, less-experienced ones.

A common look for a host is a dark suit, collared shirt like a gentleman.
Pay is usually determined by commission on drink sales. The base hourly wage is usually extremely low. Hosts who cannot increase their sales usually drop out. The environment in a host bar is usually very competitive, with tens of thousands of dollars offered to the host who can achieve the highest sales. When a woman is the host club first visitor, she can drink as much drinks as you want for ¥ 3,000 there. This is a trap. There are front and back payment. Back payment is presents (suit, car, huge cash) for hosts. The cost is limitless.

If a woman pays a large amount of money and/or if the host likes in return, the host can have sex with the client. A customer can choose a host from the album of their pictures in advance. Once a customer appoints one host, the same host meets the same customer. She has a higher chance of having sex than the host having sex with another customer. There are various terms for a host who has a sexual relationship with his customer, e.g. 'colourful love business', 'colourful love', 'colourful guy', 'pillow business' or 'pillow.'

The host will call and email his customers regularly to ensure their return. The host clubs serve from around 1:00 a.m., till 8:00 a.m. So the female prostitutes and hostesses can go on their way to their houses after their work. Female customers earn a lot of money (Any girls working in the shop "public morals" easily earn ¥1,000,000 every month but they come to be in prodigal with money. They are inclined to be easy victims by the professional hosts. If a customer is a office worker, the bad host asks her to work in the soaplands or other sex industries to get her earnings, I hear.