

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Mumbai

Findings in Public Establishments, Private Networks and Survivor Perspectives



महाराष्ट्र राज्य बाल अधिकार संरक्षण आयोग
MAHARASHTRA STATE COMMISSION FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILD RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE MISSION

Presented by Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights and International Justice Mission



IJM

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Mumbai

Findings in Public Establishments, Private Networks
and Survivor Perspectives

Presented by Maharashtra State Commission for the
Protection of Child Rights and International Justice Mission





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Core Study Team (International Justice Mission)

Andee Cooper Parks

Sanjay Macwan

Alesha Guruswamy Rusk

Cassandra Fernandes

Melissa Walavalkar

Sheela Alfanso

Lila Nanda

Shalini Newbigging

Sian Morley

Pranay Mane

Kelvin Symon

Kevin Blagg

Vic Lacey

Kristy Pyke

Liz West

Harshal Sumitra

Research Coordinator: Andee Cooper Parks

External Analysis Method Reviewers: Richard Valliant, Saman Muthukumarana

Statistical Data Analyst: Kyle Vincent, Zixin Nie, Ashley Russell

Qualitative Data Analyst: Julie Stricker

This research was made possible through the support, courage, and diligence of many data collectors in Mumbai, India. The entire field office's staff in Mumbai 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 exposure to 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.

Prelude

Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (MSCPCR) and International Justice Mission India present the research study on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) of minor victims in Mumbai.

The research is a consolidated representation of the prevalence of minor victims of CSE in Mumbai, Thane and Navi Mumbai areas. It aimed to study the prevalence of victims of CSE in public establishments, such as, brothels and bars, and in private establishments such as, lodges and residential areas. In addition, the study was focused to understand the nature of violence being perpetrated on the victims.

From August 2015 to April 2016 researchers from International Justice Mission India were engaged in understanding the universe of CSE, identifying minor victims and analyzing the data to study the success of anti-trafficking interventions. This ascertained the need for the new strategies to sustainably combat CSE.

Maharashtra State Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (MSCPCR) and International Justice Mission India submit this report to the Government and Non-Government Stakeholders to advance the cause of ending Commercial Sexual Exploitation of minor victims in the State of Maharashtra.



**GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MAHARASHTRA STATE COMMISSION
FOR PROTECTION OF CHILD RIGHTS**
(A Statutory body created under the Act of Parliament)

3rd floor, Government Transport Service,
Sir Pochkhanwala Road,
Worli, Mumbai - 400 030

Tel. : 022-24920894/95/97

Fax : 022-24920896

E Mail : mscpcr@gmail.com
antripathi.2007@rediffmail.com

Website : <http://sites.google.com/site/childrightsmaharashtra/home>

A.N.Tripathi
I.F.S.
Secretary

NO. MISCPCR/CR 23/122
Date:- 3/2/2017

The report on the issue of sex trade and survivors perspectives as prepared by team of International Justice Mission is unimaginable and tedious. The work done by the team of IJM of intervening with the all the stakeholders connected in this field such as customers, sex workers, pimps, brothel managers etc is really appreciable and commendable. Such task can be done only by organizations like International Justice Mission who selflessly serve the society particularly those who are most vulnerable and neglected in the present system where money is widely used for exploitation.

I appreciate the performance of IJM who have highlighted the true picture of this industry and suggest conducting future research on the issues of networking of the sex trade, rehabilitation of the survivors and measures to combat Sex Trafficking particularly in Mumbai which shall be proved as assets to the academicians, law implementing agencies etc.


(A.N.Tripathi) 3/2/2017



Pramod D. Ambekar
Joint Director



Maharashtra Judicial Academy & Indian
Mediation Centre & Training Institute
Uttan Gorai Road, Uttan, Bhayander (W)
Dist. Thane, Pin: 401106

According to the National Crimes Bureau there has been a 95.5% increase in the number of Trafficking Cases registered from 2011 to 2015. While this may seem alarming in some aspects, it appears encouraging to law enforcement agencies over the aspect of increased reporting and increased identification of the offence of trafficking. This study by International Justice Mission (IJM) India, gives all who work in law enforcement, namely the police and Judiciary a clear understanding of the current situation and development in the modus operandi of the crime of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE).

The IJM study has focused all two aspects of Commercial Sexual Exploitation, firstly, the public establishments- which are the more easily identified bars and brothels, and secondly, the more covert private networks which run in hotels, rented private residences and owned residences. This identification in itself will prove to be extremely useful in understanding how organized the crime of human trafficking has become.

Such a study gives perspective on how the special laws and procedures, The Immoral Traffic Prevention Act, 1956, The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 and the anti-trafficking sections of the Indian Penal Code (45 of 1860) have and can be used to bring an end to the menace of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Mumbai. The interviews of survivors of Sex Trafficking has academically documented the force, coercion, or deception used in leading both women and children into exploitation. It has thus given an insight into the recruitment, movement, the 'conditioning period', and overall day-to-day exploitation in the trade.

While steps have been taken by the police and courts to curb this evil there is a lot more to be done. The recommendations of the study supports the joint efforts that need to be taken by the various arms of the government and civil society design a multi-disciplinary strategy for effectively and sustainably ending sexual exploitation, tackling both the demand and supply side of the sex trade. As it has been rightly endorsed by the study, "Any strategy would need to include inter-state collaborations with police and other government entities and should consider inter-agency collaboration for addressing how corporate and private business enable or benefit from the sex trade."

The Maharashtra Judicial Academy appreciates the dedicated investment IJM has made in documenting their findings through this report. It will certainly be an important reference source for the development in legislation and policy as well as training curriculum for government officials.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

Pramod D. Ambekar
Joint Director

Dr. P.M. Nair LL.B., Ph.D.
Chair Professor
I.P.S Retired



Tata Institute of Social Sciences
V.N. Purav Marg, Deonar
Mumbai, Maharashtra 400088

10 May, 2017

Irrefutable is the fact that human trafficking is demand-driven. In the dark world of human slavery, traffickers and exploiters know how to create and perpetuate demand, changing the patterns, dimensions and modus operandi. Undoubtedly, any meaningful and deterrent action to address human trafficking has to be centred on this core issue. Research not only brings out evidence, but also provides appropriate food and energy for action. In this context, the study by IJM on the prevalence and the patterns of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Mumbai city, the vibrant business capital of India and one of the best known commercial centres of the world, is path breaking, exciting and stimulating as it not only brings out the positive effects of good response, but also brings out the menu for action in clear, cogent terms.

This study focused on two aspects of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Mumbai, firstly in public establishments and then in the private networks. It brings out the changing trends in Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSE) in the city. There is a surprise aspect that the study brings out when it shows that the prevalence of minors in public CSE has come down to 5.5 percent in certain specific areas. The study lays the credit for this on the doorsteps of the law enforcement and the anti-trafficking civil agencies for being successful in reducing the number of minors exploited in CSE. Indeed a matter of great relief to all concerned with child rights. However, the relief is short lived and there is no scope for complacency either, as the second part of the study, which delves into the private network, displays the possible inverse correlation of a decrease in the number of minors available in 'brothels' to the high demand of minors in the mushrooming and wide-spread private networks. The scenario looks scary, for several reasons and more so because these cases are more difficult to investigate and expose, as these traffickers are better organized, with technological support, and appear dangerous for civilian confrontation. The study has highlighted the urgency to address the private network in CSE, the more covert and technologically advanced field and the one which creates high scope for exploitation of children.

The methodology used in the study is innovative and out-of-the-box. Lot of empirical data has been brought out in the study, especially from the intimate interviews of those still suffering in silence in the Mumbai's dark world of sexual exploitation, as well as from rescued survivors.

The implications of this study are far reaching. It is a clarion call to the criminal justice system and the anti-trafficking organizations to evenly focus on combating sex trafficking in both its private and public forms, and make concerted efforts on both fronts to end slavery in children. The study brings to record the efforts of all parties that have contributed in reducing the prevalence of minors in Commercial Sexual Exploitation. The publication of this report marks a great accomplishment of IJM and its project work in Mumbai. The convergence of research and action has brought the status of IJM to a high pedestal as the agency with proven expertise in this field. Am sure this expertise will be of tremendous use to all concerned for guiding and orienting their work and action in ending sexual exploitation of children not only in Mumbai but elsewhere too.

Dr P. M. Nair

Preface

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 in 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 hotspot areas were identified in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region. The study reveals that 5.5% 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, 11.7% of CSWs were identified as borderline minors. The private network focus areas were in Thane, Dombivili (Central line), Navi Mumbai (Harbor line), and the Western suburbs (Western line).

International Justice Mission (IJM) has, for the past seventeen years, been actively involved in collaborative casework against the forces of sex trafficking in Mumbai. 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 Mumbai.

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 comprising the third segment of the report. 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 nine months from August, 2015 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. The Ministry of Women and Child Development in their annual report in 2007-08 estimated about three million Commercial Sex Workers in India, of which 40% are estimated to be children. This study however reveals a drop in the percentage to 5.5% in public establishments.

This would be an 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 Government of Maharashtra 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 Mumbai. 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.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Sanjay Macwan" with a horizontal line underneath the name.

Sanjay Macwan
Regional Director, International Justice Mission

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	13
INDEX OF TABLES AND FIGURES	15
KEY TERMS.....	18
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	20
1. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION.....	23
1.1 Definition of Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation.....	25
1.2 Estimates and Nature of Commercial Sexual Exploitation	26
1.3 Government Response to Commercial Sexual Exploitation in India	29
1.4 Background to IJM in India and their Response to Commercial Sexual Exploitation	32
1.5 Study Goal and Objectives.....	33
2. METHODS.....	35
2.1 Public Establishment Survey Methods.....	37
2.2 Private Network Survey Methods.....	42
2.3 Survivor Interview Methods	45
3. PUBLIC ESTABLISHMENT SURVEY RESULTS.....	49
3.1 Descriptive Statistics on Public Establishments in the Sex Trade	51
3.2 Prevalence of Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments	52
3.3 Descriptive Information on Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments.....	55
3.4 Customers of Public Establishments in the Sex Trade.....	55
3.5 Presence of Police in Hotspot Areas.....	56
3.6 Weighted Regression Analysis of Presence of CSEC in Public Establishments	57
4. PRIVATE NETWORK SURVEY RESULTS.....	59
4.1 Descriptive Statistics on Private Establishments in the Sex Trade	61
4.2 Descriptive Statistics on Exploiters in the Private Sex Trade.....	62
4.3 Network Analysis of CSE in the Private Network Sex Trade.....	64
4.4 Descriptive Statistics of CSWs in the Private Network.....	67
4.5 Presence of Police	72
4.6 Weighted Regression Analysis of Presence of Minors	72
5. RESULTS FROM IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH CSE SURVIVORS.....	73
5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Survivors Interviewed	75
5.2 Path into the Sex Trade.....	76

5.3	Sex Trade Conditions.....	78
5.4	Means of Control.....	80
5.5	Impacts of the Violence.....	83
5.6	Interaction with the Justice System	85
6	CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION	87
6.1	Minors Engaged in Commercial Sexual Exploitation.....	89
6.2	Profiles of Those Engaged in the Sex Trade.....	89
6.3	The Nature of Commercial Sexual Exploitation.....	90
7	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	93
7.1	Continued Efforts to Combat Sexual Exploitation in Mumbai Metropolitan Region.....	94
7.2	Better Understanding of the Private Network Sex Trade.....	96
7.3	Caring for Survivors of CSE.....	96
7.4	Future Research.....	97
	ANNEX.....	99
	Annex A: Commercial Sex Establishment Hotspots.....	101
	Annex B: Private Network Study Location Areas	114
	Annex C: Mark-Recapture Estimators and Conclusions	121

Index of Tables and Figures

Table 1: CSE-Related Legislation in India.....	30
Table 2: Hotspot Areas.....	38
Table 3: Number of Establishments (Est.) and Sex Workers Documented in Mapping and in Sample, by Hotspot.....	39
Table 4: Descriptives of Surveyed Public Establishments in the Sex Trade, by Hotspot.....	51
Table 5: Projected Estimates of Public Establishments with Minors Engaged in CSE.....	52
Table 6: Number of Sex Workers Observed in Sample, by Hotspot and Suspected Age Group.....	53
Table 7: Number of Sex Workers Observed in Sample, by Weekday of Data Collection.....	54
Table 8: Projected Estimates of Minors Engaged in CSE, by Hotspot.....	54
Table 9: Total Number of Customers Observed at Establishments, by Hotspot.....	56
Table 10: Total Number of Customers Observed, by Weekday Collection.....	56
Table 11: Number of Unique Locations visited, by Location Type.....	61
Table 12: Unique Locations Visited More Than Once.....	62
Table 13: Contact Relationship History with IJM.....	62
Table 14: Observance of Minors through Previous Contact History.....	63
Table 15: Unique Exploiters, by Role.....	63
Table 16: Location of CSWs Observed, by Location Type.....	68
Table 17: Frequency of Locations and CSWs Observed, by Areas in Mumbai.....	69
Table 18: Home State of CSWs.....	70
Table 19: Reasons Leading to the Sex Trade.....	71
Table 20: Frequency Statistics for Mark-Recapture Analysis.....	71
Table 21: Source Location and Number of Survivors Interviewed.....	75
Table 22: Education Level of Survivors Interviewed.....	75
Table 23: Number of Customers per Sex Worker.....	79
Table 24: Cost of Sex Acts.....	80
Table 25: Estimated Revenue per Sex Worker.....	80
Table 26: Mark-Recapture Estimators, Interpretations, and Model Fit Conclusions.....	121

Figure 1: Map of Mumbai Metropolitan Region (IJM's Project Area).....	37
Figure 2: Map of Private Network Study Locations.....	42
Figure 3: Day of the Week Public Establishments Surveyed.....	52
Figure 4: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Person Type.....	65
Figure 5: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Major vs. Minor.....	66
Figure 6: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Male vs. Female.....	67
Figure 7: Survivors' Length of Time in the Sex Trade.....	76
Figure 8: Estimated Revenue Per Sex Worker (N = 12).....	79
Figure 9: Means of Physical Violence (N = 13).....	82
Figure 10: Customers' Use of Condoms (N = 14).....	83

Acronyms

AHTU	Anti-Human Trafficking Unit
CSW	Commercial Sex Worker
GPS	Global Positioning Satellite System
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IJM	International Justice Mission
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPC	Indian Penal Code
ITPA	Immoral Trafficking Prevention Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
TIP	Trafficking in Persons

Key Terms

Bedia 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 (CSW) = 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 be serviced by major or minor victims of CSE

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

Ladies bar = an establishment where women dance for customers, typically for some sort of tip or payment.

Lodge = an establishment that provides rooms for couples to come and stay, often charged by the hour. Services from women may or may not be available for purchase from the lodge itself.

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 male or female, age 22 and older (22, 23, 24, etc.) 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 Establishment = A covert place (building or business) where access to women and/or girls for purchase of sex is only available through a pre-arranged meeting or relationship.

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 Establishment = A public establishment is defined as a public place (building or business) in which women and/or girls are consistently sold for sex. Specific locations where customers go to negotiate and receive sexual services.

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 law enforcement, 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.

Silent bar = an establishment where customers can purchase alcoholic beverages and solicit waitresses for sexual services. These establishments differ from regular bars, in that they are typically minimally lit and do not have music. Customers are typically given a cubicle type space upon entering in order to engage with waitress staff of their choosing.

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

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

Executive Summary

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. Maharashtra is the commercial, financial and entertainment capital of India with an alluring metropolitan appeal, making Mumbai city a major destination for CSE. While some of Asia's oldest and largest "red light districts" can be found in Mumbai, there has not been a comprehensive prevalence assessment of these 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 aims to measure the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in hotspot areas of Mumbai, as well as shed light on this more networked side of the trade.

Methods

This study consisted of three separate, but inter-related data collection efforts. Since the nature of 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 other stakeholders to identify hotspot areas. Within these identified areas, the team conducted a comprehensive mapping exercise of all public establishments consistently selling sex and the total number of sex workers at each establishment. In total, data collectors mapped 1,445 establishments between 6 August and 9 October 2015, documenting a total of 10,082 sex workers employed at these sites. Data collection occurred from 29 October to 27 November 2015, and using a Bernoulli sampling design, the team collected data on 436 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 commercial sex worker (CSW) network, making new contacts along the way. Data collection occurred from 22 January to 22 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 intricately understand the nature of CSE and the experiences of those working in the sex trade, the study team organized interviews with survivors. In total, 15 survivors, who all experienced elements of force, coercion, or deception leading into exploitation, described their experiences around recruitment, movement, a 'conditioning period', and overall day-to-day exploitation in the trade.

Results

In the public establishment study, 15.0% of establishments had minors available for CSE, according to weight-based estimates. The estimated prevalence of minors in these hotspots, based on calibration, was 5.5% (CI: 4.5% to 6.6%). Panvel was the hotspot with the highest numbers of minors as well as highest prevalence (18.7%), but data collectors observed minors in all public establishment hotspots except Bhandup. All of the minors observed were 15 to 17 years old and were originally from Delhi, Rajasthan, and West Bengal, with over two-thirds from the Bedia community.

In the more privately-networked phenomenon, data collectors documented 25 minors being sold for sex out of a total of 214 CSWs observed. All of the minors observed were 16 to 17 years old, of which the majority were from West Bengal, with others from six other states in India. Observations of these minors all occurred in lodges in Navi-Mumbai or Mira Road in Thane Rural. The mark-recapture analysis yielded a lower bound number of sex workers in the targeted areas of 1,180. The true scale of CSEC in this side 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 male, but nearly one-quarter were female, ranging from 18 up to 55 years old. Many exploiters worked with other people in order 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 coming out of public establishments provided a window into the violence, trauma, and degradation that some women face in the sex trade. Recruiters used the lure of a romantic partner or deceit of a good job to acquire these vulnerable young women and children. Once acquired, the traffickers moved the survivors to a different area for exploitation, mostly by a closely-monitored but otherwise normal bus or train ride to Mumbai.

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 roughly half these women's stories was a conditioning period that involved physical violence and/or being held captive for a period of time until the survivor was too weak to refuse. Once the women began providing services, survivors reported that they had 7-11 customers a day and that they received little or nothing for this. Managers, instead, reaped 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 study on private networks, the pimps and madams in this more secretive side are paid even higher for CSW services. The managers controlled the survivors through constant monitoring, confinement within the establishment, threats and violence. For some, language barriers and financial control were barriers to exiting the sex trade. Lastly, survivors talked of significant and long-lasting physical, psychological, emotional and social impacts from undergoing physical and sexual violence.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The sex trade in Mumbai is flourishing and well-known. While the Government of Maharashtra has taken significant steps to combatting CSEC, there is more to do. In collaboration with other stakeholders, the government should design a multi-disciplinary strategy for effectively and sustainably ending sexual exploitation, tackling both the demand and supply side of the sex trade. The government should take measures to research and investigate the extent of this sex trafficking pipeline, ensuring that all those involved in or

enabling the system are rooted out. There is a need to integrate research with action on ground and vice versa. Any strategy would need to include inter-state collaborations with police and other government entities and should consider inter-agency collaboration for addressing how corporate and private business 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 Mumbai Metropolitan Region. They should provide police with highly-skilled training to better investigate and infiltrate the private networks of the sex trade in particular. The established special body like AHTU need to be strengthened and facilitated by senior police officers and administration. Accountability mechanisms have to be brought in at all levels. 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 those in the sex trade experience, as well as the tactics exploiters use 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**



01

Background and Introduction

1.1 Definition of Human Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Human trafficking is a fundamental betrayal of human rights¹, and yet current estimates suggest that it is one of the fastest growing transnational crimes.² 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.³

Human trafficking for sexual purposes is a form of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (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 or dignity.

Siddharth Kara, who has done extensive research in India, highlights that there are generally three stages to commercial sexual exploitation in the country: acquisition, movement, exploitation.⁴ Traffickers will use

¹UNODC. (n.d.). *Human Trafficking*. Retrieved March 2016 from <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html?ref=menuside>

²Shelley, L. (2010). *Human Trafficking - A Global Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

³UNODC. (2004). *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto*. Retrieved March 2016 from https://www.unodc.org/documents/middleeastandnorthafrica/organised-crime/united_nations_convention_against_transnational_organized_crime_and_the_protocols_thereto.pdf

⁴Kara, Siddharth. *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009.

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 a different 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 well.⁵

In addition to the sexual exploitation, victims are typically subject to gruelling conditions and violence. According to the World Health Organization, 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 or violence from their abuser, fear of societal rejection, and/or fear of police and legal repercussions.⁶

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 per year in 2014.⁷ The International Labour Organisation estimated in 2012 that at least 20.9 million people were victims of trafficking worldwide.⁸ Out of these, 4.5 million people are forced into CSE.⁹ Women and girls represent the highest proportion of trafficking victims. Of that 75% are under the age of 18.¹⁰ In 2014, the United Nations issued findings that 49% of trafficked victims are women, and 21% of all trafficked victims are girls younger than 18.¹¹

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 freelance criminals or small business entrepreneurs have historically dominated South Asia.¹²

1.2.1 South Asia

Countries in Asia have the highest total number of sex slaves on a per capita basis.¹³ In 2006, the United Nations estimated that the trafficking of women and children for CSE in Asia had victimized over 30 million people.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Trafficking from neighbouring countries into India make up 10% of trafficking for CSE.¹⁷

⁵2016 TIP report, US Department of State. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/258876.pdf>

⁶Krug, E.G. et al. "World Report on Violence and Health." World Health Organization. 2002

⁷ILO. (2014). *ILO says forced labour generates annual profits of US\$ 150 billion*. Retrieved March 2016 from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_243201/lang-en/index.htm

⁸ILO. (2012) *New ILO Global Estimates of Forced Labour: 20.9 million victims*. Retrieved February 2016 from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_182109/lang-en/index.htm

⁹ILO, 2012.

¹⁰UNODC, 2012.

¹¹UNODC. *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, 2014*. p. 9. https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/GLOTIP_2014_full_report.pdf

¹²Kara, p. 22

¹³Kara, p. 17; UNODC 2014, p. 9

¹⁴International Labour Organization. "Demand side of human trafficking in Asia: Empirical findings." Regional Project on Combating Child Trafficking for Labour and Sexual Exploitation (TICSA-II). 2006.

¹⁵Khatry, Sridhar K. "Labor Migration, Employment, and Poverty Alleviation in South Asia." *In Promoting Economic Cooperation in South Asia*. South Asia Centre for Policy Studies. 2010. pp. 231-258. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.557.6733&rep=rep1&type=pdf>, p. 249

¹⁶Deane, Tameshnie. "Cross-Border Trafficking in Nepal and India—Violating Women's Rights." *Human Rights Review*, Vol. 11.4. 2010. pp. 491-513

¹⁷Nair PM and S.Sen, "Trafficking in Women and Children in India", Orient Longman, 2005, Joffres, Christine et al., "Sexual Slavery Without Borders: Trafficking for Commercial Sexual Exploitation in India." *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 2008

A 2008 study done 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ Additionally, 5,000–7,000 Nepalese enter the internal sex trade every year for a predominately national clientele. An American Bar Association report noted, however, that experts have recently noted an increase of sex tourism in larger cities like Kathmandu and Pokhara.²⁰ Within the internal sex trade, 65% of adult Nepali sex workers claimed to have been brought into the trade as children.²¹ In 2011, out of an estimated 50,000 women and girls working in sex establishments, 9,000–15,000 of them were underage and 50% gave examples of abuse ranging from working long hours in filthy and hazardous conditions to enduring mental, verbal and physical abuse without access to clean water, fresh air or adequate light.²²

Violence is often a defining characteristic of CSE in South Asia.²³ Both the acquisition stage and the exploitation stage can be extremely violent. Victims are tortured, starved, humiliated, and drugged throughout the trafficking process either to force physical or sexual submission or to entertain the traffickers.²⁴ In a survey of brothel owners by Dr. P.M. Nair, 21.4% admitted to relying on musclemen to handle and subdue the girls.²⁵ 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.²⁶

Victims are also at high risk of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹

1.2.2 India

There is a considerable amount of internal trafficking from one state to another or within states in India, with inter-state trafficking accounting for 89% of trafficking for CSE in India; however, the country has also emerged as a destination country as well as an international supplier of trafficked women and children for CSE.³⁰ According to a Joffres' study, the biggest supply states include: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh.³¹ The biggest buyers of minors include West Bengal and Maharashtra.³²

¹⁸Joffres et al., 2008

¹⁹Human Rights Watch. World Report, 2005. See the section on Asia, pp. 280–288, 303–308. <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/wr2k5/wr2005.pdf>

²⁰American Bar Association, Center for Legal Research and Resource Development (CeLRRd). *Human Trafficking Assessment Tool Report for Nepal*, 2011. http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/directories/roli/nepal/nepal_human_trafficking_assessment_report_2011.authcheckdam.pdf

²¹CeLRRd, 2011

²²CeLRRd 2011, p. 16

²³Kara, 2009;

Nair, P.M. and Sankar Sen. *Trafficking In Women and Children in India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Pvt. Ltd: 17. 2005; Silverman, J. G. et al. "HIV Prevalence and Predictors of Infection in Sex-Trafficked Nepalese Girls and Women." *U.S. National Library of Medicine, National Institutes of Health*. 2007.

²⁴Kara, pp. 12, 48–49.

²⁵Nair, p. 112

²⁶International Justice Mission. "Sex Trafficking - Understanding the Issue." Web. Acc. 6 June 2016

²⁷Silverman, J. G. et al., 2007; Sarkar, Kamalesh et. al. "Sex-Trafficking, Violence, Negotiating Skill, and HIV Infection in Brothel-based Sex Workers of Eastern India, Adjoining Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh." *Journal of Health, Population, and Nutrition*, Vol. 26.2. 2008. pp. 223–231

²⁸Swain, Smarak. *Social Issues of India*. New Dehli: New Vishal Publications, 2011. p. 49

²⁹Sarkar et al., p. 223

³⁰Joffres et al., 2008

³¹Joffres et al., 2008

³²Shakti V. *Trafficking in India report 2004*. <http://www.shaktivahini.org/assets/templates/default/images/traffickingreport.pdf>

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.³³ In 2009, India's federal police issued a statement estimating 1.2 million children alone, were in forced prostitution in India- not counting the adult women who are trafficked.³⁴

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.³⁵ CSE victims are often from disadvantaged social groups, schedule tribes, low castes and religious minorities.³⁶ A study done by Dr. P.M. Nair titled Action Research on Trafficking in Women and Children (ARTWAC) surveyed 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 16.³⁷ 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.³⁸ For a customer, a sex act can range from costing INR 50 to 1,000 (0.75 to 15.00 USD) depending on the nationality, age, or other factors about the girl.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ In these cases, the temple priests abuse the minors and then usually sell or auction them to brokers for CSE. It is often family members who sell and broker the deal in customary prostitution.⁴¹ 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 craft⁴².

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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ The practice often involves high profitability and minimal punishment for perpetrators, which incentivizes them to continue their exploitation.⁴⁵

1.2.3 Maharashtra State

Maharashtra is a source, destination and transit route for the trafficking of women and children.⁴⁶ It is also the commercial, financial and entertainment capital of India with an alluring metropolitan appeal, which attracts

³³Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India. Annual Report 2014-2015. p. 15 <http://www.wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/AR2014-15.pdf>

³⁴CNN. 2009. *Official: More than 1M children prostitutes in India*. Retrieved March 2016 from <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/asiapcf/05/11/india.prostitution.children/>

³⁵US State Department, 2015; Joffres et al., 2008

³⁶US State Department, 2015; Kara, pp. 30-32; Nair, pp. 7-8³⁷Nair, p. 107

³⁸Joffres et al., 2008; overview

³⁹Joffres et al., 2008; overview

⁴⁰Joffres et al., 2008; overview

⁴¹Nair, p. 76; Karandikar, Sharvari et al. "A Qualitative Examination of Women Involved in Prostitution in Mumbai, India: The Role of Family and Acquaintances." *Journal of International Social Work*, Vol. 56.4. pp. 496-515.

⁴²Joffres et al., 2008; overview

⁴³Swain, p. 49

⁴⁴Nair, pp. 19, 112; Kara, pp. 78-79

⁴⁵Kara, p. 38

⁴⁶UNODC, 2013

migrants from all over India.⁴⁷ This makes Mumbai city a melting pot of many communities and cultures, but also a major destination for CSE. Asia's oldest and second-largest red light district, Kamathipura, can be found in Mumbai, with other surrounding districts also deeply rooted in the history of trafficking.⁴⁸ Victims are kidnapped, lured from their homes and rural communities, and brought across state and national borders to supply Mumbai's booming sex trade. With an estimated 100,000 girls in the sex trade serving an average of six customers each day, it is estimated that CSE in Mumbai generates \$400 million a year in revenue.⁴⁹ Further, minors trapped in CSE in Mumbai are often treated inhumanely. Trafficked victims between the ages of 10 and 14 are typically kept in cage-like confinements.⁵⁰ A UNICEF study conducted in 1994 revealed that 40% of trafficking and CSE victims in Maharashtra are younger than 18.⁵¹ Although outdated, the report highlights one of the few studies done in Maharashtra and demonstrates that CSE has been a significant problem in the state for the past few decades.

Dr. PM Nair, former SP/DIG of Central Bureau of Investigation, claimed in his 2002 report, "The NHRC action research by Dr PM Nair has brought out the enormity of paedophilia and child trafficking in the western parts of India like Maharashtra and Goa." According to this report, out of 1,560 children on the eastern coast of India, 60% had come to the area after being promised a better job, and 40% described the use of force as the means used for transport.⁵² Recruiters often target children to bring them to Mumbai, or money-lenders force parents to sell their children to pay debts.⁵³ Girls are also incredibly vulnerable to trafficking when they migrate from surrounding villages to the city of Mumbai, which is often likely during years of recurrent drought.⁵⁴ Traffickers have organised networks to bring rural women to urban areas. In particular, Belgaum and Kolhapur are common districts where this takes place.⁵⁵

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 Trafficking and Prevention Act in 1986 (ITPA or PITA), criminalizes human trafficking. However historically when the ITPA was enforced, any sentencing given was minimal,⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ These soft penalties did little to end impunity and reduce the risk of engaging in sex trafficking. 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 commercial sexual exploitation compared to the hundreds of thousands of victims in India.⁵⁸ Under the ITPA, there was a total of 45,375 arrests from 2010-2014, 23% of the cases of human trafficking ended in a conviction, resulting in 10,134 convicted persons.⁵⁹ While the

⁴⁷Brabin, L. et al. "Reproductive tract infections, gynaecological morbidity, and HIV seroprevalence among women in Mumbai, India." *US National Library of Medicine, Bull World Health Organ.* Vol. 76.3. 1998; *ITG Asia.* 2016 *Asian Tourism Expert Guide.* Diethelm Travel, 2016.

⁴⁸UNODC, 2013

⁴⁹Joffres et al., 2008. Table 2.

⁵⁰Joffres et al., 2008; Table 2

⁵¹Nair, p. 17

⁵²Nair, pp. 14-15

⁵³Nair, p. 15

⁵⁴UNODC, 2013

⁵⁵UNODC, 2013

⁵⁶Kara, p. 78

⁵⁷ITPA 1986; Kara, p. 78

⁵⁸Kara, pp. 78-79

⁵⁹Mallapur, Chaitanya. "Minor Girls, Women Chief Targets as Human Trafficking Surges." *India Spend.* Web. 2015.

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.⁶⁰

In 2013, as a response to needed changes in the legislation, the government amended Section 370 of the Indian Penal Code, which comprehensively defined trafficking as an illegal act, to explicitly criminalize 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.⁶¹ Table 1 provides a comprehensive overview of India's laws related to CSE.

TABLE 1: CSE-Related Legislation in India⁶²

Legislation	Purpose
Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956	To combat CSE and prohibits prostitution ⁶³ It has provisions for providing rehabilitation and protection to victims of CSE.
The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015	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.
The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (Notified on 14 December 2012)	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 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.
Indian Penal Code Section 370	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 of police officer is involved with trafficking, they will be punished with life imprisonment. The consent of the victim is immaterial.

At the time of writing this report (January 2017), the government is in the process of drafting a new anti-trafficking omnibus law, tentatively titled "Trafficking of Persons - Prevention, Protection, and Rehabilitation." The government is currently taking civil society input and feedback on its most recent draft. According to

⁶⁰Kara, pp. 78-79

⁶¹IPC, 2013

⁶²Adapted from UNODC. (2013). Current Status of Victim Service Providers and Criminal Justice Actors in India on Anti Human Trafficking. India Country Assessment Report. Retrieved February 2016 from https://www.unodc.org/documents/southasia/reports/Human_Trafficking-10-05-13.pdf

⁶³In India, exchanging money for sexual services is legal, but surrounding activities associated with prostitution, such as operating brothels, pimping and soliciting sex, are illegal.

Union Minister for Women and Child Development Ms. 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.⁶⁴

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 law enforcement training, the anti-trafficking legislation, and reporting mechanisms, including the Childline hotline number."⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.

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. The then Department of Social Welfare introduced this as a social defence mechanism 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 are being forced into prostitution and are in mortal danger. The Department of Women and Child Development launched another scheme with similar objectives, namely, Swadhar -A Scheme for Women in Difficult Circumstances, in 2001-02.⁶⁷ This scheme, through the provisions of shelter, food, clothing, counseling, training, and clinical and legal aid, aims to rehabilitate such women in difficult circumstance. The scheme envisions a supportive institutional framework for women victims of difficult circumstances to equip them to 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 envisions that the special needs of these women are properly taken care of. Under no circumstances should they be left unattended or abandoned as this could lead to their exploitation and desolation.⁶⁸

More recently, in 2007, 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."⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

1.3.2 State Level Government Action on Combatting CSE

The Government of Maharashtra has launched several initiatives to proactively combat the growing crime of CSE of children and adults. Maharashtra has established 12 new Anti-Human Trafficking Units (AHTUs) in Ahmednagar, Beed, Kolhapur, Mumbai, Nagpur, Navi Mumbai, Pune, Sangli, Solapur, Thane City, Thane Rural, and Yavatmal.⁷¹ The formation of such units is crucial in facilitating effective and prompt action, and it

⁶⁴Times of India. "Human Trafficking Victim Will Not Go to Jail: Draft Bill." 30 May 2016.

⁶⁵Global Slavery Index, 2014

⁶⁶Ministry of Home Affairs. Anti-Human-Trafficking. Acc. 6 July 2016. <http://stophumantrafficking-mha.nic.in/A>

⁶⁷Government of India. (2015). Swadhar Greh - A Scheme that caters to primary needs of women in difficult circumstances. Ministry of Women and Child Development. Retrieved March 2016 from http://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/Guidelines7815_1.pdf

⁶⁸Government of India, 2015.

⁶⁹Ministry of Women and Child Development. *Ujjawala*. 2007. <http://wcd.nic.in/sites/default/files/ujjawala.pdf>

⁷⁰Ministry of Women and Child Development. Annual Report, 2007-2008. p. 7

⁷¹Maharashtra Police Dept.. "Steps Taken by Govt. of Maharashtra to Ensure Security of Women." *Crime and Criminal Tracking Network and Systems*. Web. Acc. 6 July 2016.

provides specifically trained police officers who can carry a trafficking case through to completion. Originally, the AHTUs were structured to rely on the availability of the local police in order to execute rescue operations. However, the Maharashtra government recognized that hindrance. Police Inspectors from the Social Service Branch in the Commissionerate and District Crime Branch of the state police force have been assigned to the AHTUs as the 'Special Police Officers (SPO)', and each unit also has been assigned its own Investigative Officer (IO). These steps allow the AHTU to conduct their own operations rather than be dependent on local police.⁷² Each AHTU has also been assigned two NGOs and one officer from the Women and Child Department in order to guarantee full success. AHTUs designated for combating CSE in the state are vital parts in the effort to effectively combat CSE. Equipped with the necessary infrastructure, the AHTUs have been pivotal in increasing rescues and arrests since their formation.⁷³

The state has drafted a State Action Plan (SAP) for Anti Human Trafficking Initiatives.⁷⁴ A SAP is crucial in aiding the government's response to 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 Maharashtra establishes a protocol for the pre-rescue, rescue, and rehabilitation stages of the anti-trafficking process.⁷⁵

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 20 communities in low-income countries around the world to protect the poor from violence. In India specifically, IJM is committed to partnering with local government 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 cases combatting commercial sexual exploitation in India since the late 1990s. Since the outset, IJM and its partners have worked with local law enforcement authorities in India to identify and rescue nearly 1,000 victims of sex trafficking. In Maharashtra state, IJM focuses its intervention efforts specifically in Mumbai and portions of Thane.

IJM collaborates with the government in Maharashtra 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.

IJM's Mumbai office has also partnered with the state government to foster an improved response from the justice system. In 2014, the Commissioner of Police asked IJM Mumbai to train over 10,000 public justice system officials on how to effectively investigate, rescue, and rehabilitate victims of trafficking as well as to successfully prosecute their perpetrators. By the end of 2015, IJM had trained 10,477 officials in all 36 districts of Maharashtra on how to combat human trafficking. IJM has also assisted the government on developing a

⁷²Maharashtra Police Dept.; Ohatker, Shoba Smt. "Exceptional Work Done by Anti Human Trafficking Unites, Maharashtra." *Presentation by Nodal Officer Anti Human Trafficking, Maharashtra State Pune.* <http://www.icds-wcd.nic.in/trafficking/CAC%20pdf/Presentation%20oby%20Maharastra%20Police%20AHTU.pdf>

⁷³Maharashtra Police Dept.

⁷⁴Ohatker, Shoba Smt. "Exceptional Work Done by Anti Human Trafficking Unites, Maharashtra." *Presentation by Nodal Officer Anti Human Trafficking, Maharashtra State Pune.* <http://www.icds-wcd.nic.in/trafficking/CAC%20pdf/Presentation%20oby%20Maharastra%20Police%20AHTU.pdf>

⁷⁵Ohatker, Shoba Smt. "Exceptional Work Done by Anti Human Trafficking Unites, Maharashtra." *Presentation by Nodal Officer Anti Human Trafficking, Maharashtra State Pune.* <http://www.icds-wcd.nic.in/trafficking/CAC%20pdf/Presentation%20oby%20Maharastra%20Police%20AHTU.pdf>

standardized Home Inquiry Report, a key tool used in determining the safety of a girl's home environment, so that appropriate decisions can be made about her long term care.

1.5 Study Goal and Objectives

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

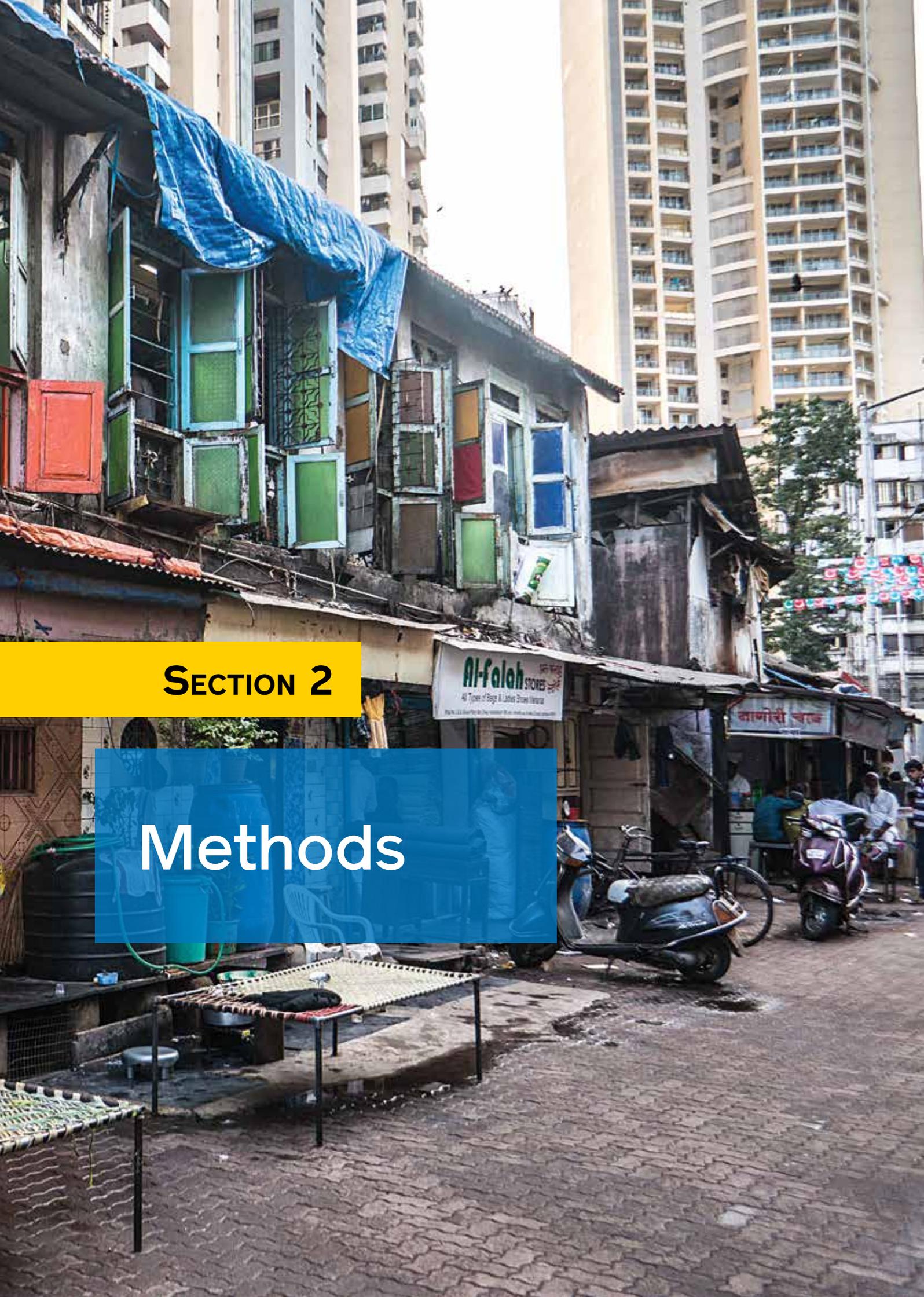
The specific objectives include:

1. To test and implement a methodology to determine prevalence of CSEC in Mumbai.
2. To determine prevalence of CSEC in Mumbai.
 - a. To identify locations (hot spots) with higher densities of CSEC in Mumbai.
3. To understand the current nature of the crime.
 - a. To establish the difference in costs of purchasing sex for an hour in red light vs. non-red light areas.
 - b. To determine the level of violence in CSE in Mumbai.
 - c. To gain insights into the transit nature of the crime.
4. To understand the profile of CSE 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.



Al-falah STORES
All Types of Bags & Ladies Shoes Material

दाजीरी बाजार



SECTION 2

Methods



02

Methods

Given that the nature of the sex trade in public establishments and private networks is often unassociated and unlinked, studying the prevalence in each category requires 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 Mumbai, particularly within public establishments.

2.1 Public Establishment Survey Methods

2.1.1 Sampling Design

Mumbai, the capital city of the state of Maharashtra, is the most populous city in India, with an estimated city population of 18.4 million. When considering the neighbouring regions of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, it is one of the most populous urban regions in the world, with a population of 20.7 million, as of 2011.⁷⁶ IJM's project area is "Mumbai Metropolitan Region" (MMR), shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: Map of Mumbai Metropolitan Region (IJM's Project Area)



⁷⁶India Census 2011: <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/maharashtra.html>

Municipal Corporations	Population (2001 census)	Population (2011 census)	Area (km ²)	Density (per km ²)
Greater Mumbai	11,978,450	12,478,447	603.4	20,694
Navi Mumbai	704,002	1,119,477	163	4,319
Thane	1,818,872	1,262,551	147	8,589
Kalyan-Dombivli	1,193,512	1,546,381	137.15	8,702
Vasai-Virar	N/A	1,221,233	105	11,614
Mira-Bhayandar	520,388	814,655	88.75	5,863
Bhiwandi-Nizampur	598,741	811,329	28.31	21,149
Ulhasnagar	473,731	506,937	27.54	17,201
Totals	19,635,521	20,748,395	1,176.38	16,692

Therefore, 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

Name of Hotspot	Hotspot Location Confirmed Through:			
	IJM’s Knowledge & Casework Experience	Stakeholder Interviews	Literature Review	Media Review
Andheri	X			X
Bhandup	X	X	X	
Bhayander & Mira Road	X	X		X
Bhiwandi	X	X	X	X
Bhiwandi Bypass	X	X	X	
Borivali / Dahisar	X			X
Chembur	X			X
Dombivli	X			X
Grant Road	X	X	X	X
Kamathipura	X	X	X	X
Nerul	X			X
Panvel	X			X
Thane City	X			X
Turbhe	X			X
Ulhasnagar	X			X
Vashi	X	X	X	X

Data collectors mapped these 16 hotspots starting on 6 August to 9 October 2015. 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 to capture the data. 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 1,445 establishments, including 1,162 brothels, 218 ladies bars, and 19 silent bars. They documented a total of 10,082 sex workers employed at these sites.

From this sampling frame, the analysis used a Bernoulli sampling design⁷⁷ to randomly select an expected proportion of 30% of the establishments from each hotspot area.

Table 3 outlines the number of establishments in the sample and the estimated number of CSWs working in these establishments.

TABLE 3: Number of Establishments (Est.) and Sex Workers Documented in Mapping and in Sample, by Hotspot

Hotspot Location	Number of Est. Mapped	Number of CSWs Documented in Mapping	Number of Est. in Sample	Number of CSWs Expected in Sample
Andheri	23	267	7	82
Bhandup	65	252	15	55
Bhayandar & Mira Road	42	518	10	112
Bhiwandi (includes Bhiwandi Bypass)	389	1,399	129	458
Borivali	27	739	9	268
Chembur	30	614	7	146
Dombivli	23	499	7	162
Grant Road	445	2,774	130	883
Kamathipura	166	888	43	216
Nerul	11	208	3	62
Panvel	24	481	5	105
Thane City	24	451	12	257
Turbhe	165	820	52	254
Ulhasnagar	5	77	3	45
Vashi	6	95	4	50
Total	1,445	10,082	436	3,155

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

⁷⁷Bernoulli 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.

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 whether information collected from or about the minor was truthful. In total, the form collected information on over 30 indicators.

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 10 October 2015, as an add-on component to an awareness raising event around sexual violence and exploitation with girls in Mumbai. Data collectors observed 101 girls/women, aged 10-37 years during the event and estimated their exact age and their age category. Roughly 80% were between the ages of 12 and 21 years. Accuracy of individual data collectors in estimating minor versus major ranged between 73-86%, with data collection teams averaging 82% accuracy.

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 two separate evenings during the training, yielding some minor refinements. This concluded the third stage of training. The purpose of this was to test the functionality of the form, the ease of collecting the data requested, and the effectiveness of the logistics, security, and data collection protocols.

2.1.4 Data Collection Method

Data collection occurred from 29 October to 27 November 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" 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 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. 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.

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 their data collection managers and review the data entered for verification and validation purposes. The managers would then upload the data for the internal data analyst to review, 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 consists only of hotspot areas and therein establishments that IJM or other stakeholders know of. While this effort capitalizes on the experiences and learnings from various individuals and institutions, it is possible that other public establishments consistently selling sex are active yet not assessed in this study. Therefore, the findings are not representative of all establishments selling sex in metro Mumbai.
- 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 Mumbai.
- 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 those 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 76.9% 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.
- Even though these establishments are “public”, there is 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 networks’ of the sex trade in Mumbai are 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 these private networks, the team needed to employ a ‘hard-to-survey population’ strategy based on a link-tracing sampling design and mark-recapture⁷⁸ 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 the areas of Thane, Dombivili (Central line), Navi Mumbai (Harbor line), and the Western suburbs (Western line). Figure 2 shows where the study locations in these private networks are in relation to the public establishment hotspots. Annex B includes individual street maps of all encounter locations, grouped by region, zone, or division in metro Mumbai.

FIGURE 2: Map of Private Network Study Locations



⁷⁸Mark-recaptures models are now well-utilized for estimating the size of hard-to-reach populations, as the entire population is largely unknown. The technique relies on measured overlaps among the sampled respondents. Researchers first developed mark-recapture models to estimate wildlife populations, so the method faces different challenges when applied to human populations. As the recruitment patterns of human populations can be radically different from wildlife populations, for example in the form of “self-selection”, complicated mark-recapture models are usually required to obtain meaningful estimates. Since such models also require a complex structure to capture the true heterogeneity in the selection mechanism, large sample sizes are often required to validate the mark-recapture model, making such research very expensive. Furthermore, some populations are highly transient, such as sex workers or migrant labourers, and therefore are considered open for the duration of a study. The recapturing part of the technique thus becomes challenging. In this study, all of these challenges are applicable but the method still presents the most suitable method for measuring a lower bound of prevalence of children engaged in commercial sexual exploitation among a population of mobile sex workers.

In order to start the building out of a sample, the study team utilized the contacts developed over the last four years in Mumbai 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 19 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 25 new contacts throughout the study, yielding a total of 44 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 the specific details on each person observed and 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)
- 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/Informant/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 capturing 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 in Kolkata piloted the methods and

instrument from November to December 2015 and shared lessons learned with the Mumbai study team. Each team of data collectors in Mumbai 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.

2.2.4 Data Collection Method

Data collection occurred from 22 January to 22 April 2016, scheduling meetings/encounters three times a week (mostly Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays). Four, 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 or 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 (private residences, hotels, lodges, bars, etc.) to observe the available sex workers. 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. They would video record at least a portion of the encounters, focusing on capturing the CSWs, for data quality assurance purposes (*described below in 2.2.5*). 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 the internal data analyst to review, 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 analysis⁷⁹ (using igraph package in R) and mark-recapture analysis. These software 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. 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 TrafficJam⁸⁰ to scan India's Backpage⁸¹ 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.

2.3 Survivor Interview Methods

In order to better understand the nature of CSE in Mumbai'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 interviewee and interviewer 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.⁸² IJM's casework in CSE in Mumbai connects survivors to aftercare homes local government and private actors operate. 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 all 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

⁷⁹Social network analysis (SNA) is the process of investigating social structures through the use of network and graph theories. It characterizes networked structures in terms of nodes (individual actors, people, or things within the network) and the ties or edges (relationships or interactions) that connect them.

⁸⁰Carnegie 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.

⁸¹Backpage is a classified advertising website. It offers a wide variety of classified listings including automotive, jobs listings, real estate and services.

⁸²See the 2003 WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women http://www.who.int/mip/2003/other_documents/en/Ethical_Safety-GWH.pdf

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 (in age and experiences) of survivors eligible and accessible for interviews. Therefore, in total, the study team interviewed 15 survivors of CSE, all of whom were adults at the time of interview and all but four entered the sex trade as adults. All survivors had been out of the sex trade between one and six years, with an average of 3.6 years. While the observation-based parts of this study centred on exploitation of children in the sex trade, the adult clients manifest very similar experiences as those who are borderline minors. Moreover, the victimologies of those trafficked years ago into public establishments and/or private networks 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, note takers, and transcribers, all 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 the internal data analyst to review. 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, 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 tailoring machines, blankets, clothes, and suitcases) for reimbursement of their time and for 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 1 week after the interview to further debrief the process and questions.

2.3.4 Data Management Techniques

The interview team collected all 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.

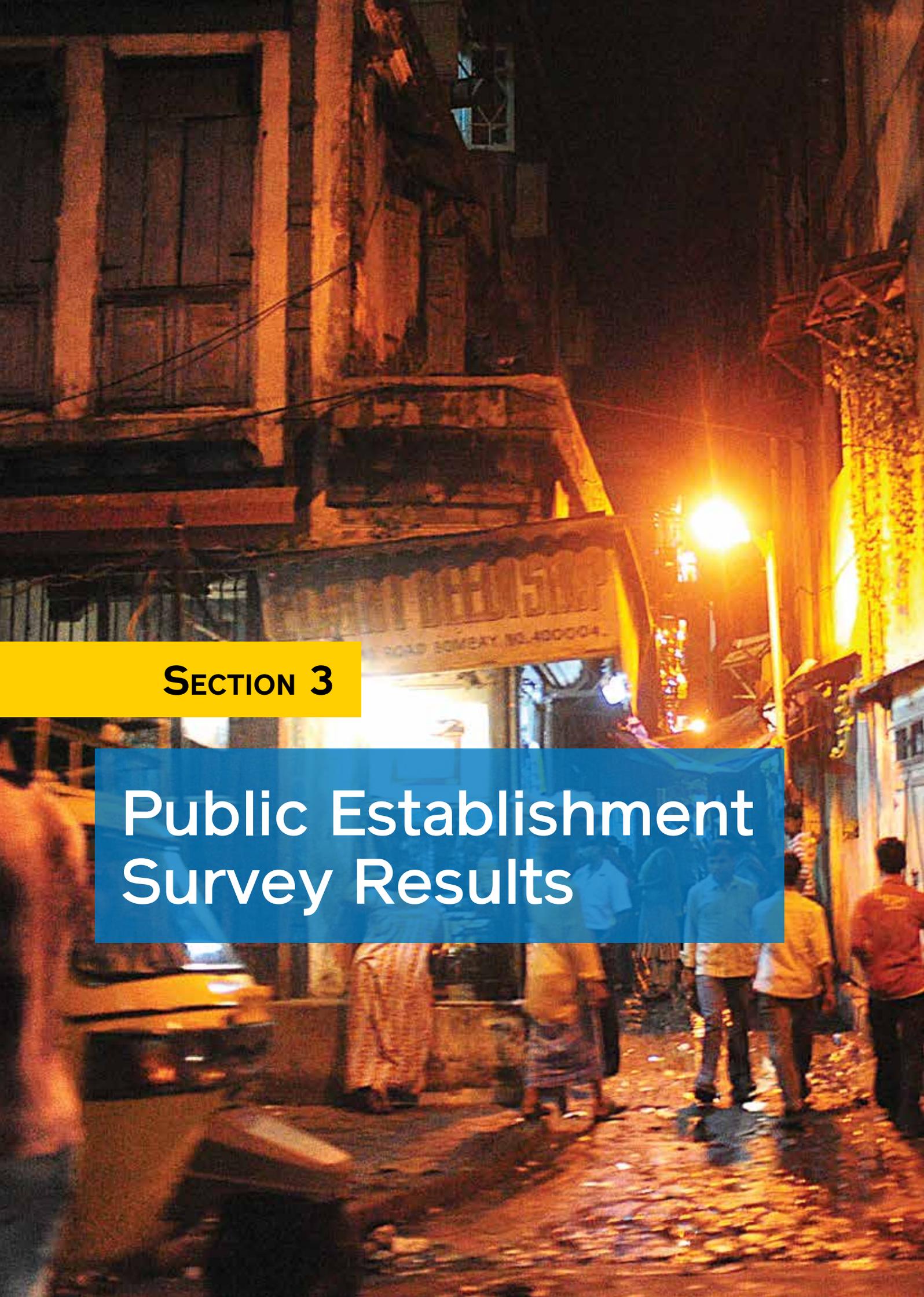
Because the interviews were semi-structured, not all survivors provided information on every theme. For transparency, findings are presented with an N to provide context of how many survivors provided data on that particular theme.

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 Mumbai. The study team purposively selected the survivor participants for interviews. All were female, while there are male and transgender CSWs in Mumbai'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 between one and six years prior to the study. Lastly, it is unknown if any of the interview participants experienced sexual exploitation through the sex trade's private network at some point in time, however, all of the survivors interviewed would be classified in this study as having been exploited in public establishments.





SECTION 3

**Public Establishment
Survey Results**



03

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 436 public establishments in the study. Twenty-nine of these establishments were temporarily closed, 35 were permanently closed, 21 did not offer commercial sex services during the period of data collection, and 7 could not be surveyed for security reasons. Therefore, the results presented below were from the remaining 344 active, public establishments in the sex trade. See Table 4 for the disaggregation of this information by hotspot location.

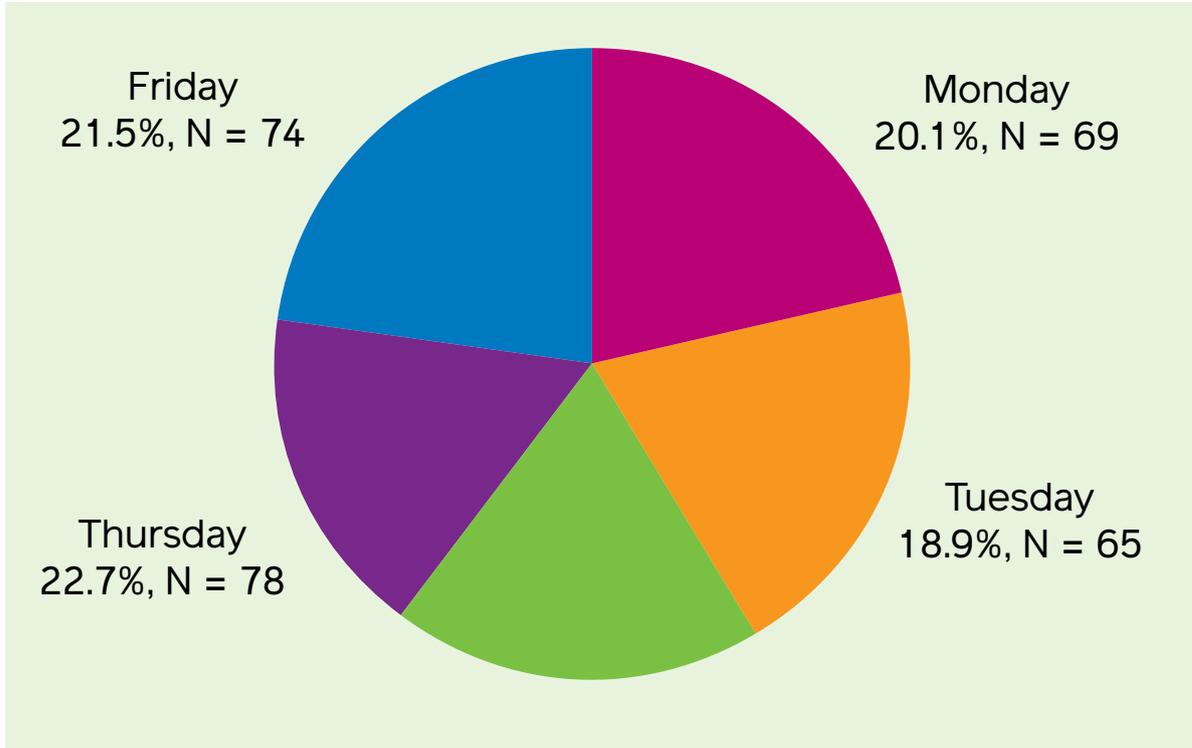
Of these 344 establishments surveyed, 275 (79.9%) were brothels, 67 (19.5%) were ladies bars, and 2 (0.6%) were silent bars. Establishments on Grant Road (27.9%), Bhiwandi (25.3%), Turbhe (13.7%), and Kamathipura (11.3%)

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

Hotspot Location	Number of Est. in Sample	Number (%) of Est. with completed surveys	Number of Est. temporarily closed	Number of Est. permanently closed	Number of Est. not offering sex services	# Est. unable to survey (due to security reasons)	Number of Nights Sampling
Andheri	7	7 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0	2
Bhandup	15	14 (93.3%)	0	1	0	0	2
Bhayandar & Mira Road	10	9 (90.0%)	1	0	0	0	1
Bhiwandi	129	87 (64.4%)	8	26	8	0	6
Borivali	9	8 (88.9%)	1	0	0	0	1
Chembur	7	5 (71.4%)	1	1	0	0	2
Dombivli	7	7 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0	1
Grant Road	130	96 (73.8%)	16	5	6	7	7
Kamathipura	43	39 (90.7%)	0	1	3	0	6
Nerul	3	3 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0	1
Panvel	5	5 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0	1
Thane City	12	12 (100.0%)	0	0	0	0	1
Turbhe	52	47 (90.4%)	1	0	4	0	2
Ulhasnagar	3	2 (66.7%)	1	0	0	0	1
Vashi	4	3 (75.0%)	0	1	0	0	1
Total	436	344	29	35	21	7	---

made up 78.2% of the sample. 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 that surveying occurred. Thursday, Friday, and Monday nights yielded the most CSW observations.

FIGURE 3: Day of the Week Public Establishments Surveyed



3.1.2 Projected Estimates of Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

KEY FINDING

An estimated 15.0% of establishments in the hotspots have minors being sold for sex.

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, an estimated 15.0% of establishments in the hotspots (SE: 1.6%, CI: 11.8%-18.2%) have minors being sold for sex (see Table 5).

TABLE 5: Projected Estimates of Public Establishments with Minors Engaged in CSE

Hotspot Location	Establishments with Minors	Standard Error	CI Low	CI High
Percentage	15.0%	1.6%	11.8%	18.2%

3.2 Prevalence of Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments

KEY FINDING

The prevalence of minors engaged in CSE in public “sex establishment hotspots” in Mumbai was 5.5%. All minors observed were 15 to 17 years old.

3.2.1 Observance of Minors Engaged in CSE in the Study Sample

Data collectors observed a total of 2,231 CSWs in the study sample, 2,100 of which were majors and 131 were minors. Of the majors, 12.2% (n = 273) were 18-21 years old. One minor observed in commercial sexual exploitation was 15 years old, while all others were 16 or 17. As shown in Table 6, data collectors observed minors in all hotspots except Bhandup. Thane City hotspot had the highest number of minors observed (n = 23), however Panvel hotspot exhibited the highest percentage of minors out of all sex workers observed at 13.9% (n = 16). Nearly all (96.2%, n = 125) minors observed were in ladies bars.

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

Hotspot	Total Number of Sex Workers	Number of Suspected Majors (22 and older)	Number of Suspected Borderline Majors (18-21)	Number of Suspected Borderline Minors (16-17)	Number of Suspected Young Minors (15 and younger)	Total Number of Minors (0-17)
Andheri	78	62	7	9	0	9
Bhandup	58	54	4	0	0	0
Bhayandar & Mira Rd	121	104	9	8	0	8
Bhiwandi	205	178	18	9	0	9
Borivali	138	83	37	18	0	18
Chembur	76	68	5	3	0	3
Dombivli	111	83	16	11	1	12
Grant Road	527	475	49	3	0	3
Kamathipura	193	169	19	5	0	5
Nerul	55	37	15	3	0	3
Panvel	115	59	40	16	0	16
Thane City	233	185	25	23	0	23
Turbhe	248	219	15	14	0	14
Ulhasnagar	28	24	2	2	0	2
Vashi	45	27	12	6	0	6
TOTAL	2,231	1,827	273	130	1	131

Of the 131 minors observed, the data collectors interacted with 39 girls and confirmed 25 of their ages. Eight minors provided contextual details around their age (such as school level), and 10 other girls stated their accurate age directly (i.e. the data collector reported it matched with his estimation) in addition to providing contextual details. For six minors, someone else (such as a madam or pimp), stated the accurate age of the minor directly to the data collector and in one case, the data collector knew the girl's age from a previous interaction. The recorded reasons that data collectors were not able to confirm the ages of 14 girls they interacted with was simply a lack of sufficient information or contradictions by various parties.

Of all minors observed, enumerators viewed 39.2% (n = 51) of them on Wednesday nights and 28.5% (n = 37) on Tuesday nights. Observations of minors was lowest on Thursdays. 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 in Sample, by Weekday of Data Collection

Day	Number of Suspected Majors (22 and older)	Number of Suspected Borderline Majors (18-21)	Number of Suspected Borderline Minors (16-17)	Number of Suspected Young Minors (15 and younger)	Total Percentage of All CSWs Observed	Total Percentage of Minors Observed
Monday	341	49	15	0	18.2%	11.5%
Tuesday	455	50	37	0	24.3%	28.5%
Wednesday	412	106	51	0	25.5%	39.2%
Thursday	361	41	7	0	18.3%	5.4%
Friday	258	27	20	1	13.7%	16.2%

If no minors were present in the establishment at the time of data collection, data collectors would ask establishment employees and managers if minors would be available at another time. In only three public establishments (0.8%), these managers or employees ‘promised’ minors for a subsequent visit to the establishments.

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 seven children that met this criteria (2.0% of establishments).

3.2.2 Projected Estimates and Prevalence of Minors Engaged in CSE

Using a calibration procedure and sampling weights that factor in the total number of CSWs affiliated with each establishment and the total number of public establishments mapped in the hotspots, analysts produced projected estimates of minors engaged in CSE in the target area based on the study findings. In total, 401 minors are being sold for sex in the hotspot areas targeted in this study. As shown in Table 8, Panvel has the highest number of estimated minors. The estimated prevalence of minors in the targeted areas is 5.5% (standard error (SE): 0.54%, 95% confidence intervals (CI): 4.5%-6.6%).

TABLE 8: Projected Estimates of Minors Engaged in CSE, by Hotspot

Hotspot	Projected Number (Percent) of Minors	Standard Error (%)	CI Low (2.5%)	CI High (97.5%)
Andheri	29.2 (7.3%)	11.7 (0.1%)	6.2 (1.5%)	52.2 (13.1%)
Bhandup	0.0 (0.0%)	0.0 (0.0%)	0.0 (0.0%)	0.0 (0.0%)
Bhayandar & Mira Rd	34.1 (8.5%)	15.1 (0.1%)	4.6 (1.2%)	63.7 (15.8%)
Bhiwandi	25.6 (6.4%)	15.8 (0.2%)	-5.5 (-1.3%)	56.6 (14.1%)
Borivali	50.0 (12.5%)	16.5 (0.2%)	17.5 (4.5%)	82.4 (20.4%)
Chembur	12.5 (3.1%)	6.0 (0.0%)	0.7 (0.1%)	24.2 (6.1%)
Dombivli	37.7 (9.4%)	18.2 (0.2%)	2.1 (0.7%)	73.3 (18.1%)
Grant Road	10.2 (2.5%)	6.3 (0.0%)	-2.2 (-0.6%)	22.6 (5.7%)

Hotspot	Projected Number (Percent) of Minors	Standard Error (%)	CI Low (2.5%)	CI High (97.5%)
Kamathipura	19.3 (4.8%)	7.2 (0.0%)	5.2 (1.2%)	33.5 (8.5%)
Nerul	10.7 (2.7%)	8.9 (0.1%)	-6.8 (-1.8%)	28.1 (7.1%)
Panvel	72.9 (18.7%)	30.9 (0.5%)	12.4 (4.5%)	133.4 (31.8%)
Thane City	43.8 (10.9%)	12.1 (0.1%)	20.1 (4.8%)	67.6 (17.1%)
Turbhe	43.2 (10.8%)	20.6 (0.3%)	2.8 (0.9%)	83.6 (20.6%)
Ulhasnagar	3.2 (0.8%)	1.9 (0.0%)	-0.5 (-0.1%)	7.0 (1.8%)
Vashi	8.8 (2.2%)	5.5 (0.0%)	-2.0 (-0.5%)	19.5 (4.9%)
TOTAL	401.1 (5.5%)	52.5 (0.54%)	298.3 (4.5%)	504.0 (6.6%)

3.3 Descriptive Information on Minors Engaged in CSE in Public Establishments

In total, data collectors interacted with 39 minors in the public establishments to gain more detailed information about their demographics and story. Twelve were 16 years old and the other 27 were 17 years old. 37 were Indian, with two of the minors providing no nationality. Eleven of the girls did not provide their native origin, but of the 28 that did, 25.0% (n = 7) were from Delhi, 28.6% (n = 8) were from Rajasthan, and 28.6% (n = 8) were from West Bengal. 71.8% (n = 28) were from the Bedia community. Twenty-three girls (59.0%) were Hindu, three were Muslim, and thirteen did not identify a religion.

Of the sixteen minors who provided information about why they were in the trade, eight said it was of their own desire, four cited a lack of job opportunities at home, three reported their family in the trade as the reason, and one told data collectors she was tricked by a promise of marriage. Of the 11 minors who told data collectors their age when they first entered the trade, one was 15, four were 16, and six were 17 years old. Data collectors documented very little observable evidence of abuse or violence from their surveying time in the establishment.

In seven interactions with minors, the data collectors captured from them how much customers paid for their services. One manager requested INR 500 (7.50 USD) to receive services from a 17 year old minor; the girl herself would only receive the tip. Three other 17 year olds quoted their services between INR 500-700/visit (7.50 - 10.50 USD). Two 16 year olds quoted a rate of INR 1,500/visit (22.50 USD), with another 16 year old quoting INR 5,000/visit (75.00 USD). It is unclear, however, how much the girls themselves would receive of this payment for services. One 17 year old reported to a data collector that she earns INR 50,000/day (750 USD) in the trade, but this reported claim could not be verified.

3.4 Customers of Public Establishments in the Sex Trade

The data collectors recorded the number of customers they observed at the establishments (see Table 9). Most of these establishments were ladies bars and had an average of 16 customers in each bar, ranging from 0-30 documented customers present at data collection. In total, the data collectors documented 1,155 customers throughout the study, and all but three of whom were Indian. The locations with the highest observations of

customers did not correlate directly with the high numbers of sex workers except in Thane City, which also had the highest numbers of minors observed.

TABLE 9: Total Number of Customers Observed at Establishments, by Hotspot

Hotspot	Total Number of Sex Workers	Total Number of Minors (0-17)	Total Number of Customers Observed	Number of Non-Indian Customers
Andheri	78	9	83	1
Bhandup	58	0	4	0
Bhayandar & Mira Rd	121	8	153	0
Bhiwandi	205	9	53	0
Borivali	138	18	126	0
Chembur	76	3	47	0
Dombivli	111	12	114	0
Grant Road	527	3	73	0
Kamathipura	193	5	11	0
Nerul	55	3	36	0
Panvel	115	16	107	0
Thane City	233	23	175	0
Turbhe	248	14	111	2
Ulhasnagar	28	2	18	0
Vashi	45	6	44	0
TOTAL	2,231	131	1,155	3

Additionally, the locations with the highest observations of customers correlated with Wednesday night (42.0%, n = 485) and Tuesday night (24.4%, n = 282) data collections, which are also the two nights with the highest numbers of minors observed. See Table 10 for this analysis.

TABLE 10: Total Number of Customers Observed, by Weekday Collection

Day	Total Number of Customers Observed	Percentage of Customers Observed	Total Percentage of All CSWs Observed	Total Percentage of Minors Observed
Monday	136	11.8%	18.2%	11.5%
Tuesday	282	24.4%	24.3%	28.5%
Wednesday	485	42.0%	25.5%	39.2%
Thursday	68	5.9%	18.3%	5.4%
Friday	184	15.9%	13.7%	16.2%

3.5 Presence of Police in Hotspot Areas

The data collection team also tracked the level of police presence in the targeted hotspot areas. For each night of data collection, the team ranked it as “high police presence” if there were police visible, establishments closed and/or a police raid occurring. “Medium police presence” meant there were no police visible but data collectors observed more establishments closed for the night than usual and the area was on alert. “Low police presence” had no evidence of police impacting the data collection area. Over the 19 nights of data collection,

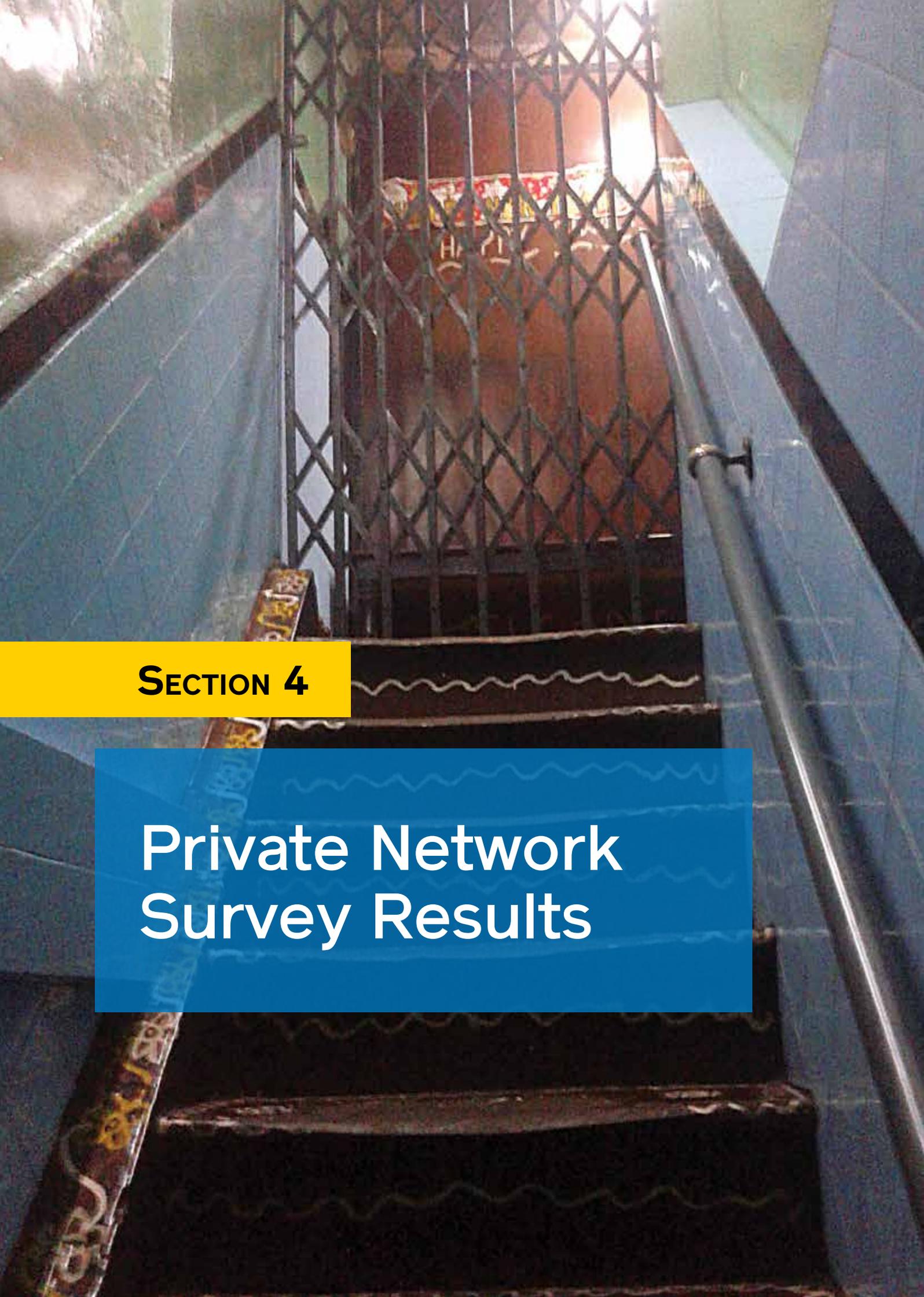
there was high police presence with specific bars labelled “high” on three other nights; two other nights had medium police presence. Therefore, police impacted approximately 42% of data collection dates, indicating strong activity in these areas.

The notes data collectors documented on each establishment surveyed also gives insights into police impacts on CSE in the red light areas. The managers of the brothels and bars seemed to know when the police were coming or in the area, as they would explicitly tell data collectors “due to police patrolling I don’t have many minors tonight”. During these nights or even periods of days when the police would be in the area, all the brothel owners would tighten security, only allow in regular or well-known customers, and have only majors visible for sex services. In one establishment, customers were not allowed to take girls out of the bar for the following 15 days due to police presence in the area. In several establishments, it was as if the managers would only ‘bring the minors back’ or have younger girls available for services after a few days, weeks, and even months. In the majority of these scenarios, the manager gave quite specific time periods to the data collectors, indicating when he/she could have minors available again, signifying a strong knowledge of the police’s activity.

In several establishments, police actually entered and checked the bar; many times, the girls would get up and leave when they saw the police. It is unclear if this was done out of fear or based on instructions from the managers. In one specific hotspot area, a brothel owner told data collectors that police often come to take their “monthly bribe”.

3.6 Weighted Regression Analysis of Presence of CSEC in Public Establishments

When testing for correlations to predict the observance of minors, analysts found that hotspot affiliation, type of establishment (brothel, silent bar, ladies bar), and recorded high numbers of CSWs during mapping were all significant predictors of establishments with minors being sold for sex. Quasi-binomial and -Poisson regression analysis revealed that establishments affiliated with a combination of Kamathipura or Turbhe hotspots, were a ladies bar, and had a high range of CSWs observed upon data collection were most likely to have minors engaged in CSE. The higher the number of CSWs, the more likely that minors will be at the establishment.



SECTION 4

**Private Network
Survey Results**



04

Private Network
Survey Results

4.1 Descriptive Statistics on Private Establishments in the Sex Trade

The study conducted encounters in a total of 43 unique locations, as shown in

Table 11. The majority, 65.1%, of the locations visited were in lodges. Hotels and rented private residences were the second largest categories, each representing 9.3% of the sample (4 encounters). Meetings occurring on the street or in a bar each represented 4.7% of the sample (2 encounters). An owned private residence, a garden, and a station were location types only used for one encounter each. In many cases though, the same contact would move the meeting location for each encounter. 22.7% of the contacts (10/44) held various encounters with the data collectors at different locations.

TABLE 11: Number of Unique Locations visited, by Location Type

Location Type	Number of Unique Locations
Bar	2 (4.7%)
Garden	1 (2.3%)
Hotel	4 (9.3%)
Lodge	28 (65.1%)
Private Residence (owned)	1 (2.3%)
Private Residence (rented)	4 (9.3%)
Station	1 (2.3%)
Street	2 (4.7%)
Total	43

While the study team visited 43 unique locations, more than one visit to a location occurred in 44.2% (19/43) of the sample. A majority of the locations visited more than once were only visited twice (8/19, 18.6%). Data collectors visited five of the locations a total of three times, one location a total of four times, three locations a total of five times, and two locations a total of six times. See Table 12. Thirteen unique locations (30.2%, 13/43) hosted encounters with multiple contacts; all of these meetings were in a lodge.

TABLE 12: Unique Locations Visited More Than Once

Total Number of Visits	2	3	4	5	6	Total
# of Unique Locations	8	5	1	3	2	19
(n=43)	18.6%	11.6%	2.3%	7%	4.7%	44.2%

The average amount of time spent at an encounter was 68.7 minutes, however this also includes waiting and travel time. The shortest encounter was 7 minutes long and the longest encounter was 240 minutes. The shortest and longest encounter both occurred at a lodge. The shortest encounter included three individuals, one male and two females. This was the fourth meeting with the male who was a contact and a pimp, the second meeting with one of the females who was a borderline major CSW, and the first meeting with the other female who was a major CSW. Given that data collectors had met with many at this encounter, the interaction time was quite short. The longest encounter included 1 male and 11 females. The male was the contact and pimp. All 11 females were CSWs: six of the females were majors, two were borderline majors, and three were borderline minors. In addition to the waiting and travel time, this was the first meeting with all of the individuals at the meeting, hence the longer interaction time.

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. These 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 had encounters with 45 unique contacts over a study course of 86 encounters. All but two of the contacts were Indian (43/45, 95.6%). The two contacts that did not identify as Indian had missing information. Contacts in this study were both male (34/45, 75.6%) and female (11/45, 24.4%). Data collectors

TABLE 13: Contact Relationship History with IJM

History with IJM (Years)	Number of Contacts
No History	13 (28.9%)
1 year	4 (8.9%)
1.5 years	1 (2.2%)
2 years	10 (22.2%)
2.5 years	1 (2.2%)
3 years	12 (26.7%)
4 years	4 (8.9%)
Total	45

captured age for 42 of the 45 contacts. Contact ages range from 18 to 55 years, with a mean age of 32.6 years old. The most common ages were 30 years old (6/42, 14.3%), 35 years old (6/42, 14.3%), 26 years old (4/42, 9.5%), and 40 years old (4/42, 9.5%).

Close to one-third of the contacts had no prior history with IJM before the study began, as shown in Table 13. A majority of the contacts, 71% (32/45) had a history with IJM ranging from one to four years prior to the study. To measure hidden populations like within the commercial sex trade, relationships with pimps that are built over time are vital.

As shown in Table 14, there were 32 contacts that had a history with IJM. 68.8% (n = 22) of these contacts had shown minors to IJM in its casework activities prior to this study. The number of minors observed ranged from one minor to five minors.

TABLE 14: Observance of Minors through Previous Contact History

Minors observed	No	Yes	Total
1 year	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4 (100%)
1.5 years	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
2 years	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	10 (100%)
2.5 years	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
3 years	2 (16.7%)	10 (83.3%)	12 (100%)
4 years	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
Total	10 (31.2%)	22 (68.8%)	32 (100%)

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. In total, 24 unique exploiters

TABLE 15: Unique Exploiters, by Role

Type of Exploiter	Number of Exploiters (n=24)
Partner	3 (12.5%)
Business Partner	1 (4.2%)
Pimp	21 (87.5%)
Establishment Staff	6 (25%)
Trafficker	1 (4.2%)
Waiter	4 (16.7%)

in the study were neither contacts nor CSWs. These were split between five categories of exploiter roles (see Table 15). Of these 24 individuals, only one was female and she had the labels of business partner and pimp. Data collectors were able to capture nationality and ages for twenty of these exploiters. All of them were Indian except for one Nepali who was a pimp and a waiter. Their ages ranged from 21 to 37 years old, with half of the individuals between 28 and 32 years old.

4.3 Network Analysis of CSE in the Private Network Sex Trade

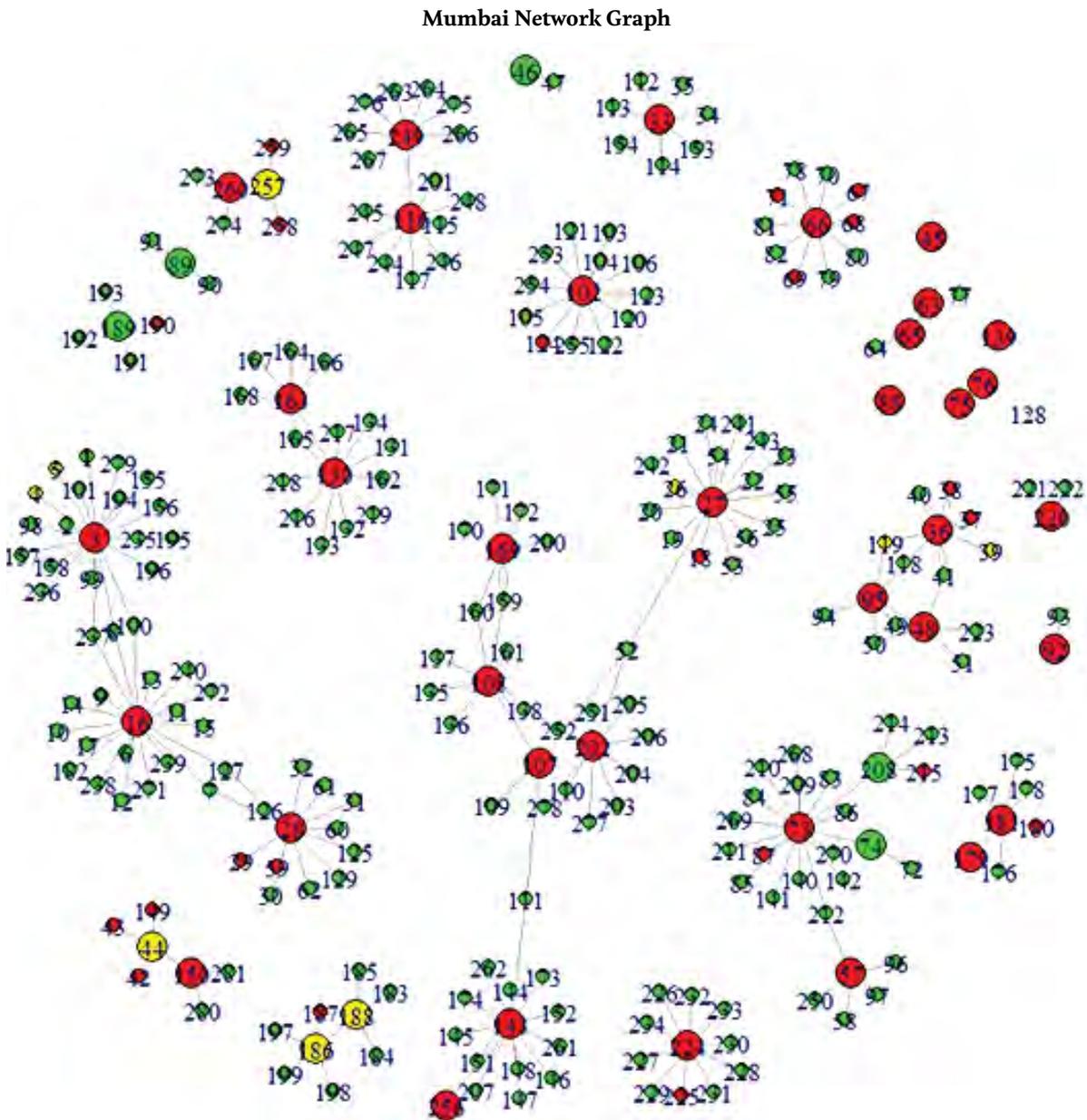
KEY FINDINGS

Through social network analysis, the private network 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 work solely through facilitators and middlemen. 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 network 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 139 and 45), 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 249 and 116 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 node 44 and 156). Second, there were pimps and madams that worked "solo", meaning there were no other exploiters identified in their network (see node 33). These clusters ranged from a single pimp to single CSW relationship to a single pimp with seven CSWs. The third exploiter network type involved pimps and madams that did not show up in-person to the encounter but rather coordinated the entire meeting over the phone or Whatsapp or through another pimp/madam.

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 node 102 - this contact's CSWs seemed to only be working for him. Figure 4 shows ten clusters (networks) that were not connected to another cluster and only have one contact solely responsible for all of the CSWs observed. Of this grouping, CSW contacts ran three clusters. 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 node 111 or 52 - data collectors observed these CSWs through multiple contacts. This type of structure supports the information CSWs provided about working on a contract basis. According to the graph however, there are no CSWs associated with more than two contacts. Women and girls working through multiple contacts could indicate a much larger, overarching indirect trafficking network - see nodes 27, 165, 108, 202, 107, and 143. The data collection team documented these shared CSWs, but 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

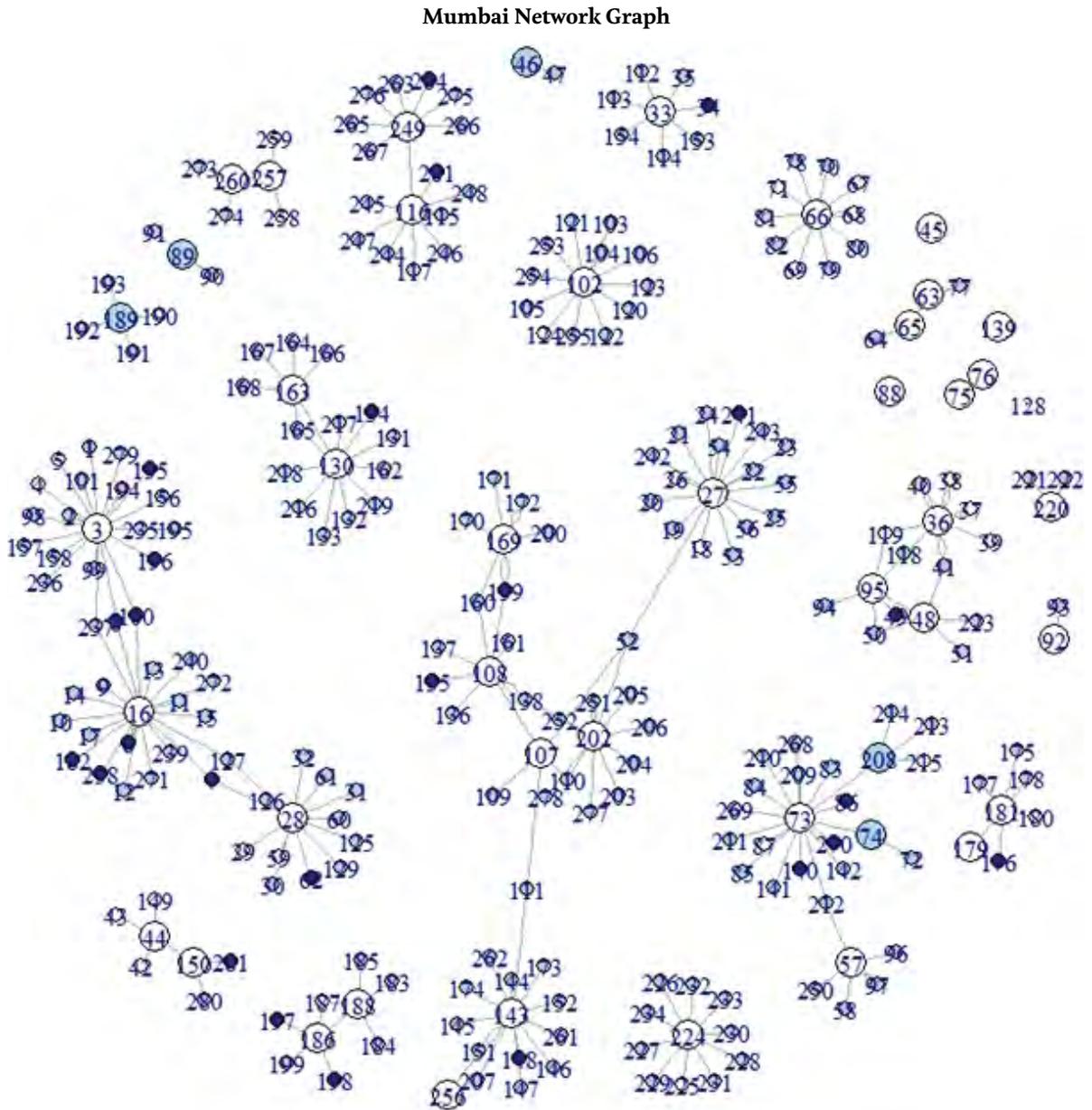


Enlarged nodes represent contacts and standard sized nodes represent non-contacts, green represents commercial sex workers, red represents pimps/madams, and yellow represents other

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. The graph also highlights five contacts who were CSWs who sold other CSWs. None of these contacts were minors. In total, 38.6% of contacts (17/44) showed minors to the 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; there was no contact that was just selling minors. Minors were split evenly between CSW and non-CSW exploiters. While some minors engaged in CSE were shared between multiple contacts, it was more common for the minors to be directly linked to just one contact.

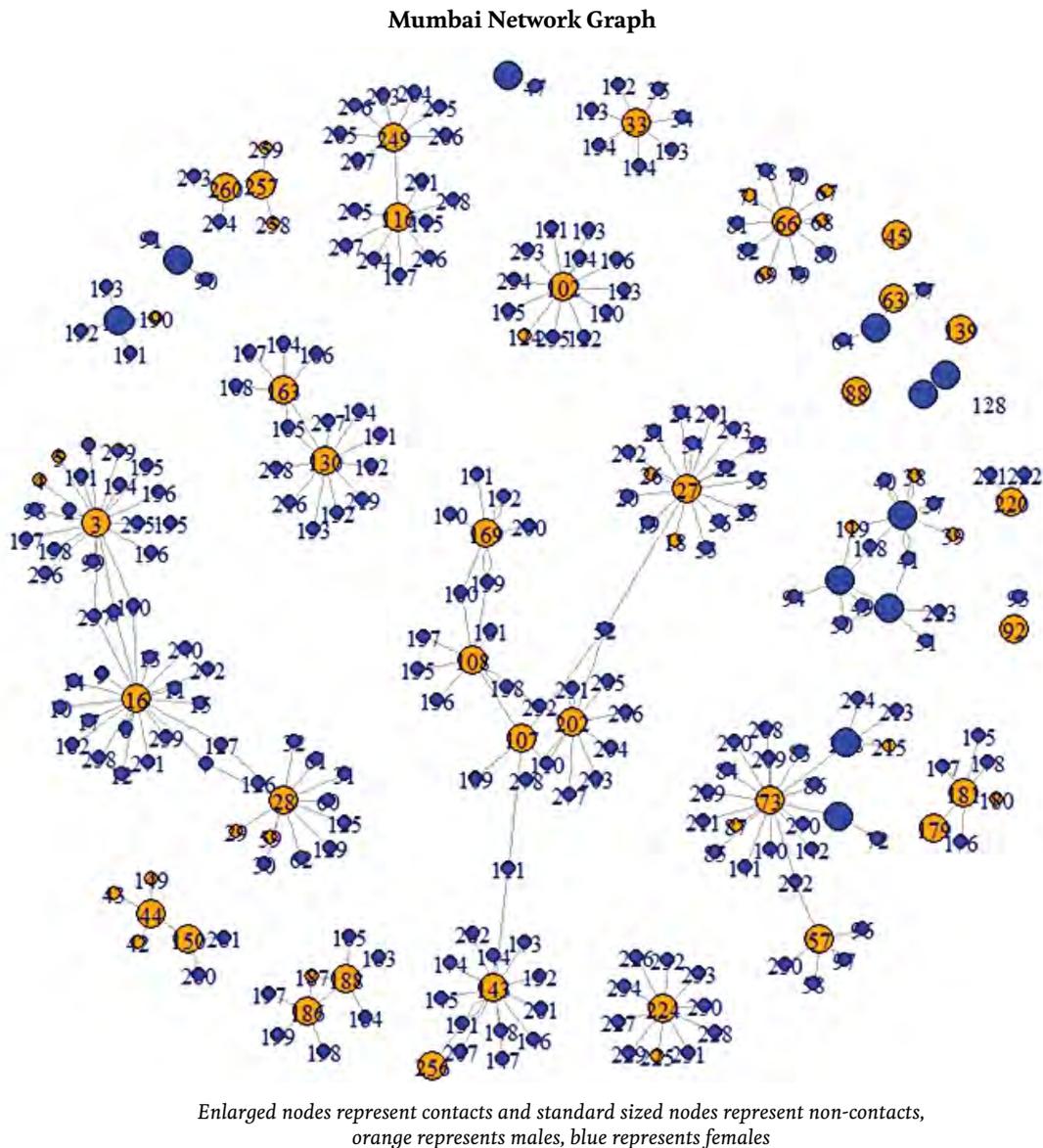
FIGURE 5: Network Graph, Contacts-Non-Contacts, by Major vs. Minor



*Enlarged nodes represents contacts and standards sized nodes represent non-contacts,
lightblue represents major CSWs, darkblue represents minor CSWs, white represents non-CSWs*

In depicting the network graph by sex (orange = males; blue = females), Figure 6 shows that the majority of contacts were male. Eleven of the contacts were females. There are clear links between female contacts, male contacts, and both. While Figure 5 highlighted five contacts which were CSWs, Figure 6 illuminates a number of other non-CSW contacts that were female. One interesting network to note is nodes 95, 48, and 36. These three female pimps are not CSWs; they share five CSWs, one of which is a minor, and also have their own CSWs. This finding is evidence to the fact that perpetrators behind sexual exploitation are not only males and do not have to be CSWs themselves.

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 25 out of 214 sex workers. Though not a representative sample, 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 1,180 sex workers in this network.

4.4.1 Observance of CSWs in the Private Network Sex Trade

In total, data collectors observed 214 unique CSWs over the course of the four month study. 48.6% of the CSWs were majors (104/214), 39.7% of the CSWs were borderline majors (85/214), and 11.7% of the CSWs were borderline minors (25/214). There were no CSWs identified as 15 years or younger. Table 16 indicates the location types where data collectors observed CSWs at their 86 encounters throughout the study. 20.5% of the

Contacts (9/44) 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.⁸³

Data collectors observed a total of 25 unique borderline minors, with all observations at meetings in a lodge, with a few also seen at a hotel and on a street.

TABLE 16: Location of CSWs Observed, by Location Type

Location Type	CSW Major	CSW Borderline Major	CSW Borderline Minor	Total
Bar	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Garden	3 (2.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (1.2%)
Hotel	5 (4.4%)	2 (2%)	1 (3.1%)	8 (3.3%)
Lodge	94 (83.2%)	93 (92.1%)	29 (90.6%)	216 (87.8%)
Private Residence (owned)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Private Residence (rented)	4 (3.5%)	4 (4%)	0 (0%)	8 (3.3%)
Station	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.4%)
Street	6 (5.3%)	2 (2%)	2 (6.3%)	10 (4.1%)
Total	113* (100%)	101** (100%)	32*** (100%)	246 (100%)

*Data collectors observed seven CSW Majors on two different occasions and one on three occasions.

**Data collectors observed 13 CSW Borderline Majors on two different occasions and three on three occasions.

***Data collectors observed five CSW Borderline Minors on two different occasions and one on three occasions.

Table 17 indicates the area in Mumbai where data collectors held meetings with contacts and also the number of CSWs observed in these zones. Data collectors observed the majority of borderline minors at locations either in Navi-Mumbai or Mira Road in Thane Rural.

In the 86 encounters during the study, exploiters “promised” minors in 30.2% of the meetings. In 20.9% of the encounters, the contact promised one minor for the following meeting. In 7% of the encounters, the contact promised two minors for the following meeting. In 2.3% of the encounters, the contact promised three minors for the following meeting. In the 59 meetings where data collectors observed no minors, exploiters promised minors for subsequent meetings 32.2% (19/59) of the time. In 24 meetings where data collectors observed one minor, exploiters promised minors for subsequent meetings 29.2% (7/24) of the time. In meetings where data collectors observed two or three minors, no exploiters promised additional minors for subsequent meetings.

Additionally, data collectors observed vulnerable children at the encounters a total of six times. Vulnerable children, for the purposes of this study, were children aged 0-14 years old who were not victims of commercial

⁸³Due to time constraints and the methodology used, data collectors could not personally interact with every CSW in each establishment. In bars, in particular, the study team could not verify if every working female in the bar was engaged in CSW. As a result, the number of CSWs working in bars could be overestimated; the estimate of CSEC, therefore, should be viewed as a conservative one.

TABLE 17: Frequency of Locations and CSWs Observed, by Areas in Mumbai

Region-Zone-Division	Frequency of Unique Locations	CSWs Observed			
		CSW Major	CSW Borderline Major	CSW Borderline Minor	Total
East Region – Mumbai	1 (2.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Mira Road Div-Thane Rural	12 (27.9%)	46 (40.7%)	49 (48.5%)	11 (34.4%)	106 (43.1%)
North Region - Mumbai	3 (7%)	6 (5.3%)	4 (4%)	0 (0%)	10 (4.1%)
West Region – Mumbai	7 (16.3%)	6 (5.3%)	6 (5.9%)	1 (3.1%)	13 (5.3%)
Vasai Div- Palghar Dist	7 (16.3%)	8 (7.1%)	6 (5.9%)	2 (6.3%)	16 (6.5%)
Zone I – Navi – Mumbai	9 (20.9%)	30 (26.6%)	24 (23.8%)	14 (43.8%)	68 (27.6%)
Zone II – Thane City	1 (2.3%)	3 (2.7%)	1 (1%)	2 (6.3%)	6 (2.4%)
Zone IV – Thane City	1 (2.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Zone V – Thane City	2 (4.7%)	14 (12.4%)	11 (10.9%)	2 (6.3%)	27 (11%)
Total	43	113 (100%)	101 (100%)	32 (100%)	246* (100%)

* Some CSWs appeared at more than one meeting, creating a total number larger than the number of unique individuals.

sexual exploitation. Out of the encounters where data collectors observed these children, five encounters materialized the same one child and one encounter materialized two children. Five of the encounters where data collectors identified vulnerable children took place in a rented private residence; one other was in a lodge.

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

In total, data collectors gathered substantial information about 52 CSW's circumstances through direct interactions with them (24.3%). Twelve of these women were majors, 21 were borderline majors, and 19 were borderline minors. All but one were from India, with one borderline major from Nepal. Table 18 shows the home states of those CSWs from India, revealing the majority originally coming from West Bengal.

Data collectors documented the circumstances under which the sex workers' joined the sex trade. The most common situation (in 36.5% of the interactions) was poverty or the desperate need to earn money. Poverty either stemmed from life back home or the current need to pay bills or repay loans. The second common circumstance reported (in 30.8% of the interactions) was the death of a father or of both parents. Other times, the father had not died but was very ill or injured. In situations where the father had died or was very ill, the mother stayed back in the home state with the other children and the CSW travelled to Mumbai for work. These situations can easily lead to poverty and increase pressure on the daughter (CSW) to make money to send to

TABLE 18: Home State of CSWs

Home State	Majors	Borderline Majors	Borderline Minors
Assam	2 (16.7%)	2 (9.5%)	1 (5.3%)
Bihar	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (5.3%)
Delhi	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Jharkhand	0 (0.0%)	3 (14.3%)	1 (5.3%)
Kathmandu	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Karnataka	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (5.3%)
Maharashtra	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	2 (10.5%)
Odisha	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (5.3%)
Unknown	2 (16.7%)	2 (9.5%)	0 (0.0%)
Uttar Pradesh	3 (25%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (10.5%)
West Bengal	5 (14.7%)	9 (42.9%)	10 (52.6%)
Total	12	21	19

*Data collectors gathered information on three more CSW majors; however, they were contacts and therefore excluded from this analysis as they were the ones selling other CSWs.

her family. 11.5% of the CSWs reported to data collectors that their husbands abandoned them or their husband died. 15.4% of the CSWs indicated that they had at least one child. One CSW told data collectors she divorced an abusive husband, while another CSW showed signs of self-inflicted harm. Many CSWs reported getting married at a young age, between 12 and 14 years old. CSWs also indicated discontinuing education after the 8th grade, with some girls going on to finish 9th and 12th grade.

15.4% of the CSWs claimed to be willing participants in the sex trade. Some of the CSWs noted that they work on a contract basis as a CSW and others indicated that they hold other part time jobs. 13.5% of the CSWs indicated that family, significant others, and recruiters deceived or forced them into the sex trade.

In Table 19 below, the six most commonly reported circumstances leading to working in the sex trade are listed, with a breakdown between majors, borderline majors, and borderline minors. Some CSWs cited multiple circumstances 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 31 CSWs who discussed their age of entry into the sex trade, 21 (74.2%) were 17 years or younger when they started, with the youngest reported age being 9 years old.

While these are the situations reported to data collectors, in IJM's casework experience, CSWs will often not provide wholly truthful details about their circumstances upon first interaction. 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.

TABLE 19: Circumstances Leading to the Sex Trade

Circumstances leading to the sex trade	Majors (n=12)	Borderline Major (n=21)	Borderline Minor (n=19)	Total (n=52)
Father's death/ parent's death	4 (33.3%)	4 (19%)	4 (21.1%)	16 (30.8%)
Poverty/need to earn money	2 (16.7%)	9 (42.9%)	8 (42.1%)	19 (36.5%)
Deception/force	1 (8.3%)	2 (9.5%)	4 (21.1%)	7 (13.5%)
Willing participant	3 (25%)	4 (19%)	1 (5.3%)	8 (15.4%)
Abandoned by husband/death of husband	1 (8.3%)	4 (19%)	1 (5.3%)	6 (11.5%)
Has a child	1 (8.3%)	5 (23.8%)	2 (10.5%)	8 (15.4%)

4.4.3 Projected Estimates for Sex Workers Engaged in the Private Network 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 C for the each method's recapture interpretation, the estimators' abundance estimations and standard errors, as well as model fit conclusions. From these various mark-recapture analysis methods, the recommended approach is Method 4, utilizing the sampling occasion based on the 'month' variable. Table 20 provides the frequency statistics for this approach - the number of captured units was 214.

TABLE 20: Frequency Statistics for Mark-Recapture Analysis

	fi	ui	vi	ni
i = 1	199	23	19	23
i = 2	13	39	35	39
i = 3	2	93	90	99
i = 4	0	69	70	70

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 estimator⁸⁴ 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 1,180.2 (SE: 293.5; 95% CI: 604.94-1755.5). In other words, the minimum number of sex workers engaged in the private sex trade in the targeted area is 1,180. 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.

⁸⁴This model accounts for heterogeneity in the captures so that all CSWs theoretically have their own capture probability (which is what all methods in Table 26 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 4's Mh Chao estimations in Table 26 and the Mth Chao estimation.

4.4.4 Payment for CSW Services in the Private Network

Data collectors documented the requested payment for services of CSWs in the private networks. The services for girls working in this side of the sex trade seemed more expensive than those working in the public establishments in red light areas. The payment range in the private networks was from INR 1,600 to 5,000 (24 to 75 USD), with different ranges based on age of the CSW. For majors, the average payment reported for services was INR 2,114 (31.71 USD), with a range quoted between INR 2,000 and 4,500 (30 to 67.50 USD). For borderline majors, the average payment reported was INR 2,900 (43.50 USD), with a range from INR 1,600 to 5,000 (24 to 75 USD). For borderline minors, the average payment reported was INR 3,055 (45.83), with a range between INR 2,000 and 4,000 (30 and 60 USD). All three age groups reported a mode of INR 3,000 (45 USD) for CSW services.

4.5 Presence of Police

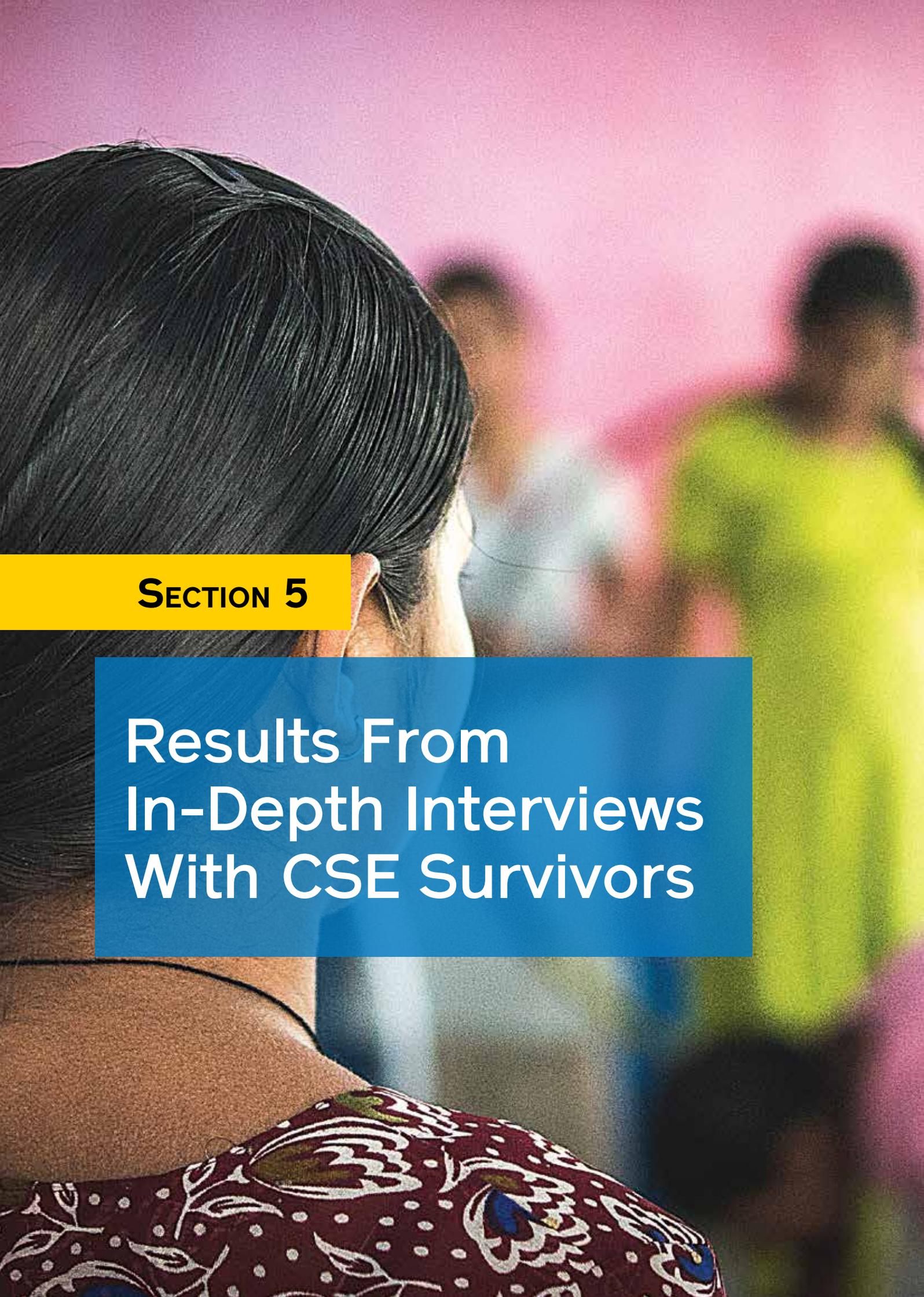
Data collectors documented any mention of police by the contacts, pimps and madams, CSWs, or others at the encounters. There were some indications supporting active patrolling and policing for CSE of minors; however, a more prominent narrative that emerged was the level of understanding of police activity by contacts, pimps, and lodge/hotel managers. In some situations, pimps bragged to data collectors about having good contacts and bonds with the local police station. In many other situations, pimps would not show up to the encounters and instead would coordinate through someone else or over WhatsApp and phone in order to avoid police detection. Some days, pimps and contacts reported whole areas in Mumbai to be on 'high alert' for police. In these cases, these networks quickly adapted by moving encounters to other locations or at later times, only bringing major CSWs, showing the girls in auto rickshaws, or at last resort cancelling meetings. These notifications of police presence even came real-time with one pimp receiving notification at the meeting itself not to show minors and to move locations. In one situation, all of the staff were on edge when the data collector entered the lodge because of what the manager described as "police being vigilant and keeping surveillance in the area that day". The manager had already moved the girls to hide them. In another lodge on a different day, the manager reported to data collectors that police had instructed management to keep the lodge closed.

There were also a few scenarios where pimps and sex workers told data collectors that they had paid bribes to the police to release girls. One pimp discussed a situation where he paid Rs. 500,000 to release girls on bail, adding that he had good networking with the police. One borderline minor engaged in CSE told data collectors that police caught her on a recent raid, but after paying them one lakh, the police released her.

4.6 Weighted Regression Analysis of Presence of Minors

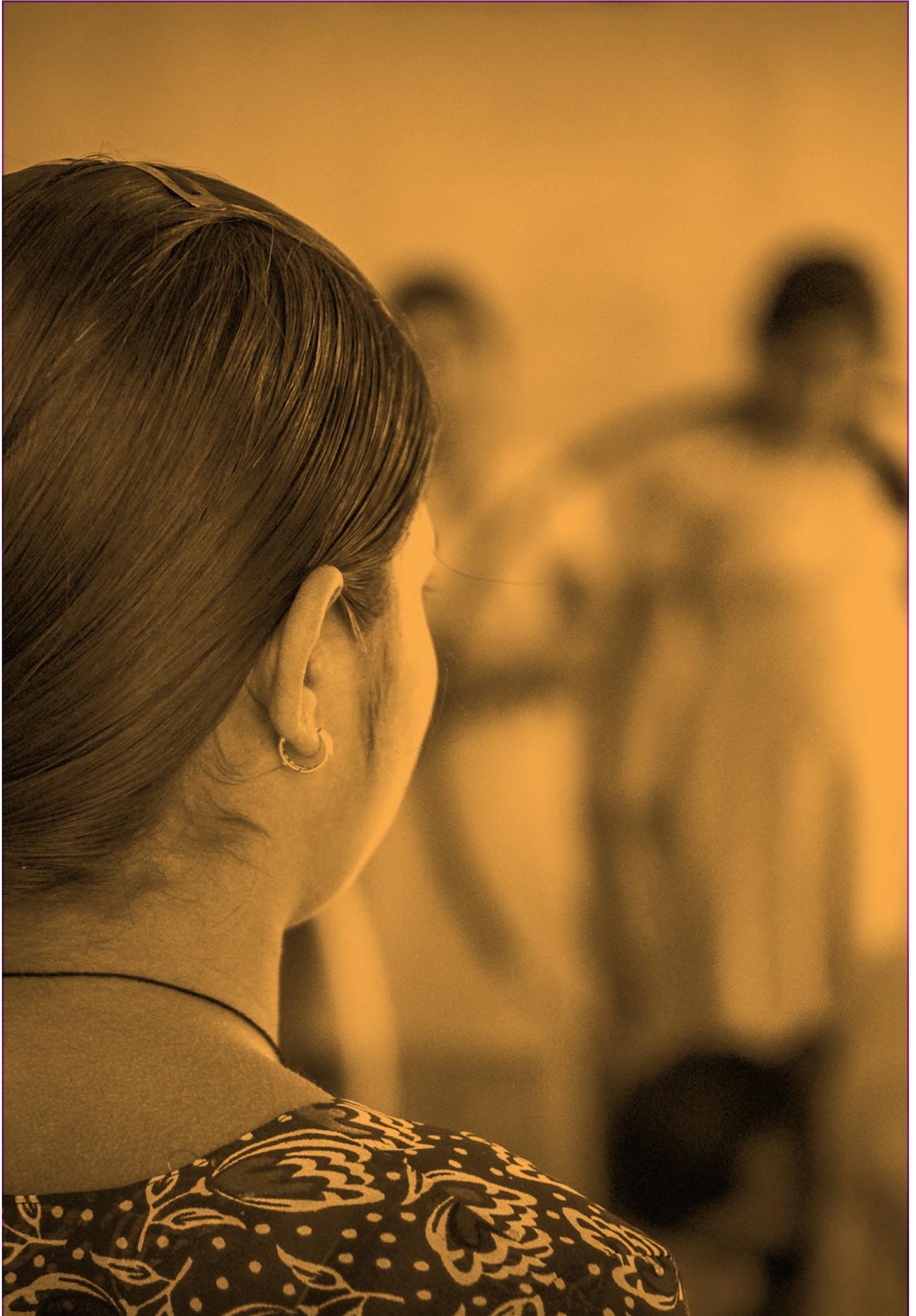
When testing for correlations to predict the observance of minors, analysts found that person labels for contacts, sex of the contact, location of the meeting, and the contact having a history with IJM were all significant predictors of whether minors would be present and sold for sex at the meeting. 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 a pimp or male, the likelihood of minors being present statistically increased. In meetings that occurred in Palghar District, Navi-Mumbai, and Thane City - Zone II, the likelihood of minors being present statistically increased, while the likelihood of minors being present at meetings that occurred in Mumbai - North region or Thane City - Zone IV statistically decreased. If the contact had between one and five years of history with IJM prior to the study, the likelihood of minors being present at meetings increased but not to a significant degree, whereas less than one year of history resulted in a statistically lower chance of observing minors (no history with IJM did also show a decrease, but it was not statistically significant). This supports the notion that this side of the sex trade operates on trusted networks, particularly in order to get access to minors. Additionally, 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 increased, but this was not statistically significant.



SECTION 5

**Results From
In-Depth Interviews
With CSE Survivors**



05

Results From In-Depth Interviews With CSE Survivors

5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Survivors Interviewed

The study team interviewed 15 survivors who were 20-30 years old at the time of the interview. However, they entered the sex trade at ages 16-25.

Interviewed survivors were primarily trafficked from within India, but outside the state in which they were exploited (see Table 21). This meant that few of them spoke Hindi or Marathi when they were forced into the sex trade.

TABLE 21: Source Location and Number of Survivors Interviewed

Source Location	Locations Within India			International Location
	Andhra Pradesh	Karnataka	West Bengal	Bangladesh
Number of Survivors	1	10	1	3

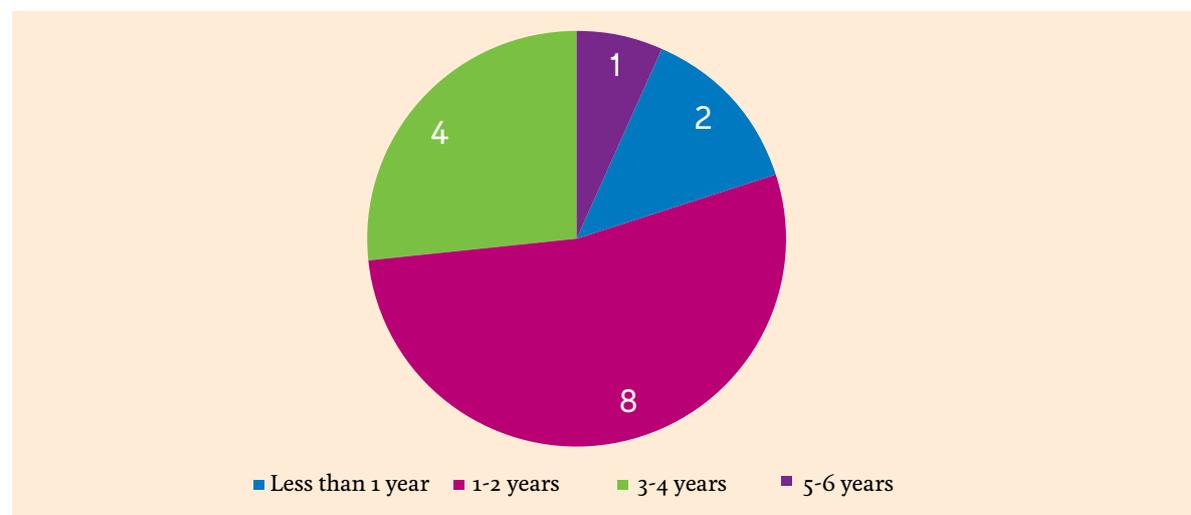
The majority of survivors had a Class 8 education level or lower, but five had completed some education at the secondary school level (see Table 22).

TABLE 22: Education Level of Survivors Interviewed

Education level	No education	Class 2	Class 5	Class 8	Class 9	Class 10	Class 11	Class 12
Number of Survivors	2	1	4	3	1	2	1	1

The majority of survivors spent 1-2 years in the sex trade before being rescued (see Figure 7).

FIGURE 7: Survivors' Length of Time in the Sex Trade



5.2 Path into the Sex Trade

KEY FINDINGS

Recruiters overwhelmingly used the promise of a good job to lure vulnerable women into the sex trade; but there were two cases of forcible abduction to sell women into the sex trade.

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 Mumbai.

5.2.1 Recruitment

Recruiters approached all but two survivors with the promise of a good job that would allow the survivor to care for themselves or their family members. None of the survivors knew that they were being brought for sex work (N=15); and eight survivors shared that they had no idea that they were being taken to Mumbai. The promised jobs were primarily in domestic work (5/12), but some were unidentified positions (3/12), in beauty parlours (2/12), at a company (1/12) or in the film trade (1/12).

A number of factors rendered survivors vulnerable to being lured with the promise of a good job. Four of the survivors were orphans, nine were physically abused at home, three were married at very young ages (12-14 years old), a few had husbands or families that abandoned them, and eight ran away from unsafe households. Many survivors had experienced multiple forms of difficulty and were simply trying to survive. The fact that 11 survivors did not tell anybody at home that they were leaving with the recruiter for this new job (N=11) demonstrates their lack of social support.

The recruiters drugged and abducted the remaining two survivors who were not offered better jobs. An additional two survivors who were lured with the promise of good jobs were also drugged upon embarking on the journey. One was coerced to have sex with the recruiter. He falsely promised that he would bring her home to her children from whom she had been forcibly abducted if she provided two minutes of sexual intercourse; and threatened to sell her kidney if she told the other recruiters accompanying them on the journey.

For the most part, someone from the community who was not a close friend or family member recruited the survivor. However, one survivor's romantic partner sold her. Seemingly helpful strangers in the public square approached a few survivors and promised them a good job because the survivors were in a desperate

place upon running away or were dealing with a family crisis. Three were approached at Majestic station in Bangalore, and one was approached in the market.

Most survivors traveled by AC bus to Mumbai, but five also traveled by train. Those who spoke about expenses all said that the recruiters covered the cost of the fare as well as food and accommodations along the way. The majority of interviewed survivors had a closely monitored but otherwise normal journey to Mumbai, thus indicating that it would be difficult to screen for victims along the primary routes modes of travel to sex trafficking destinations.

Five survivors also reported having stopovers before arriving at the brothel. Survivors did not experience physical or sexual violence during the stopover and there was insufficient data to determine the reasons for these stopovers, but they were likely to break up the journey or so that the recruiter could connect with the managers to coordinate the sale.

Nine survivors (N=11) reported that they were aware of money exchanged between the establishment manager and the recruiter. Of those, seven either knew the amount for which they were sold or had an estimate based on the amount for which other girls in the establishment were bought. This amount ranged from INR 5,000-700,000 (75-10,500 USD), with a mode of INR 50,000 (750 USD).

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 nine cases was a conditioning period that involved physical violence and/or being held captive for a period of time until the survivor was too weak to refuse. Other control tactics included threats and rape by the first customer.

In describing how they learned of the reality of their situation, 11 survivors reported that they refused to do the work and/or begged to be returned home (N=11). Fourteen survivors were either threatened or they underwent a conditioning period thereby breaking their ability to refuse the manager. The remaining survivor was destitute, had her two children with her, and did not see another option. One survivor was threatened and therefore did not refuse, described the overwhelming fear that led her to compliance:

“I remembered what the other girl had said to me—that if I asked to leave I would not get out alive. They would force people ... I would see people would be cut with the blade, beating people; I saw all that. I got very scared. There was one girl who had blade cuts on her.” (Participant 6).

Nine survivors underwent this conditioning period (N=13). Half of these survivors were both beaten and locked in a room. One of whom described being beaten the first day she refused, and then locked in a dark room for seven days without food or water—the majority of which time she was unconscious. She recounted:

“I cried a lot at that time. I cried so much that I started cursing myself, ‘why was I born?’ If I was born a man then it would have been better. I could have fought for myself. But because I was a woman, I felt so weak ... my family would not support me. I didn’t have a friend to support me, nor did I know anyone in Mumbai. Nobody understood my language. I mean, I felt so helpless, so helpless... that I had nobody and that life was over. They beat me a lot. For at least seven days, they gave me no food, no water, nothing. They kept me locked in the house, in a place where there was no light, there was no breeze, but I stayed alive for those seven days. I stayed alive. When they took me out of there after seven days I had become very weak” (Participant 2).

One survivor witnessed another girl being beaten and was then locked in a room for two days. Another survivor’s first customer raped her, and then given medication after she screamed so that many men could

have sex with her while she was blacked out. Using the customer to brutalize the survivor was employed in a different case in which the manager did not institute a conditioning period:

“He tied my mouth, and he tied my hands and feet. I bled a lot. I kept telling him to let me go. I cried a lot. I begged and pleaded a lot for him to stop, to let me go home.” (Participant 13).

The other three survivors were beaten for refusing to work in the sex trade. One described,

“I said that I didn’t want to stay there. I started crying. So the [manager] took off all my clothes, she didn’t leave one piece of clothing on and took me to the door. She said, ‘You can now go wherever you want.’ Then she put on the [music] and beat me a lot... The green chili, she put it on my body and beat me” (Participant 7).

Regardless of the tactics managers used, the survivors recounted a sense of helplessness, as well as multiple vulnerability factors. One survivor who began sex work after the conditioning period, explained “What else could I have done? I had become helpless” (Participant 1).

Upon beginning sex work, the establishment manager or the other sex workers instructed eight of the survivors; and two were forced to watch another girl with a customer. None reported that they were shown graphic materials.

5.3 Sex Trade Conditions

Many of the survivors woke up before noon, with only three survivors relaying that they woke up on or after 12:00pm. When asked what they did upon waking up, most washed their faces, bathed, or washed their hair, brushed their teeth, put on makeup, and sat.

Based on the commonly reported times of waking up and going to sleep, three survivors received four or less hours of sleep each day (N=10). However, one of the survivors who should have received 7 hours each day based on this calculation noted that her schedule was at the whim of the customers who could come at any point in the day. She described:

“Even if you closed your eyes for a second, they’d throw water on us. Even if the customer would come at 11:00am, customer would come at 10:00am, they would wake us up and we’d have to attend the customers. Life was hell, death was hell” (Participant 2).

Everyone noted that they slept in the same room in which they conducted sex work (N=11). Many of the survivors also had to share a bed with other girls to sleep (6/8). About half reported that the room smelled (N=11), and most stated that there were either no windows in their room or that the room was dimly lit (N=9).

Survivors were not asked how many days a week they worked, but none mentioned having a day off. One said that the brothel was never closed; and others described having to work even while on their period.

Seven survivors (N=12) described receiving food twice a day. However, one survivor who received food twice a day elaborated that “the food was not even fit for dogs” (Participant 15). As with sleep, customers appeared to dictate the food schedule. Customers interrupted meals, and one survivor noted that she either ate very late or did not eat because she was busy with customers. Of the few who described the types of food available, most reported rice, lentils, puri (fried bread), potatoes and only receiving chicken or mutton once in a while. Rice was the primary meal for two of these survivors. Some were encouraged to share food with customers; and five survivors (N=14) were forced to drink alcohol with the customers. One was told not to eat the food that customers brought into the establishment as it could be drugged.

5.3.1 Customers

Survivors reported serving an average of 7-11 customers per day (see Table 23), with Sundays being the busiest day. The data was unable to provide the number of unique customers, therefore the scale of demand cannot be estimated. However, to provide a sense of the impact, a sex worker could conduct a tentative estimate of

approximately 3,000 sex acts per year. Estimates in the higher range are more likely to be accurate, as no survivor indicated that they worked five days a week, and some customers received multiple sex acts.

TABLE 23: Number of Customers per Sex Worker

	Customers per day*	Estimated sex acts per year**
Mean	7-11	1,820-4,015
Median	5-10	1,300-3,650
Range Difference	12 for days with less customers; 15 for days with more customers	2,195 for calculations using the mean; 2,350 for calculations using the median

*N=15. Twelve 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 8.96, the median is 8, and the range is 3-20.

**The lower estimate assumes 260 working days per year as well as the lower estimate of customers per day (mean 7, median 5). 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 11, median 10). Using the overall rounded mean of 8.95, the low estimate would be 2,327 and the high estimate would be 3,266.8.

5.3.2 Finances

KEY FINDINGS

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

All but one interviewed survivor received little or nothing for their work in the sex trade. Although the interview guide did not include questions on payment received from their managers, ten survivors (N=12) noted that they received no payment from the managers throughout their time in the sex trade (Figure 8).

FIGURE 8: Estimated Revenue Per Sex Worker (N = 12)



Two survivors received small amounts from the manager. One received INR 50 per day (0.75 USD), or 0.31-2.5% of daily revenue based on the number of customers and prices this survivor quoted for different sex acts. The other also cited receiving INR 50 (0.75 USD), but it was unclear if this was per day or per client. She stated that at one brothel sex acts cost INR 350 (5.25 USD) for 30 minutes, INR 650 (9.75 USD) for one hour; and INR 2,000 (30 USD) for the night. The manager would give her INR 50 (0.75 USD), take INR 150 (2.25 USD) in payment for covering the survivor’s living expenses, and keep INR 150 (2.25 USD) in savings for the survivor to collect in the future. However, the survivor never received any of this money.

All 15 survivors received tip money from customers. However, five (33.3%) had to give all of the tip money to their manager. Of the 10 survivors who were allowed to keep at least a portion of the tip money, the majority reported that they were required to use the tip money to pay for dresses, makeup, food and/or other basic necessities. Tips from clients ranged from INR 10-500 (0.15-7.50 USD), with the mode being INR 50 (0.75 USD).

The amount survivors received was a fraction of the amount they earned for their managers, as shown in Table 24 and Table 25.

TABLE 24: Cost of Sex Acts

	Cost for a shorter time (N = 14)	Cost for a longer time (N = 8)	Cost for the night (N = 12)
Mean	INR 318.57 (4.78 USD)	INR 737.5 (11.06 USD)	INR 2,125 (31.88 USD)
Median	INR 350 (5.25 USD)	INR 725 (11.06 USD)	INR 2,000 (30.00 USD)
Range Difference	INR 500 (7.50 USD)	INR 600 (9.00 USD)	INR 2,000 (USD 30.00)

Table 25 demonstrates the incredible profitability—and incentive for perpetrators—of exploiting women and girls in the sex industry (the figures use estimated cost data in Table 24 and the number of customers cited in Table 23).

TABLE 25: Estimated Revenue per Sex Worker

	Revenue per sex worker per day	Revenue per sex worker per year
Lower estimate	INR 2,229.99* (33.45 USD)	INR 579,797.4^ (8,696.96 USD)
Higher estimate	INR 9,500** (142.50 USD)	INR 3,467,500^^ (52,012.5 USD)

*Calculated with the lower mean number of customers per day (7) and assumes all received the least expensive service (mean cost of INR 318.57/4.78 USD)

**Uses the higher mean number of customers per day (11), assumes one night customer (mean cost of INR 2,125/31.88 USD), and the remaining 10 customers all received the more expensive services (mean cost of INR 737.5/11.06 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

To put these revenue figures in context, the January-June 2016 minimum wage for a skilled engineer in the state of Maharashtra over the course of a month is INR 118,012 or 1,770.18 USD.⁸⁵

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 threats and violence. Other barriers to exiting the sex trade included language barriers and financial control.

5.4.1 Wanting to Leave and Barriers to Exiting the Sex Trade

The majority of survivors expressed that they initially refused to work in the sex trade and were beaten or otherwise coerced into working. The survivors listed many barriers to running away, which overwhelmingly included constant monitoring and/or accompaniment as well as confinement within the establishment. One survivor recounted that “We weren’t left alone even for a minute” (Participant 2). Another stated, “[T]hey never let us out. We were not even allowed to look out the window. If we looked out, they would beat us... [I] stayed inside for the whole year. I never saw the outside” (Participant 4).

⁸⁵Calculated by averaging Zone 1, Zone 2, and Zone 3

<http://www.paycheck.in/main/salary/minimumwages/maharashtra/maharashtra-minimum-wage-w-e-f-january-1-2016-to-june-30-2016-2>

Nine survivors reported that they wanted to run away, and five survivors sought help from customers and police. In one instance, the police said that they had come to sleep with the survivor, not to rescue her. For the most part, customers also refused to help. One survivor summarized, “Some customers understood, but they would ask, ‘How can I take you from here? Your madam will scream at me. Then she will put a police complaint on me if I help you.’ Nobody helped me” (Participant 10).

Three survivors ran away. Of those three, two successfully escaped but were returned to the establishment. In one of these cases, the police returned the escaped survivor to her manager. She then attempted to run away a second time, but was caught before she could leave the premises. In the other instance, the survivor ran away with a customer with whom she had fallen in love. They too were found, and under the threat of death and physical overpowering she was returned to the brothel where she was violently abused in order for the manager to make an example of her to the other sex workers. The third survivor also attempted to run away twice but was caught in both instances. In the second instance, word was passed through a customer to another sex worker’s brother who informed the police. The police raided the establishment, but the sex workers were moved in advance of the raid.

5.4.2 Verbal Abuse, Threats, and Violence to Others

Survivors were frequently threatened with physical violence (10/10) and death (6/9). Many of these threats were believable because they were coupled with actual violence to the survivor (See Physical Violence) or violence to others in the establishment. Seven survivors witnessed violence committed against other sex workers in the establishment (N=8). One survivor stated, “A doctor would come and he killed girls on their word. They say he killed a lot of girls” (Participant 7). Two survivors were also threatened with being sold to a “worse” place if they did not behave.

In contrast, managers did not appear to use threats to the survivor’s family as a control tactic as none of the seven survivors questioned about this tactic reported that it occurred (N=7). A different set of seven survivors were also asked whether the manager threatened to tell the survivor’s family about the survivor’s work in the sex trade. Again, none indicated this as a control tactic. This was likely because most survivors did not even tell their family members that they were leaving for a new job; and the manager may not have had their contact information. However, one noted that the manager said the police would tell the survivor’s family. Another recounted that their family was told that the survivor had been abducted and trafficked into the sex trade. This family was extorted for additional funds, and was told that the survivor’s kidney was going to be sold if they could not pay the bribe.

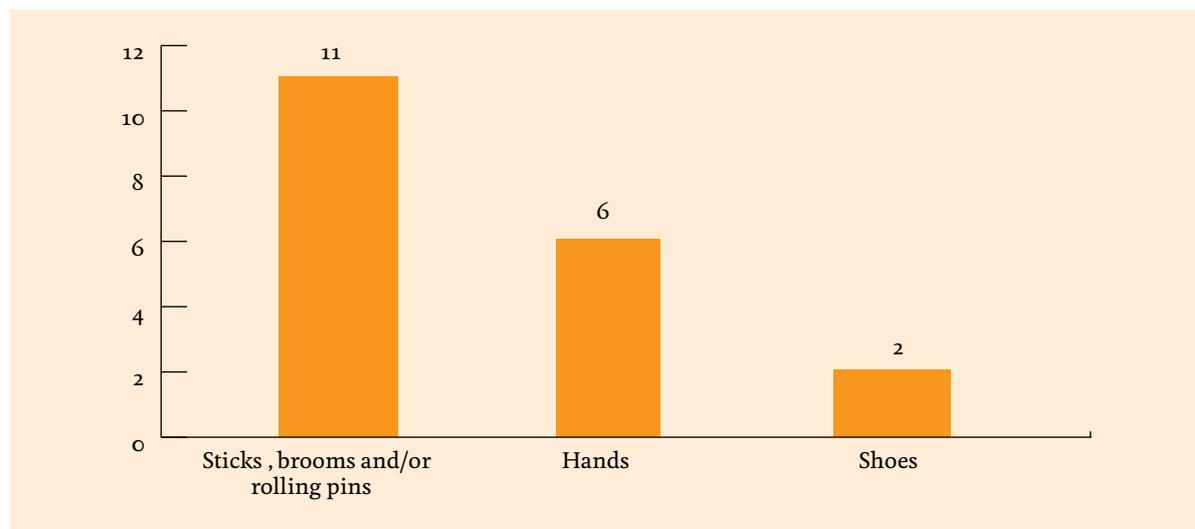
5.4.3 Physical and Sexual Violence

KEY FINDINGS

Of the thirteen survivors who experienced physical violence, the majority (84.6%) were beaten with objects such as sticks, brooms, and/or rolling pins. Several accounts of physical violence also included sexual abuse or degradation.

Only two of the fifteen survivors stated that they were not beaten while in the sex trade. One noted that she never “gave anyone the opportunity” because she was obedient to the manager due to threats of death and seeing other sex workers beaten. Another was also compliant, and similarly reported that the other sex workers in the establishment were beaten. Therefore, even without experiencing violence themselves, these two survivors lived in violent environments and were aware of the repercussions for misbehaving.

Of the thirteen survivors who experienced violence, the majority (84.6%) were beaten with objects such as sticks, brooms and/or rolling pins (see Figure 9). No survivor reported being beaten only with hands. In addition, two noted that they were hit with the manager’s shoes. In India, it is offensive to even point the sole of the shoe at someone. Therefore, beating the survivors with shoes demonstrates great disrespect.

FIGURE 9: Means of Physical Violence (N = 13)

Note: Categories are not exclusive

Several accounts of physical violence also included sexual abuse or degradation. Three reported experiencing degradation by having their clothes removed and being beaten naked. One of these survivors was beaten naked in front of the manager’s husband and was once beaten naked in front of a plumber. Three survivors endured the abuse of having chili powder placed in their genitals. Of the five survivors who reported customers that abused them (N=6), one was beaten, another described some customers as “forceful”, and two were raped; however, given the lack of choice in entering the sex trade many of the experiences with the first customer in the sex trade could be classified as rape. Another survivor was sexually assaulted:

“One customer had come. Three customers had asked for me that night and this customer also came. So I had fallen asleep. He had asked for water and the customer put the bottle in my private area...He asked for water. I gave it to him and went to sleep. He drank it, he took the cap off the bottle and then he inserted the bottle. I told the manager and she didn’t say anything, she didn’t say anything to him, but she started screaming at me” (Participant 7).

Only eight of the survivors expanded upon the frequency of violence (N=13). The majority (5/8) of these recounted that they experienced physical violence four or less times while in the sex trade. However, the frequency of violence should not be decoupled from the types and severity of violence experienced. Many of those who reported infrequent violence also described severe levels of violence. These incidents resulted in fear of future abuse and served as a deterrence to insubordination. For example, one survivor—who experienced violence one time—recounted an especially gruesome experience of physical and sexual violence. As punishment for running away, “they beat with their hands and they beat me so I started bleeding. I was wearing a nightie, they tore it off me. Even my underwear, they beat me without it, they made me naked and beat me” (Participant 9). She was also beaten with a hard plastic pipe, which the managers then inserted into her genitals.

Approximately half (N=9) described the physical violence as either “not enough” to lead to injuries, bruises and other marks— or that the managers intentionally committed abuse that would not leave injuries because they “didn’t want it to look bad for the customers” (Participant 6). Of those with injuries, one was beaten so severely that they could not walk up a flight of stairs for 2-3 months and continued to have knee problems at the time of the interview. A customer beat this same survivor, which resulted in scars. Three additional survivors had scars. Another survivor had a leg turn black with bruises after she was beaten with a broom—to the point of the broom breaking over her leg.

5.4.4 Other Mechanisms of Control

In addition to the above control tactics, 11 survivors reported that they did not speak the local language. This language barrier was significant as demonstrated by one survivor who ran away and asked for the police station

but was unable to be understood. When customers later indicated that they wanted to take her away, she stated that it was an impossible feat as they did not understand one another. This is likely the reason why some survivors also noted that the managers prohibited them from customers who spoke the survivor's language.

While not specifically asked in the interview guides, six survivors expressed elements of financial control which kept them in the trade. Most of this form of control was a result of the manager paying a recruiter for the survivor. Several of these survivors noted that their manager used this debt bondage to manipulate the survivor into working in the sex trade. Many recounted similar statements from their manager along the lines of “You say you won't work? That won't work here. My INR 60,000 [900 USD] has gone. Give it to me!” (Participant 3). Some reported that they had no money with which to run away, that they were told that they could leave after they paid off their debt, or that they would receive money after a certain length of time in the sex trade.

5.5 Impacts of the Violence

KEY FINDINGS

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 difficulty with social integration as a result of their experiences.

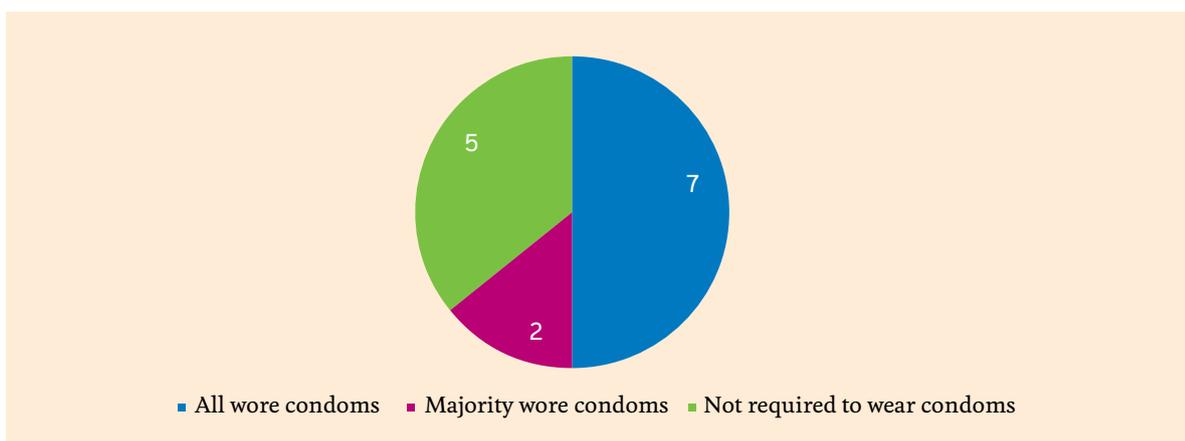
5.5.1 Sexual Health

Interviews did not ask about sexually transmitted infections or medical treatment beyond the use of condoms and response to pregnancy.

Half of the survivors stated that all of their customers wore condoms (N=14). See Figure 10. In the majority of cases (5/7), the manager required customers to wear condoms. In an additional two instances, the survivor found ways to convince their customers to use condoms—usually by explaining sexual health and appealing to the customer's best interest. Two survivors recounted that the majority of their clients wore condoms. Of these, one survivor noted that the manager insisted on condom use, but the customers would find ways to remove their condoms during sex; the other reported that she was normally able to switch customers with another sex worker if he refused to wear a condom.

For the remaining seven, the manager or the customer would frequently force the survivors to have unprotected sex. One interviewee stated that the manager did not care if the customers wore condoms and only cared about the profit obtained.

FIGURE 10: Customers' Use of Condoms (N = 14)



Of the 13 survivors able to become pregnant—two had undergone operations before entering the sex trade as part of their family planning—four survivors became pregnant (30.8%) while in the sex trade. All four survivors wanted to have abortions, citing the fact that they did not want to bring children into what they viewed as hopeless conditions. In two cases, the managers also wanted the survivors to have an abortion and brought them to the hospital. One of these survivors shared that she had to return to sex work only two days following the procedure.

In the other two instances, the managers wanted the survivors to have the children. One of these survivors delivered her baby in the hospital, who was instantly removed to be raised in the manager's house. The other survivor obtained medicine to abort the child in the establishment—which almost killed the survivor and resulted in the manager beating her for having an unauthorized abortion. She was then forced to return to sex work seven days after delivering the stillborn baby and having major medical complications.

Of those who did not get pregnant, five reported on the experiences of other sex workers who became pregnant in the establishment. Three noted that other sex workers would deliver babies. Two said that when other sex workers became pregnant they were forced to have abortions; in fact, one stated that another girl in the establishment was kicked in her stomach and otherwise brutally beaten as a result of becoming pregnant. The survivor was then told that the pregnant sex worker died as a result of this abuse.

5.5.2 Medication and Injections

Eight survivors were forced to take medication (N=14), and three of these also received injections. Survivors did not always know the purpose of this medication, but the majority reported that the medication was to make them fatter. One said that the medication was for birth control and another's description suggested that the medication was for abortions or STIs. Two survivors received medication or injections to make them more compliant for the customers. One stated, "When the night customers used to come, because I used to scream a lot they used to give me the injection" (Participant 4).

5.5.3 Emotional and Social Impact

All of the survivors expressed significant fear during their time in the sex trade. Fear and emotional distress sometimes resulted in suicidal ideation. While in the sex trade, about half of the survivors either considered suicide or wanted to die; and three attempted suicide.

Many of the survivors lacked social support while in the establishment and several indicated difficulties with social integration. Only three survivors noted that they had a friend or someone that they could trust while in the sex trade (N=14). Eight survivors stated that they cannot trust anyone as a result of their experience in the sex trade, and even those with friends expressed apprehension about sharing the details of their past. One described:

"I wouldn't share any of my thoughts and feelings. Even here, there are many girls. There is one didi, like a big sister, who I can share with but I don't want to. My heart doesn't want to. Her pain will increase" (Participant 1).

Five survivors indicated that their IJM social worker was their primary source of social support after leaving the sex trade. Others alluded to shame as a result of their experiences, including two who used the phrase that they had "become bad." Another stated that God would not forgive her for her time in the sex trade, while another said that they could not get married because "how will I tell [my husband] about my past?" (Participant 4).

When asked what advice they would give to other girls still in the sex trade, the survivors overwhelmingly exhorted these girls to "come out" of the sex trade and find other work. This advice is striking as it indicates an underlying sense that the sex workers had agency in their ability to "come out," when the survivor's own experiences prove otherwise. It is likely that this comes from a social stigma and lack of understanding of the control mechanisms and victimology that keep minors and forced majors in the sex trade.

5.6 Interaction with the Justice System

KEY FINDINGS

Of the nine survivors who interacted with a police officer while in the sex trade, eight recounted negative experiences such as corruption or police frequenting the establishment as customers. The majority of survivors experienced failed police efforts to intervene, as the survivors were hidden and/or moved to avoid police rescue.

Interviewees were asked if they ever encountered police officers and other government officials during their time in the sex trade. Nine survivors (N=15) saw or spoke with a police officer while only three (N=13) interacted with a government official. Seven of these nine survivors indicated that the police officers took bribes and four reported that officials were customers at the establishment. Six survivors also indicated that the managers would use fear of the police to threaten the sex workers. In five of these instances, the managers threatened that life would be worse for the survivors if the police removed them from the brothel. Most managers indicated that the police would beat or kill the survivors for working in the sex trade, some managers said that the police would lock them up and ensure that they never saw their families again, and one manager said that the police would put the survivor's picture in the paper and tell their family what they had done in the sex trade.

The majority of survivors noted that they were hidden and/or moved to avoid police operations. Of the 12 survivors (N=13) who stated that they were hidden within the establishment, eight provided additional information on the frequency of being hidden and 10 described the location. The majority of these described being hidden as a frequent occurrence. Most reported that they would be hidden for 1-2 hours, with one recounting an experience of being hidden for 13 hours. Three survivors (N=8) noted that they were hidden within a regular room in the establishment, while the others described more elaborate hiding places. The survivor who was hidden for 13 hours underwent this experience under a tank with all eight sex workers sitting on top of each other in a hot and cramped area.

Ten survivors were moved to a different location during their time in the sex trade (N=14). Four of these were shifted precisely to avoid the police, while others were shifted to another establishment the same manager owned, most likely to make more money. One survivor was moved to a more isolated location because she made too much noise.

5.6.1 Victim Identification

All of the survivors demonstrated elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion—which was aligned with the selection strategy for in-depth interviews (see Methodology 2.3.1). Three survivors appeared to have been held in establishments with other sex workers who had greater agency. For example, two stated that the other sex workers came to the establishment to earn money; and one of these survivors expounded that the other sex workers could leave at any time. In the other instance, the other sex workers fought with the recruiters and manager for bringing the survivor because she had children at home. Given the potential to have establishments that hold both non-trafficked and trafficked sex workers, it is important to conduct a thorough screening to identify victims. Furthermore, a few survivors noted that they were fearful of the police and had been told to lie about their native origin; and one was coached to say that she came of her own free will. Despite these barriers, the majority of survivors stated that they were happy to leave the sex trade; and many would have presented themselves as victims through their help-seeking behaviour both prior to and during rescue.



A nighttime photograph of a city street with light trails from traffic and streetlights. The scene is dark with warm yellow and orange light trails from cars and streetlights. A yellow rectangular box is positioned in the upper left, and a larger blue rectangular box is centered in the lower half of the image.

SECTION 6

**Conclusions and
Discussion**



06

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 Mumbai is flourishing and well-known. With over 10,000 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. While the majority of sex workers observed in this study were adults, the prevalence of minors engaged in CSE in public establishments in the targeted hotspots was an estimated 5.5%, giving indications that the trade is capitalizing on the younger population's vulnerabilities. Panvel was the hotspot with the highest numbers of minors as well as highest prevalence. Minors were viewed in all public establishment hotspots except Bhandup, but Borivali (12.5%), Thane City (10.9%), Turbhe (10.8%), Dombivli (9.4%), Bhayandar/Mira Road (8.5%), Andheri (7.3%), and Bhiwandi (6.4%) all had hotspot prevalences above the estimated combined total.

The side of this trade, which presented much more difficulty in studying, was the number of CSWs and minors exploited out of a more privately-networked phenomenon. Building on years of relationships with local actors, IJM documented 25 minors being sold for sex out of a total of 214 CSWs observed. 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 1,180. The upper bound number is unknown; however the proportion of minors being sold for sex in these private networks warrants further exploration of this much more underground phenomenon in metro Mumbai.

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 mostly male, but nearly one-quarter were female, ranging from 18 up to 55 years old. 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 or lodge managers had connections with pimps, who would book rooms for customers; even the staff of the hotels/lodges were aware of these additional business schemes.

The women and girls engaged in CSE are also overwhelmingly Indian. The majority of sex workers observed in the studies were majors, with close to 40% of CSWs observed in public establishments and 12.2% of CSWs in the private network identified to be 18-21 years old (borderline majors). All of the minors observed in these studies were 15 to 17 years old. In the public establishments, minors were originally from Delhi, Rajasthan, and West Bengal, with over two-thirds from the Bedia community. In the private network, the majority of minors were from West Bengal, with others from six other states in India. In red light areas, minors engaged in CSE were in ladies bars, while in the private network, data collectors observed minors all in lodges in Navi Mumbai and Mira Road in Thane Rural.

Across the two observational studies, minors reported being in the trade due to poverty, lack of job opportunities, a need to support family for a variety of reasons (death of parent, illness, children, spouse abandonment), family being in the trade, and being tricked, forced, or deceived. Learning from IJM's own casework in Mumbai, 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 some, than one might suppose upon an initial interaction or observation.

Survivor interviews and data collectors in both observation-based studies all cited police and/or government officials in both positive and negative ways. The majority of survivors experienced positive efforts from the police to intervene, even though they were failed attempts as they were either hidden and/or moved to avoid police operations. However, most survivors also recounted negative experiences, such as corruption or police frequenting the establishment as customers. Survivors further indicated that the managers often used fear of the police to threaten them or keep them controlled.

In the public establishment study, data collectors documented high or medium police presence on 42% of data collection nights. The overwhelming majority of the time, the documentation of police centered around patrolling and checking establishments for minors. However, the managers of the brothels and bars seemed to know when the police were coming or in the area, and information collected from CSWs and establishment owners corroborate that minors would leave or be moved or not available during those 'high alert' periods. In the private network study, similar scenarios occurred, with situations of active patrolling and policing for CSE of minors. Again, the more prominent narrative that emerged was the high level of understanding of police activity by contacts, pimps, and lodge/hotel owners. Pimps and contacts reported whole areas to be on 'high alert' for police. In these cases, these networks quickly adapted by moving encounters to other locations or at later times, only bringing major CSWs, showing the girls in auto rickshaws, or at last resort cancelling meetings.

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 Mumbai'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.

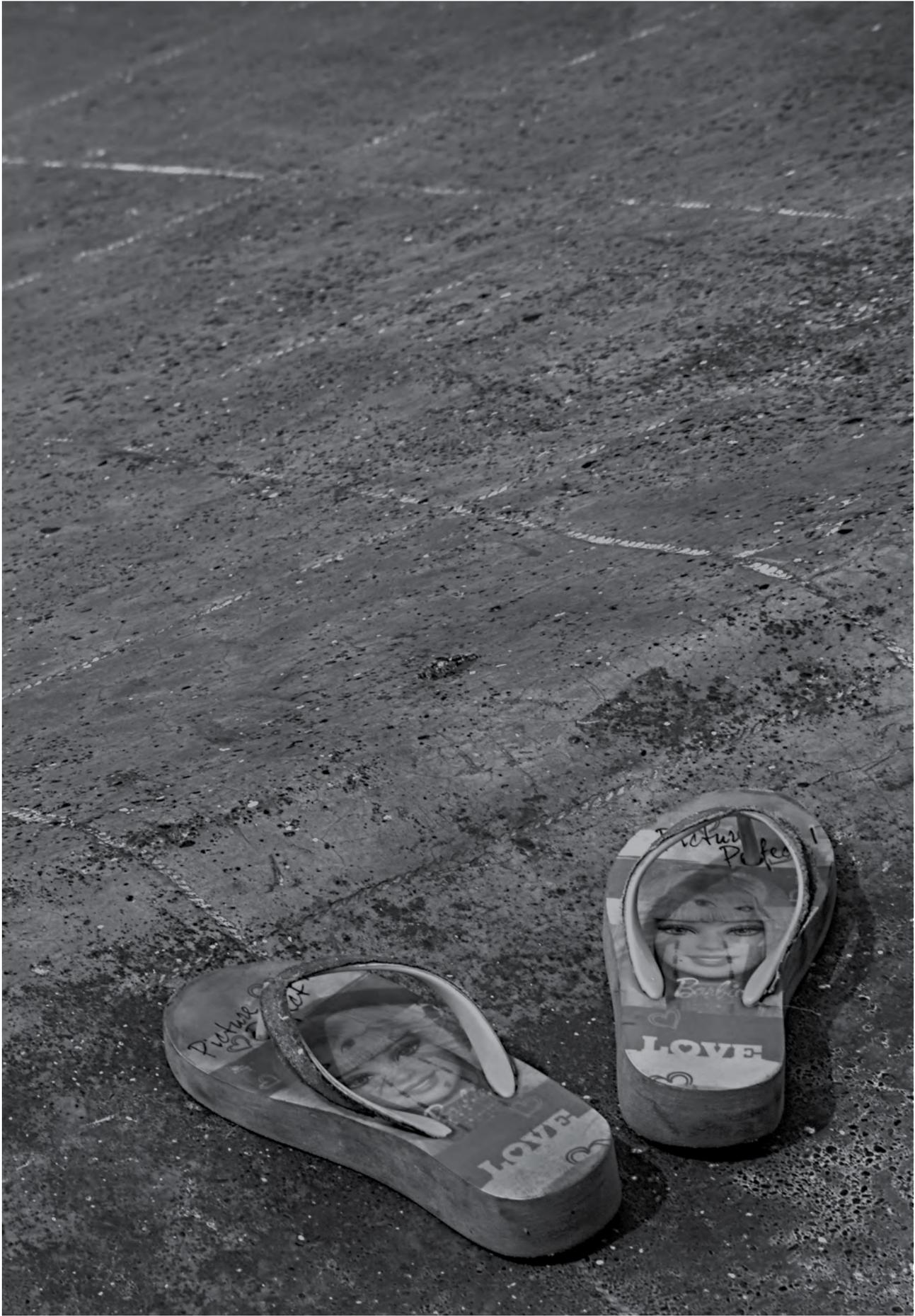
While there is not much known about the experiences of those exploited in this more networked phenomenon, the in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors coming out of public establishments provided a window into the violence, trauma, and degradation that some women face in the sex trade. Like Kara's 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 lure of a romantic partner or deceit of a good job to acquire these vulnerable young women and children. Once acquired, the traffickers moved the survivors to a different area for exploitation, mostly by a closely-monitored but otherwise normal bus or train ride to Mumbai.

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 roughly half these women's stories was a conditioning period that involved physical violence and/or being held captive for a period of time until the survivor was too weak to refuse. Other control tactics during that time included threats and rape by the first customer. Once the women began providing services, survivors reported between 7-11 customers a day and yet received little or nothing for this. Managers, instead, could reap more revenue from a single sex worker than what a skilled engineer would earn—demonstrating the profitability of this crime and the incentive to keep women and girls exploited in the sex industry. From payments reported in the private network study, the pimps and madams in this more secretive side are paid even higher for CSW services. The managers controlled the survivors through constant monitoring, confinement within the establishment, threats and violence. For some, language barriers and financial control were barriers to exiting the sex trade. Lastly, survivors talked of significant and long-lasting physical, psychological, emotional and social impacts from undergoing physical and sexual violence.

SECTION 7

Recommendations





07

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 Mumbai Metropolitan Region

Recommendation 1: The Government of Maharashtra should continue to invest resources for building the capacity of the police force to properly identify minors in Mumbai 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, the exploitation of minors in the hotspot areas exists, even with a relatively high presence of police. The police need more investigation and intervention training in identifying trafficking victims, both majors and minors, in these destination locations. Government efforts could focus on the higher prevalence areas, but all hotspots in the study had establishments selling minors. Additionally, the survivor interviews revealed many attempts where the police failed in uncovering their whereabouts. Transport areas could also be a good place for identifying recruiters, so training on this tactic could be useful.

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

Given that Mumbai Metropolitan Region is a major destination for CSEC, government institutions, in particular police and rehabilitation service providers, 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 (MoU) with all states to rescue, rehabilitate and repatriate victims of CSE. One such MoU exists between Maharashtra and West Bengal, which can be used as a model for replication with other states. These partnerships should go beyond India to accommodate for the survivors originally from Bangladesh and Nepal, as evidenced in the literature review and this study.

Recommendation 3: The Government of Maharashtra 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. Various public and private enterprises, directly and indirectly, further facilitate sex trafficking, including lodges, bars, private

residences, hotels, and the hospitality and entertainment industries. The sex trade is extremely profitable, with an active customer base. 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, 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 total sex workers and minors observed in CSE were in lodges and hotels. More effort 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.

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.

7.2 Better Understanding of the Private Network Sex Trade

Recommendation 4: Advanced investigation training must be provided 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 more minors might be available for sex over 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 in 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: Justice system officials and service providers interacting with survivors of CSE need 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 extensively described experiencing physical, psychological, emotional and social destruction. They also revealed how fear is a powerful tactic of control and has long-term, deleterious effects. Exploiters’ can control, traffic, and force both majors and minors into CSE. Justice system officials as well as service providers who interact with survivors of CSE need to understand the intensity of abuse perpetrated on survivors, the effects of the unique trauma those in the sex trade experience, as well as the tactics exploiters use 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 receiving training on trauma-informed care for survivors of sex trafficking. This type of specialized training will enable a sensitized and tailored counselling which could significantly and positively affect the outcomes of survivors.

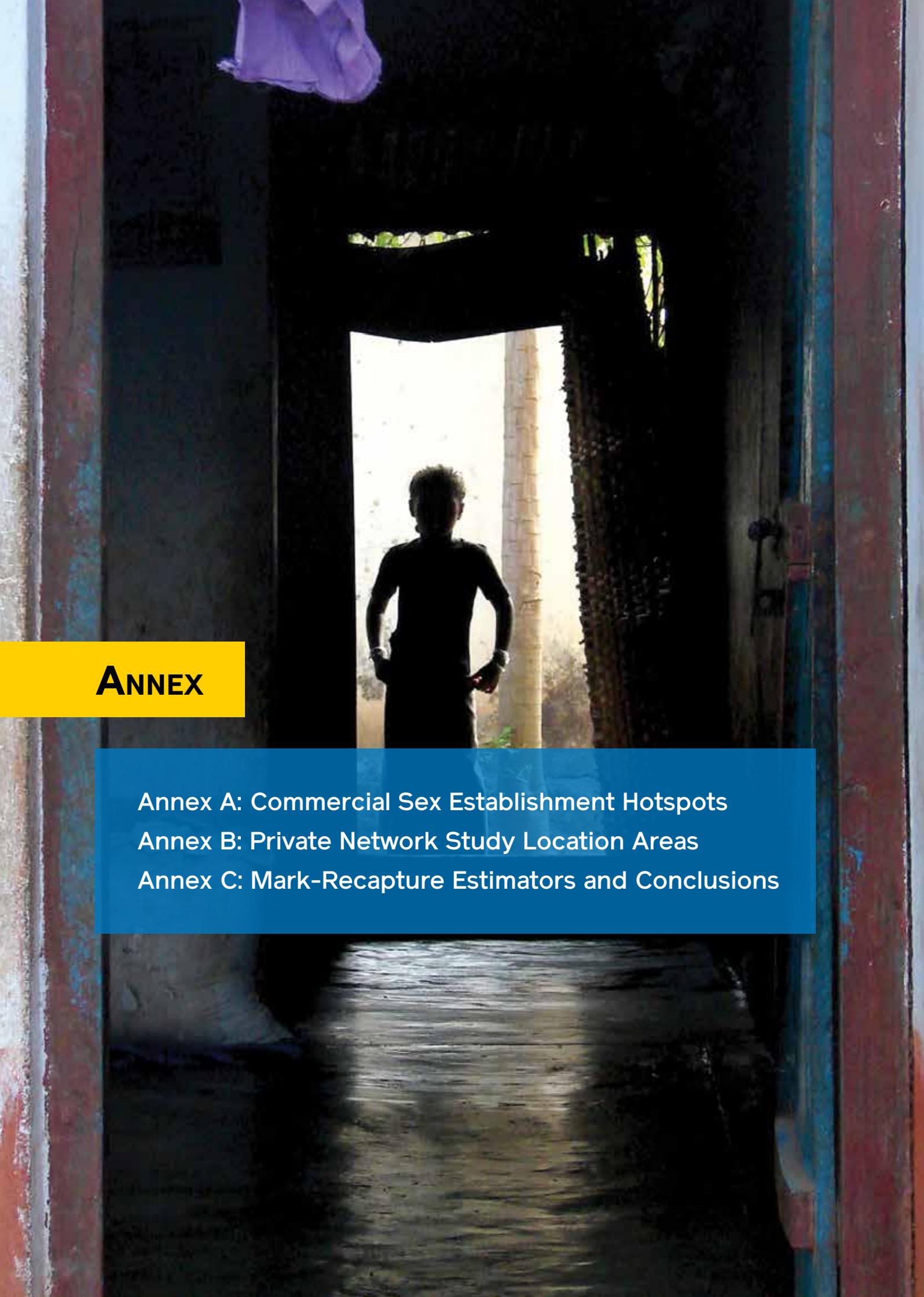
7.4 Future Research

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 Mumbai 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 Mumbai.



A photograph of a person standing in a doorway, silhouetted against a bright outdoor background. The person is wearing a dark, long-sleeved shirt and shorts. The doorway is framed by dark, weathered wood. The floor is dark and reflective. The overall scene is dimly lit, with the primary light source being the bright outdoor area visible through the doorway.

ANNEX

Annex A: Commercial Sex Establishment Hotspots

Annex B: Private Network Study Location Areas

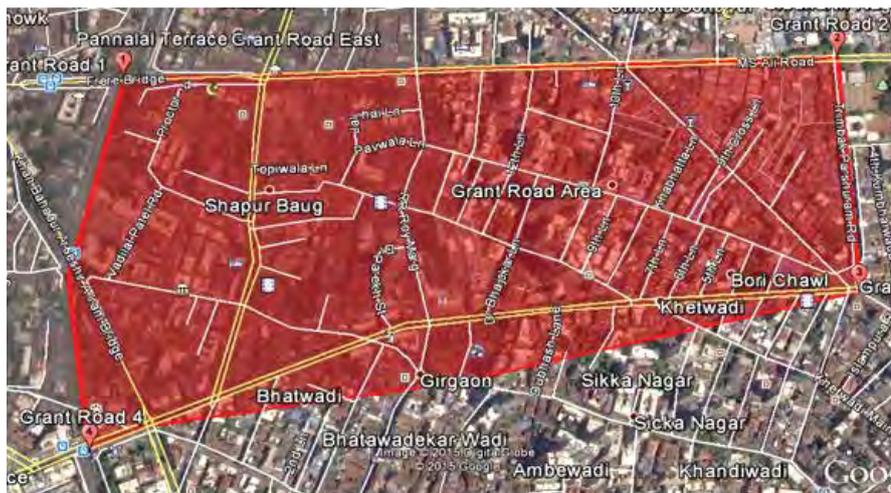
Annex C: Mark-Recapture Estimators and Conclusions



Annex

Annex A: Commercial Sex Establishment Hotspots

Grant Road



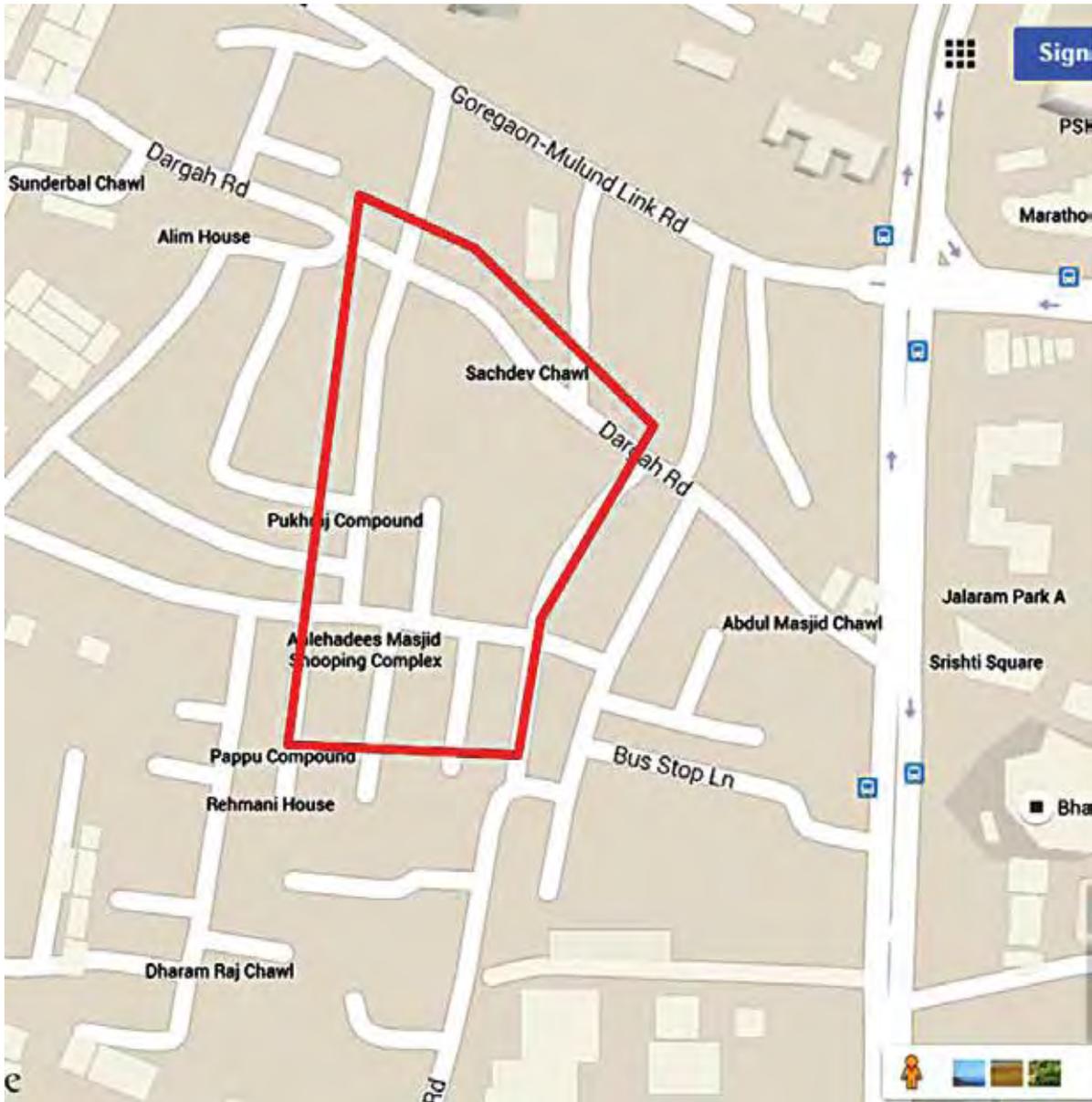
- Center of area: 18°57'32.10"N, 72°49'13.66"E
- Southern border: Along Sardar Vallabhbhai Road, including the side streets south of this road - predominantly Nawalkar Road
- Western Border: Western Train Lines
- Northern Border: MS Ali Road
- Eastern Border: Trimbak Parshuram Road
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 18°57'43.18"N, 72°48'55.53"E
 2. 18°57'42.05"N, 72°49'34.86"E
 3. 18°57'29.02"N, 72°49'34.65"E
 4. 18°57'23.00"N, 72°48'53.13"E

Kamathipura



- Center of area: 18°57'55.69"N, 72°49'25.16"E
- Southern border: Along Bapty Raod and Parshuram Pupala Marg until Manaji Rajuj Road (includes the first 200m of the side streets south travelling off Bapty Road)
- Western Border: Where the green area of Rusi Mehta Chowk ends on both Foras Road and Fawkland/ Bapty Road
- Northern Border: Along Foras Road, until the beginning of the Kamathipura lanes, and then along Jehangi Boman Behram Road
- Eastern Border: Manaji Rajuj Road (both sides including Alexandra House)
- 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 GPS for the six corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 18°57'55.32"N, 72°49'14.89"E
 2. 18°58'0.83"N, 72°49'30.14"E
 3. 18°58'4.62"N, 72°49'30.49"E
 4. 18°58'3.39"N, 72°49'35.60"E
 5. 18°57'46.74"N, 72°49'33.50"E
 6. 18°57'50.42"N, 72°49'14.73"E

Bhandup



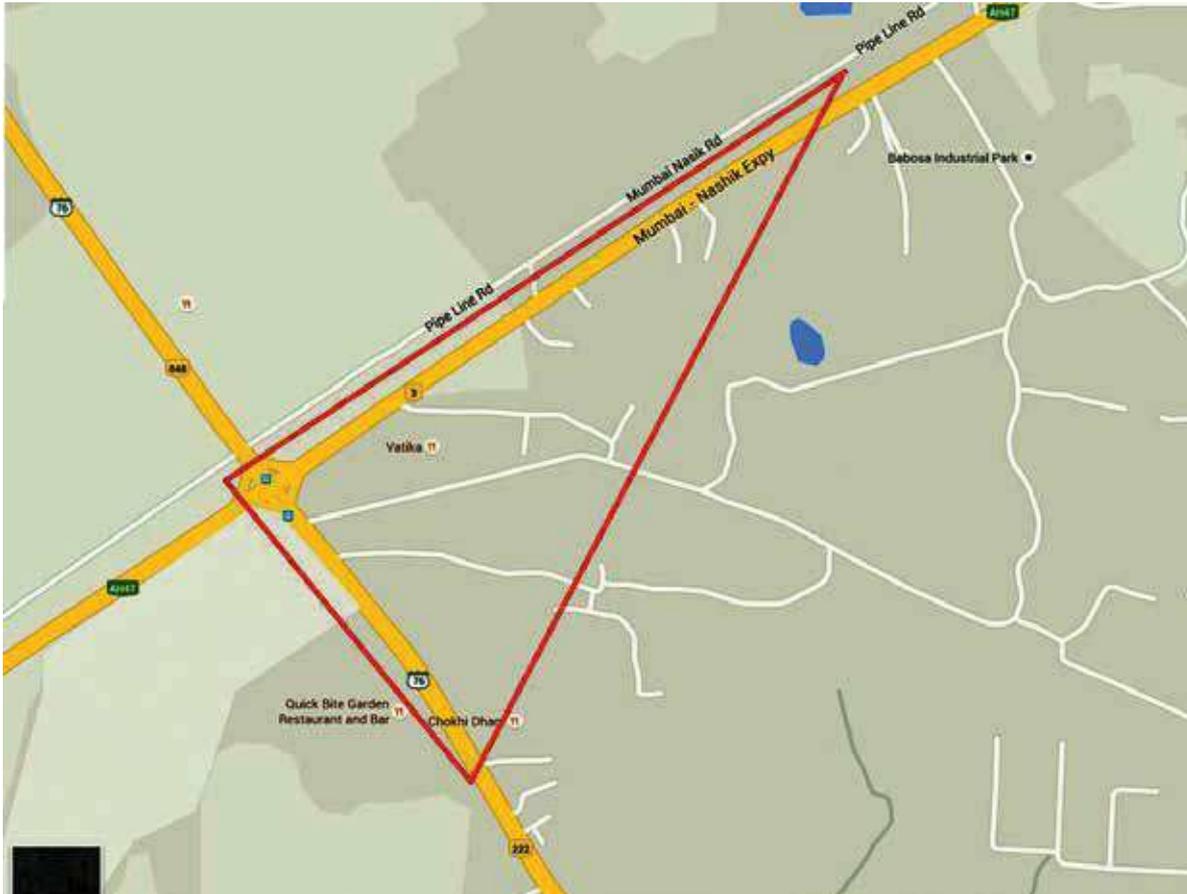
- Center of area: 19° 9'46.02"N, 72° 56'11.45"E
- Northern Border: Sonapur road/Dargh Road
- Eastern Border: Lake Road
- Western Border: The road with Apsara Jewellers on it
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19° 9'50.19"N, 72° 56'7.99"E
 2. 19° 9'47.22"N, 72° 56'12.14"E
 3. 19° 9'42.41"N, 72° 56'9.84"E
 4. 19° 9'43.19"N, 72° 56'6.81"E

Bhayander



- Center of area: $19^{\circ}17'5.38''N, 72^{\circ}52'21.73''E$
- Northern Border: Naghar Road (both sides and side streets)
- Southern border: CS Link Road
- Eastern Border: NH8 Road - both sides
- Western Border: Western train lines
- 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 GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. $19^{\circ}18'50.62''N, 72^{\circ}51'9.88''E$
 2. $19^{\circ}17'14.49''N, 72^{\circ}53'33.62''E$
 3. $19^{\circ}16'37.15''N, 72^{\circ}53'25.13''E$
 4. $19^{\circ}15'19.93''N, 72^{\circ}52'12.54''E$
 5. $19^{\circ}15'29.81''N, 72^{\circ}51'28.29''E$

Bhiwandi Bypass



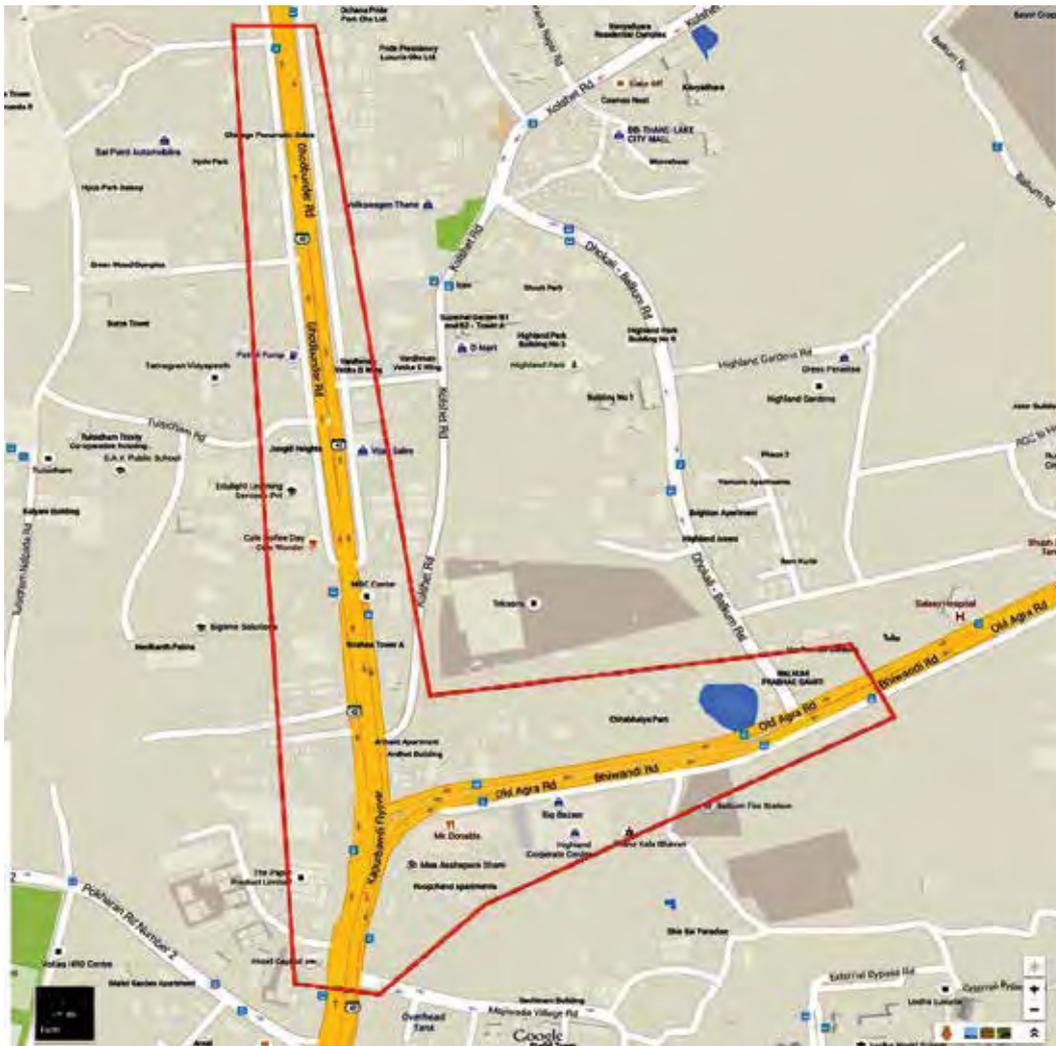
- Center of area: 19°16'11.62"N, 73° 5'11.90"E
- The junction of Mumbai-Nashik Expressway and NH222 (Bhiwandi-Murbad road), and the triangular area between the eastern and southern points.
- Eastern point: Vellam Beverages PVT Ltd office/warehouse
- Southern point: Chowki Dhani Restaurant
- Including 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 GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19°16'9.80"N, 73° 4'59.53"E
 2. 19°16'25.60"N, 73° 5'24.15"E
 3. 19°15'57.50"N, 73° 5'9.31"E

Bhiwandi



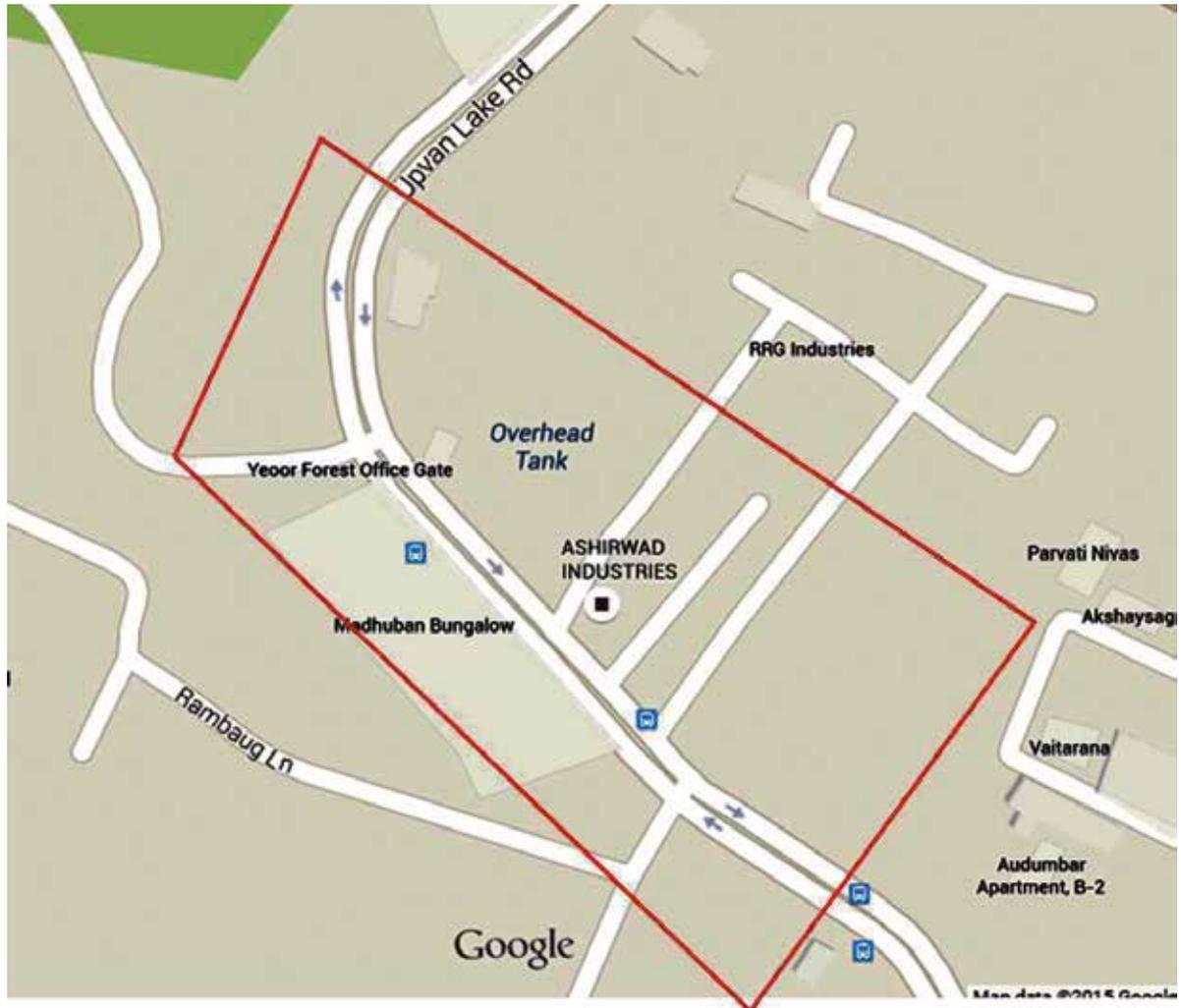
- Center of area: $19^{\circ}17'9.40''N, 73^{\circ} 3'59.82''E$
- Shastri Nagar - from the third side street on Aasibi road (from the highway) to the 6th side street - and all the slum area to the east of it - also known as Hanuman Tekdi
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. $19^{\circ}17'13.07''N, 73^{\circ} 4'0.36''E$
 2. $19^{\circ}17'9.50''N, 73^{\circ} 4'4.31''E$
 3. $19^{\circ}17'5.66''N, 73^{\circ} 4'2.33''E$
 4. $19^{\circ}17'7.29''N, 73^{\circ} 3'55.35''E$

Majiwada Thane City



- Center of area: 19°13'17.70"N, 72°58'51.15"E
- The junction of Kapurbawdi Flyover and Old Agra Road, both sides of the road including immediate sidestreets
- Northern Border: Lawkim Company Bus Stop
- Southern border: Majiwada Bus stop
- Eastern Border: Vhardman Garden Bus stop
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the below Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19°13'41.54"N, 72°58'35.38"E
 2. 19°13'41.27"N, 72°58'39.51"E
 3. 19°13'9.07"N, 72°58'43.54"E
 4. 19°13'10.41"N, 72°59'5.49"E
 5. 19°13'5.22"N, 72°59'7.00"E
 6. 19°12'53.43"N, 72°58'41.08"E
 7. 19°12'54.54"N, 72°58'37.97"E

Upvan Thane



- Center of area: $19^{\circ}13'6.42''N, 72^{\circ}57'12.73''E$
- Pokharan Road Number 1, both sides, including immediate side streets
- Northern Border: Green Park Satyam on Upvan Road
- Southern border: Shivaji Nagar bus stop
- 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 GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. $19^{\circ}13'11.08''N, 72^{\circ}57'9.57''E$
 2. $19^{\circ}13'5.58''N, 72^{\circ}57'17.68''E$
 3. $19^{\circ}13'0.44''N, 72^{\circ}57'14.87''E$
 4. $19^{\circ}13'7.53''N, 72^{\circ}57'7.92''E$

Dombivli



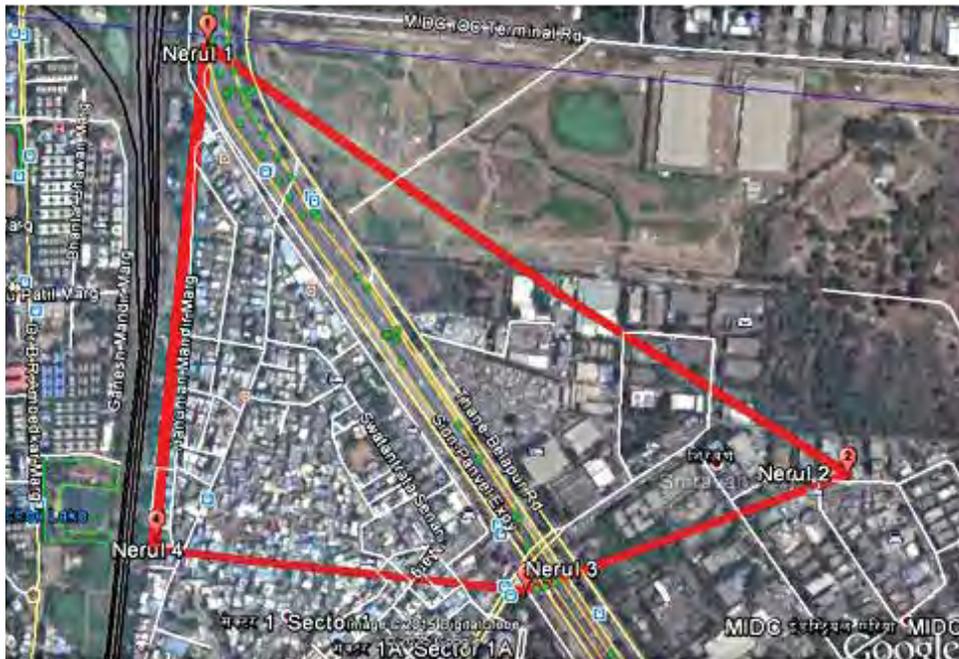
- Center of area: 19°12'29.96"N, 73° 6'45.00"E
- Kalyan-Shilphata Road, both sides, including immediate side streets
- Northern Border: Junction with New Kalyan Road
- Southern border: Shivai Balak Mandir Bus Stop
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19°13'10.41"N, 73° 7'9.37"E
 2. 19°13'5.17"N, 73° 7'12.56"E
 3. 19°12'3.19"N, 73° 6'12.99"E
 4. 19°12'5.36"N, 73° 6'10.54"E

Ulhasnagar



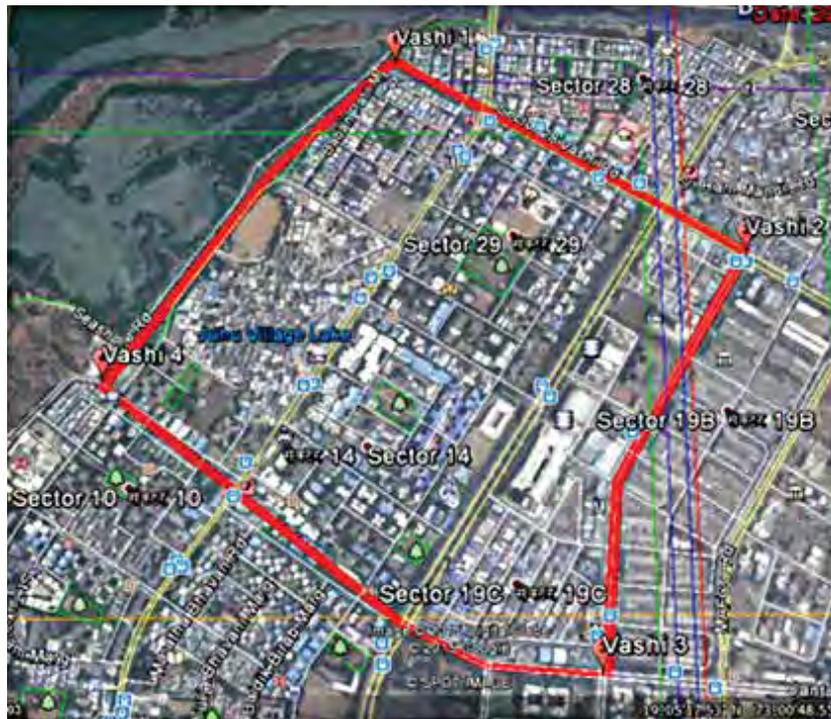
- Center of area: $19^{\circ}13'43.36''N, 73^{\circ}9'30.44''E$
- Kalyan-Badlapur Road/Kalyan-Ambarnath Road, both sides, including immediate side streets
- Eastern Border: Hotel Geeta Bhavan
- Western Border: Hanuman Mandir
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the attached Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. $19^{\circ}13'50.19''N, 73^{\circ}9'18.88''E$
 2. $19^{\circ}13'39.23''N, 73^{\circ}9'43.58''E$
 3. $19^{\circ}13'36.57''N, 73^{\circ}9'41.66''E$
 4. $19^{\circ}13'45.52''N, 73^{\circ}9'17.33''E$

Nerul



- Center of area: $19^{\circ} 2'47.75''\text{N}, 73^{\circ} 1'15.30''\text{E}$
- A triangular area surrounding the Sion Panvel Express way, stretching from just north of the Shiravane Gaon bus stop at the north, down to the most southern point of Hanuman Mandir Marg at the south. The eastern point of the triangle is just after A-Z Auto Works, before Bobby Ceramic on the road to the east of the expressway (no road name) The train line marks the western border of the hotspot.
- 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 GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. $19^{\circ} 3'11.42''\text{N}, 73^{\circ} 1'9.45''\text{E}$
 2. $19^{\circ} 2'53.36''\text{N}, 73^{\circ} 1'44.90''\text{E}$
 3. $19^{\circ} 2'45.98''\text{N}, 73^{\circ} 1'29.00''\text{E}$
 4. $19^{\circ} 2'46.65''\text{N}, 73^{\circ} 1'9.60''\text{E}$

Vashi



- Center of area: 19° 5'5.98"N, 73° 0'18.49"E
- Southern border: The road perpendicular to Sector 14 bus stop
- Western Border: Mar Theophilus Marg
- Northern Border: Sector 28 Vashi Road
- Eastern Border: Groma Marg
- The hotspot includes Sector 11,12,14,19,29.
- 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 GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19° 5'29.13"N, 73° 0'12.07"E
 2. 19° 5'14.06"N, 73° 0'39.02"E
 3. 19° 4'44.71"N, 73° 0'27.20"E
 4. 19° 5'4.54"N, 72° 59'50.65"E

Turbhe

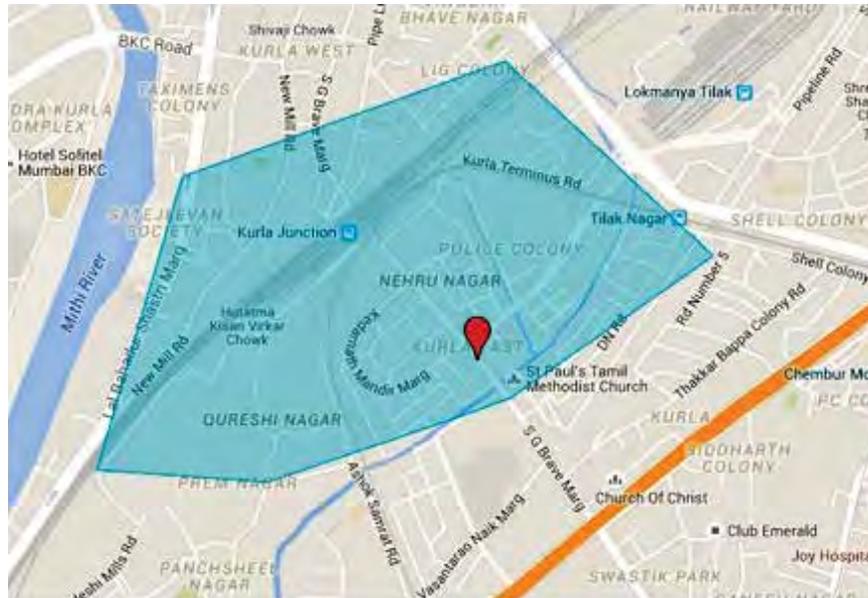


- Center of area: 19° 4'24.00"N, 73° 1'17.89"E
- The area surrounding Turbhe Lake, including Section 21-24, this is an area boxed in by Turbhe railway station Flyover, Thane Belapur road, the Sion Panvel Expressways and MAFCO Road. The area to the east of Thane-Belapur Road is also included, up to the edge of the slum area as it touches the field. There are also additional sections; the red light district is at the north end of the hotspot, encompassing the slum area on both sides of KRR road, and there is an area of bars along Turbhe MIDC road, from the highway until Hotel Kavita.
- Including all other streets and lanes within the borders depicted on the below Google Earth Map.
- Including both sides of all streets within the defined area.
- The GPS for the four corners of the area depicted on the Attached Google Earth map are as follows:
 1. 19° 4'37.69"N, 73° 1'5.98"E
 2. 19° 4'38.70"N, 73° 1'19.03"E
 3. 19° 3'51.37"N, 73° 1'18.86"E
 4. 19° 3'50.49"N, 73° 1'36.30"E
 5. 19° 3'43.31"N, 73° 1'36.53"E
 6. 19° 3'44.28"N, 73° 1'8.20"E
 7. 19° 3'59.44"N, 73° 1'7.00"E
 8. 19° 4'3.02"N, 73° 0'32.15"E
 9. 19° 4'24.72"N, 73° 0'33.87"E
 10. 19° 4'22.27"N, 73° 1'6.91"E

Annex B: Private Network Study Location Areas

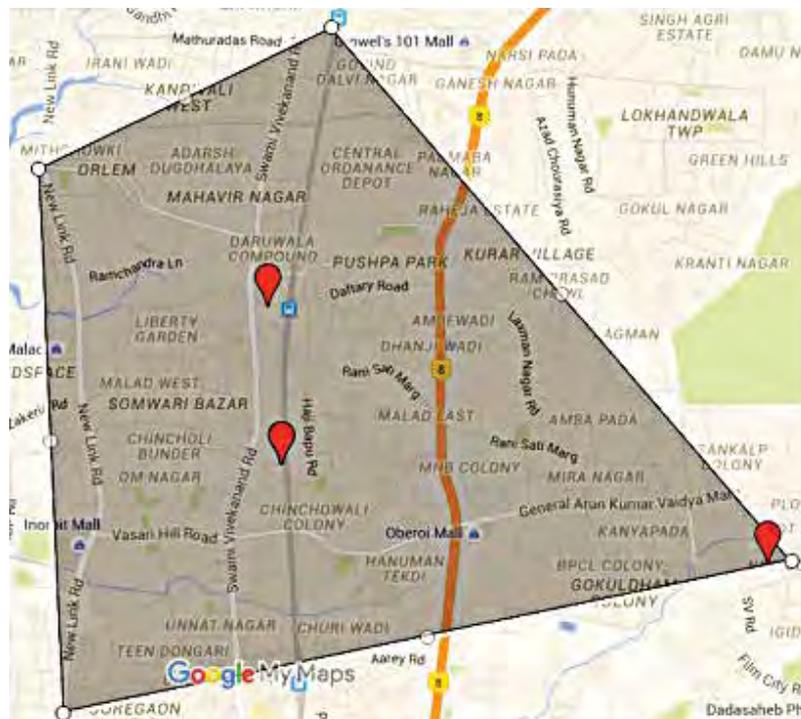
East Region, Mumbai

Kurla

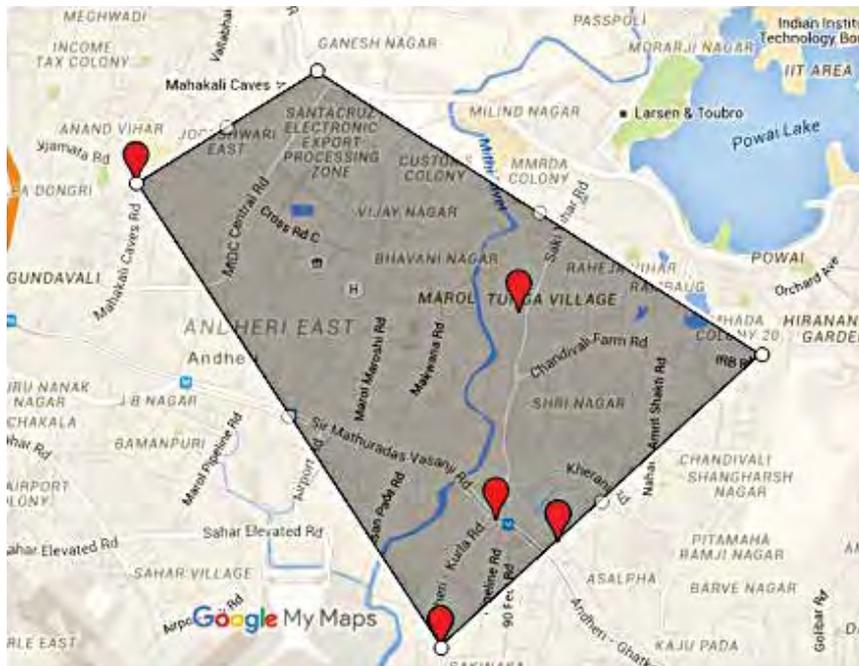


North Region, Mumbai

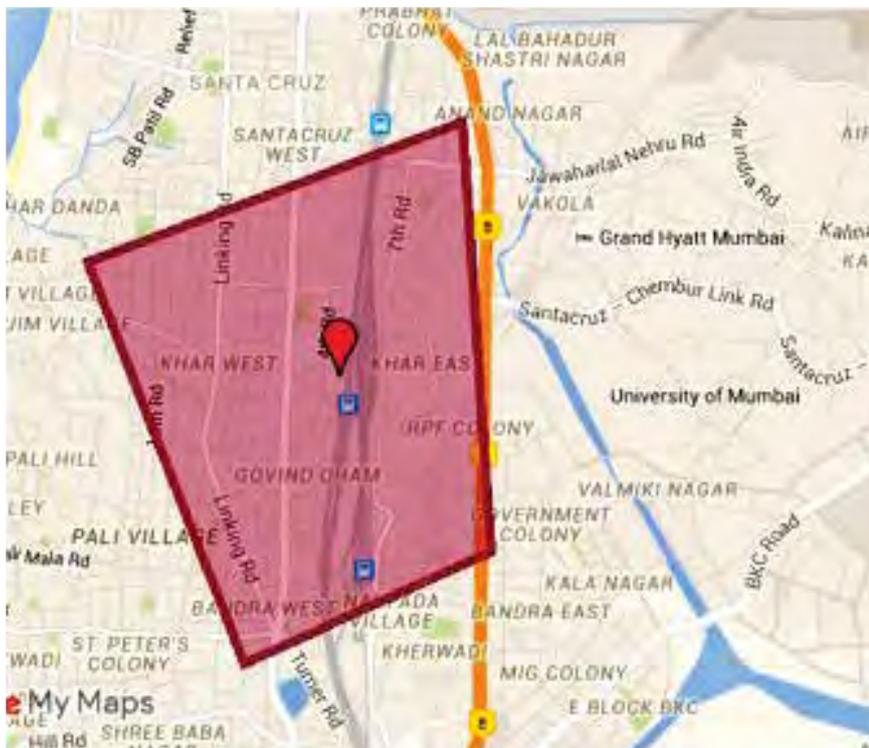
Malad



West Region, Mumbai
Andheri



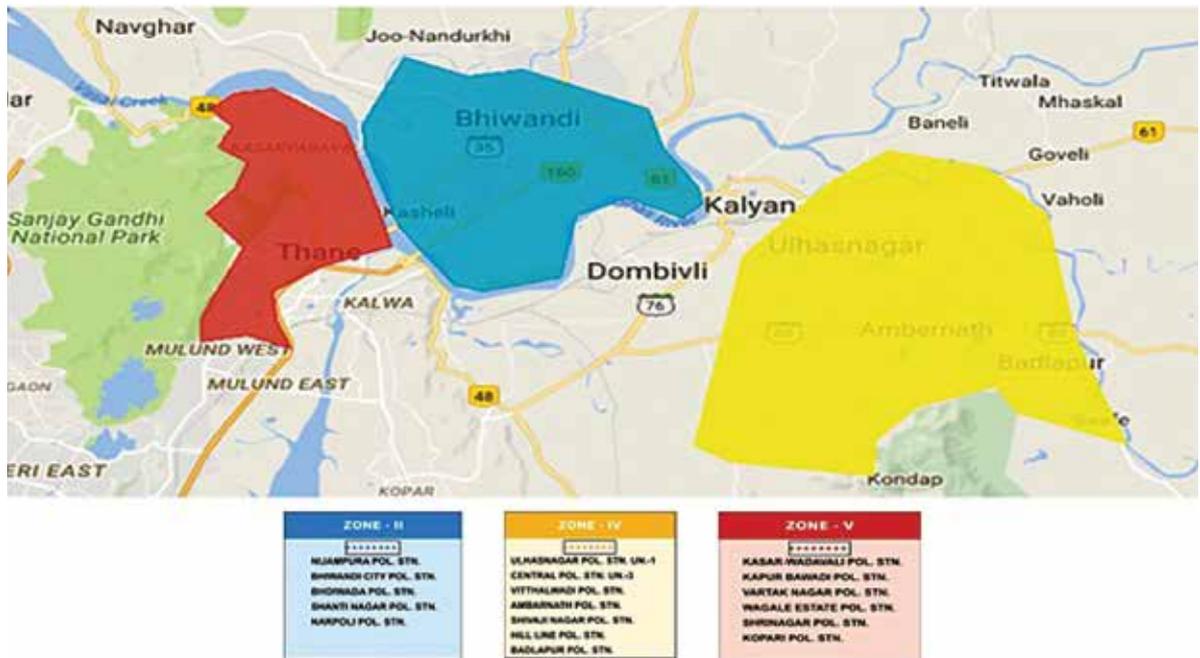
Khar



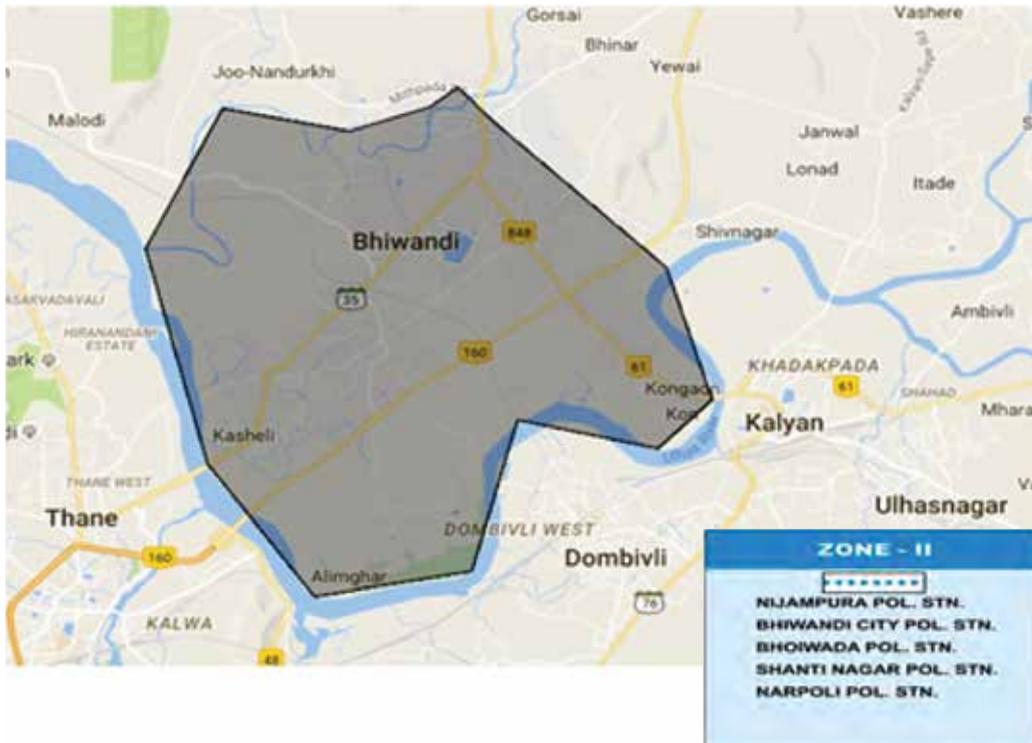
Mira Road Division – Thane Rural
Mira Bhayander



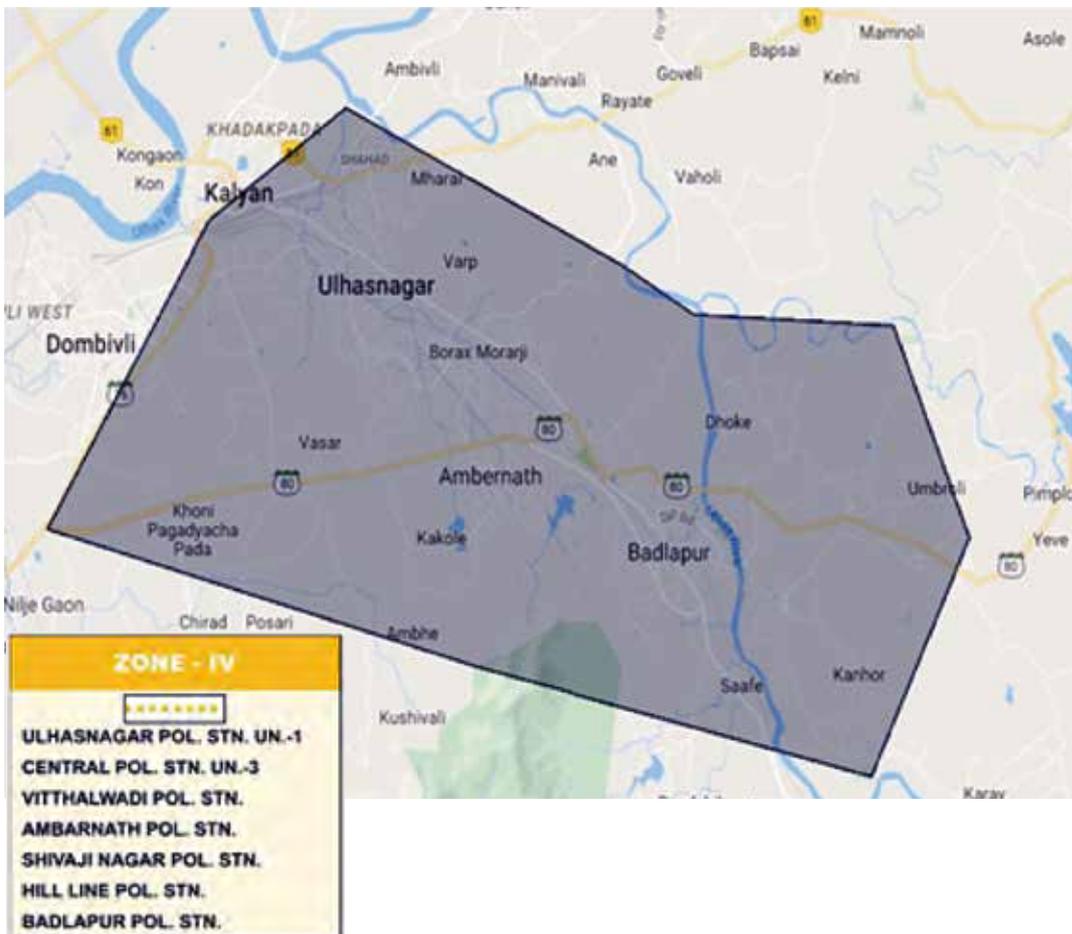
Thane City – Zone II, IV, and V
Thane City (all three zones)



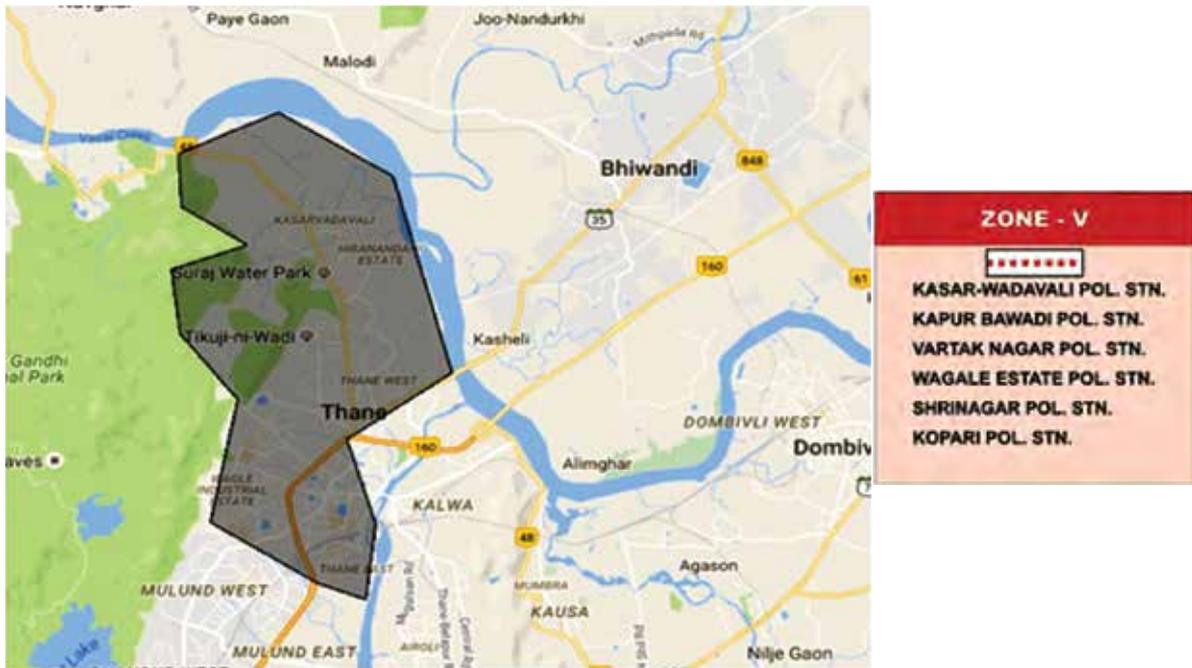
Thane City – Zone II



Thane City – Zone IV

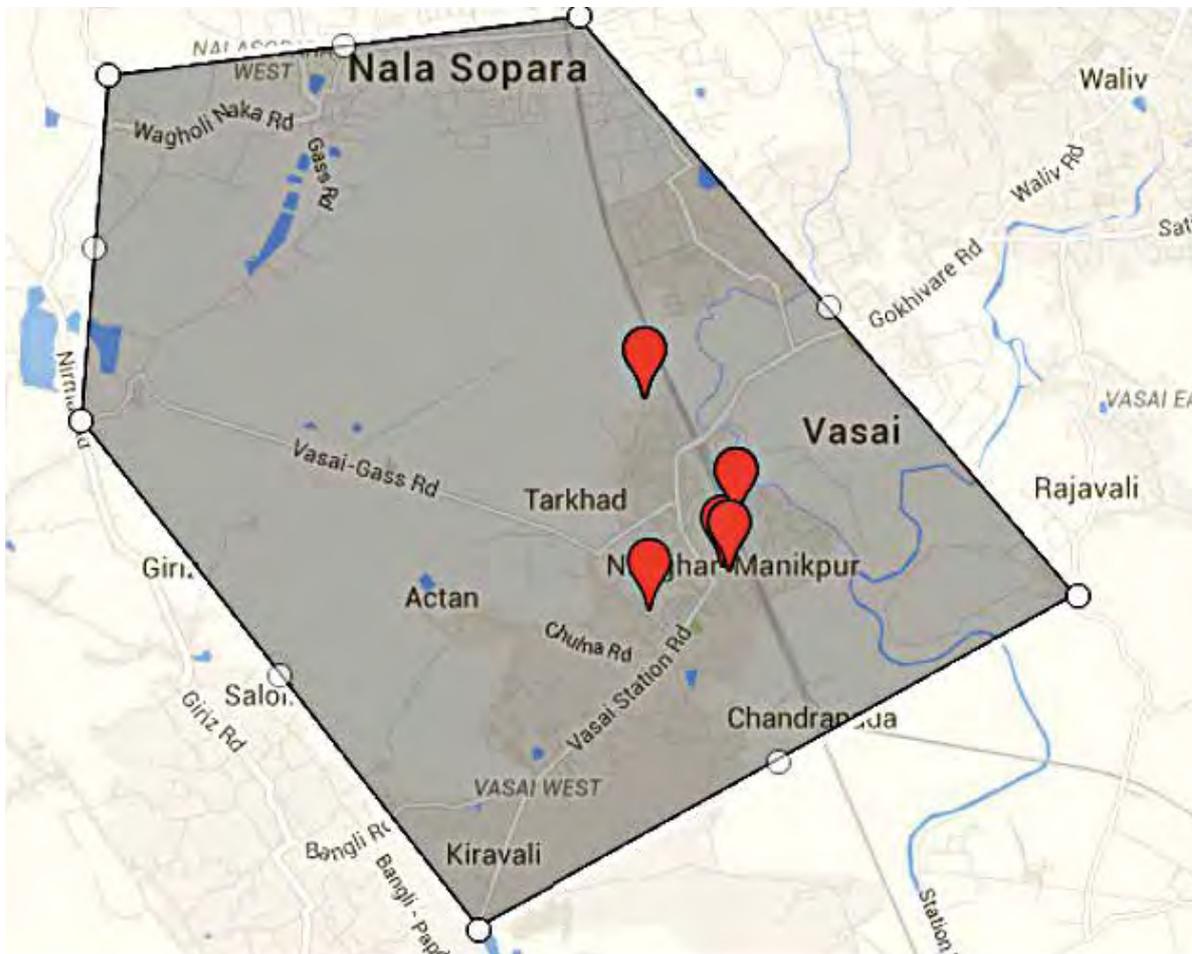


Thane City – Zone V



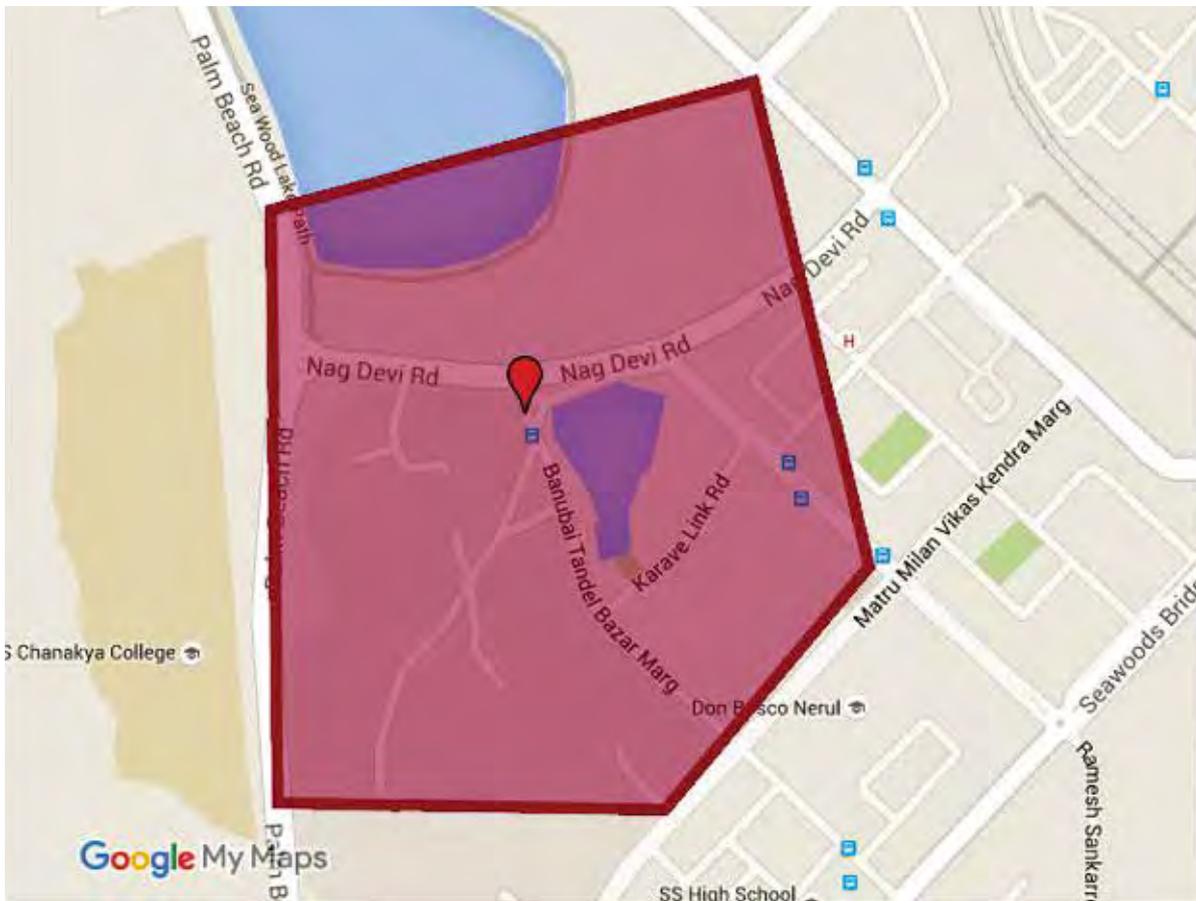
Vasai Division – Palghar District

Vasai-Virar and Nallasopara

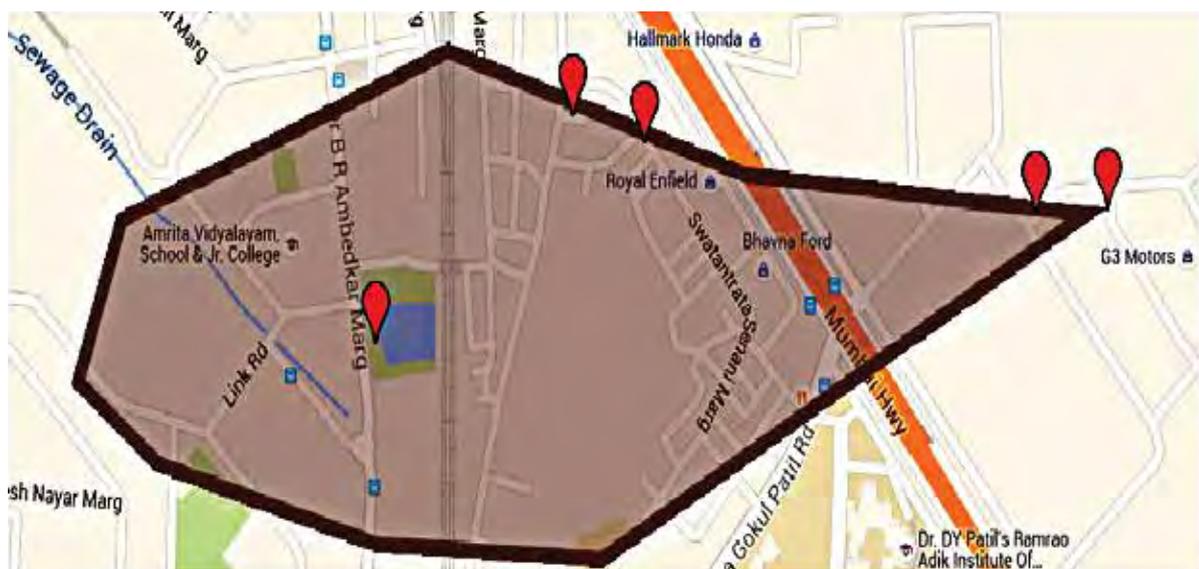


Zone I – Navi-Mumbai

Karave



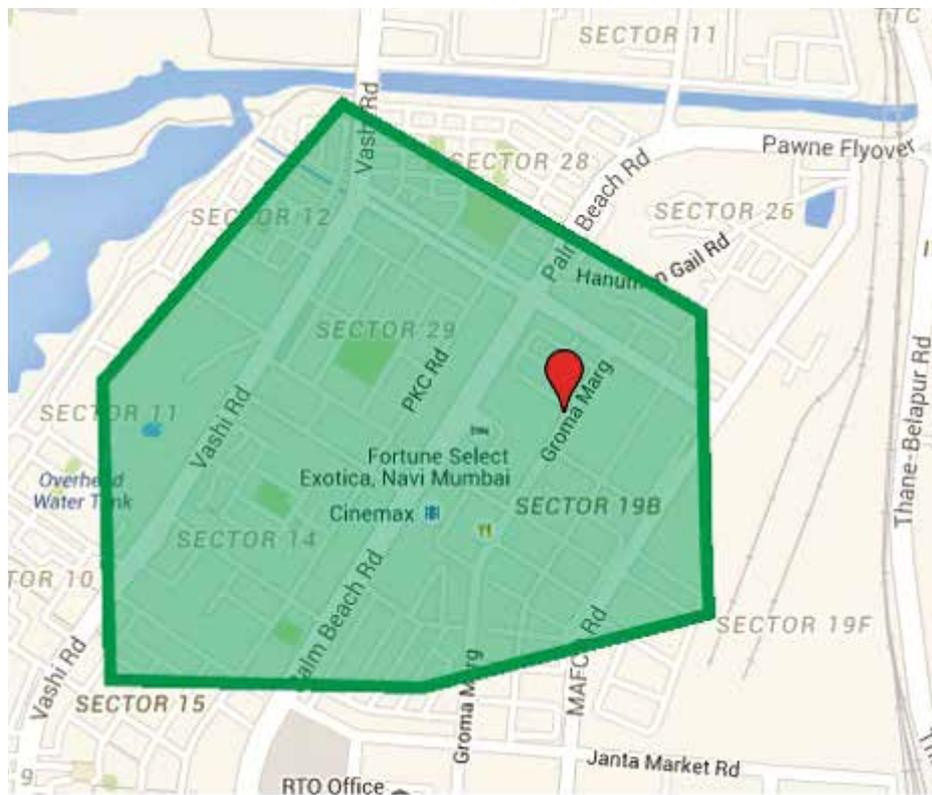
Nerul



Turbhe



Vashi



Annex C: Mark-Recapture Estimators and Conclusions

TABLE 26: Mark-Recapture Estimators, Interpretations, and Model Fit Conclusions

M-R Sampling Occasion Method	Sampling Occasion Definition	Recapture Definition	Abundance Estimation with Bias Correction		Model Fit
			Abundance	Standard Error	
1	Defined by the networks of each contact	Recaptures occur when a CSW is linked to more than one contact or the CSW is a contact and is linked to another contact	MO: 1117.1 Mh Chao (LB): 1173.4 Mh Poisson2: 1080.8 Mh Darroch: 1246.7 Mh Gamma3,5: 1140.3	MO: 216.6 Mh Chao (LB): 254.9 Mh Poisson2: 204.7 Mh Darroch: 855.5 Mh Gamma3,5: 1204.2	Warning #3 OK Warnings #1, #3 Warning #1 Warnings #1, #3
2	Defined by those CSWs observed by each team	Recaptures occur when a CSW is observed by more than one team	MO: 2049.1 Mh Chao (LB): 1956.5 Mh Poisson2: 1726.2 Mh Darroch: 214 Mh Gamma3,5: 214	MO: 620.9 Mh Chao (LB): 575.8 Mh Poisson2: 1712.7 Mh Darroch: 0 Mh Gamma3,5: 0	OK OK Warning #1 Warning #1 Warning #1
3	Defined by those CSWs observed by date	Recaptures occur when a CSW is observed on more than one date	MO: 822.5 Mh Chao (LB): 949.7 Mh Poisson2: 805.6 Mh Darroch: 1034.6 Mh Gamma3,5: 1329.3	MO: 129.2 Mh Chao (LB): 185.3 Mh Poisson2: 124.4 Mh Darroch: 187.5 Mh Gamma3,5: 929.5	Warning #3 OK Warnings #1, #3 Warning #1 Warning #3
4	Defined by the month of observation	Recaptures occur when a CSW is observed on more than one month	MO: 1086 Mh Chao (LB): 1269.4 Mh Poisson2: 1658.4 Mh Darroch: 2897.9 Mh Gamma3,5: 4211.3	MO: 233.7 Mh Chao (LB): 310.1 Mh Poisson2: 667.2 Mh Darroch: 2353.2 Mh Gamma3,5: 5453.4	OK OK OK OK Warning #1
5	Defined by the location type (silent bar, ladies bar, brothel)	Recaptures occur when a CSW is observed at more than one location type	MO: 2870.3 Mh Chao (LB): 2776.9 Mh Poisson2: 3049.4 Mh Darroch: 214 Mh Gamma3,5: 214	MO: 1052.8 Mh Chao (LB): 966.4 Mh Poisson2: 2467.9 Mh Darroch: 0.1 Mh Gamma3,5: 0	Warning #1 Warning #1 Warnings #1, #3 Warnings #1, #3 Warning #3
6	Defined by the location ID	Recaptures occur when a CSW is observed at more than one location ID	MO: 1320.8 Mh Chao (LB): 1319 Mh Poisson2: 1267 Mh Darroch: 1084.2 Mh Gamma3,5: 705.3	MO: 285.3 Mh Chao (LB): 303.8 Mh Poisson2: 266.1 Mh Darroch: 993.4 Mh Gamma3,5: 936.9	Warning #3 OK Warnings #1, #3 Warning #3 Warnings #1, #3

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.









IJM

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE MISSION

PO Box 9004
Goregaon (E)
Mumbai 400063

T 022 6771 2900
F 022 6771 2999
www.ijmindia.org

International Justice Mission (IJM) is the largest anti-human trafficking organisation in the world. IJM partners with local authorities to rescue victims of violence, bring criminals to justice, restore survivors and strengthen justice systems.

Since 2000, IJM India has been assisting Public Justice Systems (PJS) in Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Bangalore and Delhi, to combat human trafficking. IJM India has supported the police in 600+ rescue operations, rescuing 15,000+ victims and public prosecutors in achieving 197 convictions in trafficking crimes.

All text and images © 2017 International Justice Mission