Abstract

In 1989, Japanese Prime Minister Uno Sosuke resigned his office because his geisha mistress publicly accused him of his stinginess and arrogance. He did not pay enough money which she expected. This sex scandals were covered by the foreign media as well as by the Japanese media and Japanese wives demonstrated that they were not complaisant as they once were in such matters. For the first time in Japanese political life, Uno's scandals showed that a married politician's association with a geisha could be criticized as womanizing. Because a liaison with a geisha has long taken for granted. Not only Japanese housewives but many Japanese women, particularly the young ones started asking why Japan was several decades behind its major western allies in giving women equal rights and freedom and in allowing women access to the top jobs. Many people thought a quiet revolution had begun. They say that it was so quiet that little has been heard of it since. But I have had an interest in such Japanese society and women's issues. A geisha belongs to the "flower and willow world", I only had vague knowledge to such a world in those days.

When I went to India at first in 1978, I had vague knowledge to Indian society as well. Then, the prime minister was Indira Gandhi (1917-84). In Japan we could not imagine the lady Prime Minister. Moreover in India I saw working women who had the final say in the government, in the university or in the office more than in Japan. But at the same time I came to know the cross section of Indian society that I could not think in
Japanese society. I had heard of "sati (Suttee)." The dowry (marriage portion) problem began to make a fuss in the Indian newspapers and the magazines. It was only in 1977-78 that the active actions against dowry murders were initiated, when the Mahila Dakshata Samiti, Indian Women's organization began to investigate and follow up these cases. In early 1978 they published the report, in which they revealed that many deaths that were disposed of as suicides or accidents were actually murders. I heard that the main reason for the quick spread of the anti dowry agitation was the middle-class women's distrust especially toward the police after the Emergency (June 25, 1975 - March 21, 1977). The dowry problem was widely publicized. The dowry deaths and dowry problems have been shown as the most important issues for Indian women since then. The practice of dowry has become more widespread in almost all strata of Indian societies.

In Japan dowry prevailed before 1945 especially among merchants and daimyos, but it goes without saying that we don't have the dowry problem now. Brides are not burnt by their husbands or in-laws in Japanese society. Murderers will be inevitably arrested by the police. Nobody in Japan can get away with such a crime. First of all in Japan we do not have the dowry system. I started to research the dowry problems and the status of Indian women. I began to think that the situation of Indian prostitutes were a summation of Indian women's problems and Indian society. Because Indian prostitutes are ranked as the lowest class women and objects of contempt particularly in Indian society.

On the other side, in July in 1987, I published the Japanese version of "Women at Point Zero" written by an Egyptian writer, Dr. Nawal El Saadawi. This book was written based on the real story of an Egyptian prostitute. Through this story, I knew how the usual woman, being left poor and alone, came to become a prostitute in the struggle for life. Through this book I knew that a prostitute was not a particular kind of women, and how she as a prostitute was suffering and struggling through her life, though I do not answer in the affirmative to her prostitute way of living.

In the modern Japanese society we cannot see women's problems under the cloak of an economic prosperity more clearly and vividly than in Indian society.

Asian or Western interest in Japan has grown consistently since World War 11, but
surprisingly little is known about Japanese women though I have often heard one word "Geisha." Through the comparative studies of Indian and Japanese prostitutes, I would like to research the status of women and societies in both countries.

Though I visited the red-light district in Bombay (Mumbai) several times, the place where I first interviewed prostitutes was G. B. Road, the red-light district of the capital in India in 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992.

I visited brothels and interviewed Muslim or Hindu prostitutes and madams, the owners of brothels. Then I interviewed men as customers and the man who was trusted by many prostitutes and madams in G. B. Road. He related Indian prostitutes through his activities. Then I interviewed prostitutes in Falkland Road and Kamathipura (the largest area of prostitution in Bombay) several times mainly in 1992. The Indian prostitutes' lives were much harder and crueler than I had imagined. Their living conditions and health status of women in prostitution are worse. Child prostitution in India is also cruel. But the world has ignored the plight of the girls and women in prostitution, the most underprivileged life until now.

**Chapter I : Indian Prostitutes and Case Histories in G. B. Road in Delhi**

In Mumbai (Bombay), I visited Falkland Road, one part of the Bombay red-light district. I could see many teen-aged prostitutes standing in front of the wooden huts with iron bars on the door which give them the appearance of cages. There are many children working as prostitutes in India and among them the incident of sexually transmitted diseases is of high rate. Recently the problem of AIDS has also arisen. To be precise, they are raped, because Indian Penal Code, Section 375 clearly underlines the fact that to have sexual intercourse by a man with a girl under fourteen years of age constitutes a rape.

According to the law, 63.30 percent of girls in the red-light district were raped; 2.14 percent of the girls had their first sex before they were 11 years old and even before they attained puberty, 10 percent had their first sex from 11 to 12 years of age: 33.58 percent
from 12 to 13: 19.29 percent from 13 to 14 and 4.29 percent when they were 14 to 15.

Mumbai has the world's largest and cheapest red-light district covering four square miles, inhabited by about 50,000 prostitutes according to the police and about 20,000 make prostitutes or Hijras (eunuchs often dressed as women). In India, there has been no census for the women in prostitution carried out nor has there been any other regular study by either the State or the national Government. The correct or nearly correct figures of the women in prostitution are not available.

The figures below are approximate according to IHO (Indian Health Organization in Mumbai) surveys conducted in some big cities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Approximate Number of Women in Prostitution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mumbai(Bombay)</td>
<td>10 Millions</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kolkata(Calcutta)</td>
<td>10.2 Millions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>6 Millions</td>
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"The Hindustan Times" (New Delhi edition) dated October 11, 1988 quoted the President of Bharatiya Patita Udhar Samiti (an association for the uplight of fallen women) as stating that there are fifty lakh (a hundred thousand, usually of rupees) prostitutes added to this figure every year.

In a recently published report titled "Human Bondage" (The Times of India <review>, January 22, 1995) Jean D'Cunha, quoting from a report by the Central Advisory Committee on Child Prostitution, estimates the number of Indian Women in prostitution at around one lakh (100,000), 15 percent of whom are less than 15 years of age and 24.5 percent between the ages of 16 and 18.

Other research on the traffic of Nepali women and girls into India points to around 5,000 - 7,000 young Nepali girls trafficked yearly into India, with their average age over the past decade falling from 14 to 16 years to 10 - 14 years.
"The youngest child in prostitution that we have encountered in Kamathipura was only 9," said Dr. Farida Lambay, vice-principal, Nirmala Niketan College of Social Working Bombay (Mumbai). Each one of these children is put through a process of seasoning. Most relent within 7 to 10 days under psychological pressure, beatings, rape, starvation, etc. says researcher, Jyoti Sanghera, in a paper on the traffic on Nepali women into India. A 14 year-old-girl once said that she had put up a resistance for three weeks with a cobra. She sat numb there for two days and finally gave in. Because of the continued increase in the rank of prostitutes, large number of whom carry on their business clandestinely and the prostitutes are neither registered nor licensed, reliable statistics are difficult to find. They are either sold into the trade or voluntary and involuntary drifters.

According to one report 86 percent join the profession due to poverty and want; 5 percent enter the profession voluntarily; 4 percent due to bad company; and 5 percent due to ill-treatment of husbands, in-laws or parents.

Though I visited the red-light district in Bombay several times, the place where I first interviewed prostitutes was G. B. Road, the red-light district of the capital in India in 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992 and the reason why I wanted to visit and talk with the prostitutes was that I wondered if their plight summed up the problems of Indian women and not only of Indian women but also of all women as I mentioned earlier.

1. G. B. Road Brothels and Prostitutes

G. B. Road is the center of transportation between Old Delhi and New Delhi and is lined on both sides with machine shops, hardware stores, drugstores and so on. Indian merchants gathered here from all over India. And G. B. Road is famous as the red-light district of the capital.

The first floor of the buildings standing close to get her is a shopping district and the second floor and third floor are brothels. After going up dark, narrow and steep stairs, there are small rooms. They are the working places and houses for women. In the building, there are many rooms like a honeycomb.
There are 5-6 prostitutes in a six-mat room. There are 10 - 20 prostitutes in a ten-mat room. One Madam in each room is in charge of the prostitutes in her room. At the corner of the room there is a small concrete room with a long one-person wooden bed. The prostitutes are waiting for the clients in the room. When she is chosen by a client, she and her client enter the concrete room and lock the door from the inside.

I interviewed the prostitutes, who were waiting for their clients and had just finished their work, madams, clients and pimps. I discovered that 80 percent of prostitutes whom I met were women who had children, divorced women or widowers. The new discovery was that many prostitutes in G. B. Road were Muslims.

2. Muslim Prostitutes

The population (Percentage distribution excluding Assam) by religion in India is Hindus 82.6%, Muslims 11.2%, Christians 2.6%, Sikhs 1.9%, Buddhists 0.7%, Jains 0.5%, others 0.4%, total 100.0% in 1991. The overwhelming majority in India are Hindus, so I was surprised to learn that many prostitutes told me they were Muslims. It is said that 90 percent of the prostitutes in Delhi are Muslims and 10 percent Hindus. Most of the Muslim prostitutes whom I interviewed were divorced women. They were suddenly divorced by their husbands without knowing any reasons or while they had a quarrel with their husbands, because of the Muslim husband's easy one-way divorce right by the Islamic religion. If Muslim women were divorced by their husbands and they cannot be accepted back in their parents' home, they have to face a more difficult time earning money than Hindu women. Because of Muslim "Purdah" system (the veiling or the 'palanquin system), Muslim women have less chance to study than Hindu women, though Purdah has lessened due to women's participation in the independence movement, education or necessity of women to work.

Muslim prostitutes I interviewed said to me, "I never went to school. I cannot read and write. If I had education...."

I have heard the same words directly from Muslim prostitutes. They were cheated and brought to the red-light district by men. They were cheated under the promise of
The Comparative Studies: Indian and Japanese Prostitutes and Society

marriage or getting good jobs in the city by men. There were women who were cheated by fake marriages and were being exploited by men. They were women who were sold by relatives when they were children. They were women who joined this trade voluntarily after their divorces. They said that they couldn't find another job because they had no education and their friends introduced them to this trade.

3. Case Studies of Muslim Prostitutes

A: Mala  Hometown: Bangalore

"My name is Mala. I have been here for 10 or 12 years. I am 35 years old. I want to go back to my home but these people (Malikin - owners of the floor) do not allow me to go out of here. They have kept me here as a prisoner. My husband left me."

"I have a father, brothers and sisters in villages. My mother has expired. My one daughter has also expired in the village. I have one son living in the village."

"I was told by someone that I would be given necklace, gold earrings, a car... and would be married to him. But I was not given anything and was sold in the Market. By this false promise of someone I came to Delhi. I always hope to go back to my home but these people never allow me to go out of this house. That's why I am crying. I do not have any freedom."

"My rates had been Rs.6 and after sometime it rose to Rs.12 and Rs.20 per person. And now Rs.25. But whatever the money I earn from the customers, these people (Malikin) snatch the money from me."

"Sometimes customers come but sometimes no customers come. Usually two to four customers come in a day. Sometimes up to Rs.100 or Rs.125 are charged to the customer. But I do not get even a single paisa."

"Usually we use condoms to prevent pregnancy but still if we become pregnant, we will go to hospital and have the abortion."

B: Maina  Hometown: Bangalore

"My name is Maina. I am 35 years old. I joined here around 14 years ago. I do not
have a husband and I do not have any children, either. My parents are no more. I have three sisters. After their marriages all the three sisters are with their husbands in Mysore and Bangalore. But I do not know about them and I do not care for them. I do not have brothers to take care of me."

"I came here by myself. I came here to do housework. I was not aware of the work before coming here. After some time I came to know about the prostitution work of this place. I do not do the prostitution work. I take care of the house and management work."

"We have five girls on this floor. This is the Kotha (House) of Ms. Nimmi Bai. There are around 30 to 35 girls downstairs. Today Nimmi Bai, the owner of this floor has gone to the court for some house problems."

"By escaping from the police only few people come to in a day. At night during three days even the dogs do not bark. In a day only four or five people come. Sometimes the police stand at the main gate and do not allow any customers to come upstairs and the police sometimes snatch the money from the customers and threaten them. Nowadays this business is not going well. That's why lots of the girls who have the children have gone back to their homes."

"Now we have exposed this prostitution business of ours to the government and told that this was the only source for us to earn for our living. So the government coming to know it, the police will not disturb us much and the police will only stand at the gate of the house."

"I like men. In the old days there used to be Muzras (dancers) in this room. But in these days, Muzra is not going on."

C: Mumtaz   Hometown: Bangalore

"I am 30 years old. I came here by myself. I was married, but divorced. My husband did not want to have divorce but I myself wanted it. I have delivered one daughter here. But her father is not known."

"I got married at the age of 12 years. I like to do this prostitution work. In a day two - three or four customers come. I charge Rs.50, Rs.60, Rs.100 or upto Rs.150. It
depends upon how much the customers can pay. Rich, poor and middle-class, all types of customers come here. Now the police do not cause a lot of troubles."

"For the family planning I do not use a condom. If customers ask, we give them condoms to use. My daughter is studying at Dehra Dun (Uttar Pradesh). I take pills not to have a baby. If I become pregnant, and if I like, I will keep the baby. Otherwise I will have the abortion. Till now I have never had an abortion."

"I came here for my own interest. I belong to Bangalore. My relatives or parents do not know about what I do. My mother is old and I do not know even whether she is alive or not. I have never returned home and even never tried to do. I keep on sending the money for education of my daughter."

"After I work for six or seven months, I will go to see my daughter. I will stay for four or five days at the hotel and spend the full time with my child. I will take my child for a picnic. Then I will come back here. I live here for my own interest and happiness."

"Whatever the income may be that I get here from the customers, I spend it on myself and save for the future. I do not give anything to the owner of this floor. I sometimes sing and dance. I do not have a license."

"I have an interest in money. So for me any type of a customer is welcome. I do not select the customers. I attend everyone. If a customer is poor, he gives me Rs.20. At least I can save these twenty rupees. Whatever money a customer gives me, I always accept it with happiness."

"We are afraid of sexual diseases. If we have some problems, we take medicine. We go to hospital for check-up. I feel a pain in joints and in the back. It is better to deliver a child than the abortion. Those who dare the abortion, even in their old age, they realize their faults for doing the abortion."

"I will work for one or two more years. As long as I am healthy and alive, I shall take care of my child and her education. I know many people. I have also saved the money and I will try to increase this money. So I do not worry about myself when getting old. If I spend a lot of money on my food today, then how can I save the money? I sometimes eat a chapatti with only sauce and chilli."
"I am illiterate. I had an interest in the dance. But nowadays I am short of breath when I perform the dance. There was the time when people are pleased with my dance performance they used to give me Rs.1000 or Rs.2000."

"In my life there has been no one I do like. When the customer says "I like you. I love you," I never believe these words. If this work is banned (stopped) by the government, I will feel happy."

"May I know why you are making researches into the prostitution?"

"In my room all the girls live for their own interest and happiness. There are around 20 girls in this room. All the girls here wear good clothes and eat well. Here both Hindu and Muslim girls are mixed. Even if my heart says "yes", I do not like to be taken a photograph of me by you."

When I was interviewing Mumtaz, I saw men (customers) in her room. I also interviewed two of them.

**D: One Customer with Mumtaz**

"I am a student and doing the diploma in electronics. I have made one sister (Mumtaz) here. I come here to meet her. I bring my friends here to have sex with these girls."

**E: Another man**

"We come here for the entertainment. I spend here more than five thousand rupees every month to present gifts to the girls or pay the money for sex with different girls."

"I am doing my auto parts business. I have one friend whom I love here. I will marry her even if my parents do not allow me to."

Many prostitutes have children. They are bringing up their children by themselves in these unhealthy circumstances. They are worrying about their children's future. They said to me, "If our children are brought up in these circumstances, our daughter will be prostitutes and our sons will be pimps."
They wanted to give good education to their children.

**F: Guddhi**  
Hometown: Bengal

(She is a Muslim. Though she is very charming and looks very young, she said that she was more than 25 years old.)

(Immediately after she finished her work, I interviewed her. She was in a sweat. Her customer was beside her.)

"My husband has died. I have delivered three children. I have two sons at home. One daughter has expired and I am carrying one (pregnant) now. I will deliver my baby in the hospital. My mother has expired and I have a foster father."

"My rate is Rs.25. But it depends on me as to how much rate I demand from the customer. From this customer with whom I have just finished I earned Rs.50. I give Rs.50 of my income to the owner of this floor."

"I attend daily to four to five customers a day. I do not like this work but my circumstances and problems force me to do this work. I go to hospital for check-up and bring medicines to prevent any venereal disease. I am above 25 and came here by my own. I was already doing this work in my village. I have worked for the last nine years or so. I do not know how long more I will work."

"I will do something because no one will care for me at that phase of life. I am a Muslim. These signs, what you see in my hand. I was burnt them. I choose my customers and I do not work with whom I don't like. One of my village girls had told me about this place. She also works here. When I visited her, she told me about this place."

"When customers say they like me or love me, I sense the hollowness of their words. I do not have anyone whom I like in this life. What will I get from the man even if I like him? He will only ask for money from me. I do this work for my children. I have no problems from the police. Policemen also come here for enjoyment. I am giving education to my children."

"I dream of filthy experiences because of the filthy surroundings and business. I am
anxious for neat and pious surroundings. I am not happy. After two or three years, I will quit this profession. My parents, as they are foster ones, do not take care of me. After delivering this baby, I will get operated for myself."

"I used to use the pill to prevent pregnancy, but I am pregnant now. I also use the condoms. I have never had an abortion."

"I have studied up to the fifth standard. I can also do other works and everyone recognizes me but now I am in this line."

"I visit the village to see my children. I have told the villagers that I am freshly married to someone in Delhi and am staying with him. Basically I do not like sex with men. All types of men come here. My two sons are 3 and 3 and a half years old and my daughter expired some five months ago. I am pregnant now. I was not divorced. My husband expired."

"My younger sister is 14 and is studying in the school. I will arrange her marriage and for this purpose. I am collecting jewelry, clothes, etc...."

"If I desire to stop the prostitution, I can do so without facing any problems. I have the freedom. The police know that I stay here by my own wish. I also charge the police when they have sex with me. I do not give them any discount."

4. Hindu Prostitutes in G. B. Road Brothels

In G. B. Road Brothels, Hindu prostitutes whom I interviewed were those who had dowry problems or widows. They were ill-treated by their husbands and in-laws and left their husbands' home. But they were not accepted by their parents who were greatly concerned about appearances. They did not have any place to go and were cheated by men, sold, and entered the prostitution world.

In India the status of divorced women or widows is very low. Among high castes, there prevailed a customary rite involving the "cremation of the living wife with the dead husband." People detest a widow as if she were "unlucky" or a woman who killed her husband. Her relatives forced her to follow her dead husband to his grave to their honor. They drugged her and pushed her into flames or forced her to become "Sati" by putting
her in chains so she could not escape. But widows who became prostitutes were saved from "Sati." Men have controlled women according to double standard. Raja Rammohan Roy (1774-1833) pressured Lord Bentinck (1774-1839) to abolish the Hindu practice of burning widows alive, or the sati rite, and it was abolished by regulation XVII of 1829. Even now there are some widows who want to perform "Sati."

The most recent "Sati (it means an honest woman)" was accused in 1987. An eighteen years-old wife, a Rajput woman Roop Kanwar was burnt alive on her husband's funeral pyre before a crowd of several thousand people, predominantly men. In India the husband should have exclusive and total control over his wife's sexuality. Pre-pubertal marriage was the surest way to make certain of it. Pre-pubertal marriage also transferred the responsibility for safeguarding the girl's sexuality from her male kin in her natal family to her husband and his agnates. Once married, total faithfulness was expected of the wife, and this was to be assured by the deification of the husband. Total control over her sexuality was not only for the duration of the marriage.

Virginity in brides was ensured pre-pubertal, and frequently, child marriages, while celibacy was required of the widow. She was disfigured by having her head shaved, and by forbidding to her the symbols of the happy and auspicious state with the husband alive, and her activities were restricted to the kitchen and to the ritual. She became a symbol of inauspiciousness and ill-luck. The death of her husband was attributed to the sins she had committed in a previous incarnation. In reality, it is very difficult even now for a widow as well as for the divorced woman to re-marry.

In such circumstances, the age of prostitutes in G. B. Road was rather higher, about 30.

5. Case Studies of Hindu Prostitutes in G. B. Road

G: Lakshmi  Hometown: Sitamari village
Dharbhanga Dist., Bihar

"I am 30 years old now. My parents died when I was young. My marriage was arranged by them. My husband did not like me and left me. I was not divorced."
"I married again to a man on my own wish. After sometime he also left me. I came to Delhi on my own wish. In Delhi I was told by a man that he would take me to my parents' house but instead he brought me here."

"I have delivered children here in this business. I have one son and one daughter but the father of these children is not known. I was pregnant five times here. I never took any medicine. I have caused the abortion three times. I have only two children. I do not take any medicine to prevent pregnancy." (It depends upon the girls to use medicines. If they like to deliver the baby, they do not take medicines. Nimmi Bai, the owner of one brothel in G. B. Road also says that it is not compulsory for girls to take medicines.)

"I charge Rs.20 per customer and out of Rs.20, I have to give Rs.10 to the owner of my floor. So 50% of my income goes to the owner of the floor."

"I do not like this work but because of my circumstances and problems I have to do it. I am unable to save any money for the future. Through my income, I have to take care of my two children and myself. So I am not left with any money to save."

"I do not know whether I was sold or not. Somebody told me that he would take me to my parents' place but instead he deceived me and brought me here. I was in Kotha No.57 before. Now I live in Kotha No.51."

"I will not deliver the child anymore. I cannot afford any education to my children because I do not have money and I cannot save money. I do not have parents. I have a married younger sister. I have uncles and aunts. They do not take care of me. They are not able to take care of their family, so how will they take care of me?"

"I have some man whom I like or love in my present life. Once I have experienced to love a man, so I do not want to have another chance to love someone."

"I do not like to have sex with men. But we have sex not because of our enjoyment but because of our problem. I delivered my two babies in the hospital,"

"I charge Rs.20 from each customer. No customer gives me more than Rs.20. How can I save money? I have to feed and clothe myself and my two children. If I ask the customers to pay more, they fight and lodge a complaint against us to the police."

"The police cooperate with the customers and enforce the customers to declare that
the girls were demanding Rs.300 and snatch the money from us. And under Sec.107 and Sec.151 of Goonda (hoodlum) Act, the police will arrest the girls."

"Some problems are always here. Sometime curfew or sometime not much business. Sometimes only one customer or someday only two customers come. Agents also take a commission."

**H: Shakuntala**

"Since we associated with Mr. Bhola, the police do not give much trouble. Because Bhola took action. Entire police staff of this area have been changed." "Nimmi Bai charges the girls 25 percent of their income. She has also instructed other Madams to charge only 25 percent instead of 50 percent. In this 25 percent of our income we pay the house rent, house tax, water, electricity, etc. When we went to hospital for the medical check-up for the prostitutes before, hospital people used to scold us saying why we produced the child and we don't need to come to hospital. But now we have also had the sanction of the Medical Superintendent for some special doctor recommended by Mr. Bhola."

I interviewed Mr. Bhola whom Shakuntala mentioned. He was trusted by Nimmi Bai, other Madams and many prostitutes in G. B. Road.

Mr. Bhola has a business of bike and automobile parts and a small shop in New Delhi. He said to me, "The prostitution must be continued. Otherwise young girls and housewives will be raped on the road by unsocial elements and goondas (rascals). I am fighting for the benefits of prostitutes...."

Some prostitutes I interviewed also said to me, "If it were not for the prostitutes, young girls and housewives would be raped." So they had an awareness of their duty.

What Mr. Bhola told me enables us to understand Indian prostitutes.
I: Indian prostitutes Mr. Bhola related through his activities

"From 1837, British period, the prostitutes used to have a license from the British government. Up to 1947 British government used to take care of their children and regular medical check-up. After medical check-up, government was giving the fitness certificate to the prostitute."

"In 1954 the government formed the committee and had the survey in 84 cities. The committee gave the report to the government not to stop the prostitution, otherwise young girls and housewives will be raped on the road by unsocial elements and goondas."

"I fight for prostitutes because they are the part of the society. If they did not exist, our entire national structure would become unbalanced."

"I served for the country as a freedom fighter. When I once passed through G. B. Road, I saw one customer fighting with the prostitute. I stood there. At that time the fee was Rs.12. The customer had only Rs.2 and gave Rs.2 to the prostitute. He had to give her Rs.10 more. Then I gave her Rs.10."

"The prostitutes are the neglected part of the society. They preserve the prostitution which dated back to the ancient times. Many countries in the world have allowed the prostitution. But if our government allowed it, people would say, "Shame. Shameful."

"No MP (Member of Parliament) or Minister raises this point in Parliament. In the darkness at night, they also use the prostitutes. 90 percent of the prostitutes are Muslims. Because Muslim husbands marry 4 wives and divorce them easily."

"There are 557,139 villages all over India Government should basically pay attention to the villages and should start small scale industries to overcome poverty. Five planning of Indian Government should start from villages."

"We have challenged the Sita Act made by the government."

"There are 86 kothas (brothels) in G. B. Road. The police take money from Malikins and earn Rs.450,000 a month."
Mr. Bhola reports the number of the prostitutes as the below.

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<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>72,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>1,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<td>Meerut</td>
<td>515</td>
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Mr. Bhola informed me of the fact that the number of the prostitutes increases 3 lakh (300,000) every year.

**J: Nimmi Bai**

She is a Madam, the owner of a kotha. She succeeded as a prostitute. But she does not know where she was born and who her parents were. When she was a small child, she entered this world. She was kidnapped and sold into the brothel by someone. When she worked as a prostitute, she came to love a customer and she delivered his son. He was a rich man and became her patron. And she could become a Madam. Her patron died and her son is studying in the boarding school far from Delhi now. She keeps quite a few prostitutes in her kotha now.

I hear that she has her own good house out of G. B. Road.

When I first met her in 1987, she was fighting on account of the prostitutes and their children with Mr. Bhola.

Later I heard she stood for Parliament, but she was not elected.

In 1992, I heard that she was arrested and she was in a prison because she was
involved a murder case.

Nimmi Bai was kidnapped and entered into prostitution. Some girls involved in the flesh trade are either lured or voluntary.

But the study of the mode of entry into prostitution, the process of victimization prior to initiation into the fresh-trade and the amount paid for women and children in India reveal that most prostitutes were so made by forceful and violent means. ( Rozario [1988] p.75 )

According to the survey of 1,100 girls, 753 of them (67%) have been forced into prostitution. 124 (11%) were lured and 241 were not known or irrelevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Entry into Prostitution (Rozario [1988]p.76)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mode of Entry</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Abducted/ kidnapped/ auctioned/ sold and resold</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Deceived and sold</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Sold and resold repeatedly</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Raped/ gang raped/ deserted/ forced</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Fake marriage/ raped/ deserted/ forced</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Conditioned by religious custom (Basavi/ Devadasi, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
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</table>

6. Prostitutes’ Income and Children

Mala in G. B. Road was sold and entered the prostitution world. Such a girl can hardly get money. But a girl who became a prostitute by her own will can earn money though a little income amount. I asked Mina about her life. She is about 30 years old. She
has three or four clients a day. One client usually pays 25 rupees. She sometimes works for as little as 2 rupees. After she earned 25 rupees from one client, she pays 5 rupees to a pimp, 5 rupees to her madam for the rent, 7 rupees 50 paisa to the policeman as a bribe and 7 rupees 50 paisa becomes her income. She and the girls are very cheap! She sends money to her two sons living in their village.

Lakshmi earns usually 20 rupees per man. Half of her earnings is her income. She has two children. She deplores that she cannot earn enough money to give her children and for their education. It is all she can do to feed her children and herself.

Through my interview I knew that Indian prostitutes had children whose fathers are unknown. They want to have children, so they do not practice birth control. They become pregnant; they deliver their children. Some prostitutes do not practice birth control at all. They say that they will cause abortion if they become pregnant. They say that 80% of the prostitutes are suffering from venereal diseases or AIDS. The campaign against AIDS is not being conducted in G. B. Road yet though it is active in Bombay. In India there are people who urge the legalization of prostitution, giving the prostitutes medical check-ups regularly, and at the same time there are people who are against such legalization. I think that the legalization will not help the prostitutions and will promote their exploitation.

In August 1989, the Delhi government introduced a system to adopt the prostitutes' children and give them an education. Of course, mothers welcomed this system because they did not want their children to grow up in the unhealthy circumstances and were eager to give an education to their children. Mr. Bhola and they requested the Delhi government to help their children. Mothers told me that they would endure even if they could not see their children so often. They wanted a good future for their children. They said that they wanted their children to be good Indian citizens. I also felt happy to have seen their happiness.

But in spring in 1990, I learned that mothers were not always happy to see their children adopted by the Delhi Government. Some prostitutes wanted their children back.
Because they felt lonely without them and started to worry about the days when they became old, feeling their children would not support their mothers in the future.

I know that the things were not so easy as I had imagined. At that time, some prostitutes deplored the fact that there was space on the certificate of their children, in which they have to write children's fathers' name. They wanted it to be improved, with only the mothers' name required.

As for fathers' name, I wonder, because we, Japanese also have to write fathers' name when we apply to Indian Embassy for a visa to go to India regardless of our age or anything. Then I am somehow repulsed and really feel that India is the patriarchy society.

Chapter II: Indian Prostitutes and Case Studies in Falkland Road and Kamathipura in Bombay (Mumbai) & the Devadasi System

1. Prostitution in Bombay (Mumbai)

In India, the most talked about the center of metropolitan prostitution is Mumbai (Bombay), the city of coexisting contrasts between acute poverty and extreme opulence. Mumbai city has a population of 9,926,000 (1991 census) in an area of 603 square kilometers. Over and above, a few lakh of floating population visit the city by trains, buses, cars and by air every day. Red-light areas are spread over in different parts of the city and the highest concentration is in Falkland Road, Foras Road, Kamathipura, Colaba, Bandra, Ghatkopar, Bhandup Sonapur, Mulund Sonapur, Nagpada, etc. Location of factories, docks, multistoried apartments, growth of markets, slums, etc. accounts for the rapid spread of brothels. Mumbai is one of the largest seaports in India where there is constant flow of sailors. The nearest to the seaports accounts for much immorality and prostitution.

SAVDHAN, a voluntary organization takes keen interest in the rescuing of women from brothels and in their rehabilitation. It had rescued over 900 girls belonging to the State of Tamil Nadu who were lured into prostitution in Bombay brothels. SAVDHAN
informed two lakh, or 200,000 prostitutes had crossed by the end of 1994 but the correct figure can not be assessed. SAVDHAN reported that about 30-40 percent of the total number are child prostitutes between 12 and 17 years of age. Thousands of women and girls from Nepal and Bangladesh operate as prostitutes in Bombay brothels besides migrants from different parts of India.

According to Dr. I. S. Gilada, honoraray secretary, Indian Health Organization (IHO)," almost all the suburbs in Bombay have some areas which are frequented by the locals. Migrants in the city account for 90 percent of the total population prostitutes. Dr. Gilada says that most of them "have been either abducted, sold by their parents and husbands or have been victims of rape and incest." Almost 25 percent of all prostitutes were abducted from their villages or home towns either forcibly or lured with promises of jobs in the city or marriage, by a procurer, normally a woman. There are nearly 15,000 children plying the trade in one area of the city, most of whom have been forced into the business through kidnapping, rape or incest by their own relatives.

What makes the children prostitutes more popular with customers is firstly the superstitious belief that coitus with a virgin cures venereal diseases, and secondly, the feeling that they are less likely to suffer from sexually transmitted diseases as compared to older prostitutes. Dr. Gilada says that about 90 percent of women living in inferior type of brothels suffer from sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, scabies, chronic pelvis infection, and majority of them are treated by quacks who inject colored water into the vagina for treatment.

Brothels keepers and pimps do not allow them to go out to the doctor for treatment for fear that they may escape; brothel keepers do not allow them to move out until they have succeeded in recovering 100 percent profit on their investment. There are no provisions in the government side to provide free treatment with the inmates of the brothels. They, however, get free treatment in governmental hospitals like any other citizens.

It is said that prostitutes in Bombay are divided into several classes and operate not only in brothels in red-light areas but also in private apartments, some richly furnished, air-conditioned, decorated and equipped with telephone, TV, blue films and
pornographic books, various kinds of alcoholic drinks and drugs. There are also call girls. They operate in hotels and private apartments and are available on telephone calls. Clients from affluent segments of society also frequent them. They are in great demand (especially in Mumbai) by foreign tourists including clients from the Gulf countries.

Social worker, Pteeti Patkar of PRERANA, a project of the Nirmala Niketan Institute of social work which operates in the Kamathipura area of Mumbai, one of the largest red-light areas where many prostitutes live says that women are driven to this profession by the acute poverty in their homes. She added that hundreds are disillusioned film aspirants from middle-class families and many married women become estranged from their husbands due to their ill-treatment and cruelty. Whenever there is a drought there is migration of women and girls from villages to the city in search for employment and they are seduced by procurers and end up in brothels.

The surroundings are filthy. Many of them take their food from roadside restaurants or their brothels. The sellers used to come there. They don't need to go out. But everything is available and sold in these brothels at higher prices than in the market. Each prostitute is forced to take 4 to 6 customers per night, mostly alcoholic, drug addicts and suffering from venereal diseases.

A prostitute generally pays 50 percent of all her earnings to the brothel keepers; 30 percent go to pimps, money lenders, the police… she is left barely with 20 percent to maintain herself in these filthy surroundings being left uncared for. Many children are born here and die without medical treatment or are strangled or poisoned to death by their mothers. They say that the cases of infanticide are very high in brothels and most of them are not reported. And besides abortions are high and in many cases women die due to their mishandling by quacks.

Most of the women do not use condoms because of the client's opposition who insist on sexual intercourse without condoms. This is the same as in G. B. Road in Delhi. It is also said that the woman often keeps working till the last day of her pregnancy and she does have little rest even she is ill or in measles.
Babies in brothels are generally kept under the cots, on which their mothers carry on their "business" and are fed with opium so that they do not cry and disturb the customers. (I have heard the same in G. B. Road in Delhi.)

Preeti Pai of PRERANA working in the Kamathipura red-light area in Bombay had implemented the plan to provide an all-night crèche so that the children could be kept away between 5:30 p.m. and 8:30 a.m. when they are not likely to get any maternal attention.

Children grow up in the anti-social elements of pimps, liquor vendors, drug peddlers, gamblers..., Very few of these children go to schools. Most of their mothers are illiterate. Some of mothers are not interested in their children's education. Even if others want to give the education to their children in reality they cannot do it. Mothers get up very late in the morning after a hard night's work and they can't feed and dress their children, and moreover, they are in no position to get the children off to schools.

If prostitutes belong to higher class they send their children to schools. But they are teased by the children from the normal families. They are taunted for their mothers' profession and their illegitimate births throughout their lives, even if they are able to receive higher education.

Sanjiv Madan, a High Court lawyer had filed a petition on behalf of the Patila Udhar Samiti (Women's organization) in the High court demanding among other things, an amendment of existing regulation so that "in all educational institutions and government offices, it is the name of the mother and not the father is accepted as a proof of parentage. Parentage is a matter of opinion, while maternity is a matter of fact" argued the lawyer.

Concerning sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), the red-light areas in Bombay is notorious. The Indian Health Organization (IHO) has reported that on any given day the affected population of Bombay is estimated at 36,000. IHO which has been advocating free medical treatment for prostitutes had come up with some astounding figures. I estimated that if each of the 10,000 prostitutes in the Kamathipura and Falkland Road area, where 90 percent of them suffer from VD had an average off-hour customers a day,
36,000 people could be infected with STD from them every day. Dermatologist, Chandrakant K. Jagaykar of Bombay (Mumbai) found that in the majority of cases the victims ranged in age from 12 to 25. He says, "What we find particularly alarming today is the apparent increase of VD patients in the younger and even teenagers."

2. Case Studies in Falkland Road and Kamathipura

I interviewed prostitutes in Falkland Road and Kamathipura (the largest area of prostitution in Bombay) several times mainly in 1992.

According to the staff of IHO, Bombay (Mumbai) has 40 percent of the country's full-blown AIDS and 35 percent of HIV (the Human Immunodeficiency Virus) carriers. Other cities such as Madras (Chennai), Madurai, Surat and Imphal have recorded a significant number of HIV carriers. The situation could be equally bad in Lucknow, Kanpur, Hyderabad, Pune, Patna, Visakhapatnam and Calcutta (Kolkata).

The first case reported in Bombay. She was a 32 years old former "Devadasi" turned prostitute. She died of multiple infections with Tuberculosis and Candida in 1987. According to the analysis of the data of over 800 women conducted by IHO based in Bombay (about 15 percent of them were below the age of 18 years) about 15 percent of the women entered prostitution through the "Devadasi" system, a system of dedicating the girls in the name of a goddess and later pushing them into prostitution. The Devadasi system is mainly practiced among untouchable castes (scheduled castes).

Two-thirds of the prostitutes whom I interviewed were from devadasis. They did not have any education and were very poor. They are selling themselves for a lower price than that of a glass of juice (Rs.35, Seasonal Fresh Juice, Orange or Sweet lime by Room Service, Rs.25, Canned Juice, Rs.14, Tea or coffee) in the Hotel Ambassador in Bombay which I stayed when I interviewed prostitutes in 1992. Their conditions are almost the same as those of the prostitutes in G. B. Road. I can say that Indian red-light district prostitutes are forced to sell themselves because of poverty or by force.
**K: Rasnin**

Her age is 26. She came from the state of Karnataka. She had been chosen as a devadasi before she was born. Her fate was seated before she was born. After several rites, she came to Bombay to work as a prostitute. She has worked for twelve years in Bombay. There are three devadasis in the Kotha in which Rasnin lives and works. Her madam was also a devadasi. Rasnin had two children whose fathers were unknown, but the children were dead. She has two or three customers a day. Her rate is Rs.20 or Rs.25. She pays Madam Rs.10 every day for her rental fee. She is afraid of having venereal diseases, so that she used to use a condom. She does not have any wish to marry. She told me that she did not become pregnant, even if she did not use a condom. She does not know the reason.

**L: Manimiya**

She is 19 years old and cheerful with a beautiful smile. She is from Bombay.

Her parents expired, but she has her sisters and brothers. She was misled by her friend and entered into prostitution. She has worked for four years as a prostitute. According to her feeling, she has three or four customers a day. Her rate depends on her customer, but is usually Rs.50. She spends fifteen minutes on one customer. She can choose her customer, but she says that her aim is only the money.

She is illiterate. She is free to go anywhere, but she does not have any place to escape to. She says that her Kotha is the sweet house. She sometimes works for the activities of IHO (Indian Health Organization) to teach prostitutes about AIDS and distribute a condom to them.

**M: Kamla**

Kamla does not know her age. She entered into prostitution twenty years ago.

Now she is a Madam and the owner of the brothel. Four girls work in her Kotha. Her father died of asthma. She has 6 sisters and 6 brothers and she is the eldest.

She was in the financial difficulties and visited her relative in Bombay. She got into
debt of Rs.1,000. She could not find a job and she had to become a prostitute to support her family and pay back her debt.

She has two or three customers. She says that they are lower middle-class men and she earns Rs.50 or Rs.100 a day. She underwent a sterilization operation. If she found a good job, she would stop selling herself.

**N: Lakshmi**

She does not know her age. Eight or ten years have passed since she became Devadasi. She thinks she married a god. Devadasi must earn for herself. She was farming in her native village. She could not eat by farming, so she came to Bombay. In Bombay she could not find a job. She returned her native place, but she could not earn and came back to Bombay again to practice prostitution. She tells me that she dislikes "Devadasi System" now. She did not know AIDS. She was told AIDS by people of IHO. Now she enforced her customer to use a condom.

**O: Rata**

She was Devadasi in Andhra Pradesh. She has sold herself in Bombay for three years. She has one daughter who lives with her parents in her native place. She wants her daughter to send her to the boarding school. She wants to give her good educations.

She told me that she could not have even one customer the previous night. She was sitting on the charpai (string bed) in front of her Kotha and waiting for her customer. She wreathed a jasmine garland and gave it to me.

**P: Larita**

She graduated from high school. She has one sister and three brothers. She is the eldest daughter. Her parents had an accident and had money problems. She came to Kamathipura Lane 1 by her own will for her family. She earns Rs.30 - 40 per customer.
Q: Manisha
She does not know her age. She looks like a girl in her teens. She came from Karnataka. She was Devadasi. She was farming. As there was no rain, she came to Bombay last year. She has two or three men a day. She earns Rs.20 or 30 per man. The price of her sari (a long piece of cloth worn by women in India) which she was wearing was Rs.300.

R: One of customers from Gujarat
One of customers whom I interviewed said that he used to visit one prostitute regularly. He came from Gujarat. His job is to record the wedding ceremony on video tape. He has his wife and three children. His favorite prostitute also delivered his two children, who live in Goa.

He said to me, "I want her to bring back to his house, but the society will not accept it. After a few years, I will lend the house somewhere for her."

In Bombay I saw more Nepali girls than in Delhi. I saw one Nepali mother and her small pretty daughter in the morning on a Nagarapanchami day in Falkland Road. The daughter was dressed up with a pink sari and a silver belt.

As I heard that Nagarapanchami was a festival to pray women's happiness, I as well as her mother also prayed happiness for the small girl's future.

I could not help praying happiness for her future.

IHO reports there are about 20,000 Nepali women in Bombay's flesh trade. They are illiterate. About 20 percent of them are married and five percent are minors. Almost half the girls were deceived by other villagers or relatives and sold to the brothels. Others are responsible for selling the girls into prostitution are parents and procurers from Bombay when they return to their villages on festivals. IHO reports about Tulasa Thapa who was rescued from the brothels in Bombay in 1982. She was 13 years old and her body was broken by three venereal diseases and three tuberculosis. After treatment she was sent back home to Nepal. Even now she is wheelchair bound. Thousands of other girls have
met with a similar destiny.

**S: Tulasa (IHO [1993])**

A family friend named Kancha told her he would take her to her mother who was not feeling well. Tulasa, at that time, was in the market place. She was forced into a bus and at Birganj they were joined by three others who snatched away her gold ornaments and threatened her with torture and death if she raised a cry. They arrived by train at the Victoria Terminus station in Bombay and took a taxi to Kamathipura.

Tulasa was broken in a sustained manner in a brothel housing 20 girls, managed by a madam named Gauri. After 12 days Tulasa was asked to have sex with a customer, this demand was unacceptable for the child who hadn't even experienced her first menstrual cycle. After then Tulasa was forced to entertain a customer for a measly Rs.35. Sleeping with a minimum of three customers everyday became a way of her life. She was also sent to various city hotels to entertain Arab customers for Rs.180 the whole night.

Though her longest stay was at Gauri's brothel, she was sold to two other brothels of Kamathipura. She was first sold to Thuli, another brothel owner, for Rs.5,000. After a month Thuli sold her to Ritha, another madam, for Rs.7,000. After six months she was sold to Gauri for Rs.7,000 and a token Rs.500 was given to the police who have not a little been willing partners in crime. Most of Tulasa's customers were Arabs. She said that most of them were her father's age. Rescued from the brothels, Tulasa went back to Nepal. But she is not happy. Her mother died of the great shock that her daughter was abducted. Her father married another woman. Tulasa lives in the Home. Her stepmother is not willing to see her. And her father also does not want to meet her to keep the peace of the household.

Though Tulasa was sold to the red-light areas in Bombay by her family friend, St. M. Rita Rozario analyzes "persons responsible for the sexual exploitation of women and children in India." as the following. (Rozario [1988] p.117)
The highest number of persons responsible for the sexual exploitation of women and children is "Kith and Kin." These are the "loved" persons on whom the women and children depended trustingly for their survival. A more specific break up of this group of persons under Kith and Kin shows that they are: aunt (1), brother (2), brother-in-law (6), brother and purchaser (1), elders, i.e. parents and guardians (213), elder sister (1), father (19), in-laws (1), husband (47), "husband" (4), husband, his two brothers and his mother (4), grand-mother (3), maternal uncle (1), and sisters (2), parents (19), stepmother (1), uncle (2), "uncle" (3), mother (23). This shows how persons who sexually exploit women and children in India close and near to them. (Rozario [1988] p.117-118)

Every year thousands of girls are dedicated to Goddess "Yellamma" or "Renuka." After a short period of their concubinage, they become prostitutes in the city. The Devadasi System contributes up to 20 percent of the child prostitution. This system continues by myths, misconceptions and superstitions. Any illness in the family, skin infection, white patches (vitiligo) or leprosy patches are attributed to Goddess Yellama as "divine" signs. The matting of the hair is the most common divine sign for dedicating the girls to the Goddess, though the matting hair is just due to the bad hair maintenance. The system banned by law in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka after independence but still continues surreptitiously.

I met a former Devadasi in Tokyo. She came to attend the women's human rights conference held in Tokyo in 1994. I asked her why she became Devadasi.
T: Babanma

She was born in Bombay. Her family belonged to scheduled castes. When she was three years old, her family moved to Karnataka. Her father died when she was seven years old. She is an only child. Her mother, a day laborer, did not want her daughter to marry someone and leave her. She decided to dedicate her daughter to Goddess Yellamma as Devadasi. Babanma's first man was a Muslim driver. He came to her house twice a week and she delivered his three children. But his family knew the relationship with Babanma and him, pushed him to marry another woman. His wife started to fight him because of the existence of Babanma. Then he stopped to visit her house. When he used to come, he bought clothes for her and their children once a month. And she was given Rs.20-30 a month or sometimes a week. He came very late and returned around 12 at night.

After the Muslim driver had been dead in an automobile accident, she had relation with her uncle on her mother's side. But he also died. The police suspected the cause of his death and she was arrested by the police. She was saved by two Catholic nuns and she was found innocent. After then every man stopped visiting her house. By the women's organization run by Catholic nuns who saved her from the prison, she was given rehabilitation to stop continuing her past life and earn her daily bread for herself. She realized the evil of Devadasi System. She has a dream to work for improving the level of lives of other Devadasis.

This women's organization is "Joint Women's Programme." And Sr. M. Rita Rozario, the author "Trafficking in Women and Children in India" also belongs to this organization.

In red-light areas there are two types of victims. Those who were brought and sold to the brothel owners by the professional girl runners are one type. These girls are brought from villages to cities with promises of jobs or marriage. Those who are not directly sold to the brothel owners are the other type. Some girls leave their family and run away in search for better life. Their adventure lands them in a brothel in the end. Some girls run away with their lovers, who desert them. The girls dare not return to their family nor has
any other means to survive and enter an immoral living in exchange for her shelter and food.

**Chapter III: Indian Prostitution and Law**

In India prostitution by itself is not an offence in any of Indian States. Prostitution is defined in Section (Annexure - A) 2 (1) of the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act to mean the sexual exploiter abuse of persons for commercial purposes. This definition was introduced by a major amendment to the Act carried out in 1978 (by Act 44) which, for the first time also substituted the word "persons" for "females" and thereby brought under the legal ambit, both female and male prostitution. The Act makes the following offences punishable (1) keeping a brothel or allowing premises to be kept as a brothel; (2) living on the earnings of prostitution; (3) procuring, inducting or taking persons for the purposes of prostitution; (4) detaining persons in premises where prostitution is carried on; (5) prostitution in a Public place or in the vicinity of public places; (6) seducing or soliciting from a public place; and (7) seduction of a person in custody.

The Act does not forbid, abolish, prohibit or ban prostitution. The Act is designed to punish those who profit by exploiting others, both males and females, and making them victims of the flesh trade. However, within the specific parameters laid down in the Act, a prostitute plying his or her trade within vicinity of public places is also punishable. The Act treats specific instances of immoral conduct on the part of a prostitute such as soliciting, seducing, etc. in public places as offences. In the case of other offences laid down, it is the exploiter, namely be it brothel keeper, the procurer, the landlord, the flesh trader, the pimp or the middle man, who is sought to be punished and not prostitution nor the client.

India is a signatory to the 1949 International Convention for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic. It enacted the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act in 1956 in pursuance of her having signed the International Convention. Under this Act, as well as its later amendments, the commercial exploitation of prostitution was made
punishable. But prostitution per se, which was not "open" prostitution, was not deemed to be an offence. This aspect of the law came in for increasingly much criticism. It has been held that the female prostitute is punished in spite of the provisions and general direction of the Act than those elements of society who exploit the females for commercial profit by making their brothels run. Those who run brothels are rarely punished, but the female prostitutes are arrested in raids conducted by the police. The client, without whom the act of prostitution cannot be committed gets away, too.

The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls' Act (SITA) was enacted by Parliament in 1956 and came into operation with effect from 1958. Jean D’ Cunha mentions (in "The Times of India" [Review], January 22, 1995) that the Act was not the outcome of an independent, sustained, consolidated mass movement in India but the result of India being a signatory to the United Nations International Convention 1949 for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and of the exploitation of others. Even this Convention did not forbid or ban prostitution. The law in India is biased against prostitutes while the racketeers and clients get free.

Jean D’ Cunha reveals that Bombay has over 50,000 brothels with over one lakh of prostitutes. But between 1981 and 1987, only 535 brothels were raided under the Bombay Act. In fact the number of brothels is on the increase. He says that out of 409 brothels keepers arrested between 1981 and 1985 in Bombay, only 2 were convicted. One was fined Rs.150 or one day's rigorous imprisonment. The other was fined only Rs.10. By contrast, the average fine for a prostitute in 1980 was Rs.60 and the average imprisonment was for seven days.

Jean D’ Cunha mentions that bail is liberally granted to brothel keepers and procurers. During 1980-87 in Bombay, all brothel keepers and procurers who were arrested were released on bail. The brothel prostitutes are bailed out by the brothel keepers, but the street prostitutes have none to finance them or set them up in business, rarely find contacts to bail them out. It is said that, as brothel keeping is a lucrative business, corrupt politicians, the police, brothel keepers and their mafia participate this business in the nexus of bribes and corruptions.
Chapter IV: The Modern Structure of Japanese Prostitutes
& Historical Background of Prostitution in Japan

1. The Modern Structure of Japanese Prostitutes

In Japan the attitudes of male chauvinism were evident. The Japanese had the old Confucian proverb that in youth a woman should obey her father, in maturity her husband, and in old age her son. India has the same proverb in the Law of Manu (Manusmrti). Women were usually meek and long-suffering in their dealings with their men. A double sexual standard, which left the man free and the woman restricted, was common. These attitudes have been undergoing rapid change in Japan.

In the past only wives were indicated on a charge of illicit intercourse and they were jailed, while husbands were all free in Japan. Chastity was wives' obligation to their husbands. But the crime of illicit intercourse was abolished for reason of sexual inequality in 1947 in Japan, whereas in India, both wives and husbands are indicted on a charge of illicit intercourse even now.

The Japanese attitudes toward sex resemble Western attitudes about the sinfulness of sexual relations, rather than Indian attitudes. But traditionally to the Japanese sex always seemed a natural phenomenon, like eating. Some of sexual freedom survived into modern times in parts of rural Japan, where premarital sexual relations were condoned and marriages were frequently not registered. Generally there was little condemnation of sexual acts. Closely associated with the fertility cult, 'yobai' (night creeping) is a custom which died out very recently. Nicholas Bornoff wrote about 'yobai' in his book "Pink Samurai," which involved young men in a village visiting the houses of young girls and women in order to sleep with them.

The government of the Meiji period (1868-1912) created most of the new social, political and economic institutions modeled after those in Western nations to become a modern nation. Japan adopted a constitution in 1889. Though the Meiji government tried to control 'yobai' as disorderly conduct, the young in villages opposed it to say that they couldn't find their marriage partners without 'yobai.' Arranged marriages were not
general in the more remote places in which ‘yobai’ was common. If the parties didn't have a feeling of satisfaction, there was next time. If they didn't have a baby, the girl made herself available for more ‘yobai.’ ‘Yobai’ continued to the 1950s.

It is known that ‘yobai’ was a custom prevalent among many rural areas and especially fishing villages with collective work and strong cohesion in Japan before the 1950s. After World War 11, the Japanese economy surged ahead from the mid-1950s through the mid-1970s. The Japanese economy surge disintegrated a village community and a custom of ‘yobai’. Arranged marriage and esteem for virginity are not feudal but modern, which have the history for only 50 years after the Meiji period. Love marriage exceeded arranged marriage in the mid-1960s. In Japan most Japanese men have visited prostitutes and it is not in the least surreptitious even today. In Japan business after regular company hours is conducted in cabarets, bars, snacks and restaurants. In bars, cabarets and nightclubs, hostesses create the conditions that allow Japanese men to get to know each other. The percentage of hostesses engaging in prostitution is higher, but prostitution is not exclusive to hostesses.

In Japan as well as in India prostitution existed among less educated and the unprivileged for income sake in pre-War years. In these days there are some unique facts in Japanese prostitution. Some of prostitutes are female high school students, junior high school students, and housewives with children, office girls, college students in Japan. These days it is not rare for some of common women to sell their bodies. Why are there such phenomena?

(1) Japan became a great economic power rapidly.

When we go to the department stores or other shops are full of brands made in Italy and France. For example, Prada bags, clothes, Chanel bags, purse, key ring, Ferragamo shoes, bags, clothes, Versace clothes, Hermes watch, blouse, Christian Dior lipsticks and other cosmetics…etc. Nowadays Japanese women are eager to have brands. They generally have some of brands, which are expensive. The majority of Japanese young
women in the city prefer to buy brands, so do female high school and junior high school students in the city. They are surrounded brands which they want. Even if those students have part-time jobs, they can earn only 700 yen (Rs.233) or 800 yen per hour. This is the background that "Enjo Kosai" or "charitable relations" take place. Because Japan is a great economic nation, there are quite a few middle-aged men who have some money which they can use on his own.

(2) 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. Blue films, pornography through electronic media are considered harmful and the government and the NGOs are trying to put a stop to it. I have seen the photos of naked women even in the first-rate newspapers in Japan like "The Times of India" or "The Hindustan Times" in India.

TV which Japanese children watch every day shows sex scenes and violent destructive scenes in the daytime or in the evening.

(3) New technologies made communication easier.

Today we can contact with anyone secretly by using a beeper, a portable telephone, a personal computer as well as a telephone. 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.

(4) Superficial human and family relations are common in Japan today.

As Japanese became rich, we use money to do everything conveniently and smoothly. If we go to a supermarket and pay money, we can buy everything without speaking to anyone. The community disappeared in urban areas in Japan. A housing complex has started to build since the 1950s. Residents of a housing complex have increased. They
often do not talk with neighbors. They sometimes do not who neighbors are.

There are convenience stores near their houses. They are opening for 24 hours. Japan is generally rather a safe country. People can go to the convenience store near the house even at midnight. They can see the pornography and advertisement of telephone clubs. And they can call clubs by using the telephone of their private rooms. As people started to live in a housing complex, they gradually lost their community and became lonely. In Japan the number of convenience stores began to increase in the 1980s. The more we seek convenience and efficiency, the more we become superficial and lonely. Everyone is busy earning money. All the members of the family are also busy earning money out of their houses. The long hours devoted to commuting in urban Japan. Husbands come back just to sleep. Japanese homes are usually too small to entertain guests and they develop a social life with their colleagues in bars and restaurants over drinks devoting long hours to overtime work. They work for five days or five days and a half in a week in addition to the paucity of vacation. A Japanese couple spends together much less than would be customary in the West or in India. The wives tend to be shut out from any social activities and if they don't have a job outside the house, their life is likely to limited to their husbands, children, close relatives and some old classmates. Such the external circumstances tend to mitigate conjugal love in Japan. There are many married couples who continue married life without love and sex for appearance' sake and children. They act happy family but their hearts are separate.

It goes without saying that a wife also dreams illicit love. Illicit love was written in "Shitsurakuen," (1997) or "Lost Paradise," the story which Japanese male writer, Junichi Watanabe became an unparalleled best seller and its movie was a record breaking hit. The majority of its spectators were Japanese women.

"Fukigennakajitsu" or "Displeased Fruit" written by Japanese female writer Mariko Hayashi was a best seller. The catchphrase of the book was "Why is the sex with men except a husband so enjoyable (good)?" This story was been televised in series. This drama was given good time at a night slot.
"Pri cla," or "Print Club" is in the latest fashion among female high school students and junior college students. A girl takes a very small picture with her girl friend with their cheeks together and smiling by some special machine and pastes it on her diary. And she takes a picture with another friend and pastes again. She continues to paste many pictures with different friends. She is convinced that she has many friends to see pictures which collected and pasted on her diary. I asked girls why they were playing such games. They answered that they could think they had many friends even if they did not have true friends in reality.

Children living in big cities cannot easily find anyone with whom they can truly talk in the family, school or community. And some of them start to sell the chance of communication. The mass media give them disadvantages. They report the news as if all high school female students were calling "the telephone dating club" and they were having "charitable relations." So girls feel that they want to catch up on others. It is also said that some of the younger generation do not believe the family and authority and some of young girls have found that this society is male-oriented one. It is said that such young girls say," If ordinary men can buy women, why can't ordinary girls sell themselves? What's it wrong just to get extra money from men?" Though prostitution was banned, the number of young prostitutes in Japan has reached alarming proportions in recent years.

2. Historical Background of Prostitution in Japan

Japanese woman got suffrage on December 17, 1945. In Japan a movement which regarded the selling and buying of sex as a violation of human rights and tried to abolish the legalized prostitution system, was followed persistently by a few Japanese groups since the Meiji Era. 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) 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 prevention 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 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)

In addition to the Anti-Prostitution Law, there are also a number of other related laws and ordinances enacted with a special design for protection of juveniles, which prohibit the acts of obstructing sound nature of children and strictly punish acts of encouraging or allowing children under eighteen years old to perform obscene sexual acts. 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 setting of the pleasure-seeking climate of society and victimization of minors and foreign females, who generally come to Japan under the false pretense of sightseeing or studying to avoid the stiff immigration laws in Japan and get jobs as waitress of cabaret, dancer or prostitute which are provided through the arrangements 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.

In big cities, many obscene pictures of nude women 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, and also controlling against prostitution through effective application of various laws designed for the suppression of illegality.

Because 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 protect 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 Diet passed legislation to crack down on human trafficking by introducing tougher penalties for the crime and measure to intercept trafficking. The House of Representatives unanimously passed the bills to revise 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-year jail term. Those who
transport victims of abduction and human trade to other countries face two or more 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)

**Chapter V: Comparative Analysis: Indian and Japanese Societies through Women in Prostitution**

My old friend, Ms. Jyotsna Chatterji, associate director, Joint Women's Programme who represented India at the 28th Vienna International Congress says that the increasing incidence of prostitution in metropolitan cities, urban areas and market and business centers, in India is a result of the growing demand for the prostitutes and lack of employment opportunity to avoid deprivation on one hand, and poverty on the other. The increase in tourism and the lure of high profits from this traffic trade has encouraged the exploitation and seduction of girls and women from poor sections and tribal communities and even other sections of the society who has never practiced this profession but became victims because of poverty.

The girls sold by their families, kins or family friends to the pimps. The pimps sell them to brothels. The pimps collect the girls from the remote and drought prone areas promising them a good job in the cities or marriage as some girls whom I interviewed told me. It goes without saying that she is clear that the pimps who initially lure and collect the young girls are not the real owners of the brothels. They are merely procurers who are employed for this purpose. The real owners are businessmen, gangsters, the underworld, etc..

The girls are taken to the cities such as Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata), Madras (Chennai), Delhi, etc.. The girls are also kidnapped from villages and international checkpoints on the Bangladesh and Nepal borders and are brought to the markets for sale. It is said that the police connive at or even with most of the cases.
"The Statesman," an Indian daily dated March 5, 1984 (Calcutta edition) reported that the flesh trade operate in two ways. First, there are persons engaged in interstate trafficking and women change hands like any other commodity; the only difference is that the transaction takes place in the utmost secrecy and the "goods" are put in transit as soon as possible for distant markets.

Secondly, a woman seeks divorce from her husband on the grounds of his cruelty, drunkenness or immorality by signing on a stamped paper executed by a notary. And she will marry again, contracted by signing a stamped paper. She goes from one man to another legally. She is illiterate and cannot read the paper which she signed. She is easily exploited by her father, brother or husband, who are parties to this kind of trade. A poor father finds the sale of a daughter an easy way to feed the starving family.

The greedy husband sell his wife, marry again and then sell the new wife also to get dowry (property and money that a woman traditionally gives to her husband when they marry in India).

"The Statesman" dated January 19, 1984 (Calcutta edition) carried a report on the rescue of five women and girls between 12 and 25 years of age by the railway police, from an international gang taking the victims outside the State of West Bengal for sale. This gang was found to have sold more than 200 girls at prices varying between Rs.1,000 and Rs.4,000 in the past four years.

India enjoys the distinction of having a large number of child prostitutes in the world. The Arabs have traditional links with cities with a great number of the Muslim population like Hyderabad, Bombay (Mumbai), the Malabar Coast in Kerala. There is also child prostitution under the veil of temporary, easily dissolvable marriages. Because Muslim husbands have the right to have plural wives and to divorce their wives easily by a one-way way..

In India the parents have the duty to make their daughters marry and they are under the strong social pressure against keeping a daughter of marriageable age at home. Some
destitute parents sell their daughters because they cannot afford to pay their marriage expenses including dowry.

My old friend, the late Ms. Sarula Mudgal, president of the Women's Organization, Kalyani, which worked among prostitutes in G. B. Road in Old Delhi pointed out that only two years ago (1990) there were a few minor girls in Delhi's Kothas (brothels). Brothel keepers who were unwilling to invite trouble from the police pressed the minors in the city due to the mushrooming of hotels of all types and massage parlors, beauty parlors and restaurants.

But "the Saturday Statesman" (November 7, 1992, 'Teeny Boppers in the Fresh Trade' written by Devi Arora) reported around 1992, G. B. Road, the red-light areas became a different look.

…minor girls dressed in mini skirts, baggy trousers, T-shirts and jeans with latest hairstyles move out in the streets to catch the tourists' fancy.

Brothel keepers deliberately encourage Western look instead of the traditional sari to attract local as well as foreign customers. Government run social welfare organizations are functioning but their number is so small that they can hardly attend to the welfare of the sex workers, who are multiplying every year. Some of them, for example, Sister Shalini of the Indian Social Institute along with some other colleagues, are distributing free condoms and launching a campaign to educate prostitutes about AIDS.

Many men who come from villages to work in the big cities are leaving their wives behind. As a result of Indian urbanization and industrialization, the movement of men from villages to cities causes a demand for prostitution. India has many seaports. Almost all the seaports are the centers of prostitution. Sexually starved sailors are led by the pimps to the red-light areas. There are also men who visit cities for work and business. And they demand prostitutes during their short stay as my interviews show them.

It is a fact that there have been frequent complaints against the police that they get
regular shares from the flesh trade. The Bharat Patita Udhar Samiti had a long drawn-out battle with the police over this issue in Delhi a few years ago. In 1986 due to intervention of the chief of the crime branch in Delhi Police, the entire police force of 200 in charge of a part of red-light areas in G. B. Road in Delhi was replaced with a new police force. It was said that things improved for some time but revived again after some months.

In 1986 the prostitutes protested for the first time in public. The prostitutes of Central Bombay chose a symbol day, December 30, 1986, exactly 30 years since Parliament enacted the SITA. Women who had placards stood demonstrating in front of Victoria Terminus Railway Station (now renamed Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus) with slogans like "Stop Police Harassment, "Issue License," "Open School for Our Children," "Provide Free and Better Medical Care in Red-light Areas," etc..

In recent years several Women's Social Organizations have come up in different states in India. They are active, to protect the interests and protest against their exploitation by the brothel keepers, prosecutors, pimps, madams and police. These organizations are taking interest in the rehabilitation of those who give up the trade and want to find their new lives like aforesaid Babanma. She was saved by the women's organization and was given the rehabilitation to stop the past life and earn her daily bread for herself.

Some prostitutes themselves have also started their union of associations with the help of the social workers in the states and have come out in the streets, staging demonstrations, to resist their exploitation and to represent their grievance before the government.

The beginning of the women's movement in Japan and India can be traced to about the 1880s. In Japan the initiative for improving women's position was taken up by women themselves. Whereas in India male intellectuals of the mid-19th century like Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, D. K. Karve started campaign to
improve the conditions of women's lives. And the emancipation of the women started in the 1920s with the rise of the struggle for freedom and Mahatma Gandhi's emergence on the political scene. Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya, Vijay Lakshmi Pandit were some of the women leaders of the time. India started campaign to improve the conditions of women's lives. The men like Swami Vivekananda, Jawaharlal Nehru and others also for the women's issues. Even now prostitution, however, prevails more among the poor with less education in India.

In Japan the reason is not poverty but affluence in these days. And prostitution cannot be gotten rid of by a single law in Japan as well as other countries. Though the red-light districts disappeared before long in Japan, the new sex industries began to appear. And after the prevention law to abolish prostitution was enacted, Japan developed into an economically big country. Men come to take tours to foreign countries (Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, etc.) to buy sex.

The first meeting of the Japan-Korea Christian Associations was held in Seoul on July 2 to 5, 1973. Korean Women's Christian Association made a statement which blamed Japanese male tourists for their wenching. In Korea prostitution is forbidden, but kisaeng (licensed Korean girls for entertaining visitors) are given official cards to go into hotels with her guest. When the meetings to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Anti-prostitution Law were held in Tokyo during May in 1976, the participants adopted a resolution calling for the revision of the law in order to completely abolish prostitution, and condemning Japanese male tourists and businessmen for their social exploitation of women in other Asian countries.

Group sex-tours by Japanese males to Southeast countries became an issue in the Diet…… on October 29, 1980…. Some 400 young Japanese women held a meeting in Tokyo on November 29, 1980 to protest sex-tours. The meeting adopted an appeal calling for the examination of factors involved in the promotion of sex-oriented activities in tourism…. In Japan, the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union has been active in protesting group sex-tours. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial
Two meetings to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Anti-Prostitution Law were held in Tokyo during May, 1981. The first meeting was co-sponsored by the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government on May 26-27, 1981. During the meeting, participants expressed their concern over the fact that a kind of prostitution could still be found in massage parlors called Turkish Baths in Japan, and that Japanese male tourists were involved in sexual exploitation of women in Asian countries.

The other meeting sponsored by a special group organized in 1973, to deal with problems of prostitution was held on May 28, 1981, in Tokyo..... At the conclusion of the meeting, the group adopted a resolution calling for the revision of the Anti-Prostitution Law in order to completely abolish prostitution and to develop some kind of administration for the protection of women. The group also expresses their determination to reform the social mentality and environment which is insensitive to prostitution and the violation of human rights relating to sex. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial Association 1981: No.46,3)

The Japanese group of 18 organizations, including the Japan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, demanded that the government should take up the issue of prostitution as one of the agenda items at the Regional International Preparatory Meeting for the World Conference in Tokyo, March 26 to 30, 1984, under the sponsorship of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). The group emphasized that prostitution, such as sex-tours in Asian countries, can not be solved without cooperation among in these countries. Criticism has been directed against the government for its lack of measures dealing with the prostitution, both in the National Plan of Action formulated in February, 1977, and in the May, 1981, Priory Programs for the latter Half of the U. S. Decade for Women. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial
The Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union opened an Asian Women's Shelter in Tokyo, in commemoration of the organization's anniversary. HELP (House in Emergency of Love and Peace) Asian Women's Shelter is open to women from all Asian countries who fall victims to sexual exploitation. HELP also provides counseling and legal advice Japanese and English speaking case workers. On December 6, 1991 a group of 35 South Koreans, including three women forced into prostitution as "comfort women" for the Japanese soldiers during World War II, filed suit for the first time against the Japanese government at the Tokyo District Court. The group, Association of Korean Victims During World War II, demanded 700 million yen in compensation. The Japanese government, claiming no responsibility for the issue formerly, has changed its attitude, and apologized for the government's involvement in it, as some documents indicating the Japanese army's recruiting and administrating "comfort women" were found in the library of the National Institute for Defence Studies on January 10, 1992.

Though the Anti-Prostitution Laws were registered in 1956 and the open prostitution has disappeared, the laws have not solved prostitution problems in Japan like in most countries. There have been subtle prostitution activities. The sex industry has rapidly spread in Japan: "Soaplands (massage parlours)," telephone clubs, rental rooms, adult shops, peep rooms, "Pinsalo" (pink saloon), cabarets, bars, striptease, fashion massages, etc. "No Pan Shabushabu" restaurant (waitresses with no underpants serve Japanese food, Shabushabu). In Japan there is even home delivery prostitution; a service to deliver prostitutes to the house like delivering pizza.

Pornographic movies are being showed in the cities. Pornographic videos and magazines are sold here and there. Many young Japanese girls are getting involved in sex industries in Japan.

The recent phenomenon is that more teenage girls begin to market their body for easy money. When teenage girls sell sex to older men, they call it "Enjo Kosai" or "charitable relations." High school girls are called "a brand" or "top-brand articles" by themselves.
or older men. "Newsweek" (dated December 23, 1996) reported "Japan's Dirty Secret - Schoolgirls Selling Sex."

In Japan some of prostitutes consist of female high school students and some junior high school students to earn money and housewives or middle aged women who like to enjoy life. Materialism and consumerism affect their lives and consciousness. When we go to the department stores or other shops they are full of brands made in Italy and France. Japanese women are eager to have brands and generally have some of brands. To have brands looks like a fashion.

In India these types of behaviour in average educated middle class families are not easily found. The reason may be social values which prohibit women to enter in even pre-martial relationship, though in fact some secret affairs do exist. Once Indian women became prostitutes, it will be stigma in their future. In India prostitution is by and large rampant among the low-income group. They have to earn to live by selling their own body though for some rich girls it is a source of entertainment. But in Japan it will not be so much stigma and if they want to marry, they can marry without much difficulty. The Japanese society is more open to sex than the Indian. In India people tend to watch other people' behaviors. The sense of one's privacy in India is less than in Japan. The invasion of one's privacy in India will be more than in Japan. In Japan even if some college girls or office girls have a part-time job as prostitutes in their spare time, if they don't tell anyone, nobody will know about it.

But in India prostitutes do not have any more freedom to choose than in Japan (Japanese prostitutes) and in India, still it is more so due to poverty. Prostitution under the Indian law according to the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1986 (the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1956) makes running a brothel illegal and prostitution in public places an offence. Women is considered an offender and it is not her client but prostitute who is punished. Indian Prostitutes' lives are much harder and crueler. They have to fight against all social problems in India including their acute poverty. Their existence shows the epitome of Indian society and a gender bias.
In Japan the Karyukai, the "flower and willow world" as geisha society has changed according to the society position of women and the state of the country's finances.

For example Prime Minister Mr. Uno's mistress or geisha in Tokyo, who forced him to resign because she publicly accused him of stinginess and arrogance in 1989, was regarded as the impudent geisha by other geishas. This was the first such case in history,

In 1995 a disgruntled Kyoto apprentice brought civil suit against the geisha house where she was trained, charging the mother of the house with exploitation. Then she opened her own entertainment venture — a freelance dial — "a maiko."

When the ancient festival got under way in central Kyoto on July 17, 2001, five female musicians performed atop elaborately decorated floats at the Gion (the most prestigious geisha district in Kyoto) for the first time. Women had been banned from riding on the floats for the last 300 years in the festival's 1,100-year history. All floats were opened to women starting this year.

Generally, Japanese women, particularly young ones, are economically more independent of men than before. These days it is not impossible for them to live without the support of a man. When customers are in good times, geisha and hostesses of a high-class nightclub are busy. With the economic tide ebbs, Japanese businessmen cannot use much money freely on company business. Since the deflation of Japan's bubble economy during the 1990s, the population of geisha has dwindled, Japanese would prefer to view geisha as women trained in the arts and cultural value or keepers of Japanese tradition. But geisha in Tokyo is less constrained by tradition than in Kyoto. Tokyo geisha rarely underwent years of training, which meant they could reach a higher level of formal education than those in Kyoto.

Now the running of the bars and night clubs are in poor shape because the bubble economy burst and business men cannot use their companies' money abundantly.
Concerning Japanese husbands and wives, surface appearance can be misleading. Husbands and wives tended not to show overt signs of affection for each other in public, and men showed their wives the curtness and derogation an old-fashioned man might refer to his wife as "my stupid wife" until recently. It is partly a convention in speaking to or about a member of one's own family. Most wives also would never dream of praising their husbands before somebody else. But as women win greater equality with men, the attitude that there should be a strong bond of love between husband and wife is becoming more prevalent.

Edwin O. Reischauer wrote that Japan might originally have had a matriarchal society, and elements of this matriarchy seemed to have persisted all the way throughout, despite the heavy overlay of male supremacy resulting from feudalism and Confucianism. It was generally accepted that women had more will power and psychological strength than men. The modern Japanese family centered around and was dominated by the mother. The father, though the source of financial support, is likely to be pretty much a cipher in family affairs. Family finances were run almost exclusively by the mother, with the father often on a sort of allowance provided by her. He was likely to be away from home almost all of the waking hours of his smaller children.

Reischauer mentions that a Japanese husband sometimes seems to be the wife's grown-up child, requiring tender care and pampering like the other children, or else he shows a need for special woman's attention and flattery other women from geisha, in earlier times or bar girls or hostesses. This attitude is defined in Japanese as amae, which is cognate with the word for "sweet" and means to look to others for affection. In fact, Japanese men call bar managers "Mama (Mom)" or "Mama-san." Meanwhile, wives are expected to have a strong character to hold the family together. In fact, women have distinguished "kurouto" (professional) women from "shirouto" (amateur) in Japanese language. The position of women in Japan has changed greatly since World War II because the provisions of the 1947 constitution that the United States offered were explicit about the equality of the sexes. Despite the great gains made by women in recent
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decades, discrimination in employment remains severe.

In 1971 the average wage for women workers was still less than half that for men. But the organized women's lib movement did not become as prominent in Japan as in the United States in the 1970s.

Reischauer concluded that it was probably less to the taste of Japanese women than Western women, because Japanese women were proud of their dominant family role and were definitely the stronger sex.

Traditionally Japanese women were strong and psychologically and mentally very strong. In Japanese feudal society or among warriors (samurai), women were thought of inferior beings. The Japanese warriors expected their woman to be as tough as they were and agree to kill themselves out of loyalty to their lord or family.

Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), who was one of the most eminent American anthropologists of the twentieth century explored the political, religious, and economic life of Japan from the seventh century through the mid-twentieth and wrote "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword" (1946). In her book she wrote about Japanese women as below.

Whatever one's age, one's position in the hierarchy depends on whether one is male or female. The Japanese woman walks behind her husband and has a lower status…. The Japanese daughter of the family must get along as best she can while the presents, the attentions, and the money for education go to her brothers. Even when higher schools were established for young women the prescribed courses were heavily loaded with instruction in etiquette and bodily movement. Serious intellectual training was not on a par with boys' ….. Nevertheless, the Japanese have great freedom as compared to most other Asiatic countries and this is not just a phase of Westernization. There never was female footbinding as in the Chinese upper classes, and Indian women today exclaim over Japanese women going in and out of shops, up and down the streets and never secreting themselves, Japanese wives do the family
shopping and carry the family purse. (Benedict 1946: 53 - 54)

Most of Japanese housewives carry the family purse even now. It is very unique phenomenon. In India, America or Europe, husbands generally carry the family purse.

In Japanese society the position of the wife in the 'ie' (family or family system) is incomparably important. The anthropologist Chie Nakane (1926- ) analyzes the existence of the wife, the daughter-in-law of Japanese 'ie' compared with that of her Indian counterpart in this way.

.... the 'ie' is a social group constructed on the basis of an established frame of residence and often of management organization. What is important here is that the human relationship within this household group are thought of as more important than all other human relationships. Thus the wife and daughter-in-law who have come from outside have incomparably greater importance than one's own sisters and daughters, who have married and gone into other households. (Nakane 1972: 5)

Chie Nakane says: The core of the Japanese family, ancient and modern, is the parent-child relationship, not that between husband and wife. So the family today also reflects the predominance of vertical relationships. (Nakane 1972: 128)

The mothers tend to care excessively for education of their children.

In India literary rate is 64% for men and only 39% in 1991 and 76% for men and 54% for women in 2001. Primary education since the 1970s in all government schools and 7 states is free. The number of colleges has increased since 1975 in almost all states in India. Higher education is very expensive in Japan. In India it is cheap but confined to elitist, middle and upper classes. Women get almost 20% of fellowships in India. Meantime in Japan, from the enactment of Fundamental Law of Education in 1947, men and women's literacy is equal and there is no class bar. Every woman in Japan is educated today. Universal education having been introduced as far back in 1868,
compulsory education is free in Japan. Women are encouraged to take up higher studies. Compared to Japan the number of women in higher education in India is low and there is a wide gap in India between male and female in education.

Japanese women have outnumbered men ever since the advent of the 20th century. There were 967 males for every 1000 females in Japan in 1980. There were almost 2.05 million more female population.

The ratio of female population in India has always been lower since 1901. There were 930 females in 1971, 935 in 1981, 927 in 1991 to every 1000 males and the number declined in 1991. But the birth of a son is still rejoiced and celebrated even the educated in India and boys still receive better care and education.

Nowadays most Japanese women have received higher education and appear to be much different from their elders. And they tend to a protest against contempt for women. Basic trends in Japan are flowing in the same direction as in the United States and Europe. The Indian Government is concerned about the growing population which has reached a billion by A. D. 2000. And Japanese government is concerned about the decline on birth rate. It is cause of concern to the Japanese government.

The Japanese birthrate is declining year by year. In 2003 it fell to the all-time low of 1.29. It is the matter of great urgency to make a gender-equal Japanese society.

The extended family system or the 'ie', the patrilineal and the patriarchal based family was abolished in 1947 after promulgation of the Japanese Constitution (1947). This has been replaced by the nuclear family.

Indian women receive help from parents and parents-in-law during child-birth and child raising. Parents in their old age, live with their sons. Kinship networks are also strong in India but are disappearing in Japan.... in India, however, it is easier to get a maid (a baby-sitter). In families, where both the husband and wife work outside their home in Japan, the problem arises of "who takes care of the children." In Japan to cope with this situation many Japanese women choose part-time employment. Others depend
on state supported crèches (Madan [2004] p.350) choose not to have children due to such problems, costly living, housing problems, etc.

On June 15, 1999, a "basic law designed to promote a gender-equal society," in which both women and men are given equal chances to participate in activities in all fields, was enacted and took effect on June 23, 1999. This law aims at creating a gender-equal society, where both women and men can equally enjoy political, economic, social and cultural benefits as well as take responsibilities equally. On January 6, 2001 the Council for Gender Equality was established in new Cabinet Office, along with the government's realigned administrative structure at ministers and agencies.

Cries of protest were raised against the Anti-Prostitution Law enacted in 1956 as the Law was out of step with the times because only women were punished around in Japan.

Under the "Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act" in India only women are caught while soliciting customs for sex trade and not men. All classes of women are victims in dowry and rape. Gender justice and gender equality commonly remain on paper.

On May 29, 2002 Japan Anti-Prostitution Association organized a workshop in Tokyo. Participants pointed out that the law lacked human rights perspectives and that only men who buy sex should be punished and brought forward problems of young girls who sell themselves to get money, foreign women who are forced prostitution in Japan, etc.

The Council for Gender Equality, chaired by Hiroyuki Hosoda, Chief Cabinet Secretary, submitted its opinions with regard to the 2006 revision of the Basic Plan for Gender Equality to the Prime Minister on July 25 (2005). Prior to this, International Women's Year Liaison Group, consisting of 41 national women's organizations, submitted two documents to the Government on July 15. One was a demand for full compliance with Basic Law for a Gender-equal society and correct
understanding of the concept "gender," and the other was a proposal on the necessity of sex education and how it should be conducted at school. (The Fusae Ichikawa Memorial Association 2005: No.94,1)

It is possible for us, Japanese to say that Japan has been changed since the Basic Law for a Gender-equal Society was enacted. The lifestyle of many families where wives are working is changing. Educated young husbands have become cooperative and started helping in household work and looking after children. But household work and child-rearing still largely remain a women's domain or responsibility. And some female and male members of the ruling party are still against the above law and the concept of "gender."

But in late 2004, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi said that the government would provide assistance so that women can exert their talents and take on challenges in various areas, including business.

"The Japan Times" dated on Oct. 24, 2005 reported "Japan's hidden growth engine".

Women are still underutilized in this nation of 127 million people and they are paid a fraction of what men get. A glass ceiling still keeps many well-educated, experienced and ambitious women out of corporate boardrooms...Also, the lack of affordable services for women who want to work and raise children means that motherhood often ends careers. Until more mothers can have professional lives, the birthrate will not increase, leaving Japan with a longterm labor shortage.... As of 2004, the ratio of women in the labor force was still low by developed-nation standards, at 55 percent. That compares with 62 percent in the United States and 61 percent in British. If female labor participation rose toward U. S. levels,.... Japan would add between 1.2 percent and 1.5 percent to gross domestic product...Were female participation in the Japanese work forces to reach the U. S. level, per capita income would be 5.8 percent higher... Japanese politicians and business leaders need
to get more serious about tapping female workers. If not, the economy is likely to underperform and the nation's debt may be harder to reduce.

The choice is simpler; more babies or more bonds?

In Japan on June 16, 2005, the Diet passed legislation to crack down on trafficking by introducing tougher penalties or those who buy humans, sell humans, transport victims of abduction and human trade to other countries and buy minors. (See Chaper 4)

In India prostitution per se is not an illegal and crime. It is the exploitation of the prostitution; which is illegal and crime. But in reality prostitution does not exist without the exploitation and child prostitution is on the rise and serious. India has the largest number of child prostitutes in the world. Tourists come to India to buy child prostitutes, mostly from Arab countries. Because Indian child prostitutes' prices are cheap and if they are virgins, having sex with virgins can cure venereal diseases, they and Indian men believe. The inter-state trafficking, inter-national traffic in the form of supply of girls from Nepal to India is very common. It is estimated that about one lakh (100,000) girls are brought from Nepal for the purpose of prostitution in India, over 50 % of which are minors.

In India, the reason for the spread of prostitution was different- the worse conditions of widows, the custom of dowry, inadequate employment opportunities for women, urbanisation, led to its rise. Victims of social oppression, victims of rape and incest also took up prostitution. To be raped is a social stigma. It is said that the victims of rape are often not accepted at home and they cannot find their ways except the brothels in India. The inhuman system of prostitution with religious sanction "Devadasi System" still continued and thousands of girls are dedicated to goddess "Yellamma," "Renuka" mostly in Karnataka and Maharashtra every year. After brief period of concubinage, they generally become urban prostitutes. Devadashi System is illegal. But the police are a well-known part of the prostitution rackets. Most brothel owner regularly pay money to the policemen.
Young girls are abducted from their villages, native places on some pretext, exploiting their innocence as I mentioned in the previous chapters. (See Chapter I and Chapter2)

And most kidnappers are females and couples or close people whom girls trusted. Women in prostitution have to work near their children in the worse living conditions. In the result, their female children invariably end up in prostitution. Moreover, women in prostitution are suffering from STDs or two or more STDs at a time. They are Syphilis, Chancroid, Gonorrhoea, Donovanosis, Venereal Warts and the new disease AIDS.

But we have ignored the plight of such girls and women in prostitution until now. But we should no longer do so.

Economical growth (especially for the most underprivileged classes in India), education, employment, abolition of the social evils, provisions, women's empowerment and equality are important to change the present conditions and achieve social justice in India and in Japan. And education in the home or at school should be gender sensitive.

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