Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata, India:
OBSERVATIONS IN PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENTS AND PRIVATE NETWORKS OF THE SEX TRADE AND SURVIVOR PERSPECTIVES

Presented by
West Bengal Commission for Protection of Child Rights and International Justice Mission
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This research was made possible through the support, courage, and diligence of many data collectors, qualitative interviewers, and admin and security teams in Kolkata, India. The entire staff in Kolkata was “all hands on deck” for various parts of this study. We are extremely grateful for your willingness to try something experimental in an attempt to shed light on a dark part of human nature. Your personal risk for the sake of the study has not gone unnoticed.

Other colleagues that spent hours brainstorming methodology, reviewing data collection instruments, and providing technical and/or on-the-ground counsel included Terence Fitzgerald, Saju Mathew, and Sharon Cohn Wu. The findings of this report are the property of IJM. The contents of the report may be cited with due acknowledgement to IJM.

The children pictured in this study are not victims of sex trafficking. Their guardians consented to their participation to help raise awareness of the issue in India.
West Bengal Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (WBCPCR) and International Justice Mission, India present the research study on, “Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata: Observations in Public Establishments and Private Networks of the Sex Trade and Survivor Perspectives”, sought to measure the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in Kolkata and in surrounding districts.

The Research is a consolidated representation of the prevalence of CSEC in the districts of Kolkata, Purba Medinipur, North 24 Parganas, South 24 Parganas, and Howrah. It aimed to study the prevalence of minor victims of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) in public establishments i.e. red light areas, and in private establishments such as residential areas, hotels and bars in the Kolkata metropolitan area only. In addition, the study was focused to understand the nature of violence being perpetrated on the minor victims.

From August 2015 to April 2016 researchers from International Justice Mission, India were engaged in understanding the problem of CSE, identifying minor victims (only girls) and analyzing the collected data to study the success of anti-trafficking interventions. The study gave certain recommendations for future research and possible positive measures that can be taken to combat the impunity of the crime.
FOREWORD

The study on the prevalence of minor victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in Kolkata by International Justice Mission (IJM, has been an eye opener. It is shocking to know that such thing exists not only in public establishments, such as, brothels in the red light areas, but also in private networks, like residential homes, massage parlours, lodges. It is unfortunate that this issue has not been discussed openly. The study illustrates with data how exploitation of minors is decentralized in connivance with their families. It is alarming to see how the vulnerable children are being targeted. All the stakeholders of child rights and protection should become aware of the issue and work together to safeguard the future of children. Enforcement of law should be one of the priorities to combat CSE of children as to avoid their exploitation any further. The study calls for the need of coordination and collaboration among Government Departments and Non-Government Organizations, International Non-Government Organizations, Communities, Social Workers and the Public Justice System to stop violation of law and childhood.

Roshni Sen
Secretary
Memo No. 17/C/IG-I/2017

October 11, 2017

To,
The Director of Operations
International Justice Mission
Post Office Box 16307
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Subject: Study on commercial sexual exploitation of children

International Justice Mission (IJM) is an organization which focuses on protecting vulnerable population from exploitation and partners with Government and other agencies. It has done commendable work to combat sex trafficking of minors and in rescue and rehabilitation of the victims, besides helping in prosecution of offenders.

Based on its work at a grass root level, it conducted the research titled “Observations in Public Establishments and Private Networks of the Sex Trade and Survivor Perspectives” which tries to fathom of prevalence of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Kolkata and its surrounding areas. By employing scientific methodology and established means of data collection and collation, it has derived some insightful conclusions and has also suggested recommendations to address the issue. The meticulous study will help in understanding the problem and finding solutions at all levels.

The efforts undertaken by IJM are praiseworthy and deserve commendation.

(Ajey M Ranade)
Inspector General of Police
CID, West Bengal
FOREWORD

South Asia continues to grapple with the issues of child sexual abuse and exploitation (CSAE). By all accounts extensive but seldom reported because of the fear of stigma and a lack of child protection services, sexual abuse affects both boys and girls and often occurs within the family, in schools and the community, with the perpetrators in most cases familiar to the child. Commercial sexual exploitation of girls and boys, sex tourism, pornography, and trafficking is also pervasive, and is now aided and abetted by digital technologies, especially mobile phones and the internet. While the affected children continue to experience manifold repercussions throughout their lives, the responses have been hampered by limited understanding and recognition of CSAE as gross violation of children’s rights among various stakeholders.

Given this scenario I am very happy to acknowledge and welcome the study on the prevalence of minor victims of ‘Commercial Sexual Exploitation’ (CSE) in Kolkata, undertaken by the International Justice Mission (IJM).

This study reflects the paradigm shift in the prevalence of minors from public establishments. Using advanced techniques in data gathering methods IJM has established that this crime and exploitation is becoming more covert by engaging minors in private establishments. Hence, tackling the problem has become challenging and sophisticated to penetrate the private networks. It brings out qualitative data not only on the prevalence but also establishes how the victims and survivors were trafficked and rescued by IJM Kolkata since 2006.

It recommends a collaborative effort, from government and civil societies, to plan and execute a multi-disciplinary strategy and approach to understand and address the sex trade economy especially in private networks and to end the impunity of sexual exploitation of children. I believe that the valuable information and critical pointers in the study will greatly enrich the discourse around CSEC in South Asian region and can be used as a very good reference material for the documentation of a regional strategy on CSEC and ‘Ending Violence Against Children’ (EVAC).

I congratulate IJM and officials responsible for this report.

Yours Sincerely

(Dr. Rinchen Chophil)
Director General
International Justice Mission (IJM) is known to me since more than a decade. It is really good to see their dedication and sincerity towards anti human trafficking works like information gathering, rescue of victims, prosecution of offenders, rehabilitation, repatriation and integration of the victims.

Human trafficking is an organized crime and a social problem and all organisations both public and private need to unite to fight this social evil. The study on the prevalence of minor victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in Kolkata by International Justice Mission (IJM) brings out the reality of the crime as it exists in both public establishments and private networks. The study becomes significant as it employs scientific methodologies and data collected from the field. It is a commendable study undertaken by IJM with a view to sensitize the concerned departments towards organized crime like human trafficking.
FOREWORD

I congratulate International Justice Mission, Kolkata for conducting extensive research study on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata. I believe that the comprehensive research undertaken by IJM Kolkata is pioneer in many respect. It unearthed the wide network of sex-industry outside red-light districts and how an exploitative industry is flourishing despite several legislations including POCSO Act. I commend them for pioneering in a much needed research in the field of human trafficking, which is growing day by day. The findings of the research show a significant increase in sexual exploitation of children in private residences, and a decrease of sexual exploitation of children in the traditional red light areas. This poses another challenge for state machineries to broaden the ambit of anti-trafficking initiatives and take positive actions not only within red-light districts but in other parts of the city where traffickers are operating cage-brothels.

Although poverty is often termed as the root cause of human trafficking, however, the study views the crime of trafficking, not just from a social lens, but also from an economic perspective. It reinforces the belief that poverty is one of the means to make victims vulnerable and vulnerability of the victims is the root cause of trafficking. The different sets of traffickers including profit-seekers like brothel owner traffic victims only for their financial gain. Thus, economics is core to each of the sex-traffickers and is continuing to be perpetuated and spread out because it is more financially lucrative to the traffickers and carries least risk in the spectrum of different organized crimes. What we often forget in the midst of understanding human trafficking is that it is a serious offence bearing serious consequences, if violated, and deserves most serious legal response.

Apart from different profit-seekers, the customers are main source for creating demands. I also strongly urge that the customers be arrested and prosecuted under the provisions in our Indian Penal Code, 1860 and Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956, to curb the demand for sex-trafficking. In fact, every such sexual intercourse with minors deserve punishment under POCSO Act too. There is a need for sensitization of law enforcement agency as to how they shall deal with demand creators of child sex-trafficking.

Furthermore, as the industry has permeated into the private residences, hotels efforts need to be taken and made to close down brothels to discourage them from thriving in the society. The study highlights the perspectives of survivors of trafficking. Their narratives call for a collaboration and convergence of police, social service, prosecution and judiciary to effectively implement the existing laws, procedures and rehabilitation mechanisms to ensure the implementation of the important rule of natural justice contained in the oft-quoted phrase 'justice should not only be done, but should be seem to be done'.

Dr. Sarfaraz Ahmed Khan
British Chevening Scholar &
Michigan Grotius Research Fellowship Awardee
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W. B. National University of Juridical Sciences
The gamut of issues that cause and arise out of sex trafficking prove it is a crime that is distinctly interwoven into everyday life whilst remaining obscure. The lack of adequate data and study on the issue of trafficking of women and children has camouflaged its existence thereby handicapping the response the issue merits to tackle it sustainably. This Prevalence Study is a humble albeit conscientious effort to shed light on facts that undermine humanity, victimizing the most vulnerable sections—women and children—in minatory proportions.

For the study of sex trafficking public establishments, i.e., a public place such as a building or business in which women and/or girls are openly sold for sex, 16 hotspots were identified in the city of Kolkata and surrounding districts. The study reveals that 0.8% of commercial sex workers (CSWs) in these public establishments were minors. In private networks, which refers to locations and criminals in the chain of trafficking operating covertly, 18.3% of CSWs were identified as minors. The private network focus areas were in the Kolkata Metropolitan Area.

International Justice Mission (IJM) has, for the past 12 years, been actively involved in collaborative casework against the forces of sex trafficking in Kolkata. The work of IJM includes rescue, rehabilitation of victims, and working closely with institutions of justice such as judiciary and police to tackle sex trafficking. Thus equipping IJM with a holistic perspective of the crime. The expertise developed over the years inspired the need to conduct a comprehensive study to determine the prevalence of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) of children in public establishments and private networks in targeted areas in Kolkata.

Apart from identifying the prevalence of CSE of children in the target areas, this study delves into the nature of violence perpetrated upon the victims of sex trafficking by reporting on qualitative interviews conducted with CSE survivors. It describes the means of control exercised by perpetrators upon victims, nature of abuse and the effect on the psychological and physical health of the victims. The findings of the study are a result of the rigorous field work and qualitative analysis over four months from January to April 2016. The study comprehensively analyzes the problem using scientific research methodology. The findings and recommendations of this study can be instrumental in guiding and devising a systematic approach to end the issue of trafficking. The model adopted in this study could be replicated to deal with other crimes as well.

This study finds 0.8% of CSWs in public establishments to be minors, bringing encouragement to stakeholders working against the crime. On the other hand, it can also be a revelation of the changing nature and trends of sex trafficking in the country. The study reveals that trafficking of minors is rampant and criminally sophisticated in private networks. Technological advancements have enabled perpetrators to conduct covert operations and magnify their outreach using social media. They are able to carry out their unlawful trade more clandestinely and profitably. Their ability to maintain complete anonymity by creating multiple layers between themselves and the customer has increased.

Efforts made by the West Bengal Government to combat sex trafficking have been effective. The perpetuating private networks with their sinister and covert modus operandi is evidence of the growing demand for Commercial Sex Workers in the dynamic city of Kolkata. The need of the hour is a multi-disciplinary approach to end sex trafficking sustainably. This can be achieved through a concerted effort of the police, government agencies and social services by relying on quality research to tackle the problem.

It is imperative that the justice system must step up and recognize the need to bring in efficacious methods to end sex trafficking in women and children permanently. I hope the findings of this Prevalence Study will resonate with every citizen and motivate all of us to bring an end to sex trafficking.
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## Acronyms

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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AHTU</td>
<td>Anti-Human Trafficking Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSW</td>
<td>Commercial Sex Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>Global Positioning Satellite System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJM</td>
<td>International Justice Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPC</td>
<td>Indian Penal Code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITPA</td>
<td>Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TIP</td>
<td>Trafficking in Persons</td>
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Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata

**Key Terms**

**Bedia tribe or community** - a nomadic tribal community in India, found in the bordering areas of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan, that has historically lived off of earnings generated through sex work. The Bedia community typically introduces their girls into sex work at a very young age.

**Borderline major** - any sex worker (M or F) 18-21 years old linked to the establishment studying

**Borderline minor** - any sex worker (M or F) 16-17 years old linked to the establishment studying

**Commercial sex worker** - any individual who provides sexual services for payment. Although a commercial sex worker could be either male or female, since no males were observed in the course of the study, it always refers to a female when used in this report.

**Commercial sexual exploitation (CSE)** - forcing or coercing an individual to provide sexual services in exchange for some form of payment. Typically, the payment is made to a third party and the victim receives none or very little of it for the services provided. For the purposes of this study, all minor victims are considered to be victims of CSE, since the age of consent is 18 years old in India.

**Confirmed** - data collector interacted or engaged with a minor sex worker or someone else and was able to gather sufficient evidence of confirmation about the minor’s age

**Customer** - any person, regardless of age, sex, nationality, etc., in the establishment to receive services from major or minor sex workers

**Hotspot** - geographical area known for consistently selling sexual services or where there are a cluster of public establishments consistently offering sexual services

**Madam** - a woman who manages a brothel, escort service or other public or private sex establishment. She may work alone or in collaboration with other traffickers or pimps. She has direct control over her workers and dictates their sex work.

**Major** - any sex worker, male or female, age 22 and older linked to the establishment studying

**Manager** - an individual who supervises the work of others. In this report, managers refer to those directly supervising women and girls providing sexual services.

**Non-Indian customer** - any person, regardless of age, sex, caste, etc., that is originally NOT from India, in the establishment to receive services from major or minor sex workers

**Observed** - “eyes on”, meaning the data collector physically viewed the person, regardless of age confirmation

**Pimp** - a man or woman who contracts individuals selling sex services, either directly or through a madam. He/she may or may not have direct control over these individuals.

**Physical violence** - violence that occurs when someone uses a part of their body or an object to control a person's actions and either results in or has high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation.
Private Network - Refers to the affiliated locations and criminals in the chain of trafficking, such as a spotter, transporter, recruiter, buyer, seller, pimp, madam and establishment manager. Pimps and madams who are linked together and provide young girls and women for sexual services upon request to a specific, mutually agreed location.

Promised - someone tells data collector that other minors will come, but data collector will not observe, interact, or engage with them

Public Justice System - the legitimate government-instituted and controlled use of force and authority to promote public safety, protect citizens from the use of force not authorized by law and to provide equal access to rights and due process. The public justice system is comprised of police, prosecutorial, judicial and administrative bodies, local governments, and social service systems.

Rupees (INR) - the report uses an exchange rate of 0.015 USD per Indian rupees (INR). This rate was arrived at using an average of the daily rate from 29 October 2015 to 22 April 2016. The exchange rate was rounded from INR 0.014950/1 USD, based on information provided through US Forex Foreign Exchange Services.

Suspected - to consider the person's age to be in the category assigned (22 and older, 18-21, 16-17, or 15 and younger) based on observation, engagement, or interaction

Trafficking in persons or human trafficking - "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."* For the purposes of this report, trafficking in persons refers to those being trafficked for sex.

Vulnerable children - any child, birth to 14 years old that is in the establishment but not a sex worker

Young minor - any sex worker (M or F), birth to 15 years old (for purposes of this assessment), linked to the establishment studying

*UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000), also known as the Palermo Protocol
Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata

Background and Introduction

Human trafficking is a violent form of sexual or physical exploitation where vulnerable people are abused for another’s economic gain. Throughout South Asia, the industrialization of many developing cities has cyclically exacerbated the destruction of traditional livelihood options in villages, forcing migration and subsequently growing supply and demand for Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in urban areas. Kolkata, the capital city of the state of West Bengal, is the principal commercial, cultural, and educational centre of East India with an alluring metropolitan appeal, making the city a major source, destination and transit for CSE. While India’s reputedly largest red light district of Sonagachi can be found within Kolkata, there has not been a comprehensive prevalence assessment of the city’s hotspot areas recently. Additionally, there is speculation that the trade is changing, shifting away from these more traditional red light areas and towards a more hidden, privately-networked phenomenon. This study aimed to measure the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in hotspot areas of Kolkata and the surrounding areas, as well as shed light on this more networked side of the trade.

Methods

This study consisted of three separate, but interrelated data collection efforts. Since the sex trade in public establishments and private networks is often unassociated and unlinked these required distinct methodologies. To measure prevalence of minors engaged in CSE in public establishments, the study team conducted a collaborative process with stakeholders to identify hotspot areas, in which the team then conducted a comprehensive mapping exercise of all public establishments consistently selling sex, including a count of the total number of sex workers at each establishment. In total, data collectors mapped 451 establishments between 9 August and 28 September 2015, documenting a total of 4,143 sex workers employed at these sites. Data collection occurred from 29 October to 11 December 2015, and using a Bernoulli sampling design, the team collected data on 316 randomly selected establishments.

To study the private networks of the sex trade, the team utilized years of contact development in IJM’s casework experience to build out a list of pimps and madams. Data collectors met with these ‘contacts’ over a series of encounters in order to observe and document their entire CSW network, making new contacts along the way. Data collection occurred from 9 November 2015 to 28 April 2016. The data analyst utilized an innovative mark-recapture analysis for hard-to-survey populations to understand how the sample could estimate the sex worker population in these networks. Social network analysis of the data also demonstrated various types of exploiter and CSW network structures.

Thirdly, in order to more intimately understand the nature of CSE and the experiences of those working in the sex trade, the study team organized interviews with survivors. In total, 18 survivors, who all experienced elements of force, coercion, or deception leading into exploitation, described their experiences around recruitment, movement, a ‘conditioning period’, and then overall day-to-day exploitation in the trade.

Executive Summary
Results

In the public establishment study, 4.4% of establishments had minors available for CSE, according to weight-based estimates. The estimated prevalence of minors in these hotspots, based on calibration, was 0.8% (CI: 0.6% to 1.1%). This indicates that brothels and other public establishments have low exploitation of minors, but notably at least one quarter of the minors observed in these establishments openly reported being trafficked, sold, and forced into the trade. All of the minors observed were 16 and 17 years old, in Sonagachi and Kapasberia, and originally from mostly West Bengal, with the others from Bangladesh and other states in India.

The more under-documented finding from this study was the seemingly high number of minors engaged in CSE through private networks. In this more privately-networked phenomenon across Kolkata, IJM documented 24 minors being sold for sex out of a total of 131 CSWs, though this was not a representative sample. All of the minors observed were 15 to 17 years old, of which all were from West Bengal. Observations of these minors all occurred mostly in private residences, predominantly in the “south” zone of Kolkata. The mark-recapture analysis yielded a lower bound number of 716 sex workers in the targeted areas. The true scale of CSEC in this aspect of the sex trade is largely unknown; but even with the limitations of representation for this study, the findings provide valuable insights into how to further study the phenomenon, pointing to a more entrepreneurial side of the trade which is agile in its response to justice system interventions. Contacts selling or leading to minors for sex were mostly female, quite different from the stereotypical, male-dominated exploiters, and ranged in age from 16 to 58 years old. Many exploiters worked collaboratively with other people or in networks to execute this more private transaction of sex services.

While there is not much known about the experiences of those exploited in this more networked phenomenon, the in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors provided a window into the violence, trauma, and degradation that some women face in the sex trade. Recruiters used the promise of a good job to lure these vulnerable young women and children. Once acquired, the traffickers used multiple modes of transportation to move the victims to a different area for exploitation, using tactics to mask the nature of the relationship.

While the majority of survivors were defrauded with the promise of a good job into entering the establishment, they were forced or coerced into beginning sex work. The use of a key tactic emerged from women’s stories: in nearly half of the survivor’s experiences, there was a conditioning period involving threats, being raped by the first customer, debt bondage, and other physical violence that crippled the survivor’s ability to refuse the manager. Once the women began providing services, survivors reported providing services to between 7-18 customers a day. While the survivor received little or nothing for this, managers, instead, reaped substantial revenue from a single worker, demonstrating the profitability of this crime and incentive to keep women and girls exploited in the sex industry. From payments reported in the private network study, the pimps and madams are paid similarly for CSW services, but with less interference from those combatting the exploitation. The managers controlled the survivors through constant monitoring, confinement within the establishment, psychological abuse and control mechanisms, and financial control. A key barrier to exit were the threats of death, made credible to survivors due to their own experience of violence as well as the violence committed against others in the establishment. Lastly, survivors talked of significant and long-lasting impacts of undergoing physical and sexual violence including impacts on their health as a result of unprotected sex, emotional distress and suicidal ideation, shame, and difficulty with social reintegration.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The sex trade in Kolkata is flourishing and well-known, particularly among private networks. While the Government of West Bengal has taken significant steps to combatting CSEC, there is more to do. The study findings call for the government and key stakeholders in civil society to design a multi-disciplinary strategy for effectively and sustainably ending sexual exploitation, tackling both the demand and supply side of the sex trade. This strategy should include measures to research and investigate the extent of this sex trafficking
pipeline, ensuring that all those involved in or enabling the system, be rooted out. Any strategy would need to include inter-state collaborations with police and other government entities and should consider inter-agency collaboration for addressing how businesses enable or benefit from the sex trade. The government should continue to invest resources for building the capacity of the police force to identify minors in Kolkata Metropolitan Region. They should provide police with highly-skilled training to better investigate and infiltrate the private networks of the sex trade in particular. Additionally, the stories of the interviewed survivors show a violent and gruesome side of the sex trade. Justice system officials and other health and psychosocial service providers interacting with survivors of CSE need to understand the intensity of abuse perpetrated on survivors, the effects of the unique trauma experienced by those in the sex trade, as well as the tactics used by exploiters to establish and exacerbate their fears. Lastly, the current studies bring to light future research opportunities for studying minors and forced majors in the sex trade.
SECTION I

Background and Introduction
1.1 Definition and Stages of Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Human trafficking is a fundamental betrayal of human rights; current estimates suggest that it is one of the fastest growing transnational crimes. It is a violent form of sexual or physical exploitation where vulnerable people are abused for another's economic gain. The United Nations defines the crime to encompass:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

Human trafficking for sexual purposes is a form of CSE. In such cases, victims are forced, manipulated or compelled to engage in commercial sex acts against their will. The crime of sexual exploitation is a heinous destruction of human liberty, where vulnerable - often poor - individuals are denied control over their own bodies and dignity.

Siddarth Kara, who has done extensive research in India, highlights that there are generally three stages to commercial sexual exploitation in the country: acquisition, movement and exploitation. Traffickers will use violence, financial coercion, romance or deceit of a job to acquire vulnerable young women and children in order to exploit them for profit. Once acquired, traffickers in South Asia typically move the victims to an area for exploitation. While movement in the sex trade commonly connotes cross border trafficking, experts now caveat that movement can be of any distance and often find local girls being coerced into the trade as

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In addition to the sexual exploitation, victims are typically subject to gruelling conditions and violence. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), survivors have reported being drugged, raped repeatedly, beaten unconscious, horrifically abused, and forced to drink excessively. The WHO report goes on to note that while initially trafficked, abused victims are often shamed and shunned from society making it difficult to return to their home communities for fear of violence from their abuser, fear of societal rejection, and/or fear of police and legal repercussions.

1.2 Estimates and Nature of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Commercial sexual exploitation has evolved to be a highly profitable business, generating over 99 billion dollars of profit per year in 2014. Women and girls represent the highest proportion of trafficking victims, and of those, 75% are under the age of 18.

Globally, trafficking can range from large, sophisticated mafia networks seamlessly operating within well-established systems in Africa, Eastern Europe, South Asia, and the Middle East to Western countries in Western Europe and North America, to independently run local establishments. Mafia networks are more prevalent connecting Eastern and Western Europe while South Asia has historically been dominated by freelance criminals or small business entrepreneurs.

1.2.1 South Asia

Countries in Asia have the highest total number of sex slaves on a per capita basis. In 2006, the United Nations estimated that the trafficking of women and children for CSE in Asia had victimized over 30 million people. Throughout South Asia, the industrialization of many developing cities has cyclically exacerbated the destruction of traditional livelihood options in villages, forcing migration and subsequently growing supply and demand for CSE in urban areas. Women and children in poorer areas of Bangladesh, Nepal and India are trafficked internally to richer areas, as well as internationally into India, Middle Eastern countries, and the Asia Pacific area. Trafficking from neighbouring countries into India make up 10% of trafficking for CSE.

A 2008 study by Christine Joffres estimated 10,000–20,000 Bangladeshi women and girls are trafficked into India each year. The study also found that the majority of Bangladeshi girls are first trafficked to Kolkata and then moved throughout the country.

In 2005 Human Rights Watch estimated that 6,000–15,000 women and children were trafficked from Nepal into India every year for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Additionally, 5,000–7,000 Nepalese...
enter the internal sex trade every year for a predominately national clientele. A report by the American Bar Association noted, however, that experts have recently noted an increase of sex tourism in larger cities like Kathmandu and Pokhara, and that 65% of adult sex workers entered the trade as children.19

Violence is also often a defining characteristic of CSE in South Asia.20 Both the acquisition and the exploitation stage can be extremely violent. Victims are tortured, starved, humiliated, and drugged throughout the trafficking process to either force physical or sexual submission or to entertain the traffickers.21 In a survey of brothel owners by Dr. P.M. Nair, 21.4% admitted to relying on musclemen to handle and subdue the girls.22 Sex trafficking survivors have also described being beaten with sticks, clubs, electrical cords and metal rods; forcibly injected with narcotics; and forced to watch their own children be physically abused.23

Victims are also at high risk of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.24 A study on social issues in India done by Smarak Swain revealed that over 50% of survivors suffer from HIV/AIDS, STDs, or some form of gynaecological health problem.25 Trafficked victims experience sexual violence to a greater degree than non-trafficked sex-workers in South Asia, and analysis has proven a significant correlation between HIV and sexual violence.26

1.2.2 India

Within India 89% of trafficking for CSE27 is inter-state. Girls are mainly sourced from Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh.28 Whereas, much of the purchasing of minors occurs in West Bengal and Maharashtra.29 However, recently India has also emerged as a destination country as well as an international supplier for CSE globally.

In India, the predominant victims of CSE are minors and adult women who have been forced into sex work against their will. The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) in their 2014 annual report estimates that there are 3 million women and children trafficked in India each year.30 In 2009, India’s federal police issued a statement estimating 1.2 million children in forced prostitution in India alone – not counting the adult women who are trafficked.31

While a large number of victims in the sex trade are from neighbouring countries like Bangladesh and Nepal, 90% of India’s trafficking rackets and customers are internal.32 CSE victims are often from disadvantaged social groups, scheduled tribes, low castes and religious minorities.33 A study done by Dr. P.M. Nair titled “Action

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21Kara, pp. 11, 48-49.
22Nair, p. 112
26Sarkar et al., p. 223
27Joffres et al., 2008
28Joffres et al., 2008
32US State Department, 2015; Joffres et al., 2008
33US State Department, 2015; Kara, pp. 30-32; Nair, pp. 7-8
Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Kolkata

Research on Trafficking in Women and Children (ARTWAC) researched 412 brothel owners in India and found as many as 198 owners who admitted to having minors between 16-17 years old – in India, a minor is considered as anyone under the age of 18. Additionally, 82% of respondents admitted to selling girls younger than 16. The purchase price of girls tends to fall as victims get older, which similarly indicates that trafficking is most likely to occur at young ages. Data from 2009 shows that, from 2009, shows that for a customer, the average price per sex act was INR 249 (3.75 USD) depending on the nationality, age, or other factors about the girl.

Children continue to be targeted for CSE in religious centres or tourist destinations in India and are predominantly trafficked to Delhi, Gujarat, Kolkata, Mumbai, and along the India-Nepal border. Traditional customary prostitution also exists as a manifestation of CSE throughout India, permitting very young minor girls between the ages of 9 and 13, to be trafficked for the purpose of temple prostitution where they are dedicated to various gods. They are first abused by temple priests and then usually sold or auctioned to brokers for CSE. It is often family members who sell and broker the deal in customary prostitution. Religious prostitution is predominantly practiced in Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Andhra Pradesh. Tribal prostitution is another form of CSE where girls from certain villages like the Bedia communities are culturally expected to enter the sex trade as a learned craft.

Because many of the victims of CSE come from impoverished villages around the country, many of their original vulnerabilities still exist post-rescue. In Swain’s study of 561 CSE survivors surveyed, 17.5% of rescued trafficking victims had been rescued once earlier, 1.8% had been rescued twice earlier, and 6.6% had been rescued three or more times. Without proper rehabilitation to address the trauma from their abuse and provide them with other viable livelihood options, some felt they had no option but to return to the brothels. Additionally, the failure to arrest the perpetrators in brothels does not create a credible deterrent for owners and pimps to change their practices of continuing to victimize young girls and adult women. The practice often involves high profitability and minimal punishment for perpetrators, which incentivizes them to continue their exploitation.

1.2.3 West Bengal State

West Bengal is similarly a source, destination, and transit state for the industry of commercial sexual exploitation. The state shares borders with Nepal, Bangladesh, and Bhutan, making it an ideal location for trafficking in victims. There are 29 red light areas in the capital city of Kolkata, with Sonagachi being the largest. Sonagachi has been a place of prostitution for over 150 years with an estimated 4,000–6,000 girls in the sex trade serving an estimated total of 20,000 customers a day.

Many destitute women and girls are trafficked from neighbouring Nepal or Bangladesh to Kolkata where they are ‘initiated’ into the trade and then trafficked to the rest of India. In a 2008 study, 536 CSWs commercial sexual workers were surveyed in brothels across West Bengal. Twenty four percent indicated they were originally trafficked in the trade. Out of those, 57% cited being trafficked primarily through the use of violence.
However, West Bengal is also a significant source state for all of India. According to the Nation Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), human trafficking in 2015 increased by 38.7% from the previous year. West Bengal accounts for 26.1% of the total cases of human trafficking in the country with 1,096 total registered cases.46

1.3 Government Response to Commercial Sexual Exploitation in India

1.3.1 National Level Government Action on Combatting CSE

India has been consistent in developing and amending legislation to comprehensively combat crimes associated with CSE and has implemented various rehabilitation schemes to assist survivors of trafficking. The 1956 Suppression of Immoral Trafficking Act, renamed the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 (ITPA or PITA), criminalizes human trafficking. However historically when the ITPA was enforced, any sentencing given was minimal,47 with brothel owners receiving no more than three years’ imprisonment and a fine of INR 2,000 (30 USD) (compared to a maximum sentence under ITPA of 14 years). Pimps received half of that penalty.48 In addition to the minor penalties, there had also been minimal arrests and prosecutions. The government only prosecuted and convicted a few criminals yearly for CSE compared to the hundreds of thousands of victims in India.49 Under the ITPA, 23% of the cases of human trafficking from 2010 until 2014 ended in a conviction, with a total of 45,375 arrests and 10,134 convicted persons.50 While the conviction percentage is high, the number of arrests and prosecutions is grossly inadequate when compared to the hundreds of thousands of victims and perpetrators of CSE in India.51

In 2013, as a response to needed changes in the legislation, the government amended Section 370 of the Indian Penal Code (IPC), which comprehensively defined trafficking as an illegal act, to explicitly criminalizing the purchase or disposing of slaves as well as the methods used to do so. The amended version of Section 370 also increased the potential sentencing of a convicted trafficker to between seven years and life imprisonment. Even more severe, if convicted of trafficking a minor, the perpetrator will receive a minimum of 14 years of imprisonment.52 Table 1 provides a comprehensive overview of India’s laws related to CSE.
Table 1: CSE-Related Legislation in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956</td>
<td>To combat CSE and prohibits prostitution. It has provisions for providing rehabilitation and protection to victims of CSE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015</td>
<td>Defines a child as under the age of 18 and provides provisions for care and protection of children. It has provisions which provide for protection measures for the repatriation and rehabilitation of children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (Notified on 14 December 2012)</td>
<td>The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 has been enacted to strengthen the legal provisions for the protection of children from sexual abuse and exploitation. Sexual offences are currently covered under different sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC). The IPC does not provide for all types of sexual offences against children and does not distinguish between adult and child victims. The offences of sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography have been clearly defined for the first time in law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Penal Code Section 370</td>
<td>Criminalizes and penalizes trafficking of human beings. It criminalizes recruiting, transporting, harbouring and transferring persons by using threats, using force or any other form of coercion, abductions, practicing fraud, deception or abuse of power or inducement for exploitation (sexual, labour, slavery, servitude, forced removal of organs). In addition, Section 370 IPC criminalizes repeated offenders and those offenders who traffic one or more minors. Furthermore, when a public servant or police officer is involved with trafficking, they will be punished with life imprisonment. The consent of the victim is immaterial.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of writing this report, the government is in the process of drafting a new anti-trafficking omnibus law, tentatively titled "Trafficking in Persons – Prevention, Protection, and Rehabilitation." The government is currently taking civil society input and feedback on its most recent draft. According to Union Minister for Women and Child Development Smt. Maneka Gandhi, the current version of the new law promotes victim sensitivity and provides new penalties for the use of narcotics, alcohol, or other substances in the trafficking process. It also establishes agencies within state governments to address and combat trafficking.

In addition to these legislative efforts, the Ministry of Home Affairs initiated the ‘anti-trafficking portal’ in 2014, which includes information on “criminal justice statistics, anti-trafficking police units, government and police training, the anti-trafficking legislation, and reporting mechanisms, including the Child Line 1098 hotline number.” The portal, titled Anti-Human-Trafficking, is a branch of the Ministry’s home website and features rescue and repatriation news as well as provides links to resources discussing India’s anti-human-trafficking efforts. It demonstrates the Government of India’s growing efforts to raise awareness regarding the prevalence of the issue and to be a force for change.

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\[^{54}\] In India, exchanging money for sexual services is legal, but surrounding activities associated with prostitution, such as operating brothels, pimping and soliciting sex, are illegal.


\[^{56}\] Global Slavery Index, 2014

The national government has issued a couple of government welfare programs, specifically aimed at assisting victims of CSE. The first of those programs was introduced in 1969 and is called the scheme of Short Stay Home for Women and Girls. It was introduced as a social defense mechanism, by the then Department of Social Welfare in 1969. The scheme is meant to provide temporary accommodation, maintenance and rehabilitative services to women and girls rendered homeless due to family discord, crime, violence, mental stress, social ostracism or who are forced into prostitution and are in moral danger. Another scheme with similar objectives namely Swadhar – A Scheme for Women in Difficult Circumstances was launched by the Department of Women and Child Development in 2001-02. This scheme through the provisions of shelter, food, clothing, counselling, training, clinical and legal aid aims to rehabilitate such women in difficult circumstances. The scheme envisons a supportive institutional framework for women victims of difficult circumstances so they can lead their life with dignity and conviction. It envisages that shelter, food, clothing, and health as well as economic and social security are assured for such women. It also envisons that the special needs of these women are properly taken care of and under no circumstances they should be left unattended or abandoned, which could lead to their exploitation and desolation.

In 2007, the Ministry, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) launched a Central Scheme called “Ujjawala,” a Hindi word for “brighter, vivid,” for the “Prevention of Trafficking, Rescue, Rehabilitation, Re-Integration and Repatriation of Victims of Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation.” In 2014, the scheme sanctioned 289 projects including 165 Protective and Rehabilitative Homes, all of which are being implemented through NGOs.

Also in 2007, the Central Advisory Committee (CAC) within the MWCD issued national guidelines for six crucial issues surrounding the sale of minors for sex, including key areas such as an inter-state rescue protocol, prevention and rehabilitation of rescued victims, health and legal issues and data tracking.

1.3.2 State Level Government Action on Combating CSE

The state of West Bengal has drafted a State Action Plan (SAP) for Anti Human Trafficking Initiatives. A SAP is a significant need in the fight against trafficking, as it acts as a focal point for all invested parties and factions of the public justice system to coordinate, provide a clarity of roles, and ensure accountability. The SAP for West Bengal establishes a protocol for the pre-rescue, rescue, and rehabilitation stages of the anti-trafficking process.

The government of West Bengal has also taken additional steps to combat human trafficking in the state trafficking. In 2007, the West Bengal Task Force (WBTF) was formed, which is the nodal agency for Rescue, Return and Repatriation of Victims of Trafficking and Cross Border movement from Bangladesh. In 2014, the State Advisory Committee to Prevent and Combat Trafficking of Women and Children for commercial sexual exploitation (SAC) was created. SAC serves to ensure trafficking prevention, ensure interdepartmental efforts in the rehabilitation of trafficking victims and monitor State Plan of Action implementation. And lastly, the government has initiated Kanyashree and the State Plan of Action for Preventing and Combating Human Trafficking (SPAHT). Formed in 2016, SPAHT is a technical assistance tool that guides all stakeholders, state and non-state in planning, implementing and monitoring effective, coordinated responses to trafficking.

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55 Global Slavery Index, 2014
58 Government of West Bengal, 2015.
Further, the state and police officials have taken steps to combat trafficking and CSE. All police officers above the rank of inspector have been promoted to Special Police Officers for a more effective implementation of ITPA. In Kolkata, an additional 48 officers have been designated as Special Trafficking Police Officers. Because of the unique geographic position of West Bengal, the Border Security Force (BSF) have been trained to be aware of transnational trafficking, and mobile units have been deployed to monitor entry and exit points at train and bus stations.64

1.4 Background to IJM in India and their Response to Commercial Sexual Exploitation

International Justice Mission (IJM) is a global team of lawyers, social workers, data collectors, community educators and other professionals at work in over 15 communities in low-income countries around the world to protect the poor from violence. In India specifically, IJM is committed to partnering with local governments to end human trafficking for sex and forced labour. IJM has expertise in the issue, with on-the-ground and in-depth experience working with people groups vulnerable to human trafficking, victims of forced labour and CSE, and relevant local, district, state, and central government officials tasked with addressing these crimes. IJM has been invested in combatting CSE in India since the late 1990s. Since the outset, IJM and its partners have worked with local police authorities in India to identify and rescue nearly 1,000 victims of sex trafficking in West Bengal and Maharashtra states.

IJM collaborates with the government in West Bengal by taking individual cases of sex trafficking through the Justice System and providing hands-on training and capacity building to local authorities in resolving each case. In partnership with local authorities, IJM works to identify and rescue victims of sex trafficking and ensure those rescued receive rehabilitative care and support. Additionally, IJM supports the prosecution of the case to ensure that India’s laws are appropriately applied and consistently implemented.

1.5 Study Goal and Objectives

The overall goal is to determine the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in both public and private establishments in targeted areas of Kolkata and surrounding areas.

The specific objectives include:

1. To test and implement a methodology to determine prevalence of CSEC in Kolkata.
2. To determine prevalence of CSEC in Kolkata.
   a. To identify locations (hot spots) with higher densities of CSEC in Kolkata.
3. To understand the current nature of the crime.
   a. To establish difference in costs to purchase sex for an hour in red light vs. non-red light areas.
   b. To determine the level of violence in CSE in Kolkata.
   c. To gain insights into the transit nature of the crime.
4. To understand the profile of CSEC victims.
   a. To determine the average age (or age range) of minor victims.
   b. To determine the average age (or age range) at which victims were first brought into CSE.
   c. To determine the state or country of origin of each minor victim.
5. To understand the profile of exploiters and customers.

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64UNODC, Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2008. p. 32
Section 2

Methods
Given that the nature of the sex trade in public establishments and private networks is often unassociated and unlinked, to study the prevalence in each required distinct methodologies. Data from in-depth interviews with survivors of sex trafficking provides more nuanced insights into the nature and trending manifestation of the commercial sex trade in Kolkata, particularly within public establishments.

2.1 Public Establishment Survey Methods

2.1.1 Sampling Design

Kolkata, the capital city of the state of West Bengal, is the principal commercial, cultural, and educational centre of East India. The city has a population of 4.5 million, but including its suburbs totals to 14.1 million, making it the third most populous metropolitan area in India.65 IJM’s project area is the five southernmost districts of West Bengal including Kolkata, shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Map of 5 Districts of West Bengal (IJM’s Project Area)

65 India Census 2011: http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/west-bengal.html
Mapping the entire city for all public establishments that could be selling sex was not within the resource constraints of this study. Instead, the study team conducted a stakeholder assessment of known “hotspot areas” and coupled this information with IJM’s own casework data. These two sources of data formed the selection of “hotspot areas” which would be comprehensively mapped (see Table 2). The study team also discussed and obtained consensus on the boundaries of each hotspot. See Annex A for Google maps of the hotspot areas.

### Table 2: Hotspot Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Hotspot</th>
<th>Hotspot Location Confirmed Through:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IJM's Knowledge (&amp; Casework Experience)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Harbour Rd (a.k.a. Joka)</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garia</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/ Chetla</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/ Mahishadal</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor Math</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>(x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data collectors mapped these 16 hotspots starting on 9 August to 28 September 2015, excluding Garia as the area was not a currently active area.66 They mapped all known public establishments where sex was consistently sold, including bars and brothels. The data collectors utilized IJM’s in-depth knowledge from their years of casework as well as impromptu information from people living and working in these areas. They collected various data points during mapping including: name, type, address, GPS coordinates, hours/days of operation, and high/low customer times/days of the establishment, as well as the total number of commercial sex workers (CSWs) employed at each establishment. In total, data collectors mapped 451 establishments, including 444 brothels and 7 hotels. They documented a total of 4,143 sex workers employed at these sites.

66Garia used to have an established red light area among the slum communities and near the railway stations, however, that is no longer the case. There has been considerable recent development in the area, including the expansion of the road, buildings, use of space for other businesses. This coupled with the shifting of the sex trade to more private houses has led to its descent. As can be observed in this report, the demographic location of private establishments are higher in the South Kolkata region (including Garia), but the area has no or minimal public establishments which are engaged in the sex trade. Experts have said that in the event, it is possible to observe a few flying sex workers (older women) who might engage customers at hotels, slum houses or taxi cars, but there is not enough activity to establish it as a red light area.
From this sampling frame, the analysis used a Bernoulli sampling design⁶⁷ to randomly select an expected proportion of 70% of the establishments from each hotspot area. Table 3 outlines the number of establishments in the sample and the estimated number of CSWs the sample would cover.

Table 3: Number of Establishments and Sex Workers Documented in Mapping and in Sample, by Hotspot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot Location</th>
<th>Number of Est. Mapped</th>
<th>Number of CSWs Documented in Mapping</th>
<th>Number of Est. in Sample</th>
<th>Number of CSWs Expected in Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Harbour Rd (a.k.a. Joka)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/Chetla</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/Mahishadal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor Math</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>2,059</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>451</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,143</strong></td>
<td><strong>316</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,996</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Instrument Design

The study team created the data collection form as a Google form to be completed via mobile phone. The form included information about the establishment (name, address, GPS coordinates, type) as well as the number of sex workers observed, broken down into four age ranges: “suspected majors”, age 22 or older; “suspected borderline majors”, age 18-21; “suspected borderline minors”, age 16-17; and “suspected young minors”, age 15 and younger. The form required the data collectors to document the number of “others” observed in the establishment such as vulnerable children (0-14 years old) and suspected customers; information around the confirmation methods of any minor sex worker observed; information on any minors engaged, including demographics such as age, nationality, home state, district/village/city/town, religion, and caste, as well as her recruitment into the trade, payment requested, and any violence experienced or observed. The last question on the form asked the data collector if he believed the information collected from or about the minor was truthful. In total, the form collected information on over 30 indicators.

Bernoulli sampling is a sampling process where each element of the population that is sampled (this study - establishments) have equal probability of being included in the sample during the drawing of a single sample.
2.1.3 Study Team Training

This study involved a three stage training. The first stage was an age estimation exercise. The second was classroom training and the third was field testing.

The purpose of the age estimation exercise was to validate IJM’s assertions that the data collectors, who were IJM staff, had sufficient experience and knowledge to accurately estimate the age of girls that they come into contact with as part of the study. The team conducted this exercise on 22 October 2015 outside of the city, as an add-on component to an awareness raising event around sexual violence and exploitation with girls in Kolkata. Data collectors observed 120 girls/women, aged 8-20 years during the event and estimated their exact age and their age category. This range was to focus estimation efforts on differentiating between borderline minors and borderline majors. Accuracy of individual data collectors in estimating minor versus major ranged between 65-79%, with data collection teams averaging 70% accuracy. Therefore, all data collectors passed the threshold for reliability in age estimation.

The second stage of training consisted of a two-day classroom session on the overall study purpose and objectives, data collection methods and security protocols, and data to be collected. The data collectors conducted a field test of the data collection form and method on one evening during the training, which concluded the third stage of training. The purpose of this was to test the functionality of the form, ease in data requested for collection, and the effectiveness of the logistics, security, and data collection protocols.

2.1.4 Data Collection Method

Data collection occurred from 29 October to 11 December 2015, surveying Monday-Friday nights. Each data collection team, consisting of two data collectors, received five to eight establishments per evening (called the "daily docket") in which to survey. The daily docket assignments remained fluid to accommodate any teams that finished their docket early or needed another team to assist in completion of their docket. Data collectors verified the location with the data collection managers before entering. For establishments that were located in multi-room or multi-level locations, data collectors only surveyed in the room/location listed on the docket.

If an establishment was temporarily closed or not “normal”68 in terms of the number of sex workers present (compared to the mapping exercise), the team would attempt to survey it another night. After three attempts of data collection on a temporarily closed establishment, the team would deem it permanently out of the sample. If the establishment was permanently closed or did not consistently sell sex, the analyst removed it from the sampling frame.

Upon entering the establishment, the data collector collected the information on the various indicators primarily through observation, focusing on capturing the total number of sex workers present by age category, but also interacting with any minor engaged in sex work. For any minors observed in an establishment, the data collection team attempted to gather more information about at least one minor’s story and demographics as well as confirm age through a more in-depth conversation or interaction. If there were no minors working at the establishment at the time of data collection, the data collectors would conduct further questioning of the CSWs or manager to ensure this was the complete picture of sex workers. If it was confirmed that there were no minors present, the data collectors would only use observational methods to collect data and would not engage in conversation with adult sex workers unless one appeared to be forced or in a violent situation.

Data collectors exited the establishment after a maximum of 45 minutes per the security protocol, and one of the team members immediately entered the agreed upon data on his mobile phone via a Google form. If the environment was not secure, data collection teams could survey a maximum of two establishments before being required to enter or call in to report data. At the end of each night of data collection, teams would call

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68“Normal” meaning, similar conditions to observations during casework activities. Includes number of sex workers present, customers, and pimps/madams present, structural situation (entry and exits, location name change, etc.), and police presence.
their data collection managers and review the data entered for verification and validation purposes. The managers would then upload the data for review by the internal data analyst, who would further clean and standardize the data, sending any necessary clarifications for correction the next morning.

2.1.5 Data Quality Assurance, Management, and Analysis Methods

The study incorporated multiple steps of data quality assurance methods into data collection and entry. First, the age estimation exercise verified the accuracy of the collector's observational skills. Second, data collection occurred in teams, therefore increasing the accuracy of age estimation. Third, three levels of cleaning occurred: the data collection manager, the internal data analyst, and the external data analysts.

There were no hard copy data for this survey. Data collection teams entered observation and conversation-based data into a Google form directly, which managers exported into Excel and uploaded onto Teamwork, a project management site. This program allows permissions to be set on each file uploaded and for each person given access to the study site. The external data analyst, IJM headquarters and field teams all accessed the study files and data via Teamwork. The external data analyst uploaded the Excel datasheets into R statistical programming software for the analysis. This software calculated standard errors and confidence intervals on specific indicators, as well as logistic regression analysis presented in this report.

2.1.6 Limitations

While the study team believes that this research represents a comprehensive attempt in using conventional and hard-to-reach methods to survey a population currently engaged in sex work, it suffers from the following weaknesses and limitations:

- The sampling frame consisted only of hotspot areas and therein establishments that IJM or other stakeholders knew of. While this effort capitalized on the experiences and learnings from various individuals and institutions, it is possible that other public establishments consistently selling sex were active and not yet assessed in this study. Therefore, the findings are not representative of all establishments selling sex in metro Kolkata.

- The focus of collection was on female sex workers, not males or transgender persons. Thus, the findings are not representative of all sex workers in metro Kolkata.

- While the data collection teams scheduled visits to establishments at their optimal operating days/hours according to the mapping exercise data, it is possible that teams viewed establishments at hours before minors arrived or after minors were already occupied with other customers (inside or outside the establishment). Data collection did not occur on weekends, and while the mapping corroborated the high volume days during the week, it is possible that weekends could have yielded different scenarios than captured.

- Data collectors obtained the information reported in the findings directly from minors or adults engaged in sex work or their pimps and madams. While data collectors believed that the overwhelming majority of sex workers they interacted with reported accurate information to them, it is not possible to fully understand the influences affecting accuracy in this information.

- While the study team identified holidays and national events that might influence the number of sex workers present in public establishments (both an increase and decrease), there were regular or spontaneous events that surely affected the numbers: individual worker time off, police investigations/raids/presence in the hotspots, etc. Around the data collection period, there were increased police activities due to a change in the Officer-in-Charge at a local police station as well as a conviction of a perpetrator of CSEC operating out of Haldia (Kapasberia hotspot). The team as a whole felt these two occurrences could have caused the establishment owners in these areas to refrain from keeping the younger girls ‘in the open’.
Even though these establishments are “public”, there was a level of trust needed to be shown all the girls available. Even entry at times was restricted to well-known people. Given IJM’s casework in these areas, the data collectors capitalized on built relationships and did not experience refusals on entry. However, some establishments and areas were new for IJM, and it is possible that data collectors were not allowed to see or were not told about the full picture of women and girls for sex in these locations. This could underestimate the number of minors truly available in the trade, as managers indicated reasons for not currently having minors present during the data collection period.

### 2.2 Private Network Survey Methods

The ‘private network’ sex trade in Kolkata is based on trusted relationships with ‘contacts’ which are developed over time. The phenomenon is not establishment-based, but rather contact-based, meaning the sex workers follow contacts and are not linked to specific establishments. Additionally, there is limited to no literature or informal or official statistics on the estimated population of sex workers in this side of the sex trade. Therefore, to study the prevalence of minors engaged in private network, the team needed to employ a ‘hard-to-survey population’ strategy based on a link-tracing sampling design and mark-recapture style of inference procedure.

#### 2.2.1 Sampling Design

The locations of establishments where contacts bring private network sex workers are typically not in red light areas or the public establishment’s ‘hotspots’. Therefore, the geographic boundaries of this study do not overlay with the public establishment study. Even though the teams could not dictate where the encounters occurred, the study target area included five “zones” of Kolkata, demarcated for purposes of this study (see Figure 2).

In order to start the building out of a sample, the study team utilized the contacts developed over the last four years in Kolkata through IJM’s casework. The team created a list of these contacts, identifying their names, aliases, most frequent location of work, date of first contact with IJM, and whether he/she led IJM to minors engaged in sex work. Data collectors connected with 21 previous contacts of IJM in this study. As each contact’s network developed, data collectors would connect with other pimps, madams, and contacts from the original contact’s network. For the purposes of this study, a ‘contact’ is defined as anyone who is able or reports to be able to connect a data collector to a minor or to lead them to someone or some location where minors are sold for sex. In total, the study team connected with 19 new contacts throughout the study, yielding a total of 40 contacts studied.

#### 2.2.2 Instrument Design

The study team created the data collection instrument as a Google form. Different from the documentation in the public establishment study, this form documented specific details on each person observed and also the location. Data collectors filled one form for each location as well as one form per person observed at the location who was directly associated with the encounter. The location form identified team information, data on the location (time/date of encounter, name, address, GPS coordinates, type, number of times visited in the study), time spent at the encounter, a total count by person type of all people observed at the encounter, the contact ID responsible for this encounter, and any notes about the encounter as a whole. The types of ‘person types’ captured included:

- Number of CSW Majors Observed (22 yrs and older)
- Number of CSW Borderline Majors Observed (18-21)
- Number of CSW Borderline Minors Observed (16-17)
- Number of CSW Young Minors Observed (15 and younger)
- Number of Minors Promised (0-17)
- Number of Children Observed (14 and younger, not in sex work)
Figure 2: Map of Private Network Zones

- Number of “Others” Observed (only counting people clearly associated with the encounter): "Contact", Pimp, Partner of Pimp, Madam, Husband of Madam, Lodge Manager/Owner, Waiter/Room boy/Errand boy, Security Person, Auto/taxi driver, Customers, Child (not engaged in sex work), Middleman/Informer/ Facilitator, Previous Informant, Counter-Surveillance Person, Bar Steward, Pan Shop Worker, Establishment
staff, Maid/Servant, House Owner/Renter, Partner of House Owner/Renter, Trafficker, Partner, Police officer, Other Gov’t official, other (specify).

The ‘person form’ identified team information, the location ID linking the person to the respective location form, number of times the study team observed this person in the study, demographic information on the person (names, aliases, contact information, person type – listed above, estimated age, sex, nationality, home state, hair colour, hair type, any unique identifiers), the person’s ‘story’, total payment for services (if applicable), the contact ID responsible for observing this person, and any other notes about the person.

The purpose of the detailed person identification was to enable the mark-recapture analysis methods to estimate prevalence. The key to success required teams to identify similar people observed more than once and in particular, across data collection teams.

2.2.3 Training, Piloting, and Field Testing

The data collectors in this study were the same as those in the public establishment study. The age estimation exercise therefore applies to the accuracy of any age estimations here as well.

Training consisted of a one-day classroom session on the overall study purpose and objectives, data collection methods and security protocols, and data to be collected. Data collectors conducted a pilot of the methods and instrument from 9 November to 15 December 2015 (on off days for the study in public establishments). Each team of data collectors in Kolkata conducted a field test of the Google form and method on their first encounter, testing the functionality of the form, ease in data requested for collection, and the effectiveness of the logistics, security, and data collection protocols. A half-day refresher training occurred in mid-January to incorporate the lessons learned from the pilot, including contact development, data management, and security protocol strategies. A study team in Mumbai, conducting a similar study in that area, also utilized the lessons learned from Kolkata’s pilot.

2.2.4 Data Collection Method

Data collection in 2016 occurred from 18 January to 28 April 2016, scheduling meetings/encounters three times a week (mostly Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays). Three, two-person teams began data collection by connecting with contacts from the original contact list with the goal of exhausting their network. ‘Exhausting a network’, for the purposes of this study, means that a data collector has had five encounters with the contact and either no referral to a minor occurred or all minors in his/her network had been observed. An encounter was “any in-person meeting or face-to-face conversation where the discussion of accessing minors takes place”.

The aim of the encounters centered on observing minors and getting leads to other minors engaged in sex work, other private residences, or other people who can lead the teams to either minors or private residences with minors. Teams would meet with contacts mostly once a week, but sometimes twice a week and others once every two weeks, depending on the scenario.

Each data collection day, all teams would meet for a briefing. The study team lead reviewed the day’s plan and roles for each data collector and security personnel. Both security and data collection teams would assess the meeting location before the encounter with the contact to ensure safety. Then, the data collection team proceeded to the meeting place with the contact. Teams communicated via Whatsapp groups throughout data collection. Contacts would arrive or send others to escort the data collectors to the nearby meeting place to observe the sex workers available. Data collectors would attempt to interact with the sex workers, prioritizing minors, if present, to gather information required on the data collection instrument. Data collectors also attempted conversations with contacts, pimps/madams, or any other person directly associated with the encounter in order to capture data on them. For data quality assurance purposes, at least a portion of encounters were recorded, primarily focusing on capturing CSWs.
These encounters last up to two hours. Once the encounter finished, data collectors called the data handlers to record information on the location of the encounter as well as each person observed at the encounter. Once the data handlers filled all necessary forms, they conducted data validation and cleaning on the entered information. In many cases, data handlers reconnected with data collectors the same evening or the following morning to fill in data gaps. The data collection managers then uploaded the data for review by the internal data analyst, who would further clean and standardize the data, sending any necessary clarifications for correction at the debriefing session.

In order for the whole study team to keep abreast of all persons observed and locations visited, before the briefing, the team would hold a debriefing from the following data collection effort. Discussions included any questions from the internal data analyst, a review of the locations visited and person observed (including photos), and any lessons learned on method, engagements with sex workers, or security. This part of the study was crucial for capturing sex workers observed more than one time.

2.2.5 Data Quality Assurance, Management, and Analysis Methods

The study incorporated multiple steps of data quality assurance methods into data collection and entry, identical to the public establishment study. First, the age estimation exercise was verification of the accuracy of the collector’s observational skills. Second, data collection occurred in teams, therefore increasing the accuracy of age estimation. Third, three levels of cleaning occurred: the data collection manager, the internal data analyst, and the external data analysts. The fourth method, not present in the public establishment study, involved a review of video by the data security manager. This review occurred on one encounter per week and focused on accuracy of age estimation and identification of recaptured persons.

There were no hard copy data for this study. Data collection teams entered observation and conversation-based data into a Google form directly, which managers exported into Excel and uploaded onto Teamwork, a project management site. This program allows permissions to be set on each file uploaded and for each person given access to the study site. The external data analyst, IJM headquarters and field teams all accessed the study files and data via Teamwork. The external data analyst uploaded the Excel datasheets into Stata software to complete descriptive statistics and R statistical programming software for the social network analysis (using igraph package in R) and mark-recapture analysis. These two softwares calculated the standard errors and confidence intervals, network graphs, and the regression analyses presented in this report.

2.2.6 Limitations

While this research represents a valiant effort to capture data on the private network sex trade utilizing hard-to-survey methods of an unknown and underground population, the results are limited by the following:

The sample originates from contacts previously known to IJM. This is a biased selection and only gives rise to contacts from these original contacts, who were predominantly concentrated in the south zone. It is not possible to know how much of the true population data collectors were able to capture in this study. Thus, the results here can only be interpreted as the lower bound of prevalence of minors engaged in this private network sex trade. The study team did attempt to employ alternative methods (such as using commercially available software to scan India’s Backpage for new contacts), however, the algorithms necessary for this strategy to be effective had not been developed for India at the time of data collection.

The mark-recapture strategy assumes a closed population, so no immigration or emigration into the population. However, since data collection was over a short window, there should only be a weak violation of this assumption.

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69 Carnegie Mellon has a Backpage scraping tool, called TrafficJam. It uses machine learning algorithms for domain specific indexing and search, in order to analyze ads for sex services posted to websites, specifically backpages.

70 Backpage is a classified advertising website. It offers a wide variety of classified listings including automotive, jobs listings, real estate and services.
2.3 Survivor Interview Methods

In order to better understand the nature of CSE in Kolkata's sex trade (study objective #3), the study team organized survivors of CSE for in-depth interviews. It was not possible to arrange interviews with women and girls currently engaged in sex work, as the safety of both interviewer and interviewee could be compromised. Additionally, for those who were being exploited, the level of honesty and transparency around their circumstances and story could be limited due to the risk involved in conducting the interviews.

2.3.1 Selection Criteria Design

IJM used purposeful selection for the in-depth survivor interviews aligned with ethical protections for human subjects so as to only include survivors who would not be harmed by discussing their past victimization. IJM’s casework in CSE in Kolkata connects survivors to aftercare homes operated by local government and private actors. These institutions were the source of the interviewees. IJM had worked with each of the survivors in some form during their rehabilitation and recovery process from the exploitation. In order to achieve the study objectives, one of the highly desired selection criteria was survivors who had a victimization profile which involved force, fraud, or coercion into the sex trade. In addition to this criterion, the study team aimed for a total of 20 in-depth interviews with both minors and majors, who entered the sex trade as minors, were from a diverse background, their exit from the sex trade spanned across different years, and were at a place in their rehabilitation that an interview of this nature would not set them back. However, the women and girls currently living at CSE survivor aftercare facilities or still in coordination with IJM or its partners limited the diversity of survivors eligible and accessible for interviews. Therefore, in total, the study team interviewed 18 survivors of CSE, all of whom were adults at the time of interview and all but two entered the sex trade as minors. All survivors had been out of the sex trade between two and a half and nine years, with an average of 5.7 years. While the observation-based parts of this study centred on current exploitation of children in the sex trade, the victimologies of those trafficked years ago are still representative of those who are trafficked currently. Given the ethical considerations around re-traumatization, the study team felt it most appropriate to interview women well after their full rehabilitation.

2.3.2 Instrument Design

The study team developed a semi-structured interview guide with 31 main questions spanning the following topics: life before the sex trade, route into the sex trade, transition or conditioning period (period in between leaving home and starting work in the sex trade), experiences in the sex trade, and leaving the sex trade up to present day. The guide included predominantly open-ended questions, with some close-ended questions intentionally used for sensitive subjects, adding probing follow-up questions for specific responses. The interviewer also recorded the participant’s full name, sex, current age, native origin/ethnicity, mother tongue language (and language of the interview), and education level. However, all transcribed data had labels with unique identifiers in order to protect the participant’s identity.

2.3.3 Training, Field Testing, and Data Collection Method

In total, two different IJM aftercare specialists conducted these interviews with survivors. Both interviewers knew the survivors well through their previous rehabilitation activities, which would provide the most welcoming and comfortable interview environment and substantially minimize any trauma associated with the process. The entire interview team, including the interviewers and note takers attended a full day of training on qualitative research fundamentals and techniques as well as a question-by-question explanation of the interview guide and process. The interviewers then conducted two interviews with survivors, wrote summary reports of the interviews, and then translated and transcribed the recordings for review by the internal data

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The team paid especial attentions to the endorsement of the interview. Then, the team met again for a half day to debrief the interviews, go over the transcripts and coach on problem areas. The guide was minimally revised after the debriefing and full interviews commenced.

Interview teams contacted the women beforehand to ask if they would be willing to share their story and participate in the research. The team also sent the guides to the aftercare homes for the workers there to review the types of questions with the women that would be asked during the interview. At the day of the interview, the interviewer again went over a full informed consent and only proceeded into the interview after receiving a verbal consent.

The interview team brought snacks and drinks for the participant and sharing in this was often how the interview began. The interview took, on average, one and a half to two hours. All participants agreed to be audio recorded, which was later transcribed and translated into English for analysis. Each participant completing an interview received a small token (valued at INR 5,000 (75 USD), such as a food processor, set of luggage, large trunk for storage, sewing machine, “travel kit”, etc.) for reimbursement of their time and encouragement. The participants were not aware of the reimbursement until after the interview. Additionally, as part of the interview process, all participants met with a counsellor within one week after the interview to further debrief the process and questions.

2.3.4 Data Management Techniques

The interview team collected all the audio recordings of the interviews and stored them securely on IJM’s local hard-drive. Only study team members had access to these files, which also included the typed interview notes from the note taker. As with the other two study parts, the interview team uploaded the qualitative transcripts onto Teamwork after transcription and translation. A secondary review of the English translation occurred in order to identify any phrases or terms which would need further explanation.

2.3.5 Analysis Methods

The qualitative analyst accessed all finalized transcripts from Teamwork for analysis, uploading each one into Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis software. The analyst initially coded all transcripts by deductive themes in Nvivo, and then created codes inductively based on emergent themes. The results found in Section 5 reflect the overall findings from the interviews with survivors.

Because the interviews were semi-structured, not all survivors provided information on every theme. For transparency, findings are presented with an N to provide context of how many survivors provided data on that particular theme.

2.3.6 Limitations

The main limitation of these in-depth interviews is the following:

- The themes presented in the results are not representative of all survivors of CSE in Kolkata. The study team purposively selected the survivor participants for interviews, all of who were clients of IJM. All were female, while there are male and transgender CSWs in Kolkata’s sex trade. The selection criteria coupled with availability of survivors limited the number of participants. While all of the participants worked in the same hotspots as the public establishment study area, they were not the same participants as observed or engaged with by data collectors in the public establishment or private network study. The survivor interviewees all exited the sex trade at least two and a half years prior to the study. Lastly, all of the survivors interviewed would be classified in this study as having been exploited in public establishments, but some also experienced sexual exploitation through the sex trade’s private network at some point in time.
Section 3

Public Establishment Survey Results
3.1 Descriptive Statistics on Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

3.1.1 Public Establishments in the Sex Trade Surveyed in Study Sample

In total, data collectors surveyed 316 public establishments in the study. Five of these establishments were temporarily closed, 5 were permanently closed, and 30 did not offer commercial sex services during the period of data collection (with 1 establishment re-classified as a private establishment). Therefore, the results presented below were from the remaining 276 active, public establishments in the sex trade. See Table 4 for the disaggregation of this information by hotspot location.

Table 4: Descriptives of Surveyed Public Establishments in the Sex Trade, by Hotspot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot Location</th>
<th>Number of Est. in Sample</th>
<th>Number (%) of Est. with Completed Surveys</th>
<th>Number of Est. Temporarily Closed</th>
<th>Number of Est. Permanently Closed</th>
<th>Number of Est. not Offering Sex Services</th>
<th>Number of Nights Sampling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7 (2.9%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29 (10.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Harbour Rd (a.k.a. Joka)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5 (1.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9 (3.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9 (3.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/ Chetla</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12 (4.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10 (3.6%)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21 (7.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/ Mahishadal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor Math</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 (1.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25 (9.1%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18 (6.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>110 (39.5%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15 (5.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of these 276 establishments surveyed were brothels. Over one-third of the establishments surveyed were in Sonagachi, which matches with the ratio within the total number of sex establishments mapped. Data collectors re-surveyed 17 (6.2%) establishments. The final column in Table 4 shows the number of nights of surveying in each hotspot location, and Figure 3 further displays the days of the week and times of the day that surveying occurred. Friday, Monday, and Tuesday nights were most common, with 58.4% of all data collection happening between 6:01 and 9:00pm.

![Figure 3: Day and Time of the Week Public Establishments Surveyed](image)

### 3.1.2 Projected Estimates of Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

**KEY FINDINGS**

An estimated 4.4% of establishments in the hotspots have minors being sold for sex.

Analysts used a calibration procedure and sampling weights that factored in the total number of establishments with minors observed in the study and the total number of public establishments mapped in the hotspots to produce projected estimates of establishments selling minors for sex in the target area. In total, an estimated 4.4% of establishments in the hotspots (SE: 0.7%, CI: 3.1%-5.7%) have minors being sold for sex (see Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot Location</th>
<th>Establishments with Minors</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>CI Low</th>
<th>CI High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2 Prevalence of Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments

**KEY FINDINGS**

The prevalence of minors engaged in CSE in public “sex establishment hotspots” in Kolkata was 0.8%.
3.2.1 Observance of Minors Engaged in CSE in the Study Sample

Data collectors observed a total of 1,770 CSWs, 86.6% of which were majors (n = 1,756), and 0.8% (n = 14) were minors. Of the majors, 12.6% (n = 224) were 18-21 years old. All of the minors observed in commercial sexual exploitation were 16 or 17 years old. As shown in Table 6, data collectors observed minors in only three hotspot areas. Khristola/Mahishadal hotspot exhibited the highest percentage of minors out of all sex workers observed at 14.3%, however, the total CSW observation was low (n = 14). All of the minors observed were in brothels, with 50.0% (n = 7) observed in Sonagachi, 35.7% (n = 5) in Kapasberia, and 14.3% (n = 2) in Khristola/Mahishadal.

Table 6: Number/Percentage of Sex Workers Observed in Sample, by Hotspot and Suspected Age Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot</th>
<th>Total Number of Sex Workers</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Majors (22 and older)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Majors (18-21)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Minors (16-17)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Young Minors (15 and younger)</th>
<th>Total Number of Suspected Minors (0-17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/Chetla</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/Mahishadal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,770</td>
<td>1,532</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 14 minors observed, the data collectors engaged with 12 girls and confirmed 10 of their ages. Nine minors provided contextual details around their age (such as school level), three of whom also stated their accurate age directly (i.e. the data collector reported it matched with his estimation). In the one remaining situation, someone else (such as a madam or pimp), stated the accurate age of the minor directly to the data collector. The recorded reasons that data collectors were not able to confirm the ages of girls they interacted with was primarily interruption or supervision by a third party. For the remaining two minors, the data collectors were not able to safely interact or engage with them for age confirmation.
Of all minors observed, enumerators viewed 57.2\% (n = 8) of them on Friday nights and 28.6\% (n = 4) on Monday nights. Observations of minors on Tuesdays and Thursdays (n = 1) each made up 7.1\% of the total figures, with none observed on Wednesdays. See Table 7 for the number of CSWs observed across the days of the week of data collection.

### Table 7: Number of Sex Workers Observed, by Weekday of Data Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Majors (22 and older)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Majors (18-21)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Minors (16-17)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Young Minors (15 and younger)</th>
<th>Total Percentage of All CSWs Observed</th>
<th>Total Percentage of Minors Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of all minors observed, enumerators viewed the most between 6:01-9:00pm (42.9\%, n = 6). The earlier range of 3:00-6:00pm resulted in 35.7\% (n = 5) of the minor observations, and the later range of 9:01pm-1:00am yielded the least at 21.4\% (n = 3). See Table 8 for the number of CSWs observed across the three timeframes.

### Table 8: Number of Sex Workers Observed, by Timeframe of Data Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Times</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Majors (22 and older)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Majors (18-21)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Borderline Minors (16-17)</th>
<th>Number of Suspected Young Minors (15 and younger)</th>
<th>Total Percentage of All CSWs Observed</th>
<th>Total Percentage of Minors Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:00-6:00pm</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>35.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:01-9:00pm</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:01-1:00am</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While collecting data on CSE, data collectors also documented any observance of ‘vulnerable children’, classified as any child from 0-14 years old, physically observed at the public establishment, that is not engaged in sex work. Data collectors documented 119 children that met this criteria (18.2\% of establishments).

### 3.2.2 Projected Estimates and Prevalence of Minors Engaged in CSE

Analysts used a sample calibration procedure to produce weights for estimation of percentage of establishments selling minors for sex in the target area; the procedure factored in the total number of CSWs mapped on the sampling frame and the total number of public establishments mapped in the hotspots. In total, at least 20 minors are being sold for sex in the hotspots areas targeted in this study. As shown in Table 9, Sonagachi has the highest number of estimated minors. The estimated prevalence of minors in the targeted areas is 0.8\% (standard error (SE): 0.13\%, 95\% confidence intervals (CI): 0.6\%-1.1\%).
### Table 9: Projected Estimates of Minors Engaged in CSE, by Hotspot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot</th>
<th>Projected Number (Percent) of Minors</th>
<th>Standard Error (%)</th>
<th>CI Low (2.5%)</th>
<th>CI High (975%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/Chetla</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/Mahishadal</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3 Descriptive Information on Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments

In total, data collectors interacted with 10 of the 14 minors in the public establishments to gain more detailed information about their demographics and story. Three were 16 years old and the other 10 were 17 years old. All were Indian except one, who was documented as being Bangladeshi. Six of the girls were from West Bengal,
and then one each from Assam, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Bangladesh. Five girls were Hindu, and five were Muslim.

Of the seven minors who provided information about why they were in the trade, four were tricked by a promise of a job, three said their family was unable to care for her, three cited a lack of job opportunities at home, one said her family sold her into the trade, and one said she always wanted to see Sonagachi, which data collectors felt was a cover for the truth. Of the eight minors who told data collectors their age when they first entered the trade, six were 16 and two were 17. Data collectors documented very little observable evidence of abuse or violence: two girls had self-inflicted cuts visible on their wrists.

In seven interactions with minors, the data collectors captured how much their services cost. Managers requested between INR 250 (3.75 USD) up to INR 3,300 (49.5 USD) to receive services from a 17 year old minor, with an average of INR 1,555 (23.33 USD). It is unclear, however, how much the girls themselves would receive of this payment for services. For the three 16 year olds, managers charged INR 500, 800, and 3,200 (7.50, 12, and 48 USD), in which the girls would receive less than half. Altogether, the managers of these borderline minors reported a mode of INR 3,200 (48 USD) for services.

3.3.1 Stories of Minors

Data collectors captured and recorded the following stories from the 16 and 17 year old minors engaged in sex work:

One 16 year old minor, recalled her story to data collectors: She eloped and married her boyfriend at age 15. Sometime later, he moved outside Kolkata for work. Then, her brother-in-law sold her to the current brothel in Kapasberia. According to the minor, she was sold for INR 39,000 (585 USD) and says she has INR 16,000 (240 USD) left to pay. She does not like the work and wants to go back home. She has no way to contact her parents or husband.

One 16 year old minor said she came from 24 North Parganas. Her father died, and she had to take care of her family. Her young sister is in 6th grade, and younger brother is in 3rd grade. She was tricked and brought to this trade by a person from her village who sold her to the current brother in Kapasberia 20 days ago. She does not like the work and wants to look for another job.

One 17 year old minor stated that a month back there was a raid and then she had to run away. In a separate instance, she said that the police from Delhi came and took her picture and address along with the other girls. She could have told the police then that she didn't like the work, but then she was very scared, and the other girls were stating to the police that they were happy in that brothel. She was brought by another girl from her village who promised her a job in a company, but she was brought to this current brothel in Kapasberia. She has been there for three months and she clearly stated that she does not want to work here and wants to go back home. Her phone was lost and so she was not able to contact her parents, but she once contacted her sister-in-law so that she could tell her brother to come and rescue her. However, her sister-in-law was not cooperative. She is the only one in the brothel from Assam, stating the other girls to be from Kolkata and Siliguri.

One 17 year old said she was from Shyambazar. She did not want to come to this current brothel in Kapasberia (i.e., Haldia), which likely means someone trafficked or forced her into sex work. She stated to have been there for four and a half months, reporting regularly-occurring raids between 10 to 11 pm.

3.4 Customers of Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

The data collectors recorded the number of customers they observed at the establishments. Most of these establishments were small brothels and therefore, would have only a few customers at one time. Additionally, the count only included customers actually inside the establishments, not those outside on the streets. In total, the data collectors documented 692 customers throughout the study, yielding a sex worker to customer ratio of
roughly 3.55:1, which aligns with IJM’s casework experience. All but one of the customers were Indian. This one customer appeared to be Chinese. The locations with the highest observations of customers correlated directly with the hotspots with higher number of CSWs, except in Rambagan72.

Table 10: Total Number of Customers Observed at Establishments, by Hotspot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotspot</th>
<th>Total Number of Sex Workers</th>
<th>Total Number of Minors (0-17)</th>
<th>Total Number of Customers Observed</th>
<th>Number of Non-Indian Customers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baruipur</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basirhat-Bowbazar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowbazaar</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domjur</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadiara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalibazar</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalighat/Chetla</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapasberia</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khidderpur</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khristola/Mahishadal</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matiabazar</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambagan</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonagachi</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollygunge</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,456</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additionally, the locations with the highest observations of customers correlated with Monday night (46.4%, n = 218) and Friday night (22.8%, n = 107) data collections, which were also the two nights with the highest numbers of minors observed. See Table 11 for this analysis.

Table 11: Total Number of Customers Observed, by Weekday Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Total Number of Customers Observed</th>
<th>Percentage of Customers Observed</th>
<th>Total Percentage of All CSWs Observed</th>
<th>Total Percentage of Minors Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 From IJM’s casework, the CSWs in Rambagan are majors and customers going to this area prefer Sonagachi, as it’s quite near.
3.5 Presence of Police in Hotspot Areas

The data collection team monitored the level of police presence in the targeted hotspot areas, and recorded any mention of police by CSWs or traffickers, gathering information that provided insights into the impact of police on CSE in the hotspot areas. Police presence in the hotspot areas did not interrupt or affect the data collection throughout any of the 19 nights on which the study was conducted. The data collection team documented instances of police proactivity conveyed by CSWs, which reportedly appeared to temporarily thwart the trafficking of minors in public establishments. In Kalibazar, one CSW mentioned to data collectors that police are in the vicinity between 6-8 P.M., indicating a level of knowledge about police activity in the area. A CSW at a location in Kapasberia, disclosed that “brothels are not keeping girls below 18 years old because of police problems”. Another CSW at a different location told the data collection team that police raided a nearby building the day before, and because of that, some of the “girls had to run away”. Further information from a 17-year-old minor deceived into engaging in CSE by the promise of a good job revealed that following a raid a month prior, the brothel did not currently contain young girls. Additionally, in another hotspot, Domjur, one CSW said the area is “dying out slowly as no newcomers or ‘freshers’ were available.

In Matiabazar, staff of two different establishments informed data collectors of reputed instances of police officials collecting bribes from brothel owners two to three times a week, “harassing” drunk customers by picking them up in the process and occasionally fining the customers as well. The data collection team was informed by local sources that two other brothels in Kapasberia were temporarily closed reportedly because the owners were not paying a bribe to police. Allegedly, once the owners pay the money to police, the establishments will reopen.
Section 4

Private Network Survey Results
4.1 Descriptive Statistics on Private Establishments in the Sex Trade

The study conducted encounters in a total of 40 unique locations, as shown in Table 12. The majority, 60.0%, of the locations visited were in rented private residences. Massage parlours and hotels were the second largest categories, representing 22.5% and 15.0% respectively (15 encounters). Meetings occurring in owned private residences represented 2.5% of the sample (one encounter). In many cases though, the same contact would move the meeting location for each encounter. Twenty percent of the contacts (8/40) held various encounters with the data collectors at different locations.

Table 12: Number of Unique Locations visited, by Location Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Type</th>
<th>Number of Unique Locations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massage Parlour without Advertising Sign</td>
<td>4 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage Parlour with Advertising Sign</td>
<td>5 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Residence (rented)</td>
<td>24 (60.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Residence (owned)</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>6 (15.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the study team visited 40 unique locations, more than one visit to a location occurred in 37.5% (n = 15) of the sample. A majority of the locations visited more than once were visited either twice (6/15, 15.0%) or three times (5/15, 12.5%). Data collectors visited three locations a total of four times and one location a total of five times. See Table 13. Five unique locations (5/40, 12.5%) hosted encounters with multiple contacts; all of the locations were private residences, four of them rented and one owned.

Table 13: Unique Locations Visited More Than Once

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of Visits</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of Unique Locations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n=40)</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Private Network Survey Results
A total of 69 encounters occurred during the study period. The average amount of time spent at an encounter was 94 minutes, however this also includes waiting and travel time. The shortest encounter was 10 minutes long and included six individuals, four male and two female. Two of the males were pimps, two were establishment staff, and both of the females at the meeting were borderline major CSWs (18 years of age). The meeting occurred at a massage parlour (with an advertising sign). The longest encounter lasted 180 minutes long and included five individuals, four females and one male. The male was the renter of the private residence where the meeting occurred. Two of the females were borderline majors, one was the contact, a pimp, and a facilitator while the other was a madam. The third female was another madam, also acting as a facilitator, and the fourth female was a borderline minor.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics on Exploiters in the Private Sex Trade

As described in the Methods section, data collectors captured demographic information on all people at the encounter directly associated with the meeting. This included the contacts, pimp/madams, house owners/renters, and a range of other players. The descriptive statistics for all “exploiters” are outlined below.

In total, the data collectors encountered 40 unique contacts over a study course of 69 encounters. All but one of the contacts were Indian (39/40, 97.5%); the non-Indian contact was Bangladeshi. The vast majority of contacts were female (32/40, 80.0%), which was a different phenomenon compared to the stereotypical portrayal of male-dominated exploiters. The ages of the contacts ranged from 16 to 58 years old, with a mean of 30.7 years old. The most common ages identified were 40 years old (5/40, 12.5%), 28 years old (4/40, 10%), 24 years old (4/40, 10%) and 35 years old (3/40, 7.5%).

Almost half (47.5%, n=19) of the contacts had no prior history with IJM before the study began, as shown in Table 14. Of the twenty-one contacts that did have prior history, 47.5% had a history with IJM for less than two years. Only two contacts, both madams, had a history of two years or longer. Those with no prior history were seen in more meetings than all of the contacts with prior history, especially those with the longest prior history. For example, two of the contacts with no prior history were seen in six different meetings, with one of them having a seventh meeting. A madam who had a history with IJM between three and four years only had a total of three meetings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>History with IJM (Years)</th>
<th>Number of Contacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No History</td>
<td>19 (47.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>7 (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 1 year, less than 2 years</td>
<td>12 (30.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 2 years, but less than 3</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 3 years, but less than 4</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-one contacts had a prior history with IJM. 52.4% (n=11) of these contacts had shown minors to IJM in its casework activities prior to this study. The number of minors observed typically ranged from one minor to three minors. See Table 15.
Table 15: Observance of Minors through Previous Contact History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minors observed</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(42.9%)</td>
<td>(57.1%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 1 year, less than 2 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(58.3%)</td>
<td>(41.7%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 2 years, but less than 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 3 years, but less than 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(47.6%)</td>
<td>(52.4%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data collectors assigned each person observed at an encounter with ‘person type’ labels. Apart from contacts and CSWs, person type exploiter labels included: partner (of a pimp/madam; of a CSW), business partner, pimp, establishment staff, middleman/informer/facilitator, trafficker, waiter, and “other”. There were other labels for children of CSWs and family member of contacts or pimps/madams. More than one label could be applied, as a person could have multiple roles. If a data collector observed a person multiple times, different labels could be applied from the first observance, as the role in each encounter could change. There were 21 individuals in the study labelled as “family”. Of those individuals, seven were not given any additional labels and data collectors identified one as a “child of a contact” (between 0-14 years old and not a CSW). These eight were not included in the exploiter analysis below.

In total, 78 unique exploiters in the study were neither contacts nor CSWs. These exploiter roles were split between 10 different categories (see Table 16). Exploiters were both male (51/78, 65.4%) and female (27/78, 34.6%). All but one of these exploiters were Indian. Data collectors were able to document the age of 77 of them: ages ranged from 14 years old to 73 years old, with a mean of 36 years old.

Table 16: Unique Exploiters, by Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Exploiter</th>
<th>Number of Exploiters (n=78)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>13 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Partner</td>
<td>7 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madam</td>
<td>16 (20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimp</td>
<td>14 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment Staff</td>
<td>22 (28.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleman/Informer/Facilitator</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escort</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Guard</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House owner/renter</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3 Network Analysis of CSE in the Private Sex Trade

**KEY FINDINGS**

Through social network analysis, the private sex trade operates with at least three different exploiter network structures and two different CSW network structures. Pimps and madams are sometimes connected to other pimps and madams, some work 'solo', and others were CSWs turned pimp/madam. Some CSWs work for only one pimp or madam, while others work for multiple contacts.

One of the analysis techniques included social network analysis to better understand how CSE operates in the private sex trade. The three network graphs below depict the entirety of data collection and the connections or relationships between contacts, CSWs, pimps/madams, and other people directly associated with the meetings. If a data collector met with a contact several times over data collection, every person directly associated with the meeting, including CSWs, is depicted in the graph. Therefore, each network is not representative of just one meeting, and for some contacts (like node 14 and 47), their networks are not complete, as the study finished before exhausting their CSW network. Figure 4 shows that most of the contacts were pimps or madams, highlighting three different exploiter network structures. First, there were pimps and madams that worked with other pimps and madams in an organized structure. See nodes 76, 75, and 68 highlighting a direct relationship between contacts. In other scenarios of this structure, there would be a main contact with other 'secondary' pimps in the network, but these other pimps had no CSWs of their own (see nodes 130, 60, and 64 from contact node 44). Second, there were pimps and madams that worked “solo”, meaning there were no other exploiters identified in their network (see contact nodes 179, 144, and 196). These clusters ranged from a single pimp to single CSW relationship to a single pimp with five CSWs. The third exploiter network type involved CSWs turned pimp/madams, who were selling other CSWs. This was the most common exploiter profile with 21 CSWs who also sold other CSWs; all of which were female. The larger networks however, were run by pimps and madams, not CSWs.

This type of network analysis also highlights two potential phenomenon of CSW network structures. First, there were contacts that had an isolated network of CSWs. These CSWs only worked for particular contacts or pimps/madams. See nodes 184 and 104 - these contacts’ CSWs seemed to only be working for them solely. Figure 4 shows eight clusters (networks) that did not have CSWs connected to another cluster and only had one contact.
solely responsible for all of the CSWs observed. Of this grouping, five clusters were run by CSW contacts. There seemed to be a second type of network structure where multiple contacts and pimps/madams shared CSWs. From the available data, it is possible that pimps/madams could call a CSW that fits the customer’s description from a pool of workers. See nodes 75 and 68 or the large connected cluster in the lower half of the graph – data collectors observed these CSWs through multiple contacts. There were CSWs (majors and minors) associated with more than one contact. One minor engaged in CSE was linked to four contacts. This type of network structure supports the information provided by CSWs in the study about working on a contract basis. Women and girls working through multiple contacts could indicate a much larger, overarching indirect trafficking network. The data collection team documented these shared CSWs, but unfortunately, it is unclear in this study if these contacts willingly share their CSWs in this larger network or have any knowledge of the other contacts who sell their same CSW. Just because the contacts did not appear linked in the study doesn’t mean the two don’t work together. It is also unknown if these contacts know their CSWs work for other pimps/madams.

**Figure 4: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Person Type**
In creating the network graph by age, Figure 5 highlights both the number of exploiters and CSWs that are majors and minors. The majority of contacts were majors. Three were minors, all of which were also CSWs. In total, 20.0% of contacts (8/40) showed minors to the data collectors. None of the contacts showed a minor on more than one occasion. Data collectors identified the same two minors appearing in multiple networks. Two different contacts showed the same minor and three different contacts showed the same minor to data collectors.

The graph also shows that CSW majors were directly linked to a single contact, to two contacts, or were the contact. Minors were typically part of a cluster with other CSWs, with the majority being majors; however, only three clusters had only one minor, while all others had multiple minors in the network. There was no contact that was just selling minors. Minors were mostly affiliated with CSW exploiters versus non-CSW exploiters. While there were a few minors engaged in CSE directly linked to just one contact, the majority were shared between multiple contacts.

**Figure 5: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Major vs. Minor**
In depicting the network graph by sex (orange = males; blue = females), Figure 6 shows that the majority of
contacts were female. Only eight of the contacts were males. There are clear links between female contacts, male
contacts, and both, however the phenomenon here is very female-oriented. Often times the female contacts
were also active CSWs, however, ten of the female contacts were only madams and/or pimps.

**Figure 6: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Male vs. Female**

4.4 Descriptive Statistics of CSWs in the Private Network

**KEY FINDINGS**

The number of minors observed in the private networks of the sex trade was 24 out of
131 sex workers. Though not a representative study, the proportion of minors to majors
in this side of the trade warrants more research. Using hard-to-reach survey analysis
methods, this study estimates a lower bound estimate of 716 sex workers in this network.
4.4.1 Observance of CSWs in the Private Network Sex Trade

In total, data collectors observed 131 unique CSWs over the course of the four month study. Forty-five percent (59/131) of the CSWs were majors, 36.6% (48/131) of the CSWs were borderline majors, 14.5% (19/131) of the CSWs were borderline minors, and 3.8% (5/131) of the CSWs were young minors. Table 17 indicates the location types where data collectors observed CSWs at their 40 encounters throughout the study. Fifteen percent of the contacts (6/40) showed the same CSW at more than one meeting, and therefore the total number of CSWs in the table appears larger than the number of unique individuals observed.

Data collectors observed a total of 24 unique minors, with a majority of observations at a Private Residence (rented) (33/43), and seven observations at Private Residences (owned), two observations at a massage parlour without advertising sign, and one observation at a hotel.

Table 17: Number of CSWs Observed, by Location Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Type</th>
<th>CSW Major</th>
<th>CSW Borderline Major</th>
<th>CSW Borderline Minor</th>
<th>CSW Young Minor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massage Parlor without Advertising Sign</td>
<td>21 (27.3%)</td>
<td>5 (8.5%)</td>
<td>2 (5.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage Parlor with Advertising Sign</td>
<td>12 (15.6%)</td>
<td>5 (8.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Residence (rented)</td>
<td>36 (46.8%)</td>
<td>44 (74.6%)</td>
<td>28 (86%)</td>
<td>5 (62.5%)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Residence (owned)</td>
<td>8 (10.4%)</td>
<td>4 (6.8%)</td>
<td>5 (14.3%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (1.7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77* (100%)</td>
<td>59** (100%)</td>
<td>35*** (100%)</td>
<td>8**** (100%)</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data collectors observed 8 CSW Majors on two different occasions, 2 on four occasions, and 1 on five occasions.
** Data collectors observed 4 CSW Borderline Majors on two different occasions, 1 on three occasions, and 1 on six location.
*** Data collectors observed 9 CSW Borderline Minors on two different occasions and 1 on five occasions.
**** Data collectors observed 1 CSW Borderline Minor on two different occasions and 1 on three occasions.

Table 18 outlines the zones in Kolkata where data collectors held meetings with contacts, indicating the number of CSWs observed in these zones. Almost half of the locations were in the South zone; however data collectors observed the majority of minors at locations either in the South zone or the North zone.

Table 18: Frequency of Locations and CSWs Observed, by Zones in Kolkata

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Frequency of Unique Locations</th>
<th>CSWs Observed</th>
<th>Minor</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Borderline Major</td>
<td>Borderline Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>10 (25%)</td>
<td>13 (16.9%)</td>
<td>20 (33.9%)</td>
<td>11 (31.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>1 (2.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>2 (3.4%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the 69 encounters during the study, exploiters “promised” minors in 43.5% of the meetings. In 29% of the encounters, the contact promised one minor for the following meeting. In 11.6% of the encounters, the contact promised two minors for the following meeting. In 1.4% of the encounters, the contact promised three minors for the following meeting. Also, in 1.4% of the encounters, the contact promised four minors for the following meeting. In the 33 meetings where data collectors observed no minors, exploiters promised minors for subsequent meetings 30.3% (10/33) of the time. In 32 meetings where data collectors observed one minor, exploiters promised minors for subsequent meetings 53% (17/32) of the time. In one meeting data collectors observed two minors, but did not promise additional minors for subsequent meetings.

Additionally, data collectors observed vulnerable children at the encounters a total of sixteen times. Vulnerable children, for the purposes of this study, were children aged 0-14 years old who were not engaged in sex work. Fourteen of the encounters where data collectors identified vulnerable children took place in a rented private residence and two took place in an owned private residence.

### 4.4.2 Demographics and Stories of CSWs in the Private Network Sex Trade

In total, data collectors gathered more detailed information about 84 CSW’s circumstances through direct interactions with them. Twenty-eight of these women were majors, 34 were borderline majors, and 18 were borderline minors, and 4 were young minors. All but two were from India, with one major from Nepal and one borderline major suspected to be from Bangladesh. Table 19 shows the home states of those CSWs from India, revealing the majority originally coming from West Bengal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home State</th>
<th>Majors</th>
<th>Borderline Majors</th>
<th>Borderline Minors</th>
<th>Minors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (5.6%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>27 (96.4%)</td>
<td>32 (94.2%)</td>
<td>17 (94.4%)</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1 (3.6%)</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>18 (100%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CSWs ranged from seasoned workers to those just entering the sex trade. Data collectors documented the sex workers’ reasons for working in the sex trade. The most common reason (in 34.5% of the interactions) was...
the desperate need to earn money or not being able to get a job. The second most common reason reported (in 25% of the interactions) was the death of either parent, a serious injury to a parent, or a parent leaving the family. Often times the CSW had to work to support their own child, mother, or siblings. In some instances, the parents were both alive and together, but were currently out of work or unable to find a job. While each situation is a little bit different, the underlying tension of a situation potentially escalating to poverty created an increase pressure on the daughter (CSW) to make money to send to her family. 16.7% of CSWs indicated that they were in the trade by force of circumstances.

While a couple of the CSWs indicated they were willing participants in the sex trade “for fun” or “to satisfy sexual needs”, 16.7% said they did not like being in the sex trade. 8.3% of CSWs showed signs of self-inflicted harm with visible cuts on their wrist. Two CSWs indicated that they were deceived into the sex trade. One was told that she would be doing housework and the other was told that she only had to sit and speak with people. Many of the CSWs were in school and taking exams. The CSWs who quit school or failed out indicated that it was due to financial stress. 13.1% of CSWs reported to data collectors that their husbands abandoned them, their husband died, or they were divorced. The CSWs that were currently married reported that their husbands did not know of their involvement in the sex trade.

In Table 20 below, the four most commonly reported reasons for working in the sex trade are listed, with a breakdown between the study’s age categories. Some CSWs cited multiple reasons and therefore show up in multiple rows. Also, not all of the CSWs that interacted with data collectors mentioned indicators as to how they became part of the trade. Of the 44 CSWs who discussed their age of entry into the sex trade, 18 (40.9%) were 17 years or younger when they started, with the youngest reported age being 12 years old.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons leading to the sex trade</th>
<th>Majors (n=28)</th>
<th>Borderline Major (n=34)</th>
<th>Borderline Minor (n=18)</th>
<th>Minors (n=4)</th>
<th>Total (n=84)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parent death/parent injury/parent left</td>
<td>5 (17.9%)</td>
<td>8 (23.5%)</td>
<td>4 (22.2%)</td>
<td>4 (100.0%)</td>
<td>21 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/need money</td>
<td>9 (32.1%)</td>
<td>16 (47.1%)</td>
<td>10 (55.6%)</td>
<td>4 (100.0%)</td>
<td>29 (34.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandoned by husband/death of husband</td>
<td>5 (17.9%)</td>
<td>4 (11.8%)</td>
<td>2 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>11 (13.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced by Circumstance</td>
<td>7 (25.6%)</td>
<td>5 (14.7%)</td>
<td>2 (11.1%)</td>
<td>0 (0.0%)</td>
<td>14 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While these are the reasons reported to data collectors, in IJM’s casework experience, CSWs will often not provide wholly truthful details about their circumstances upon first interaction. In two cases in this study, CSWs reported a different story upon a second encounter with data collectors. It is only after leaving the sex trade and building trust with someone interested in their well-being that they typically share about a much harsher reality.

4.4.3 Projected Estimates for Sex Workers Engaged in the Private Sex Trade

Given the innovative but complex methodology, the external data analyst tested six sampling occasion methods and multiple mark-recapture estimators for this data, obtained with ‘Rcapture’ package in R. See Annex B for the each method’s recapture interpretation, the estimators’ abundance estimations and standard errors, and model fit conclusions. From these various mark-recapture analysis methods, the recommended approach is
Method 5, utilizing the sampling occasion based on the 'location-type' variable. Table 21 provides the frequency statistics for this approach - the number of captured units was 132.

**Table 21: Frequency Statistics for Mark-Recapture Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>fi</th>
<th>ui</th>
<th>vi</th>
<th>Ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*fi: number of units captured i times
ui: number of units captured for the first time on occasion i
vi: number of units captured for the last time on occasion i
Ni: number of units captured on occasion i*

Since there is a natural time effect, the Mth Chao’s lower bound-based estimator\(^{73}\) is suitable for this study. Therefore, this estimator yielded a lower bound estimate for the total population of sex workers in the private network sex trade of 716.3 (SE: 235.6; 95% CI: 255.7-1176.9). In other words, the minimum number of sex workers engaged in the private sex trade in the targeted area is 716. While a certain percentage of these are bound to be minors, the true percentage is unknown, as this study’s limitations in representation do not allow a direct application of the proportion of minors to majors observed over the course of data collection.

### 4.4.4 Payment for CSW Services in the Private Network

Data collectors documented the requested payment for services of CSWs in the private network. The services for minors working in this side of the sex trade seemed similar to those working in the public establishments in hotspot areas. The payment range in the private network was from INR 500 to 6,500 (7.50 to 97.50 USD), with different ranges based on age of the CSW. For majors, the average payment reported for services was INR 2,466 (36.99 USD), with a range quoted between INR 1,500 and 3,800 (22.50 to 57 USD). For borderline majors, the average payment reported was INR 2,565 (38.58 USD), with a range from INR 500 to 6,500 (7.50 to 97.50 USD). For borderline minors, the average payment reported was INR 2,653 (39.80 USD), with a range between INR 1,000 and 4,000 (15 and 60 USD). For young minors, the average payment reported was INR 2,379 (35.69 USD), with a range from INR 500 to 3,500 (7.50 to 52.50 USD). The major and borderline major age groups reported a mode of INR 2,500 (37.50 USD) for CSW services. The borderline minor and young minor age groups reported a mode of INR 3,000 (45 USD).

### 4.5 Presence of Police

The data collection team documented the mention of police by the contacts, pimps and madams, CSWs, or others at the encounters. Although information gathered supported proactive patrolling, policing, and rescue operations of CSE by police, a distinct narrative emerged among several contacts’ accounts, potentially indicating a level of delinquency of select police officers.

The data collection team recorded ten instances in which separate individuals mentioned having a good relationship or connection with a police officer. One contact made the unsubstantiated claim that her husband

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\(^{73}\)This model accounts for heterogeneity in the captures so that all CSWs theoretically have their own capture probability (which is what all methods in Table 30 account for), but also permits each sample to have its own time effect parameter so that the probability of capture changes from sample to sample. This explains the estimation differences between Method 5’s Mth Chao estimations in Table 30 and the Mth Chao estimation.
was a police official. Other contacts reported knowing police officers by name, or purportedly were influential members of a political party, making operating the business easier in the area. As an unverified ex-worker for the military, one establishment owner claimed to maintain a good relationship with local police.

Further information conveyed to the data collection team described supposed pay-offs to police officials. One contact alleged that a nearby madam compensates the big businessmen and police officers who frequent her specific location in order to maintain their business.

Another contact offered her house to the data collection team, on the occasion that the data collectors were interested in running their own sex business. The contact indicated that if the data collectors were to be caught, she would just have to pay the local club and local police officials a fee to avoid further consequences. She claimed to have the support of her landlord, reportedly a police officer to whom she had supplied girls.

**4.6 Weighted Regression Analysis of Presence of Minors**

When testing for correlations to predict the observance of minors, analysts found that sex of the contact, location of the meeting, the contact having a history with IJM, and whether the contact had ever presented minors for sex in the past (in IJM’s casework activities), were all significant predictors of whether minors would be present and sold for sex at the meeting. The weighted regression analysis method used put equal weights on the sets of responses for the design-based approach, assuming an equal weighted design.

In meetings where the contact was male, the likelihood of minors being present statistically increased. In meetings that occurred in North Zone, Northeast Zone, South, and West Zone, the likelihood of minors being present statistically increased, while the likelihood of observing minors in meetings that occurred in Central Zone statistically decreased. If the contact had no history with IJM or between one and four years of history with IJM prior to the study, the likelihood of minors being present at meetings statistically increased, whereas less than one year of history resulted in a statistically lower chance of observing minors. This supports the notion that this side of the sex trade operates on trusted networks, particularly given that even for those contacts with no prior history, a majority (13/19) became contacts only after being involved in an initial meeting, therefore establishing relationships and trust with the data collectors. If the contact had showed IJM a minor for sex in the past, before this study, the likelihood that a minor would be present during this contact’s meeting statistically increased.
Results From In-Depth Interviews With CSE Survivors
5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Survivors Interviewed

The study team interviewed 18 survivors who were 18-27 years old at the time of the interview. These survivors, however, had entered the sex trade at ages 12-23 with all but two survivors entering as minors (Table 22).

**Table 22: Interviewed Survivors Entered the Sex Trade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age When Entered the Sex Trade</th>
<th>12-13</th>
<th>15-17</th>
<th>20-23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Survivors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recruiters trafficked less than half (8/18, 44.4%) of the interviewed survivors from within India. The remaining 10 survivors were trafficked from Bangladesh and Nepal (Table 23).

**Table 23: Source Location and Number of Survivors Interviewed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Location</th>
<th>Locations Within India</th>
<th>International Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Survivors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of survivors had a Class 6 education level or lower, but seven had completed some education at the secondary school level (see Table 24).

**Table 24: Education Level of Survivors Interviewed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>No schooling</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 8</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Survivors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of survivors spent less than three months in the sex trade before being rescued (see Figure 7). Of these, four survivors exited the sex trade within two days. These four survivors and one additional survivor were all rescued before their first customer, meaning that they exited before exploitation. Therefore, the N for recruitment and pathways into trafficking is 18; but the N for experiences in the sex industry is 13. As noted in the methodology, because the interviews were semi-structured, not all survivors provided information on every theme. For transparency, the findings include an N to provide context of how many survivors provided data on that particular theme.

Figure 7: Survivors’ Length of Time in the Sex Trade

Managers pimped these 13 survivors who experienced sexual exploitation in different establishment types (see Table 25). Two of the survivors experienced exploitation in private establishments while five survivors experienced exploitation in public establishments. For six survivors, managers exploited them through hybrid means whereby they were held in a traditional public establishment but also had at least one experience of being taken to a private establishment.

Table 25: Types of Establishments Where Exploitation Occurred

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Private Establishments Only</th>
<th>Both Public and Private</th>
<th>Public Establishments Only</th>
<th>Exited before Exploitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Survivors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Path into the Sex Trade

KEY FINDINGS

Recruiters overwhelmingly used the promise of a good job to lure vulnerable women and girls into the sex trade; but there were four cases of abduction by force or deceit. None of the interviewed survivors had any notion that they were being brought into the sex trade, and many were also surprised to arrive in Kolkata.
5.2.1 Recruitment

The majority of survivors knew their recruiters. Recruiters were friends (8/18, 44.4%), community members (5/18, 27.8%), family members (3/18, 16.7%), romantic partners (1/18, 5.6%), and strangers (1/18, 5.6%). None of these recruiters indicated that the survivor was going to engage in sex work. Overwhelmingly, recruiters approached survivors (14/18, 77.8%) with the promise of a good job that would enable them to care for themselves or their family members. The promised jobs were unspecified (5/14), in dance programs/dance schools (4/14), childcare (2/14), housework (2/14), or hotel/store work (1/14). Three of the four survivors promised work in dance programs/dance schools were recruited together, likely skewing this data.

Not only did the recruiters lie about the position, but six survivors who were trafficked over the border from Bangladesh or Nepal were not even aware that they were going to India. For the most part, survivors had uneventful journeys from their recruitment location. Only two survivors reported that they grew alarmed during their journey and refused to continue. In response, recruiters then drugged both of these survivors; and one survivor was scolded while the other experienced violence (see Table 26 for details on the seven survivors who were drugged during their journey).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 26: Survivors Drugged During their Journey into the Sex Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survivors recruited through the promise of a good job</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugged at onset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survivors recruited through other deceptive/coercive means</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only four survivors (4/18, 22.2%) were not lured with the promise of a good job. These survivors were abducted through deceit or force. Three recruiters who were known to the survivor promised a different outing and then abducted the survivor: one recruiter took his sister-in-law on a walk and then sold her to a sex establishment; one man who was interested in marrying the survivor’s sister told her and her sister they were going to the movies and then drugged both of them; and one trusted man who worked with the family business told the survivor that she was going with him to purchase additional business supplies. In the fourth instance, a community member drugged the survivor and then abducted her.

Several survivors recounted personal histories that demonstrated vulnerability to recruitment. However, because the interview guide did not systematically ask about vulnerability factors these are likely an undercount. Seven survivors described abusive household situations, four survivors had markers of extreme poverty (food and/or housing insecurity), three survivors ran away, two were married at young ages (11-14 years old), and one was abandoned. Their lack of social support can be demonstrated by the fact that 11 survivors did not tell anybody at home that they were leaving with the recruiter for this new job (N=13). In addition, the contextual push factors should be noted: one of which was the pressure on girls to care for their families, and another was well-established recruitment networks in some communities. For example, several of the Nepalese survivors observed that community members pressured young women to leave in order to find jobs or husbands; and traffickers exploited this pressure. Cultural practices in Bangladesh also heightened vulnerability. For example, community members attempted to traffic one of the Bangladeshi survivors, were foiled by her family, and then married the trafficker's son to the survivor as recompense for her near victimization. After the marriage, this same family trafficked her into the Kolkata sex trade.

Recruiters used multiple modes of transportation to take the survivors to the sex trade in Kolkata. This was mainly a result of remote recruitment locations and the need to cross borders. Therefore, a few survivors recounted long walks from their villages before making it to a transportation hub. Most then travelled by one or multiple of the following modes: bus (10/18), car (7/18), taxi (6/18), and/or train (6/18). Recruiters did not
hide survivors on the journey, but they did occasionally use other tactics to mask the nature of the relationship. Recruiters asked nine survivors \( (N=13) \) to lie on the journey, the majority of whom were Nepalese or Bangladeshi and needed to cross a border.

Given the length of the journey, about a third of the survivors had stopovers on the trip. The majority of these entailed a night at the recruiter’s house or at a hotel, but one Nepalese survivor spent a week in Kathmandu before continuing on to Kolkata. In addition to traveling stopovers, recruiters left four survivors in the care of another member of the trafficking network. These four survivors stayed for 1-4 months before being initiated into the sex trade. During this time, three of the four survivors received medication to make them fatter and therefore look older than their young ages \( (2\) of these survivors were 12 years old). In addition, two survivors learned Hindi during this time. At no point during this period did the survivor realize that she was going to enter the sex trade.

### 5.2.2 Conditioning Period

**KEY FINDINGS**

While the majority of survivors were defrauded with the promise of a good job into entering the establishment, they were forced or coerced into beginning sex work. A key tactic used in eight cases was a conditioning period that involved physical violence that crippled the survivor’s ability to refuse the manager. Other control tactics included threats, being raped by the first customer, and debt bondage.

All of the survivors reported that they refused to do sex work and/or begged to be returned home. Approximately half of the survivors \( (8/14, 57.1\%) \) underwent a conditioning period that subverted their ability to refuse the manager. Seven of these survivors who underwent a conditioning period were then forced into the sex industry; and one escaped during the conditioning period and before her first customer. All eight of these survivors suffered physical abuse during the conditioning period. One was beaten and strangled. Another was beaten for two weeks and burned with cigarettes. Three of these survivors were also placed in isolation. One was locked in a room without food for 10-12 days; and another was without water or food for three days. After this conditioning period, it became clear to the survivors that “\( [t]here was no chance of saying ‘No’ to anyone\)” (Participant 1).

Three of the five survivors who did not undergo a conditioning period were scared into submission by other sex workers who told the survivor that they would be killed if they refused to conduct sex work; while three who underwent a conditioning period received similar threats as well. Neither of the two survivors who were exploited in private establishments underwent a conditioning period.

About half of the survivors provided details regarding their first customer. All of these accounts would be categorized as rape. One of these survivors was drugged, and another two fainted. Two of the survivors who were very young at the time of exploitation \( (12-13\) years old) recounted an extraordinary amount of blood as a result of the rape. One survivor did not stop bleeding for two days and the other could not walk after the first customer assaulted her because of the profuse bleeding. Another sex worker held down one of these young girls while her first customer—a 45 year old man—raped her.

A few survivors directly linked the traumatic encounter with the first customer as one of the reasons they submitted to the manager. A very young survivor whose first customer was reportedly a police official stated,

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*Thirteen survivors were forced into the sex industry, but one additional survivor escaped during the conditioning period. The remaining four were rescued before they would have underwent a conditioning period.*
“Yes, when that police did those things to me, I no longer remembered who I was. I felt that I was nothing and that my life is [sex work]... At the beginning I used to cry and scream, but after going with the police I couldn’t say that I wanted to go back home” (Participant 9).

Another survivor described:

“No, I did not experience any physical violence. After...the bad thing...happened to me, I considered myself very bad. I looked down upon myself. After that, I felt that my life is like this...I felt maybe I had to do this work my whole life. I did not say anything to anyone after that. And that whatever work they asked me to do, I did it quietly” (Participant 11).

In addition to conditioning periods, threats and rape, managers used debt bondage to force survivors to enter the sex trade. Managers told about half of the survivors that they were sold and could not leave until they repaid the money. Some survivors who had longer stopovers before being initiated into the sex trade were also informed that they owed the hosts who fed, clothed, and housed them during the one to four month stopover period.

Upon beginning sex work, managers directed a few of the survivors to keep the customers happy or they would be killed. As summarized by one survivor, “they said not to go against the customer’s word—to let them have pleasure and not to express your pain. If they’re pleased, they would pay more” (Participant 9). For the most part, managers provided little or no instruction. Furthermore, no survivor reported that they were shown graphic materials or forced to watch others engage in sex work.

5.3 Sex Trade Conditions
Survivors had little control over their meal or sleep schedule, both of which were dictated by the arrival of customers. The majority of survivors were able to have multiple meals a day; however, the timing of dinner was often erratic. One survivor reported that they were sometimes too busy to eat anything in a 24-hour period; and another noted that food was withheld if they did not work.

Survivors recounted that they woke up between 6:00am and 12:00pm (N=10), with half waking up before 8:00am. Despite waking up fairly early in the morning, several survivors went to sleep between midnight and 4:00am. These survivors and others clarified that they were not allowed to sleep if there were customers. Survivors described,

“They’d wake us up if there [were] any customers even during that time. They’d drag us to the customer if we didn’t wake up easily” (Participant 5).

“At times we got to sleep. At times we didn’t. We had to work till 1:00am, 2:00am or even 3:00am or else they would abuse us physically. Sleeping or taking rest were luxuries we couldn’t afford” (Participant 3).

Even when the survivor did not have a customer, there were times in which they could not sleep in their room due to shared quarters. While two survivors reported that they had a single room in the establishment, most survivors shared a room with 2-5 other sex workers, and one noted that they slept in a room with 10-15 beds where each bed had 2 or 3 occupants (N=8). Those who shared beds had to sleep elsewhere when the other sex worker(s) had customers. One even said that the manager required sex workers not to sleep in the same room when another girl was working, as the customer was likely to rape them while they were sleeping.

5.3.1 Customers
Survivors reported serving an average of 7-18 customers per day (see Table 27), with the mode being 10-12 customers and most reporting between 4 and 12 customers per day. However, three of these survivors clarified that busy days could have upwards of 30-50 customers. The data was unable to provide the number of unique customers, therefore the scale of demand cannot be estimated. However, to demonstrate a sense of the impact on each survivor, Table 27 provides a tentative estimate of the number of sex acts per year per sex worker. Estimates in the higher range are more likely to be accurate, as no survivor indicated that they worked only five days a week; and some customers received multiple sex acts.
The interview guide did not assess the physical impact, but one survivor who served a median amount of clients noted that the manager was aware of the physical pain associated with between 5-12 customers per day. She stated “If we felt bad, then they’d give us ointments to reduce pain” (Participant 5).

**Table 27: Number of Customers per Sex Worker**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Customers per day*</th>
<th>Estimated sex acts per year**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>7-18</td>
<td>1,820-6,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5-11</td>
<td>1,300-4,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>2,600-4,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range Difference</td>
<td>12 for days with less customers; 44 for days with more customers</td>
<td>4,750 for calculations using the mean; 2,715 for calculations using the median</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N=10. Eight of the survivors provided a low and a high number of customers per day, citing that the number of customers varied. Therefore, the numbers provided are based upon the rounding of low and high calculations. When all numbers are averaged, the overall rounded mean is 13, the median is 10, the mode is 10, and the range difference is 47.*

**The lower estimate assumes 260 working days per year as well as the lower estimate of customers per day (mean 7, median 5, mode 10). The higher estimate assumes 365 working days—which was supported by limited data in the survivor interviews—and the higher estimates of customers per day (mean 18, median 11, mode 12). Using the overall rounded mean of 13, the low estimate would be 3,380; and the high estimate would be 4,745.**

Six survivors stated that the customers would talk to them. Four survivors reported that the customers could be forceful or display other harmful behaviours (e.g., drunkenness, fighting, or “filthy talk”). A different set of four survivors recounted that customers wanted to marry them and/or purchase their freedom from the establishment. A customer did marry one of these survivors, brought her into his home for three days, and then returned her to the establishment.

5.3.2 Finances

**KEY FINDING**

While survivors received little or nothing for their work in the sex trade, managers could reap substantial revenue from one sex worker.

Survivors received little or no payment for their work in the sex trade. Eight survivors received no payment from their managers (N=10), and the two that were paid small amounts (INR 100 and INR 300, 1.50 and 4.50 USD) had to use this to pay for food, clothes, and/or other basic necessities.

Customers tipped ten survivors, and half of these survivors either had to turn the tip money over to the managers or hide the money from the managers to avoid it being confiscated. Tips from clients ranged from INR 5 to 5,000 (0.08 to 75 USD), with the mode being INR 100 (1.50 USD). Four survivors (including the two who received small amounts from the manager) noted that they needed to use this tip money to purchase basic necessities. One survivor used the tip money to buy condoms for the customers.

The amount survivors received was a fraction of the amount earned by them for their managers, as shown in Table 28. The cost per sex act was often differentiated by service; and a few survivors noted that the managers would vary the price. One clarified that prices more than doubled for foreign customers, another reported a 10-fold range depending on the customer’s wealth, and yet another stated that her first customer was charged INR 100,000 (1,500 USD).
### Table 28: Cost of Sex Acts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cost for a shorter time*</th>
<th>Cost for a longer time</th>
<th>Cost for the night****</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mean</strong></td>
<td>INR 174 (2.61 USD)</td>
<td>INR 1,738 (26.07 USD)<strong>/ INR 547.5 (8.21 USD)</strong>*</td>
<td>INR 2,750 (41.25 USD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Median</strong></td>
<td>INR 150 (2.25 USD)</td>
<td>INR 500 (7.50 USD)/ INR 500 (7.50 USD)</td>
<td>INR 1,500 (22.5 USD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Range Difference</strong></td>
<td>INR 130 (1.95 USD)</td>
<td>INR 6,250 (93.75USD)/INR 710 (16.65 USD)</td>
<td>INR 4,250 (63.75 USD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N=5. Shorter time was usually defined as 20-30 minutes whereas a longer time was defined as an hour or more. **N=5. One of these was for the private establishment, which was INR 5,550 (83.25 USD) higher than the largest amount reported by a participant held in a public or hybrid establishment. ***Therefore, the second amount reported in this column is just for the N=4 of public/hybrid establishment participants so as to not skew the data. ****N=3

Using the cost data and the number of customers reported by survivors, the revenue earned by each sex worker was estimated, as displayed in Table 29 below (for sex workers in public establishments only). There was limited data for survivors exploited in private establishments, as one of the two provided data on the number of customers (at least three) and the other provided data on cost (INR. 6,500 or 97.50 USD per sex act). Assuming that the number of customers and cost of services was the same for each, and that they worked 3 days a week, then a survivor exploited in a private establishment would earn INR 3,042,000 (45,630 USD) per year. This is closer to the higher estimate of revenue per sex worker in public establishments (Table 29).

### Table 29: Estimated Revenue per Sex Worker in Public Establishments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Revenue per sex worker per day</th>
<th>Revenue per sex worker per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower Estimate</strong></td>
<td>INR 1,218* (18.27 USD)</td>
<td>INR 316,680*** (4,750.68 USD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Higher Estimate</strong></td>
<td>INR 12,658** (180.86 USD)</td>
<td>INR 4,400,988**** (66,021.42 USD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Calculated with the lower mean number of customers per day (7) and assumes all received the least expensive service (mean cost of INR 174 or 2.61 USD)  **Uses the higher mean number of customers per day (18), assumes one night customer (mean cost of INR 2,750 or 41.25 USD), and the remaining 17 customers all received the more expensive services (mean cost of INR 548 or 8.22 USD)  ***Assumes five working days per week, even though many interviewed mentioned working seven days a week ****Assumes seven working days per week, as cited by many survivors

The data in Table 29 demonstrates the incredible profitability—and incentive for perpetrators—of exploiting women and girls in the sex industry. To put these revenue figures in context, the 2016 minimum wage for a skilled accountant in the state of West Bengal over the course of a year is INR 165,000 or 1,575 USD. Therefore, the lower estimates in Table 29 are approximately three times this salary, and the higher estimates are more than 40 times this amount.

### 5.4 Means of Control

#### KEY FINDINGS

Managers controlled survivors through facility conditions—such as constant monitoring and/or confinement within the establishment—as well as psychological abuse and financial control.

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**West Bengal publishes reports twice a year with the monthly minimum wage. The calculations in the text are based on the January-June, 2016 report, multiplying the monthly minimum wage by 12 to calculate the yearly wage.** [http://www.paycheck.in/main/salary/minimumwages/west-bengal/west-bengal-minimum-wage-from-january-1-2016-to-june-30-2016](http://www.paycheck.in/main/salary/minimumwages/west-bengal/west-bengal-minimum-wage-from-january-1-2016-to-june-30-2016)
5.4.1 Wanting to Leave and Barriers to Exiting the Sex Trade

Although survivors initially refused to work in the sex trade, managers forced and/or coerced them into working. The survivors identified many physical barriers to running away including: monitoring and/or accompaniment by guards or other establishment staff, confinement within the establishment, and confiscation of customers’ mobile phones.

In addition to these physical barriers, there were many psychological control mechanisms that kept survivors in the sex trade. Eleven survivors similarly reported that the manager utilized debt bondage and other forms of financial obligation as a form of control, requesting compensation for the alleged money paid for the purchase of the survivor before the survivor could exit the sex trade. One survivor was told that she had a short-term contract that would pay back the amount for which she was purchased, but the remaining survivors had no clear timelines for repayment. Given the little or no payment provided to survivors, repaying the debt was a (purposefully) impossible feat. In addition, these survivors were in an unfamiliar city and had no resources, making the possibility of running away unachievable. A few survivors also demonstrated signs of shame associated with their initial rape, ongoing abuse, and involvement with sex work—making it implicitly believed by the survivor or explicitly expressed by the manager that the survivor would no longer be accepted at home.

Despite these barriers, eight survivors sought help from customers, law enforcement officials, and those who worked in the sex trade. In one instance, a survivor recounted an opportunity to seek help from an individual she assumed to be a law enforcement officer. Her request for help was refused, with the individual reportedly stating that the survivor was “born to do this work” (Participant 8).

Five survivors attempted to escape, of which two were successful. The two survivors managed to escape the sex trade prior to their first exploitation. Of the three survivors who were unsuccessful in their escape attempts, only two provided details. One noted that the owner captured her and then assaulted her for attempting to escape. The other survivor attempted to escape with her friend, and claimed that the pair was seen by an alleged law enforcement officer with ties to the brothel owner. The individual recaptured the girls and returned the pair to the establishment, where they were subsequently beaten and locked up as punishment.

5.4.2 Verbal Abuse, Threats, and Violence to Others

**KEY FINDINGS**

Threats of death were credible due to the violence experienced by the survivors and committed against others in the establishment. In fact, three survivors witnessed other sex workers being murdered.

Only one survivor reported that they never experienced any form of verbal abuse or threats. Seven survivors experienced verbal abuse, with one clarifying that she was abused until the manager deemed her “profitable” and began treating her better. Managers frequently threatened survivors with death, being sold “someplace worse,” never seeing their family again, and having their family find out that the survivor was involved in sex work. One survivor was threatened with death if she ever complained to the police, and then those delivering the threats would pretend to kill her.

Threats of death were believable due to the violence experienced by the survivors and violence committed against others in the establishment. Seven survivors reported seeing others abused in the establishment. Of those, four survivors witnessed other sex workers physically abused when they refused to engage in sex work or showed any insubordination; and three survivors reported witnessing murder. In one case, three girls were stabbed to death in front of the survivor. Another survivor witnessed a girl be killed and then buried in the establishment walls. The third survivor described a particularly gruesome murder as a result of extreme sexual violence,
5.4.3 Physical and Sexual Violence

Upon beginning sex work, about half the survivors continued to be subject to regular and/or severe physical violence while the remaining half reported that they experienced no or minimal violence. Of those who reported minimal violence, one was beaten whenever she cried or could not wake up to attend a customer. Three survivors reported severe injuries as a result of physical violence: one’s head fractured when she was hit with a rod; another required surgery when her intestines were displaced due to the beating she sustained; and the third was punched in the abdomen so hard that she lost consciousness.

In terms of physical violence experienced, survivors were primarily slapped and/or beaten with hands. One survivor reported that beatings were done with alacrity as “they’d take up any small issue to get a chance to hit us” (Participant 7). Two survivors reported being hit with hard objects such as sticks or rods. Another said, “they used to grab my hair and hit; hit [my head] against [the] cot” (Participant 1).

Five survivors also experienced physical and sexual violence from customers. Three of these reported that customers would attempt to rape them; and one described regular physical abuse if sex workers refused certain customers who wanted to have sex for free. Another survivor explained,

“Sometimes the customers would be inside the room with me. Sometimes they would try to rape. Sometimes they declined to use condoms. In such times, I always feared being killed by them” (Participant 8).

None of the survivors reported any redress for violence from customers. In fact, after a survivor called the manager as a result of the customer beating her, the manager burnt the survivor with a cigarette.

5.5 Impacts of the Violence

**KEY FINDING**

In addition to the physical impacts of undergoing physical and sexual violence, survivors also experienced impacts as a result of unprotected sex, emotional distress and suicidal ideation, shame, and difficulty with social reintegration as a result of their experiences.

5.5.1 Sexual Health

Interviews did not ask about sexually transmitted infections or medical treatment beyond the use of condoms and response to pregnancy. However, one survivor disclosed that she contracted a STI,

“We never wanted to get infected by the customers, but we never had any choice and had to follow the customer’s orders...[N]o one will be able to accept the disease I’m carrying. That’s why I feel so lonely today” (Participant 7).

More than half (7/13) of the survivors had unprotected sex. In five of these seven cases, the manager encouraged the use of condoms, but not to the degree of refusing customers who wanted unprotected sex. In one instance, the manager only required the use of condoms after the survivor had her first period—demonstrating that this private establishment exploited very young girls and that condoms were viewed primarily to thwart pregnancy instead of disease. Only one survivor reported that the manager did not promote the use of condoms under any circumstances.

Only one survivor became pregnant, and this was not discovered until after police intervention. However, 12 survivors reported on the experiences of other sex workers who became pregnant while in the sex trade. Of
these 12, six said that other sex workers were forced to have abortions. One of these recounted that pregnant sex workers who refused an abortion were hit with rods in their abdomen until they miscarried.

5.5.2 Medication and Injections
Over the course of their time in the sex trade, nine survivors were forced to take medication, and one of these also received injections. In these nine cases, the medication was primarily used to fatten the survivor or make them appear older or as birth control. One survivor who received birth control was also tranquilized before her first customer and only remembers painfully waking up in a bed covered in blood. Another survivor was told that the medication was to make sex less painful; however, managers only administered this medication to trafficked women in the establishment and not to those working wilfully—indicating that trafficked sex workers served far more customers or that the medication was actually used to subdue these survivors. The remaining survivor who received medication was unaware of its purpose, and also received marijuana when distressed. In addition to medication and injections, managers forced eight survivors to drink alcohol with the customers; and three survivors began smoking cigarettes during their time in the sex trade.

5.5.3 Emotional and Social Impact
Survivors exhibited significant emotional impacts as a result of their time in the sex trade. Eleven survivors wanted to die while in the sex trade. Of these, four survivors attempted suicide. In addition to suicidal ideation, two survivors reported being depressed in the establishment, and one engaged in self-harm. While not asked about post-rescue well-being, two shared that they had ongoing trauma: one reported nightmares, and another described hyper-vigilant activities to protect her children and family.

Being sold into the sex trade and the traumatic experiences affected the survivors’ social reintegration. Many lacked social support while in the establishment, with nine stating that there was not one friend or person they could trust (N=13). Of the remaining four survivors, one had another sex worker help her navigate the sex trade and three cited that they had customers they could trust. Only half the survivors reported that they had at least one support person in their life post rescue. Moreover, four survivors explicitly stated that they cannot trust anyone as a result of being trafficked.

Shame was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews, and also affected social reintegration. Several described that they doubted other people—including their family—would associate with them as a result of their victimization. One survivor’s mother specifically instructed her to not tell anyone she was trafficked as it could damage the reputation of the survivor’s sisters. A survivor who exited before exploitation demonstrated the stigma attached to sex trafficking survivors in her description of the rape examination performed after her rescue, “They performed the medical exam to see if I was good or bad, to see if I was lying [that I escaped before my first customer] or someone did something to me. Then after the medical [exam], they saw that it was all good. After the medical report, I became a good person in the eyes of everyone” (Participant 13).

Others who did not escape before exploitation demonstrated how the shame of being “bad,” having a “bad name,” feeling “dirty,” and not being able to “show my face” affected them while they were in the establishment. As noted in Section 5.2, the traumatic encounter with the first customer coupled with shame and the sense of being unable to reintegrate into their community resulted in the survivor becoming submissive to their manager.

5.6 Interaction with the Justice System
Interviewees were asked if they ever encountered police officials and other government officials during their time in the sex trade. Many of the survivors were aware of police officials, while only one reported interacting with a government official. One of the survivors who did not interact with any public justice system officials stated that “police couldn’t enter that area” in which her public establishment resided (Participant 15).
KEY FINDINGS

Although survivors experienced positive efforts by police officials to intervene, ten survivors who encountered individuals assumed to be police officials reported negative experiences prior to their rescue by police officials. Overwhelmingly, the barriers to victim identification and rescue reported by the survivors are resulting from a misplaced distrust of police, as the survivors were taught to fear police officials, lie about key facts used for victim screening, and hide and/or run away during rescue operations. Furthermore, a few establishments contained both trafficked and non-trafficked sex workers, increasing the barriers to both finding and identifying victims.

Although survivors experienced positive efforts by law enforcement officials to intervene, ten survivors who encountered individuals assumed to be law enforcement officials reported negative experiences prior to their rescue by law enforcement officials.96 Nine survivors alleged that law enforcement officials came to the establishment as customers.97 Two of the survivors conveyed that a law enforcement officer was their first customer—reportedly an officer in charge in one case—and an additional survivor noted that the manager offered the new girls to customers allegedly identified as law enforcement. Five survivors related instances in which law enforcement officers would work with establishment owners, and three observed a law enforcement officer taking bribes. Another two survivors witnessed border officials take bribes when they were being recruited into the sex trade. Two of the three survivors who sought help from individuals assumed to be law enforcement officers while in the establishment were refused or returned to the manager.98

5.6.1 Victim Identification

Data from the survivor interviews demonstrate that there were significant barriers to victim identification. Overwhelmingly, the barriers reported by the survivors result from a distrust of law enforcement. Six survivors indicated that managers would use fear of law enforcement to threaten sex workers. One of these survivors recounted the threat that a law enforcement officer would take them to jail where “water from the toilet pot will be served to you and you will be beaten” (Participant 8). This resulted in many of the survivors being fearful during their rescue, and uncooperative with those seeking to help them. In addition, six survivors reported that managers taught them to lie—both to law enforcement and to customers who enquired—about their age, receipt of payment, and decision to enter the sex trade. Several stated that they were taught to say that they were in the sex trade of their own free will. One survivor recounted that the sex workers lied to law enforcement about the madam’s involvement in their trafficking, resulting in the release of her trafficker.

To avoid police capture during operations, seven survivors were hidden. A few were also taught to run if discovered by the police. One survivor recounted that the night of the rescue operation, eleven out of the thirty sex workers held by police were fearful and ran away.

In addition, two survivors indicated that their establishment contained both trafficking victims and women who wilfully entered the sex trade. These two survivors stressed that these two types of sex workers were treated differently within the facility; and one noted that during police operations,

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96This information must be qualified with IJM’s knowledge of a common fear tactic used with victims of CSE: managers tell girls that the men entering are police when they are not in reality. Therefore, the certainty that all police encounters reported by survivors are actual Kolkata police, is unknown. Of the nine survivors who reported that police came as customers, five survivors saw the police officer’s identity card and another survivor reported that the police officer came to the establishment in uniform. The remaining three survivors were told by managers or other girls that the customer was a police officer.

97Though IJM’s casework experience discloses that the threat of the presence of law enforcement is a common fear tactic utilized by managers.

98The information relayed by the survivors regarding the involvement of select law enforcement officers in the sex trade is subjective to the survivors’ accounts conveyed to the interviewer, and is uncorroborated.
“The girls working wilfully were kept in a room while the others who were working against their will were taken to an underground chamber. The first group of girls said they were working wilfully, and never disclosed of girl trafficking going on there” (Participant 5).

5.6.2 Survivors’ Recommendations for Future Interventions

Survivors had many recommendations for the government response to sex trafficking, many of which were inter-related. First, they stressed the need to prevent trafficking through economic empowerment, awareness raising, stronger border patrols, victim screening and identification at the border and/or on primary modes of transport, and shutting down establishments that sell sex. One survivor shared her story in order to prevent further trafficking, “but in the village people make fun of me” (Participant 12)—thus demonstrating the need to address stigma in order to have effective awareness-raising activities as well as social reintegration for survivors.

Second, when intervening on behalf of current victims, survivors recommended that the police actively counteract victims’ fear of police by behaving kindly and avoid debriefing at the jail. Several noted that they began to trust the police and stop lying once they realized that the police were there to help them instead of taking them to “someplace worse” than the already traumatic sex trade. During the operation, one survivor emphasized the importance of a thorough investigation,

“The police generally search under or behind the tables when they go looking for girls. They should look behind the cupboards or hidden chambers or switches behind the walls or under the floors. They can find the girls if they search behind heavy household items as well. The girls are also taken to secret places in the villages or the forests as well. They have people among the villagers to help them also. They have to take note of that” (Participant 5).

In addition, a few noted that individuals within police involved in aspects of the sex trade need to be uprooted so that interventions could be successful. One stated plainly that “nothing can be worse than” when “the police get involved in this trade” (Participant 3).

Third, upon rescue, survivors were relieved when their perpetrators were arrested and convicted; or greatly desired that “all those people [would] be punished…and put in jail” (Participant 2). One described the feeling of knowing that the perpetrators were restrained as “it feels great, because many girls will be saved because of this. It would be great if all the hotels are shut down” (Participant 4). Another expressed both gratitude for her perpetrators’ imprisonment and fear of their release,

“[T]he persons who did wrong to me, they are suffering now. I do not fear them. We all have to die—I have to die either in their hands or something else—but I fear that after they are released—if they do any harm to my family…it’s the only thing I fear” (Participant 15).

Survivors also needed jobs, and one expressed the desire for victim compensation from the perpetrators to augment her job and help provide for her family. She stated,

“If the men who have spoiled our lives can help us monetarily, that’s going [to] benefit us to run the family. We’re finding it really difficult to make both ends meet. A decent job will be of great help…All the girls need help. If the men convicted in the case are ordered to give us some money, then all of us will be benefitted” (Participant 4).

Finally, those from Nepal and Bangladesh noted the need for greater coordination between India and their home country for prevention (e.g., border patrol) and protection (e.g., repatriation). They also identified the need for the governments of Nepal and Bangladesh to provide economic empowerment upon repatriation.
SECTION 6

Conclusions and Discussion
The conclusions and discussion are divided into three main sections, in line with the research questions outlined in Section 1.6.

6.1 Minors Engaged in Commercial Sexual Exploitation

The sex trade in Kolkata is flourishing and well-known. With over 4,143 CSWs documented during the mapping of public establishments in concentrated hotspots (See Section 2.1.1), the availability and accessibility of women for sex in these red light areas is not a hard-to-find service. The overwhelming majority of sex workers observed in this study were adults, with the prevalence of minors engaged in CSE in public establishments in the targeted hotspots at an estimated 0.8% (4.4% of establishments). These minors were borderline, aged 16 and 17 years old, observed in Sonagachi, Kapasberia, and Khristola/Mahishdal hotspots. This indicates that brothels and other public establishments have low exploitation of minors. It is important to note though that over a quarter of these minors observed in these establishments openly reported being trafficked, sold, and forced into the trade.

The more self-evident and unique finding from this study was the seemingly high number of minors engaged in CSE through private networks. In this more privately-networked phenomenon across Kolkata, while not a representative sample, IJM documented 24 minors, all 15 to 17 years old, being sold for sex out of a total of 131 CSWs. Using a strategy based on link-tracing sampling design and a mark-recapture estimation procedure, this sample yielded a lower bound number of sex workers in the targeted areas of 716.3. The upper bound number is unknown, but given the proportion of minors observed in the study, this warrants further exploration of this much more underground phenomenon in metro Kolkata.

6.2 Profiles of Those Engaged in the Sex Trade

This study revealed that the demand for sex services in the target areas is overwhelmingly local. The customers are Indian and the exploiters are Indian. The business is extremely lucrative for managers or pimps/madams. From the study in the private networks, contacts selling or leading to minors for sex were 16 to 58 years old and were predominantly female, different from the stereotypical portrayal of male-dominated exploiters. However, many exploiters worked with other people in order to execute this more private transaction of sex services. Contacts worked with other pimps and madams who would connect with people renting their houses or rooms for services. Hotel and massage parlour managers had connections with pimps, who would book rooms for customers; even the staff of these businesses were aware of these additional economic schemes.
The women and girls engaged in CSE are also overwhelmingly Indian. The majority of sex workers observed in the studies were majors. Close to 12.0% of CSWs observed in public establishments and 36.6% of CSWs in the private network were identified as 18-21 years old (borderline majors). This further supports the notion that exploiters in the sex trade are not using the traditional brothel-based system for selling minors but rather capitalizing on private networks for their business. All of the minors observed in these studies were 15 to 17 years old. In the public establishments, minors were mostly originally from within West Bengal, but a few others from Assam, Uttar Pradesh, and Maharashtra in India, and one from Bangladesh. In the private network, all of the minors were from West Bengal. In hotspot areas, minors engaged in CSE were all in brothels; while in the private network, data collectors observed minors predominantly in rented private residences mostly in the South Zone of Kolkata.

Across the two observational studies, minors reported being in the trade due to poverty, lack of job opportunities, the family’s abandonment or inability to care for her, being tricked by promise of a good job, being sold by her family into the trade, and a need to support family for a variety of reasons (death of parent, illness, children, spouse abandonment). Learning from IJM’s own casework in Kolkata, the experiences of the women and girls observed working in the trade will only be fully brought to light through a trusted relationship. However, the interviews alone warn of a harsher reality, even for those willingly entering the trade, than one might suppose upon an initial interaction or observation.

Information gathered from both observation-based studies, as well as reported in survivor interviews, described various forms of involvement by law enforcement and/or government officials. While law enforcement presence in the hotspot areas during the public establishment study did not interrupt or affect the data collection, the data collection team garnered information indicating a positive impact on combatting CSE in public establishment areas. Throughout the study, information relayed to data collectors revealed that, due to effective and efficient interventions by law enforcement, minors were no longer available in specific locations. In the public establishment study, alleged bribery of law enforcement affected the functioning of various brothels. Although the data collected supported proactive patrolling, policing, and rescue operations by law enforcement, several contacts within the private network study reported direct, influential relationships with officers, potentially indicating a level of delinquency of select law enforcement officers. While the information reported to the data collection team is unverified regarding the identity and occupation of the individuals mentioned by the contacts, such relationships could influence the ease of operation in which certain businesses function. Overall, the data collected in both observation-based studies indicates the influence of law enforcement and the broader public justice system on CSE.

The majority of survivors encountered positive efforts and perseverance by law enforcement officials to intervene, despite failed attempts of intervention or rescue as survivors were either hidden and/or moved to avoid rescue operations. However, some survivors who interacted with individuals, assumed to be law enforcement officers, reported negative experiences prior to their rescue, such as engagements with customers allegedly identified as law enforcement officers or refusal to assist the survivor in exiting the trade. Survivors further indicated that the managers often used fear of law enforcement as a tactic to threaten and control them, even teaching survivors to lie about key facts for victim screening, demonstrating significant hindrances to victim identification by law enforcement officers. Furthermore, a few establishments contained both trafficked and non-trafficked sex workers, increasing the barriers to both finding and identifying victims. Despite the barriers faced by law enforcement, the survivors were rescued from the trade due to the diligence of law enforcement in conducting a thorough search and screening to identify survivors of CSE.

6.3 The Nature of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Due to a lack of strong and comparable former research on public establishments and the private networks of Kolkata’s sex trade, it is not possible to describe how the nature of CSE or even the environment has changed over time. It is unclear if the private networked phenomenon is burgeoning or just more recently being
uncovered. Even with the limitations of representation for the private network study, the findings point to a more entrepreneurial side of the sex trade which is agile in its response to justice system interventions. The social network analysis illuminated multiple network structures for exploiters and also for CSWs.

While there is not much known about the experiences of those exploited in this more networked phenomenon, the in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors provided a window into the violence, trauma, and degradation that some women face in the sex trade. Like Kara’s research outlined, the in-depth interviews with survivors of CSE painted a picture of their recruitment, movement, and exploitation. All demonstrated elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion. The recruiters used the promise of a good job to lure these vulnerable young women and children; however, some were abducted by force or deceit. In very few survivors’ stories did someone know they were leaving the community, which indicates that tracing missing persons in source communities is most likely not the best mechanism for uncovering victims. Once acquired, the traffickers used multiple modes of transportation to move the survivors to a different area for exploitation, using tactics to mask the nature of the relationship.

While the majority of survivors were defrauded with the promise of a good job into entering the establishment, they were forced or coerced into beginning sex work. A key tactic used in nearly half these women’s stories was a conditioning period that involved physical violence that crippled the survivor’s ability to refuse the manager. Other control tactics during that time included threats, being raped by the first customer, and debt bondage. Once the women began providing services, survivors reported between 7-18 customers a day and yet received little or nothing for this. Managers, instead, could reap substantial revenue from a single sex worker—demonstrating the profitability of this crime and incentive to keep women and girls exploited in the sex industry. From payments reported in the private network study, the pimps and madams are paid similarly for CSW services, but with less interference from those combatting the exploitation. The managers controlled the survivors through facility conditions such as constant monitoring and/or confinement within the establishment, as well as psychological abuse and control mechanisms and financial control. A key barrier to exit were the threats of death, made credible to survivors due to their own experience of violence as well as the violence committed against others in the establishment. In addition to the physical impacts of undergoing physical and sexual violence, survivors also experienced impacts on their health as a result of unprotected sex, emotional distress and suicidal ideation, shame, and difficulty with social reintegration after exit from the trade.
SECTION 7

Recommendations
The following recommendations are suggested for Indian stakeholders and the larger international community implementing programs, conducting research, or formulating policy or funding protocols regarding, related to, or affecting populations vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation or trafficking into the sex trade.

7.1 Continued Efforts to Combat Sexual Exploitation in Kolkata Metropolitan Region

Recommendation 1: The Government of West Bengal should continue to invest resources for building the capacity of the police force to properly identify minors in Kolkata Metropolitan Region.

While the sex trade may be changing to an even more hidden, networked phenomenon, given the prevalence figures estimated in the public establishment study, many of the minors present in the hotspot areas are reportedly trafficked, sold, and forced into the trade, even with a relatively high intervention of police. The police need more investigative and intervention training in identifying trafficking victims, both majors and minors, in these destination locations. Government efforts could focus only on the three areas observed with minors, however, police intervention in all areas is key in keeping minors from being trafficked into the brothels. Additionally, the survivor interviews revealed many failed attempts by the police in uncovering their whereabouts. Transport areas could also be a good place for identifying recruiters, so training on this tactic could be useful. The police should consider building confidence in their services and support, with a particular focus on vulnerable communities. Establishing and then publicly promoting greater accountability measures within the police could be one component of increasing public confidence. Both efforts would assist in necessary trust-building for victims, families, and others to report and identify trafficking.

Recommendation 2: The Government of West Bengal should institutionalize inter-state collaboration to effectively and sustainably end sexual exploitation of minors.

Given that Kolkata Metropolitan Region is a major source for CSE, government institutions, in particular police (including inter-state railway police), rehabilitation service providers, Women and Child Development departments, and border security officials, should consider creating and/or strengthening formal partnerships with other states around inter-state anti-trafficking efforts. The coordination of the relevant institutions is key to an effective strategy, and these partnership efforts need to be activated at the state, district, and zone levels. The State should initiate Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) with all states to rescue, rehabilitate and repatriate victims of CSE. One such MoU exists between West Bengal and Maharashtra, and another between India and Bangladesh, both of which can be used as models for replication domestically and internationally. These partnerships need to extend to Nepal as well, and encompass more collaboration around joint trainings as well as data on traffickers and survivor placement agencies.
Recommendation 3: The Government of West Bengal should institute a mechanism to research and address the various facets of the sex trade economy.

The business of sex trafficking flourishes with the recruiter, transporter and exploiter. It is further facilitated by various public and private enterprises directly and indirectly, including hotels, massage parlours, private residences, hotels, and the hospitality and entertainment industries. The sex trade is extremely profitable, with an active customer base. The government needs to better understand the business model that is enabling the crime. A multi-disciplinary effort on both the demand and supply side needs scaled up attention. The government should take measures to research and investigate the extent of this sex trafficking pipeline and how it is evolving, ensuring that all those involved in or enabling the system, be rooted out, including any existence of collusion between police officers and establishment owners and pimps.

In the private network specifically, the majority of sex workers and minors observed in CSE were in private residences, both rented and owned. More effort, including implementing stricter regulations on the leasing and licensing of establishments, should be made to curb the allowance of this trade to thrive inside accommodation businesses. The relevant government ministries need to design effective joint protocols for regulating and maintaining a system of ‘zero sexual exploitation’ within these institutions. This will require a collaborated effort with the Labour Department as well.

The current IPC and ITPA laws have provisions to penalize customers, and the state must formulate and enforce these regulations for effective implementation. For traffickers specifically, any effective and sustainable strategy should comprehensively prosecute traffickers beyond IPC and ITPA charges. Considering the application of economic offences, labour offences, revenue laws and civil offences could enhance the gravity of the crime. A database of traffickers could assist police, prosecutors, and the judiciary in tracking the network, as well as establishing case law on the matter.

7.2 Better Understanding of the Private Network Sex Trade

Recommendation 4: The Government of West Bengal must provide advanced investigation training to the police to investigate and infiltrate the private networks of the sex trade.

The findings of the study into the private networks give indication that many more minors might be available for sex than in the public establishments; however, the true scale and experiences of minors is widely unknown. Given the learnings on this network, if the sex trade is increasingly covert, technologically advanced and widespread across the state, the current skills and competencies of the police are not advanced to the level needed to investigate the crime. Government should invest in providing sophisticated training to the police in identifying, investigating and infiltrating highly organized criminal networks, and conducting operations in private residences and establishments.

Additionally, the high mobility, complexity, and evolving nature of the private networks will require strong coordination between the police and other justice system actors in order to advance the quality of response. Gaining a better understanding of CSWs’ agency in these networks, as well as any unique control tactics of exploiters will only improve understanding about victim profiles and investigation of the network.

7.3 Caring for Survivors of CSE

Recommendation 5: The Government of West Bengal should ensure that justice system officials and service providers interacting with survivors of CSE have dedicated spaces for appropriately addressing survivor needs, as well as receive specialized training in order to best understand the manifestations of their unique trauma.

While the stories of the interviewed survivors are not representative of all sex workers, there is a violent and gruesome side of the sex trade. These women described physical, psychological, emotional and social destruction experienced by them. They also revealed how fear and shame are powerful tactics of control and
have long-term, deleterious effects. Both majors and minors can be controlled by exploiters, trafficked, and forced into CSE. Justice system officials as well as service providers who interact with survivors of CSE need to understand the abuse perpetrated on survivors as well as the tactics used by exploiters to establish and exacerbate their fears. This will help government officials in gaining insight into why women “don’t just leave” and how trauma affects memory. It could assist in investigations and in identifying victims of trafficking in addition to understanding ways of building trust with survivors. For rehabilitation service providers specifically, the government should support and endorse all shelter home personnel in the receipt of training on trauma-informed care for survivors of sex trafficking. This type of specialized training will enable sensitized and tailored counselling which could significantly and positively affect the outcomes of survivors.

Given the level of confusion of rescue coupled with the immense trauma of their experiences in the sex trade, the government should consider establishing crisis response centres where girls and women could receive immediate counselling services following their exit from the sex trade in a safe environment. These centres, focused on the ‘crisis’ period of up to 72 hours post-rescue, would also be the place where survivors could be interviewed by justice system officials. This dedicated space and care could alleviate distrust of the process and expedite the much-needed rapport with justice system officials and other service providers.

7.4 Future Research

Recommendation 6: In addition to the above programmatic recommendations, the current studies bring to light future research opportunities for studying minors in the sex trade. Academic and research institutions, the international community, government stakeholders, and donors should continue to encourage, promote, require, and fund efforts to innovate around studying the nature, scale, manifestations, and consequences of CSEC in the sex trade.

The private network sex trade in Kolkata is still not well understood. More research into the nature and scale of the network, as well as survivor experiences and any forms of control present for minors with multiple pimps and/or more freedom of movement than was present in the public establishments, would only benefit the fight against CSE of minors and forced majors. The social network analysis conducted in this study was quite innovative and valuable, however it only scratched the surface. More resources would allow for the network to be more fully mapped, potentially allowing for an ethnological approach, and a better understanding of how exploiters use both public and private establishments for business schemes.

All three study methods targeted female CSWs. Research methods that uncover the experiences or existence of male or transgender CSWs would enable a more representative discussion about the sex trade in Kolkata.
Annex

Annex A: Hotspots Areas for Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

Annex B: Mark-Recapture Estimators and Conclusions
Annex A: Hotspot Areas for Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

Baruipur

- Center of area: 22°20’51.91”N, 88°26’11.26”E
- South-western Border: Sashan Railway Station
- North-western Border: Northwest edge of P.K. Banerjee Rd.
- North-eastern Border: Intersection of P.K. Banerjee Rd and Baruipur-Kulpi Rd.
- South-eastern Border: Southeast edge of P.K. Banerjee Rd.
- Size: 57,152 m², 1,234 meter perimeter.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Basirhat-Bowbazar

- Center of area: 22°39′46.29″N, 88°51′55.63″E
- Southern Border: Maakali Jewellery Shop
- Western Border: Madrassa School/Gas station-petrol pump
- Northern Border: Ichamati river
- Eastern Border: Basirhat Police station
- Size: 22,717 m², 804 meter perimeter.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Bowbazaar

- Center of area: 22°34'11.61"N, 88°21’49.22”E
- South-western Border: BB Ganguly Street
- North-western Border: College Street
- North-eastern Border: Madhu Gupta Lane and Sidheswar Chandra Lane, if they both extended to College Street
- South-eastern Border: Raja Ram Mohan Sarani
- Size: 8,585 m², 421 meter perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map, with an emphasis on Premchand Boral Street.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Diamond Harbour Rd (a.k.a. Joka)

- Center of area: 22°24′22.71″N, 88°16′49.56″E
- Southern Border: Intersection of Diamond Harbour Road and Nibaran Dutta Road
- Western Border: Western side of Diamond Harbour Road
- Northern Border: Intersection of Diamond Harbour Road and Joka Road
- Eastern Border: Eastern side of Diamond Harbour Road
- Size: 1,289,290 m², 10,286 meter perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Domjur

- Center of area: 22° 38’ 1.84"N, 88° 13’ 10.57”E
- Southern Border: About 0.20km south of Amta Road on Domjur Jagadishpur Road
- Western Border: the canal running south from Amta Road, near the Domjur Bus Station
- Northern Border: About 0.08km south of Amta Road on Domjur Jagadishpur Road
- Eastern Border: Eastern side of Domjur Jagadishpur Road
- Size: 33,537 m², 733 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map, with particular emphasis on Domjur Jagadishpur Road.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Gadiara

- Center of area: 22°13'17.25"N, 88°2'35.71"E
- Southern Border: Coastline
- Western Border: Shyampur-Gadiara Road, near the Gadiwara Bus Stop
- Northern Border: Northern side of Gadiara Ferry Ghat Road
- Eastern Border: 0.15 km past the Gadiwara-Noorpur Ferry Line
- Size: 128,144 m², 2,565 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Kalibazar

- Center of area: 22°11'13.57"N, 88°11'25.29"E
- Southern Border: Southern side of small, east-west lane that extends about 160 meters east off of NH117 about 0.30km north along NH117 from Diamond Harbour Jetty Ghat
- Western Border: NH117
- Northern Border: Northern side of small, east-west lane that extends about 160 meters east off of NH117 about 0.30km north along NH117 from Diamond Harbour Jetty Ghat
- Eastern Border: Small lake 0.18km east of NH117
- Size: 4,789 m², 393 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Kalighat/Chetla

- Center of area: 22°31’18.56”N, 88°20’27.51”E
- Southern Border: Kali Temple Road/Kali Mandir Road, if it were to extend from its intersection with Kalighat Road across the Tolly Canal to Rakhal Das Audy Road/Bridge Road
- Western Border: Rakhal Das Audy Road/Bridge Road
- Northern Border: Hazra Road
- Eastern Border: Kalighat Road
- Size: 65,685 m², 1,250 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Kapasberia

- Center of area: 22° 8’56.13”N, 87°57’49.45”E
- South-eastern Border: A location on NH41 (Kolaghat to Nandkumar Direct) about 1.06km northwest of the Kapasaria Bus Stop
- South-western Border: Southwest side of NH41 extending 1.08km
- North-western Border: A location on NH41 roughly 1.14km southeast of the Garughata Bus Stop.
- North-eastern Border: Northwest side of NH41 extending 1.08km
- Size: 115,287 m², 1,874 meters perimeters/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Khidderpur

- Center of area: 22°32’36.48”N, 88°19’34.50”E
- South-eastern Border: Karl Marx Sarani, between the Tolly Canal and Manastala Lane
- South-western Border: Kabitirtha Sarani, between Garden Reach Road and Karl Marx Sarani, with the exception of the section of Karl Marx Sarani extending between Kabitirtha Sarani and Manastala Lane
- North-western Border: Garden Reach Road
- North-eastern Border: Tolly Canal between Garden Reach Road and Karl Marx Sarani
- Size: 9,760 m², 573 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map, with the emphasis on Munshi Ganj Road and Nritya Ghosh Road
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Khristola/Mahishadal

- Center of area: 22°11’16.03”N, 87°58’48.20”E
- Southern Border: South side of Haldia-Mecheda Road
- Western Border: Intersection of Haldia-Mecheda Road and Mahishadal Raj-Bari Road, near the Mahishadal Bus Stop
- Northern Border: North side of Haldia-Mecheda Road
- Eastern Border: Mahishadal Choto Pole Bus Stop on Haldia-Mecheda Road
- Size: 9,389 m², 534 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Lokor Math

- Center of area: 22°31’19.98”N, 88°21’2.27”E
- Southern Border: MP Road
- Western Border: Townsend Road
- Northern Border: Nandalal Jew Road
- Eastern Border: Lansdowne Road
- Size: 3,854 m², 338 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map, with particular emphasis on a small hidden lane running north-south from MP Road to Nandalal Jew Road, roughly 90 meters east of Townsend Road.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Matiabazar

- Center of area: 22°41’24.04"N, 88°45’44.20”E
- Southern Border: Line running parallel to Taki Road (Hwy 2), 0.10km south of Taki Road/Matia Bus Stop.
- Western Border: River at the edge of Matia Bazar, beginning 0.10km west of the Matia Bus Stop and extending south 0.10km along the river bank. Additionally, western side of Matia-Baduria Road, extending north from the Matia Bus Stop for 0.22km.
- Northern Border: 0.24km stretch of Taki Road (Hwy 2) between the river and the unmarked road 0.14km east of the Matia Bus Stop, with the exception of a mark on Matia-Baduria Road 0.22km north of the Matia Bus Stop/intersection of Matia-Baduria Road and Taki Road.
- Eastern Border: Eastern edge of Matia Bazar; the unmarked road 0.14km east of the Matia Bus Stop, running south for 0.10km. Additionally, the eastern side of Matia-Baduria Road, extending north from the Matia Bus Stop for 0.22km.
- Size: 17,560 m², 768 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map. Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Rambagan

- Center of area: 22°35′20.34″N, 88°21′39.04″E
- Southern Border: Seth Bagan Gullee, if it extended from Pyari Das Lane to Jogen Dutta Lane
- Western Border: Rabindra Sarani
- Northern Border: Ramesh Dutta Street
- Eastern Border: Jogen Dutta Lane
- Size: 23,796 m², 604 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Sonagachi

- Center of area: 22°35'36.97"N, 88°21'46.26"E
- Southern Border: Nilmoni Mitra Street/Fakir Chakrobortha Lane
- Western Border: Rabindra Sarani
- Northern Border: Sovabazar Street
- Eastern Border: Jatindra Mohan Ave Road
- Size: 104,415 m², 1,384 meter perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth map.
Tollygunge

- Center of area: 22°30'10.76"N, 88°20'39.50"E
- Southern Border: Upenda Krishna Mondal Lane, if it extended from Deshapran Shashmal Road to Kali Prasanna Roy Lane
- Western Border: Kali Prasanna Roy Lane
- Northern Border: Tollygunge Circular Road
- Eastern Border: Deshapran Shashmal Road
- Size: 13,538 m², 527 meters perimeter/length.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The area is depicted on the attached Google Earth.
### Annex B: Mark-Recapture Estimators and Conclusions

#### Table 30: Mark-Recapture Estimators, Interpretations, and Conclusions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Occasion Method</th>
<th>Sampling Occasion Definition</th>
<th>Recapture Definition</th>
<th>Abundance Estimation with Bias Correction</th>
<th>Model Fit</th>
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<td>Abundance</td>
<td>Standard Error</td>
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</table>

**Warning #1** indicates that the model-fit is questionable. Essentially, the algorithm used to get the estimates did not converge. Thus, the estimates should be used with some caution. **Warning #3** indicates that there is a large amount of sparsity in the capture histories for the corresponding model/estimator. Therefore, the estimator can expect some instability, but this doesn’t necessarily mean that the model doesn’t fit. ‘OK’ means that there are no concerns with the estimators, i.e. that the algorithm used to reach the estimates has converged and point/standard errors are plausible.